

BLOCK: IV
INDIAN STATE

Unit 1 : Nature of the Indian State: Contending Perspectives

Unit 2 : The Developmentalist State: Change and Continuity

Unit 3 : Nehruvian model, Green Revolution

Unit 4 : New Wave of Populism-MGNREGA

Unit 5 : State and Coercion: Extraordinary Laws & Armed Forces

UNIT: 1
NATURE OF THE INDIAN STATE: CONTENDING
PERSPECTIVES

Unit Structure:

- 1.1 Introduction**
- 1.2 Objectives**
- 1.3 Understanding State: Many definitions**
- 1.4 State in India: Idea or System**
- 1.5 Approaches to the Study of Indian State**
 - 1.5.1 Liberal Approach**
 - 1.5.2 Marxist Approach**
 - 1.5.3 Gandhian Approach**
- 1.6 Summing up**
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1.1 Introduction:

In Politics, 'State' is the most frequently used term. Political Science as a subject initially was related to the study of the 'State' and its myriad facets, characteristics and its relationship with various personal associations like family, tribe and many other private groups. Garner very well puts out "political science begins and ends with the state". Many other political thinkers and philosophers have like Gettle, Gilchrist etc. have also tried to describe state in a similar manner. Etymologically, a state is a systematized and structured mechanism for political decision making and implementation of those decisions as well as for enforcing government rules and regulations.

1.2 Objectives

This unit is an attempt to understand the nature of Indian state through various perspective. After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- explain the nature of Indian state
- discuss the various perspective to understand Indian State.

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1.3 Understanding State: Many definitions

Garner espouses that "the state, as a concept of political science and public law is a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory control and possessing an organized government to which the great body, of inhabitants render habitual obedience". According to this definition, population, fixed territory, government and sovereignty are the essential elements of the state. Differing from associations and groups, society or government or nation, the State is Different from society, government, association and the nations, the state is deemed to be a distinctive institution. The State plays an important role in the overall development of the world, more so in the third world. The role that it plays, the magnitude of its success or failure cannot be fully understood without understanding the trails of State formation. For this reason, it is important to ponder upon historically to apprehend the way the State has become the way it is today. It is equally important to observe the State beyond the formal structures, delve more into their social and political arrangements and patterns.

The modern State commonly is described in two broad forms- 'liberal democratic' and 'totalitarian'. Democracy is deemed as the foundation for the 'Liberal democratic' state, which categorically signifies that it is in the hands of the citizens or the people who have the utmost power; this power being utilised through representatives. In exact opposition is the 'totalitarian' state where the power resides on the hands of small group of power hungry people or at times military oligarchs. The striking fact about Totalitarian state is that its strives to legitimize the rule through force and fraud. Another description that has emerged in recent times about State is that of 'welfare state'. This has emerged as an anti-thesis to the concept of totalitarian state. Many Scholars have described India as welfare state with distinct socio-economic and political programme for the welfare of the country and its citizens. Various attempts have been made to understand the politics of India. With India's independence, India evolved into a State based on secular principles and with a written constitution.

Self Asking Question

1. How do you differentiate between the general concept of state and state in Political Science? (40 words)

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1.4 State in India: Idea or System

As a system, the Indian State with its newly written constitution has promised its citizens a sovereign, democratic, secular and socialist republic. The myriad facets of the State; administrative, political and legal institutions to implement the vision of in practice were allocated and described in the written constitution. It is in the Directive Principles of the State Policy that the Idea of the State in India is persuasively reflected. Over a period of time, it was expected that "state would give way to its working conditions to the universal principles of statecraft and able to persuade, mobilise or coerce the society to adjust to the state's ideology" (Nandy: 2000: 67). State as an institution is also seen as the source of remedies for all problems. Khilnani has rightly described that the state "etched itself into the imagination of India in a way that no previous political agency had ever done" (Khilnani: 1998: 41).

Attempts were made to analyse the character of the State from the vantage point of State as an Idea. According to Chatterjee (1993), Indian nationalism created the division between spiritual and material domain. The spiritual domain was believed and upheld as autonomous, one which cannot be affected by any foreign thought. The nation considered itself culturally superior to the colonizers. However, the west was taken as superior in the material domain (the domain of economy and of the state craft, of science and technology) and hence the experience of the western nations was to be replicated. The Constitution of India itself provides the best example of the acceptance of the western thought and practice (enlightened thought) which is most eloquently articulated in it. The key institutions of modern state - liberal democracy, universal adult franchise, an independent judiciary, citizenship, secularism, institutions of governance – were all put in place in

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the formative year (Austin: 2000). Given the framework for the new republic, the institution of planning was expected to carve out a modern nation state. In other words, the all-powerful, all-knowing state, taking the help of a body of experts, was to set the development agenda and its governance arm was to execute the agenda (Chatterjee: 2000). Other authors introduce a critique of the 'original' state-idea. Madan (1987) and Nandy (1990) see the roots of crisis in the state due to alien western institutions imposed by the westernised elite on the ordinary masses. Western democracy for the masses was alien and religion was 'the' principle for governing the social conduct. The people are not ready to accept that beliefs cherished by them hold no or minimal value in the public domain. According to them, this is the source of crisis in the Indian state often reflected on the question of secularism. These informed debates about the character of the Indian state help us build on these insights for a possibly new thinking on the state. Though there is no rational view on the formation of the state but mainly two approaches interpret the nature of the Indian states. These are liberal and Marxist.

Check Your Progress

1. What do you understand by State and what are the important elements of a State?
2. Is the Indian state an Idea or is it a system?

1.5 Approaches to Study the nature of Indian State

In this section let us discuss different approaches to the study of Indian State.

1.5.1 Liberal Approach

The liberal approach stressed on institution and processes as the key to understanding the state and political power. It recognises the need for development and social change. To study the nature of any particular state, it is necessary to analyse the relation between state, power, and social classes and the purpose of the state. The liberal democratic form stands on the foundation of democracy. It sees the state as a democratic state where rule

of the people is implemented with freedom of speech and expression, free and periodic elections, a responsible and accountable government, independent judiciary, rule of law etc. Through rule of law it prevents chaos and anarchy in the society which restricts absolute freedom but creates freedom within the law for all citizens. This approach emphasised the primacy and independence of political processes. This is evident from the writings of Rajni Kothari, S. Rudolph and F. Frankel. Liberal scholars have stressed the need of acceptance of the centrality of state as an autonomous actors or relative autonomy, where state has to play a highly interventionist developmental role. Further rule of one party in India i.e. Congress party's dominance for nearly four decades had helped to strengthen the political base for the emergence of a strong state. It emerged as Independent from colonial rule under Indian national Congress which transformed itself into a ruling party and acquired the characteristic of an accommodating party. Political scientists like Rajni Kothari, Norman Palmer and Morris Jones have subscribed to the Liberal modernist perspective. Rajni Kothari commented on Indian model as a society of 'dominant political centre' which is characterised by plural identities. He considered the existence of pluralist tolerance and a genius for integration as the important factors for the successful establishment of Democracy in India.

Morris Jones focus was on the working of political institutions and processes to understand the nature of state in India. He gave the importance to Democratic institutions in bringing the transformation at different levels. He stressed on the "capability of political institutions in bringing about economic and social change". It was assumed that "with a liberal democratic constitutional system and universal suffrage, the Indian political system would gradually develop its own processes of democratic decision- making, rational administration, and modern citizenship". This combination of "democratic ideology, economic development, distributive justice provided a unique opportunity of transforming a traditionally apolitical society in which the state became the central instrument and politics the principal agent of transformation. This shows the optimistic picture of political institutions and democratic processes.

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The liberal critique of the Indian state can be read in the writings of Rajni Kothari, Atul Kohli, The Rudolphs, Gunnar Myrdal. Gunnar Myrdal criticized the inability of the state to enforce public policies to eradicate poverty or to enforce laws and dubbed the institutional model of the Indian state as “soft state”. According to Myrdal, the Indian state was soft as it had no power to rectify institutions that stood in the way of reform and development. As a result, it could not tackle the institution of caste directly, take measures of effective land reform, eradicate corruption or enforce ideas of development effectively through the people. One consequence of this softness has been the growth of left-wing extremism, which Manmohan Singh called the “gravest internal threat” to the country’s security. Myrdal’s “hard state” would have been able to tackle Naxalism which has gravely affected the nation. The liberal approach focuses on institutions and processes to understand state and political power in India. The state is considered the central instrument of social progress and principal agent of transformation. According to the Rudolphs, there are two groups characterised in the Indian state, one being the “owners of production” and the other being the ‘labourer’ group. They analysed the state as a mediator between these two conflicting groups, and in doing so, must remain autonomous in order to maintain structural unity of the state. The role of the state would hence be the “third actor”. The Rudolphs believe in the Indian state as a weak –strong state. It is strong because of large basic industries, ideology of secularism Democracy, Socialism and mixed economy that has minimized conflicts. It is weak because of caste class conflicts, religious fundamentalism and communalism, rising levels of political mobilization etc.

1.5.2 Marxist Approach

Then there is Marxist approach where political economy is the vital factor. State is the most important vehicle of economic development. It ascribes a partisan role to the state in the ongoing class struggle between the ruling class and the ruled. Marxist would have described the Indian state responsible for constituting a social order which maintains hegemony of capital over labour and seeks to reproduce this relationship. This was the main intellectual counterpoint of western political thought, beginning with Plato and Aristotle. This considered the state essential to the maintenance of order and

civilisation. Marxist argued that the state emerged historically along with the division of society into a ruling class that enjoyed leisure and privilege, while the mass of people were limited to make a living and were exploited as slaves and proletarians in the overall evolution of society from the ancient period to the modern one. Later Marx was convinced that the state could be abolished when the proletariat had won the class struggle, something that he believed was inevitable.

Communist party of India describes India as a national bourgeoisie state which has the possibility of moving peacefully towards socialism by following a non-capitalist path of development. The Indian capitalist class is today, after more than seven decades of post-independence, a class which has expanded and undergone some important changes. At the time of independence itself, there was a big bourgeoisie, which dominated this class as a whole. But the outlook of this big bourgeoisie has undergone a significant change. It was the big bourgeoisie which spelt out the type of capitalist development that was undertaken in India from the 1950s: (a) a class which understood the international situation and its own base in Indian society. It needed the Indian State to accumulate capital and develop capitalism. The State capitalism, which the Indian ruling classes sponsored, played a two-fold role. It enabled the development of capitalism within a constrained framework. A model of capitalist development without a thorough going agrarian revolution, which necessitated a compromise with landlordism and the development of agrarian capitalism from above relying on landlords and the rich peasants. (b) The subordinate position of the Indian bourgeoisie vis a vis world capitalism required the organic link with foreign finance capital and reliance on this imperialist capital to advance the path of capitalist development. (c) Such a capitalist development could have a relative degree of autonomy in a situation where there was the existence of the Soviet Union and a socialist bloc; the bourgeois-landlord classes in India could utilise the conflicts between the two blocs and manoeuvre to strengthen its own position to a limited extent. Academic Marxist like A.R. Desai called India a capitalist state. A “bourgeoisie constitution” as he named the Indian constitution, argued that initially inclusion of right to property in the constitution was to give the right to income through ownership which resulted in social

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inequalities. Further Indian Planning based on mixed economy accepted a class structure based on private ownership as the basis for economic development. He said the tilt of mixed economy is towards private sector. On the same lines, C.P. Bhambari has highlighted the conflict within the ruling classes and a relative weakening of the state.

Hamza Alvi has argued that India as a post-colonial state had relative economy in mediating the competing interests of the ruling classes. There exist some specific conditions which helped the state to play an autonomous role in post-colonial states. He contends that there is no classbased politics in India and there are multi- class parties like Congress, the weakness of indigenous propertied class allows the Indian state a great measure of relative autonomy. On the same lines another scholar Partha Chatterjee says that there has been a coalition of dominant classes since independence. The power was shared with landed elites to exercise control over the state. A Marxist understanding of the Indian state shows the class character of the state, serving the dominant classes and using coercive means to safeguard their socio- economic structure, if need be.

1.5.3 Gandhian Approach

Gandhian approach to study the nature of state is based on the concept of Swaraj. It means absence of alien rule and establishment of self-Government. He considered state a necessary evil and supported Thoreau's dictum that "that Government is the best which governs the least". It says that Government is best when interference with people's liberties and rights is minimum. In Gandhi's assessment, the state (Western type) was the symbol of violence in concentrated form. In order to ensure allegiance from the citizens the state (which means its authority) applies coercion or violent measures mercilessly. Once he said, "the individual has a soul but the state is a soulless machine, the state can never be weaned away from violence to which it owes its existence". In other words, Gandhi treated both state and violence or coercion synonymous. He further says that there is a state but not violence or coercion in any form cannot be imagined. He gathered experience in South Africa that more and more power to the state meant more and more violence or greater amount of coercion. In the name of the

maintenance of law and order the South Africa's white government acquired enormous power and this led to the ruthless administration, exploitation and curtailment of individuals' liberty. He once said that a political organisation based on violence would never receive his approval. Rather, he is always afraid of such an organisation. What he felt about the Western state system is quite explicit in a comment which he made, "I look upon an increase in the power of the state with greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good by minimising exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which is at the root of progress".

From the above analysis it is absolutely clear that Gandhi rejected the state of Western model on the ground that it represented violence or coercion. Now the question is why did he oppose violence so much? The modern state, according to Gandhi, was about to destroy individuality—that individual freedom and spontaneous urge to work. Secondly, the individualism is the root cause of progress. Gandhi believed that nothing could be done by applying coercion. Again, the individual cannot be forced to do any work against his will or spontaneous desire. To put it in other words, according to Gandhi the progress of the society can be achieved through the functions which the individuals perform willingly. Under any circumstances the individual's freedom cannot be sacrificed.

Gandhi's Swaraj means Government by the consent and participation of the people. For him direct democracy is impossible in a large country like India. After independence the constitution makers of India adopted some features of Gandhian state. Some of these are stress on egalitarian Society, untouchability and special care towards the weaker sections of society. In fact, he wanted to establish decentralization of power through Panchayat Raj System all over India. Further he justified the existence of state in terms of the functions it performs, so long as and to the extent it performs the functions which lead to the good, welfare and upliftment of all human beings. Gandhi said that the state is an evil but a necessary institution. The function of the state should be limited. The states interfere in peoples matters while they perform it. The state, according to Gandhi should only perform coordinate functions. He said a government is best which governs the least. The state must protect the life and liberty of the people". He says that

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Western democracy is not the real one as it is based on majority rule and meets the opposition party by force. According to him, true democracy is free from violence. It is one where opposition meets by arguments and instead of majority decision, consensus decisions are taken.

In true democracy, only those people have a right to contest elections that have full faith in non-violence, truth and love. Gandhi wanted to establish a stateless society but he realized that it was not practical. He conceived that the state is a means not an end. He strongly opposed the absolute power and unlimited sovereignty of the state. He was in favour of limited sovereignty to the state. He stated that the primary aim of the state is to realize the maximum welfare of the maximum number of people. He advocated putting checks on the arbitrary, absolute and unrestrained use of sovereign power of the state. Gandhi opposed the parliamentary form of government based on majority rule and representation system. He further argued that “parliament does not exercise its powers in reality and was not more than a toy for passing time by the legislators. The rule of the majority in a parliamentary system is not just and right, it is unacceptable. The opposition parties meet by brute force of majority rather than arguments, convictions and consensus”.

Gandhi denounced the representative institutions and the representation system. He opposed giving the right to vote to all adult citizens. He favours the right to vote to the citizen who has put physical labour and has served the society. He argued that “the holistic system of the Gandhian political economy is based on four basic axioms or pillars, such as truth, non-violence, non-attachment to worldly wealth and welfare of all”. These four axioms provide the basis for some fundamental principles in consonance with those of heterodox political economy.

He assumed simple living at the level of production as well as consumption. He preferred simple technology rather than the heavy industries and argued that simple technology provided mass employment, whereas advanced technology created vast unemployment. Gandhi preferred production by the masses over mass production by heavy machinery. Gandhi argues that the landlords and the capitalists should not consider themselves as the sole proprietors of their possessions. They are the trustees for the service of humanity. He proposed private property but for the benefit of society. The

property of every individual should be used for the service of society and not for personal use alone. Gandhi's debate on egalitarian society made him a staunch votary of classless society. He conceived that the division of labour was inevitable among the individuals of society. Nevertheless, class division in the society is not unswervingly allied to the division of labour. Gandhi wanted to establish an ideal state through non-state polity, individual cooperation and non-violent methods. For that purpose he preferred an enlightened anarchy under which socially responsible and morally disciplined men and women would not harm one another and would not need any polity.

Gandhi knew it was not achievable, therefore, he plumped for ordered anarchy in which citizens enjoy maximum freedom consistent with minimum necessary or order. Gandhi prescribed three elements of ordered anarchy such as the non-violent state through village republics, Swaraj and Ram-Rajya. The non-violent state is constituted of small self-governing and relatively self-sufficient village communities based on moral and social pressure. These communities will have their own political structures as per the composition of panchayat . On the other hand swaraj means self-rule or true democracy. The debate of Gandhi on Democracy is similar to his idea of true democracy. Gandhi strongly claimed that political, economic, and moral swaraj is possible when Ram-Rajya would prevail in society. Ram-Rajya stands for the victory of the forces of good over the forces of evil. Being an individualist, Gandhi was largely concerned about the life, liberty and security of the individual with love, - affection and goodwill. Thereby, Gandhi urges Ram-Rajya as a type of state that upholds the creative and fraternity qualities among the individual. It is a state which is based on the denial of power and renunciation of the use of force. It is guided by the sense of equality, morality, humanity, truth, peace and cooperation.

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Check Your Progress

1. What are the various approaches to understand the nature of Indian State?
2. What are the various forms in which modern state is described?

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1.6 Summing Up

After reading this unit you have learnt that, the State plays an important role in the overall development of human beings. The modern State is commonly described in two broad forms- 'liberal democratic' and 'totalitarian'. Another description that has emerged in recent times about State is that of 'welfare state'. The Indian constitution has promised its citizens a sovereign, democratic, secular and socialist, republic. From this unit you have also learnt that there are different approaches to study of Indian state like liberal, Marxist and Gandhian approach etc. The liberal approach stressed on institution and processes as the key to understanding the state and political power. The liberal critique of the Indian state can be read in the writings of Rajni Kothari, Atul Kohli, The Rudolphs, Gunnar Myrdal. From this unit you have also learnt that in the Marxist approach political economy is the vital factor. Moreover, now you have also understood that the Marxist understanding of the Indian state shows the class character of the state, serving the dominant classes and using coercive means to safeguard their socio- economic structure, if need be. Contrary to this, Gandhi was of the opinion that the state is an evil but a necessary institution. This unit has also helped you in learning that the function of the state should be limited. Gandhi urges Ram-Rajya as a type of state that upholds the creative and fraternity qualities among the individual. It is a state which is based on the denial of power and renunciation of the use of force. It is guided by the sense of equality, morality, humanity, truth, peace and cooperation.

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**THE DEVELOPMENTALIST STATE: CHANGE AND
CONTINUITY**

Unit Structure:

- 2.1 Introduction**
- 2.2 Objectives**
- 2.3 Developmentalist State: Understanding the Meaning**
- 2.4 The Nehruvian State: the initiation of a Planned Economy**
- 2.5 The Approach to a Liberal State**
- 2.6 Liberalisation of Indian Economy**
- 2.7 Post Liberalisation Era**
- 2.8 The Current Scenario**
- 2.9 Summing Up**
- 2.10 References and Suggested Readings**

2.1 Introduction:

The saga of democracy in India is long despite being so diverse. However, the Indian state right after Independence was bolstered with many problems all together. The post independence euphoria was marred by partition related violence across borders. Apart from this, the problem of refugee settlement, organization and re-organisation of the states, political conflict over language had plagued the country just after independence. Another major issue staring at the policy makers was regarding restructuring of Indian economy, which as alleged by some scholars, was left in shambles by the colonial rule. The task at the hands of the policy makers was to revive the two major sectors of Indian economy – agriculture and industry. Economy of India at that point of time had experienced low levels of productivity and mass poverty and lack of awareness made the situation worse. Both politics and economy had to break the shackles of feudal power structure which was more or less felt during the British period too. This made the policy makers to relook on the Indian economy or to be precise Indian political economy.

The policy makers were however, divided on two issues as far as political economy in India was concerned, and they were –

1. Which sector should be given precedence - agriculture or industry?
2. Who will take the driver's seat to steer the economy – public sector (state) or private sector?

Based on these two queries, the future course of the economy progressed and depending on the larger political framework the Indian state had transformed its position from time to time. This unit thereby tries to highlight how Indian state had witnessed a sea-change transformation in the political economy arena since its very inception. The unit has tried to focus on how the very connotation of development of Indian state has changed over time and the policies introduced by various governments are largely reflective of the same.

2.2 Objectives:

This unit is an attempt to analyse the nature of developmentalist state in India to decipher its change and continuity. After going through this unit you will be able to

- *explain* the meaning of developmentalist state
- *discuss* the various phases of changing nature of Indian state as far as development is concerned
- *explain* the reform in the economic sector in 1991
- *examine* the post reform phase of the Indian state and its role in the present scenario.

2.3 Developmentalist State: Understanding the Meaning

The notion of developmentalist state is often placed in opposition to the idea of liberal state. However, both can co-exist with each other. These are the kind of states which prioritises economic development and does it through both state regulation and giving extensive powers to their respective bureaucratic structures. The idea was floated by the Brazilian political scientists and economists in the 1950s. They saw it as an economic strategy that facilitated the process of rapid industrialization in Brazil. In this context, it is pertinent to mention the name of Helio Jaguaribe here who stated that “the core thesis of developmentalism is that the promotion of

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economic development and the consolidation of nationality stand as two correlated aspects of a single emancipatory process”¹.

The connotation of the ‘Developmental State’, however, was first developed by Chalmers Johnson². He used it to describe the model of economic planning a particular country took resort to. This model is mostly true for the East Asian countries. It was initially used to describe post-1945 Japan and its rapid modernisation and growth. A simple definition of it is provided by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia. They defined it as - “A Developmental State is a state where the government is intimately involved in the macro and micro economic planning in order to grow the economy”, with the addition “whilst attempting to deploy its resources in developing better lives for the people”³. Countries like South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong have also followed such a type of economy. Johnson further added that Japan resorted to this form of economy as a means of nationalism to thwart colonial powers majorly the United States. He wrote, “economic development in this country was a means for overcoming depression, war preparations, warfighting, post-war reconstruction, and independence from U.S. aid”⁴. However he added, “Japanis was a case of ‘an economy mobilized for war but never demobilized during peacetime’”⁵.

Thus the very idea of the developmental state is characterized by state’s control of the finances which also in due course of time got extended to labour relations, autonomy of the economic bureaucracy, the combination of incentives and command structures, and the existence of the zaibatsu (or the Korean chaebol, or Chinese business groups)⁶. In these countries, the bureaucracy (or the ‘state bureaucracy’) also has a pivotal role to play. Johnson defines it as ‘a powerful social group with predictable and coherent interests’⁷. The selection procedure of the bureaucrats is different as they mostly are law graduates and are appointed on the basis of a centralized scheme of examinations. Johnson elaborates on the functions of the bureaucrats as the state assign them extra legal powers of ‘administrative guidance’, which almost goes unrestrained (thereby, judiciary and legislature are relegated to the background). The bureaucracy is entrusted with the duties of drafting laws, ordinances, orders, regulations etc⁸.

Apart from Chalmer Johnson, Peter Evans also has his view on the idea of the Developmental State. In his book *Embedded Autonomy* he threw light on the developmental state in Northeast Asia. While describing his views on the developmental state, he took recourse to Weberian model of bureaucratic insulation and focused on the social context of the said geographical area. According to him, the autonomy of the state depends upon the social ties with different social groups that the state develops over a period of time⁹. He also espoused the view that the developmental state will only be successful if it is based on the notion of meritocratic bureaucracy with a hunch towards corporate entity and essentially private elites¹⁰.

In India also, the developmental model was adopted by the policy makers who unanimously accepted that only through industrialization economic growth in the country is possible and that the state must take control of this very process. The next unit delves into how the idea of developmental state in India flourished during the initial years of independence.

Stop to Consider

Developmental models refer to those where preponderance is given to the economic sector and state is given the primary role of regulating the economy. Many analysts namely Chalmer Johnsons and Peter Evans had set forth their views on this form of model. Many Countries of the world has adopted this developmental model of economic development. As mentioned the above unit, most of the South Asian countries like Japan, South Korea, Hongkong, Singapore had adhered to it. In this context, it would be very interesting to chart out a comparative analysis of this development model in these different countries.

2.4 The Nehruvian State -the initiation of a Planned Economy:

The most obvious prevailing feature of India during its independence was its retarded economic development. As Dadabhai Naoroji puts it, the Indian economy during the colonial period had experienced massive 'drain of wealth' (in the form of salary, taxes and gifts) that further impoverished the country¹¹.

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The GDP of India was at a slow growth rate of less than 0.9% just before independence and it rose to 4% per annum after independence¹². Taking into account this grim scenario on the economic front, the policy makers headed by the then Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru decided that the state would control the economy. This was done for a political purpose too as a newly independent country like India didn't want to lease out such an important sector to the private sectors, which would have compromised their newly experienced national sovereignty. Also state wanted to take the driver's seat to improvise the condition of people with extreme poverty and deprivation which wouldn't have been possible for the profit driven private players. Again, the policy making after independence was influenced by the Nehruvian ideology.

Nehru was a strong supporter of the model of democratic centralization (like the model followed in USSR) and advocated that only through a system of planning economic development is possible. In this context, one also needs to mention about Bombay Plan and the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 which proposed state-led economic development for India. Bombay plan which was brought into fore in 1944 by some prominent industrialists of that time paved the way for intervention of the state in the economic development of the nation. They stated that industries had chances of better productivity and can generate more employment as compared to agriculture¹³. In tune with the Bombay Plan, the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 proposed active role of the state in the process of industrialization. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 also put focus on a 'planned' way of the economy in India. Planning, it suggested would consist of certain targets that the country aimed to achieve within a given period of time. This is done through allocating investments in different sectors. Accordingly, a Planning Commission was formed in 1950 as a non-statutory advisory body with Prime Minister as the Chairman. The first plan which prioritized the agriculture sector was put into place from 1950-55. The second plan was more properly structured one as compared to the first. Well known as the fallout of the Nehru-Mahalonobis strategy, the second plan divided the economy into two sector – capital goods sector and consumer goods sector. Thus, the industrial policy of the Indian state in the post independence period was based on import-substitution industrialization. The model of economic development is popularly known as *dirigisme* model. As a result of this

model, the economy of the country was dependent on the productivity of the agricultural sector though with a bias towards heavy industries. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 propounded a mixed-economy model of development for India whereby both public (state) and private industries co-exist. This policy demarcated as the sectors of public and private sectors. Public sector would look after important sectors like Defence, Atomic Energy, Railways etc. and private sectors was entrusted with other sector on the basis of a licensing system. Thereby, this policy resolution extended the intervention of state to more sectors as compared to the first resolution of 1948¹⁴. The power of the Planning Commission had also increased by then and many gave it the title of ‘super cabinet’¹⁵. However, the situation had changed as soon as Lal Bahadur Shastri became the Prime Minister and the following unit will focus on that.

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Check Your Progress 1

- Q1: What is the economic condition of India right after Independence?
- Q2: State two reasons for the State control of Indian economy in the initial days after independence.
- Q:3 Discuss the significance of the Industrial Policy Resolutions in the development of Indian economy.

2.5 The Approach to a Liberal State:

After the Sino-Indian war of 1962, India was reeling under severe economic crisis and after the death of Jawaharlal Nehru in 1964 the political-economic scenario of India had changed a bit. The defense expenditure had increased due to Indo-Pakistan war that followed soon after. Moreover the country faced decline in food grain production and inflation¹⁶. Hence, the situation demanded some structural changes. Lal Bahadur Shastri, who succeeded Nehru, had prioritized agriculture; significantly reduced the power of the Planning Commission devalued the rupee, liberalized imports, reduced size of public sector and increased foreign investment¹⁷.

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Indira Gandhi, who held the helm of affairs after Shastri's sudden demise, followed Shastri's policy for some point of time. The war with Pakistan in 1965 had hit the economy very hard. Added to this were the droughts of 1965 and 1966. Hence, India had to ship US PL 480 wheat. The government was short of finance for the fourth plan (1969-1974) and depended largely on external sources. The country already had two years of plan holiday. So, India sought technical and financial assistance from the US which paved the way for 'green revolution' in India. This mainly brought about a revolution in two ways – by introducing high yielding variety (HYV) seeds, advanced machines for farming, irrigation facilities etc. This helped non-rice eating states (as it focused more on production of wheat) like Haryana, Punjab and doubled the wheat output of India. This process, was criticized as it benefited only a certain section of people who could afford to buy these machines. However, it helped Indian economy to overcome food crisis and poverty.

By 1969, Mrs. Gandhi also changed her stand and participation of private sectors was restricted in many sectors of the economy. She went on a spree of nationalisation which touched sectors like insurance, banks, coal, wheat etc. The Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act was introduced which debarred monopolies and imposed restrictions on certain big private companies (with assets more than 20 crores) in the economy. The next act in line was the Foreign Exchange Regulatory Act (1974) which reduced the rate of equity of the foreign companies from 51% to 40%¹⁸. This change in the stand of Mrs. Gandhi, however, had political linkage and this is very much associated with the inner party conflict within the Congress Party. Mrs. Gandhi had faced oppositions for many of her policies specially from senior leaders like Kamraj and Morarji Desai. This made her to align herself with the left parties¹⁹ and the political and economic policies that followed thereafter reflected the same. However, this idea of state control of the economy didn't result in ameliorating poverty and the poverty ratio deteriorated in the following years.

The following years (from 1975) saw an authoritarian side of Mrs. Gandhi who imposed emergency and the very idea of democracy was put aside. The press was significantly censored²⁰, the judiciary was sidelined²¹ and the country witnessed the rule of her coterie of loyalists well supported by her son Sanjay Gandhi. Her undemocratic stance faced opposition from many

and more prominently Jay Prakash Narayan. However, almost all the opposition leaders were put behind the bars. At this point of time, Mrs. Gandhi initiated certain pro-poor policies in the form of the Twenty point Programme. This programme encompassed various sectors like poverty, employment, education, housing, health, agriculture, land reforms etc. Along with this, her son Sanjay Gandhi also came up with his five point programme. Two of these, namely forced sterilization as a measure of family planning and beautification of city by destroying the slums had invited flak from majority. As a fall out of these, Congress lost the election in 1977 and the first non-Congress government led by Morarji Desai was formed at the centre. However, Congress under the Prime Ministership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi regained power and her second tenure saw a significant change in her policies in the political-economy arena. This made analysts argue that in this phase (1980s onwards) the idea of the developmental state in India 'imploded'²². The following section will stress on that.

After coming back to power in 1980, Mrs. Indira Gandhi had completely over-turned her earlier policies. From 1970s her emphasis was on removing poverty and her slogan of 'Garibi hatao' found consonance with the masses. However, poverty wasn't reduced much and moreover this didn't benefit her vote-bank. Apart from that the middle class was already offended with her due to her abuse of power during the emergency. So this time her focus was on catching the attention of the middle class. Hence, there was cut in direct taxes; tax was exempted for both income and wealth taxes and surcharge on income tax was also halved²³. The consumer goods were made available and cheaper and excise duties were also reduced on them²⁴. The 1980s also saw a change in government's effort on poverty reduction. Land reforms were abandoned and public investment in agriculture started declining²⁵. This soft attitude towards the corporate sector was also because of the fact that they financed most of her election funding. Hence, at that point of time the politicians and the bureaucrats maintained very good relations with the industrialists. Mrs. Gandhi further passed the Industrial Policy Statement in 1980 which brought in certain macro-economic reforms as suggested by the IMF²⁶. She also sought for funds from IMF after the second oil shock in 1979. Most parts of the Monopoly and Trade Practices Act were relaxed and this helped the private companies to expand their business. This period also saw the decline of the licensing system and the private sectors were allowed to open industrial units in certain sectors.

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Rajiv Gandhi came to power after the assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984. Very much like his mother, Rajiv Gandhi also wanted to promote the private sector. He also made sufficient liberalization of credit towards the large companies²⁷. He had a hunch towards electronics and technological equipments and focused on technological development by welcoming private sectors into it. He entered into a joint venture with the Suzuki Corporation of Japan for the development of automobile industry in India. He de-licensed 30 industries and 82 pharmaceutical companies²⁸. Apart from these, his tenure also deregulated the telecommunication services. This made Atul Kohli argue that the tenures of Mrs. Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi had inclination towards ‘big businesses’²⁹. Thus, their tenures paved the way for liberal reforms in India.

Stop to Consider

The developmental state in India saw both change and continuity in the years from 1964 to 1991. Lal Bahadur Shastri started off on a liberal note and had a welcoming stand towards the private players. But Indira Gandhi during her first stint as the Prime Minister was vehemently in opposition with the corporate sectors. She sided with the left and brought in mostly pro-poor policies. However, the situation transformed when he resumed office in 1980. She started favoring the corporate players and made them an important part of the economic development of the nation. The same policy was emulated by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

SAQ

Do you think the rule of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi marked a shift away from the development model of the Indian state? State reasons for your answer. (10+80 words)

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2.6 Liberalisation of Economy:

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The Indian economy was facing severe financial crisis in 1990s. This needs to be understood within a larger political framework. There was widening gap between government expenditure and revenue. The changing political climate made the government to cater to a large number of interests groups many of them who were hitherto sidelined by the policy makers. It was only in 1989, a large number of lower castes groups came to the limelight with the implementation of the Mandal Commission. The commission reserved 27% seats for the Other Backward Classes in government jobs³⁰. The fiscal deficit worsened with the Gulf War of 1990 and with the increase in oil prices. The economic reforms in India were very much influenced by the paper written by Montek Singh Ahluwalia in 1990. In his paper, he recommended freedom for foreign capital, devaluation of the rupee, closure of non-profitable public units etc.

During this period of time, the international political economic sphere had witnessed significant change. Political leaders in United States and United Kingdom, Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan had embraced the liberal framework by then. In 1991, the USSR also disintegrated as a result of Gorbachev's policy of Glasnost and Perestroika, which focused on restructuring the economy. The world was approaching towards a uni-polar system with US being the dominant country. This signaled an ideological shift in majority countries. The idea of developmental model was gradually fading away and there was increasing consensus for an enlarged role of the market. This ideology popularly known as the Washington Consensus' was promoted by international institutions like IMF and World Bank.

In the early part of 1991, India's fiscal deficit was at 9% of its GDP. To withstand such a situation, then Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh designed the budget and suggested curb in defence expenditure, cuts in subsidies in sugar, fertilizers and other items to be exported³¹. The inflation was also high during this period. Added to this was the internal political climate of the country which was experiencing unstable government at the centre, regionalistic and secessionist movements from nook and corner of the country. Compelled by the prevailing grim situation, India borrowed a huge amount of loan from the International Monetary Fund but this amount

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had conditions attached with it. IMF very tactfully managed India for comprehensive economic reforms. India had to open its economy, welcomed private players and predominant role of the state was significantly reduced.

The economic reforms were a package of two components together – a) Stabilisation of the economy and b) Structural Adjustment in the economy³².

a) **Stabilisation of the Economy:** This was suggested by the IMF and this aimed to stabilize prices and balance of payment deficits. The IMF recommended of two ways for achieving these. First, through deflation or reducing government expenditure. Second through initiating a strict monetary policy³³.

b) **Structural Adjustment in the economy:** World Bank recommended this strategy whereby they suggested that domestic prices should be in tandem with international prices that private players should be allowed in the domestic economy which would further be deregulated³⁴.

Thus, with the economic reforms of 1991, the developmental model was sidelined as India embraced Privatisation, Liberalisation and Globalisation of the economy. The Nehru-Mahalonobis Strategy stands reversed. However, it needs analysis whether this model of economic development was successful or not and next unit will focus on that.

Check Your Progress 2

Q1. Why did India liberalise its economy? State reasons for your answer.

Q2. What are the two main dimensions of India's Economic Policy of 1991?

2.7 Post Liberalisation Era:

The initial years after the economic reforms, there was considerable economic growth. There was rise in the tertiary sector whereas agricultural arena fell behind other sectors and the increasing rate of farmer suicides is a reflection of this. Due to the policy of deflation, the government has curbed its spending

on most of the sectors and this included agriculture also. Along with agriculture traditional industries like handloom industry had also suffered because of this. The poverty rate also didn't show much improvement and even in 2004-05 it was as high as 37%. And in 2011-12, almost 25% of India's population lives in absolute poverty³⁵. Also, the inequality has increased from 29.6% to 36.8% in the period from 1991-2010³⁶. The secondary sector and particularly manufacturing was lagging behind. Though foreign exchange reserves showed some improvement, yet after the Global Economic Crisis of 2008 it declined too. The economic reforms nevertheless helped certain sectors to flourish and here mention should be made of the service sector thanks to the boom in the IT industry. However, the share of agriculture in the GDP has declined (from 55% in 1950 to about 13% in 2015)³⁷. Thus, though the reform achieved its short-term objectives it utterly failed in getting its long term objectives of ameliorating poverty, unemployment and this further widened the gap between the have and have-nots³⁸.

The involvement of tremendous foreign capital was reflected in BJP's (who is known for its pro-liberal stand) 'Shining India Campaign' during the election of 2004 where neo-liberal reforms in India was eulogized³⁹. By 2004, almost all the parties had found peace with the neo-liberal reforms. BJP, however, opposed it initially when they brought in their concept of 'Swadeshi Liberalisation' and promoted indigenous products and internal economic liberalisation⁴⁰. Even the Communists who were staunch critic of the liberal reforms, changed their stance afterwards thus welcoming the new terminology of 'Corporate Communism'⁴¹.

Tele-communication revolution that started in the late 1990s and very evident today also signaled tremendous foreign investment and this in a way catered to the middle class⁴². However, India still lags behind other countries as far as manufacturing sector is concerned. Hence, now the government has brought in the "Made in India Campaign" to increase the share of GDP of this sector to 25 by this year⁴³.

The industrial growth rate has also decreased from 1950s. During the period from 1950-1991 it was 6.32% annually while in the period from 1991-2012 it stands at 6.28%⁴⁴. This is despite government's attempt at

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promoting industrialisation through the creation of Special Economic Zones for infrastructure and industrial development.

Despite the process of liberalization, Indian economy hasn't witnessed exponential growth. By 2000, the tariff rates in India were 30% and GDP was 25% which was low by international standards⁴⁵. India hasn't even gone nearer of executing the Millennium Development Goals as put forth by the United Nations.

An important pre-requisite for the success of a developmental state model is that the state should be autonomous from the power elites. The success stories of the developmental model of South Korea and Taiwan speaks volume about this. However as argued by Francine Frankel and Pranab Bardhan⁴⁶, in Indian state the pre-dominance of three classes of people in a way sabotages the autonomy of the state. These three classes according to them are – the rich farmers in India, its industrial bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats. Thereby, one can say that the developmental state in India was in its heydays during the Nehruvian period of the dirigiste regime, however it had declined over the period and the state has been significantly sidelined in the post-reform period. The private players have invaded many sectors which hitherto lied with the public sector. In some areas like Railways, Posts the role of the state is still intact. The concept of PPP (public private partnership) is on the rise in the present time where both the public and the private sector work in tandem with each other. Thus the role of the state in India had changed depending upon the context. During independence, the active role of the state was required. However, taking into account the present scenario the initiatives of the private sector can't be undermined as state alone can't shoulder many responsibilities alone.

2.8 The Current Scenario:

The idea of two Indias came out very prominently after the economic reforms. One India belonged to those super affluent people for whom India is a land of shopping malls and fancy multinational outlets like Mc. Donalds, Nike, Zara. Other India belonged to the major chunk of India's population who cannot even two meals a day, cannot provide themselves with the best health care facilities and somehow survive amidst deplorable condition. The Covid pandemic has further pushed them backwards as many of them lost their jobs. It had hit the informal sector the most.

In a nutshell, it can be said that after 30 years of neo-liberal reforms in India, there has been a little improvement in the GDP of the country (though the current pandemic and the lockdown has resulted in sharp decline of the same), foreign direct investment and stabilized balance of payments issue but in significant sectors like social sectors (poverty, education, health, employment generation, agriculture) India is yet to achieve a lot.

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Check Your Progress

- Q1. How has the neo-liberal reform affected India's economy? Discuss.
Q2. Write a note on the present scenario of India Economy.

2.9 Summing Up:

The present chapter basically took into account the role of the state in the Indian economy and its change over the period. The concept of developmental state was brought in which means that the economic sphere needs to be prioritized and state need to play a dominant role in it. For the theoretical understanding of the developmental state, names of LuizCarlosBresser-Pereira, Chalmer Johnson and Peter Evans are invoked. While Pereira described it in the context of Brazilian economy, Johnson used it for analyzing economy in East-Asian countries and Evans did it for the countries of North-East Asia. Bringing this in the context of India, one can say that during the initial years after independence this idea was very much in fashion but it changed with time. Due to the prevailing economic condition of India at the time of independence the policy makers decided that the state should take control of the economic affairs of the state. However, all of them agreed to the fact only through industrialization economic development is possible. However situation changed from the 1980s onwards, as during the tenure of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi, Indian gradually opened its economy. The 1991 witnessed a watershed moment in the history of India with the start of neo-liberal reforms in India. Thus, the idea of the developmental state with these reforms was kept at bay. If we analyse the present situation the connotation of the developmental state doesn't seem to be in vogue. The private players have become a significant (if not necessary) factor of the economy. The idea of economic

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development of India in the current scenario seems to be incomplete without the intervention of the private sector. Hence, it can be said the idea of developmental state started on a good note but with time it faded away.

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- ¹⁹ In this context, it can also be mentioned that this alliance with the Left helped the Presidential Candidate supported by her, V. V. Giri to win the elections in 1969 over Neelam Sanjiva Reddy (who was supported by many Congress leaders) with only a narrow majority. This also led to a split in the Congress party (Mukherji, 2009)
- ²⁰ This period marked severe curtailing of 'freedom of expression' which took the form of censorship of media. Any news, cartoon, photographs or ads which were seen to be even slightly critical of the govt. were censored. In December, 1975, by an ordinance, the Press Council was abolished. In February 1976, the govt. forced the merger of four independent news channels into a single news agency called Samachar, which functioned under effective govt. control.
- ²¹ The executive during this period intervened into the functioning of the Judiciary. Mention here should be made to appointment of A. N. Ray (who was a confidant of Mrs. Gandhi) as the Chief Justice of India by surpassing senior judges Shelat, Grover and Hegde. Also the judiciary and executive engaged in a tussle then over the amendment of Fundamental Rights.
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NEHRUVIAN MODEL: GREEN REVOLUTION

Unit Structure:

- 3.1 Introduction**
- 3.2 Objectives**
- 3.3 Nehruvian Ideology : Vision**
- 3.4 Nehruvian Perspective**
 - 3.4.1 Main features of Nehruvian Model**
 - 3.4.2 Economic Policies**
 - 3.4.3 Agrarian Reforms**
- 3.5 Concept of Green Revolution**
- 3.6 Main Features of Green Revolution**
 - 3.6.1 Merits and Demerits of Green Revolution**
- 3.7 Green Revolution: A Model Operation**
- 3.8 Summing Up**
- 3.9 References and Suggested Readings**

3.1 Introduction

The word 'Nehruvian' is associated with Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964). **Jawaharlal Nehru**, the first Prime Minister of India into whose hands the steering wheel of the destiny of the nation was first entrusted, had an entirely different vision of new India. He wanted to modernise India as fast as possible and to catch up with the West in terms of economic development. **Industrialisation** was, for him, the key to India's quick transformation. In his over enthusiasm to modernize India, he rejected the Gandhian model and adopted the Western as he thought that the former was regressive and the latter scientific and modern. Jawaharlal Nehru is credited for laying the foundation for contemporary India. He will be remembered as a great statesman and political leader who dedicated his life to national progress via ardent pursuits and massive efforts.

Nehruvian model affirms to certain ideals that constitute his vision for an Independent India. Nehru was associated with the Independence movement

since his teenage years and became a rising figure in Indian politics during the upheavals of the early nineteenth century. In 1929, Nehru was elected Congress President with the unstated approval of his mentor, Mahatma Gandhi. As President of the Congress Party, Nehru called for complete Independence or 'Poorna Swaraj' from the British Raj at the Lahore Session of Indian National Congress, and instigated the Congress's decisive shift towards the left. Some of his views and beliefs were expanded upon in this unit.

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3.2 Objectives

As stated, Nehruvian model affirms to certain ideals that constitute his vision for an Independent India. After reading this unit you will be able to

- *define* the terms like, Nehruvian model and Nehruvian ideology
- *discuss* Nehruvian vision and his perspective on economic policies, agricultural policies and agrarian reforms
- *trace* the relationship between Nehruvian Model and Green Revolution
- *explain* the concept of Green Revolution and its main features
- *grasp* the pros and cons of Green Revolution
- *elucidate* Green Revolution as a model operation

3.3 Nehruvian Ideology : Vision

The term 'ideology' simply refers to a set of values and ideas that defines a civilization. "Ideology" is defined as "a collection of concepts that aims to explain the past, explain the present, and predict the future." To put it another way, ideology is a system of beliefs or concepts that strive to explain a specific occurrence, either to support or reject a specific socio-economic-politico-cultural order (Sapru, 2015). Ideology can also be stated as a body of ideas concerning economic, social and political values and goals. Nehruism is the name given to the political ideology of Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, encompassing values of justice, freedom and equality. Ideology, which is defined as a collection of ideas about economic, social, political values can be used to propose action plans to achieve these

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goals. Vision, on the other hand is a mental representation of what the future might or might not be like. It means a mental image of what the future will or could be like. Jawaharlal Nehru is regarded as a ‘visionary’ leader who thought about or planned the future of India with imagination and wisdom. Jawaharlal Nehru is also renowned as India’s modern architect. Following the end of British rule in August 1947, as we all know, Nehru was elected by the Congress to become India’s first Prime Minister. In 1941, Gandhi recognised Nehru as his political heir and successor, resolving the question of his leadership. Nehru set out to realise his vision of India as Prime Minister. Nehru began an ambitious agenda of economic, social, and political reforms with the promulgation of the Constitution on January 26, 1950. He was primarily responsible for overseeing India’s transition from colony to republic, as well as nurturing a poly or multi-party system. Nehru was in favour of mixed economy and rapid industrialisation. His public policy and ideology includes preference for public sector, autonomy to public sector and lesser capitalism. He also advocated for reforms in personal laws, education and health. Egalitarianism and non-discrimination and upholding of socialist ideals were his main objectives.

Now that we have defined the terms ‘Nehruvian,’ ‘Vision,’ and ‘Ideology,’ we can better understand the philosophy behind Nehru’s beliefs and opinions. Nehru is credited for laying the foundation for contemporary India. He will be remembered as a great statesman and political leader who dedicated his life to national progress via ardent pursuits and massive efforts. He is regarded as a multifaceted personality: a statesman with an instinct for democratic fusion and Socialism, a charismatic leader with an international outlook of amity and friendship, a writer with a distinct vision, a supporter of peace and secularism, a thinker on current events, and a mass leader. This Unit elaborated some of his ideas and beliefs.

Stop to Consider

The term ‘Nehruvian’ simply refers to a philosophy or ideology advocated by Jawaharlal Nehru, India’s first Prime Minister. The term “Nehruvian” in politics denotes a strong conviction in “secularism,”

“scientific temper,” and “embracing liberalism.” ‘Nehruvian’ signifies active ‘State interference’ in establishing the ‘country’s economic direction,’ as well as ‘planned development,’ in economic terms. This means executing policies that combine ‘Fabian socialist’ concepts with the ‘Soviet model’ planned economy. The term Nehruvian refers to a commitment to the social well-being of oppressed people in terms of social justice.

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3.4 Nehruvian Perspective

We all know the Nehru believed in industrialisation for rapid economic development. Now let us discuss features of Nehruvian model of development, economic policies, agrarian reform and concept of green revolution in this section.

3.4.1 Features of Nehruvian Model

Nehru’s development model became the driving force behind the development strategy established at the time of the Second Five Year Plan. The Nehruvian model was built on a long-term development plan that gave priority to long-term development goals. As a result, the strategy emphasised:

- (a) A high rate of saving in order to increase investment.
- (b) A strong industrial base in order to expand the economy’s industrial foundation.
- (c) A protectionist stance in order to protect infant industry.
- (d) It promoted import substitution in order to achieve self-sufficiency.
- (e) It attempted to increase opportunities for the least fortunate elements of society.

Nehru’s plan aimed to fulfil the goal of progress with social justice by encouraging a self-generating route of development while assuring the common man that poverty, unemployment, disease, and ignorance will be eradicated. The government was given a considerably bigger role. The building of economic and social infrastructure was one of the state’s primary economic functions. Irrigation expansion, power for industrial development, and irrigation for agricultural development were all part of the economic

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infrastructure. The State sought to produce trained manpower by strengthening social infrastructure in the form of education and health care, so that it could offer the essential skills for the operation of new industries.

3.4.2 Economic Policies:

Nehru advocated for a mixed economy in which the government-run public sector coexisted with the private sector. He believed that the creation of basic and heavy industry was necessary for the development and modernisation of the Indian economy. As a result, the government concentrated investment in large public-sector industries such as steel, iron, coal, and power, encouraging expansion through subsidies and protectionism. In terms of policymaking, Nehru's vision has been overwhelming. He was a proponent of the public sector model and a key force behind the 1948 and 1956 Industrial Policy Resolutions. He desired that politics be founded on science, particularly atomic energy.

The public sector rose to a “commanding height” in the Indian economy during Nehru's leadership. He wanted the Parliament to know how wide and unexploited a field is there for the public sector to fill, and the public sector is occupying, Nehru said in Parliament in May 1956. “We don't mind if the private sector advances as well, as long as the public sector dominates in terms of basic and strategic issues” (Sapru, 2015). As a result, Nehru became convinced that the government could play a significant role in reducing poverty and economic backwardness in India. Nehru thought that government enterprises should be given sufficient autonomy. In these firms, he was opposed to the use of a bureaucratic management style. He declared clearly, “I have no doubt that the conventional governmental system applied to a public venture of this kind will result in that public enterprise's failure.” As a result, we need to create a framework for public firms to function in where, on the one hand, adequate checks and protection are in place, but the company has enough freedom to act quickly and without delay” (Ibid.).

He was also against them being subjected to parliamentary oversight. Nehru's preference for huge state-controlled businesses, according to his opponents, resulted in a complex system of quantitative norms, quotas and tariffs, industrial licences, and a plethora of other controls. This system, known in India as Permit or License Raj, was responsible for economic inefficiencies that impeded entrepreneurship and stifled economic progress for decades until the liberalisation measures started by the Congress government in 1991

under P.V. Narasimha Rao (Yergin and Stanislaw, 2002). His vision of the public sector in core and essential areas, however, was far ahead of its time and remains relevant now.

3.4.3 Agrarian Reforms:

Under Nehru's leadership, the government began agrarian reforms as well as rapid industrialization. As previously said, he recognised that industrialization required a supportive agrarian economy and a small-scale industrial base. His ideas on city planning were forward-thinking that encompasses education, recreation, employment and business in addition to roads and parks. Slums bothered him, and he imagined a symbiotic relationship between the city and the hamlet (Das, 2011.) Although a significant land reform strategy was adopted, which resulted in the elimination of massive landholdings, efforts to redistribute land through the imposition of landownership limits were mainly ineffective.

Under Nehru's leadership, the government attempted to encourage large-scale cooperative farming, but it was stymied by landowning rural elites, who wielded considerable political influence in opposing Nehru's attempts. Agricultural productivity grew until the early 1960s, as more land was cultivated and certain irrigation projects started to provide results. The establishment of agricultural universities also benefited the development of agriculture. Under Nehru's guidance, the Green Revolution was a huge success. The Revolution was seen as an endeavour to increase agricultural productivity and diversity. Northern India has been a major producer of the High Yielding Wheat Variety. On the other side, the Green Revolution has its critics, with many environmentalists accusing it of overusing fertilisers.

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SAQ

Q1. Do you consider Nehruvian model of development as successful in bringing economic development in India? (60 words)

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3.5 Concept of Green Revolution

Food is the most basic essential for all living organisms on this planet to survive. It is the source of energy that living organisms use for their growth, development, and work. Man gets his nourishment from domesticated animals and cultivated plants. Agricultural crops, animal husbandry, and fishing provide about 95 percent of the human population's protein needs. The only reason India is self-sufficient in food production is because of current agricultural patterns. Then came the Green Revolution in the 1960s, which was a pivotal period in Indian history.

The term 'Green Revolution' refers to a new agricultural technology created by a team of agricultural experts at Mexico's International Centre for Maize and Wheat Improvement and the Philippines' International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) in the 1950s and 1960s. Most developing countries in Asia and Latin America have adopted the technology created at these two institutions, which has helped these countries improve agricultural production and achieve food grain self-sufficiency. High yielding variety (HYV) seeds were used, as well as a bundle of contemporary agricultural inputs, instruments, and procedures (like chemical fertilizers, pesticides, assured and controlled irrigation, tractors, threshers, electric and diesel pumps, etc.). Although the new agricultural approach was initially limited to wheat and rice crops, it gradually expanded to include other crops.

Stop to Consider:

Green Revolution:

It refers to a period when Indian agriculture was converted into an industrial system due to the adoption of modern methods and technology such as the use of High Yielding Variety (HYV) seeds, rust resistant strains of wheat, tractors, irrigation facilities, pesticides, and fertilizers. The Green Revolution within India commenced in 1965 under the leadership of agriculture scientist M.S Swaminathan, and led to an increase in food grain production, especially in Punjab, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh. It made India independent in producing necessary crops in her own country, instead of depending on foreign exports. Many social activists although feel that this led to sociological and financial problems for the people of Punjab and Haryana and created and excessive dependency on chemical fertilizers and cash crops.

Jawaharlal Nehru prioritised the establishment of institutions and the development of infrastructure. Irrigation, power projects, the fertiliser and pesticide business, as well as research and education, all got a lot of attention. The extension of the irrigated area accounted for the majority of the increase in production. The average life expectancy and population growth rate have both increased as a result of breakthroughs in preventative and curative medicine. As a result, food imports increased, with much of it coming from the United State's PL-480 programme. The government's actions were mostly in the areas of technology, training, technological infrastructure, and trade. In the sphere of technology, Nehru aided in the introduction of cutting-edge technologies for increasing the production of small farms. In 1958, a big exhibition on Atoms on the Farm was staged in Delhi in collaboration with the US Atomic Energy Commission. This demonstration demonstrated how atomic energy may be used to develop new crop kinds, control pests, and improve food safety and storage.

In 1958, the Indian Agriculture Research Institute (IARI) in New Delhi was designated as the country's first deemed university under the UGC Act of 1956. In 1958, the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore became the second institution to be recognised as a university. IARI has established itself as the leading training facility for high-level human resources in agriculture transformation. It also became a centre for scientific study to boost wheat and other agricultural yields. The scientific foundations for sustainable agriculture were therefore laid in the 1950s. In the 1960s, this foundation was essential in the commencement of the Green Revolution in India.

The first phase of India's agricultural history lasted from 1947 to 1964, and the second ended in 1984. The Lal Bahadur Shastri-Indira Gandhi era was a time when agricultural production and food security were given equal importance. Lal Bahadur Shastri's brief tenure as Prime Minister (1964-66) was marked by acute food shortages, prompting him to call for a weekly one-day fast to curb demand. The slogan Jai Kisan-Jai Jawan has been coined by him. Wheat imports peaked at 10 million tonnes in 1966, preventing famine.

Indira Gandhi marked the start of the Green Revolution in 1968 by issuing a commemorative stamp titled "Wheat Revolution." The term "Green

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Revolution” was coined to emphasise that increasing productivity per hectare, rather than expanding land area, is the best strategy to boost food production. In the 1960s, for example, the average wheat output per hectare was around 800 kg. To produce the current wheat output level of 80 million tonnes, we will require 100 million hectares at this yield level. However, the current average is around 26 million ha, resulting in a savings of over 70 million ha. Traditional farm practises, which were largely focused on farmers’ self-owned inputs and resources [such indigenous seeds, farm yard manure, manual irrigation, usage of draught power (animal power), etc.] were phased out. The indigenous seeds were unable to survive high dosages of chemical fertiliser used to boost output, whereas the HYV seeds, when combined with chemical fertilisers and irrigation, produced the much-needed increased productivity. The third phase, which lasted from 1984 to 2004, was characterised by euphoria and anguish. Rajiv Gandhi demonstrated how to boost pulse and oilseed production and productivity by adopting the Technology Mission method, which focused on all links in the production, consumption, and marketing chain at the same time. The fourth phase, which began in 2004 and continues until today, marks the beginning of a paradigm shift from measuring agricultural progress from merely growth rates in production to measuring the wellbeing of farmers in terms of real improvement in their net income.

Stop to Consider

The term ‘green revolution’, was coined by Dr. William Gaud (the then Administrator of USAID) who in 1968 used the term to describe the success achieved by the new agricultural technology in developing countries of Asia and Latin America. Unlike the traditional farm practices which mostly relied on indigenous seeds and internal inputs (non-purchased inputs), the new agricultural technology was mainly based on external inputs (purchased inputs) which required substantial financial resources for its adoption. The GR technology came in a package of HYV seeds – irrigation– fertilizers. All these are needed together in correct proportions as both inadequacy and excessive use of water were harmful to these seeds. Availability of assured and

controlled irrigation and use of chemical fertilizers thus became the two critical factors in raising the productivity of HYV seeds. Therefore, GR technology was more suited to the areas that had adequate irrigation facilities as well as proper water irrigation/drainage system. While on the one hand the HYV seeds required high doses of chemical fertilizers for their growth, the use of fertilizers in turn generated weeds, requiring the application of weedicides.

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This transition was entrenched in the Union Minister for Agriculture and Food's National Policy for Farmers, which was presented to Parliament in November 2007. If adopted, this policy will aid in reversing the drop in agricultural growth as well as halting the exodus of young people from the agricultural sector. Looking back, the 1960s were a watershed moment in our agricultural history. Science and social engineering were brought together for the first time. During that time, we gained fresh confidence in our agricultural capabilities.

Food security system should be built mostly on homegrown food, according to experience. The cultivators and farmers have shown that they can protect our food security system if given the tools they need through suitable technologies and government regulations. Pandit Nehrus' 1947 admonition, "Everything else may wait, but not agriculture," and Lal Bahadur Shastri's 1965 slogan, "Jai Kisan," are far more important today than they were when they were formulated. We should establish National Sovereignty Savior Awards to recognise the invaluable achievements of women and men, in order to bring about a mindset change with regard to the numerous roles farmers play in creating our nation's economic and political fate.

The genesis and expansion of the Green Revolution can be attributed to four key factors.

First, new wheat and rice plant varieties that respond well to soil nutrition and irrigation were designed, tested, and popularised in farmer's fields. Second, services such as seeds, irrigation, and extension that are required for the expansion of technology garnered a lot of attention.

Third, state policies on input and output pricing, as well as particular aid to small and marginal farmers, were geared to ensure that farmers had a steady income.

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Minimum support pricing have been announced and put in place. Finally, the National Demonstration Program and All India Radio and Doordarshan (Krishi Darshan) programmes sparked widespread interest among farmers, resulting in the High-Yielding Varieties Program becoming a mass movement. As a result of the convergence of new technologies, appropriate services, farmer-centered state policies, and farmers' excitement, a Green Revolution symphony was born. The symphony's conductors were C Subramaniam (1966–67), Babu Jagjivan Ram (1967–70 and 1974–77). India's image as a nation doomed to live a ship-to-mouth existence was shattered around the world.

3.6 Main Features of Green Revolution

In India, the Green Revolution introduced a variety of innovative farming techniques. One of the key features of Green revolution has been the rise of HYV seeds. These seeds had shorter period of maturity which gave opportunity to farmers to grow more number of crops in a year. The following are the primary characteristics of India's Green Revolution:

- i. The introduction of new and high-yielding seed varieties.
- ii. Increased application of fertilisers, insecticides, and weedicides to cut down on agricultural losses.
- iii. Increased fertiliser application in order to boost agricultural yield.
- iv. Modern agricultural machinery such as tractors, seed drills, threshers, and harvesters are used.
- v. Increased productivity by the use of disease-resistant cultivars.

3.6.1. Merits and Demerits of Green Revolution:-

Merits of Green Revolution:

- i) The usage of HYV seeds results in a higher yield.
- ii) Ploughing and harvesting have become faster and easier because to machines like harvesters, tractors, and threshers.
- iii) Farmers were able to sell their surplus produce at a higher price on the market, allowing them to make more money.

iv) Pesticides and insecticides are used to keep pests and insects away from crops.

v) Crop productivity can be boosted by a good irrigation system.

As a result, the GR technology assisted in increasing cropping intensity. The GR technology's higher productivity and cropping intensity make it a land-saving technology. Farmers, on the other hand, required to complete various agricultural operations, such as crop harvesting and land preparation for the following crop, on time in order to release the land for the next crop. This necessitated the employment of sophisticated farm machinery such as tractors, threshers, irrigation pumps, and so on. As a result, the GR technology assisted in attracting greater investment in the manufacturing of farm machines, irrigation pumps, and other agricultural equipment, as well as the establishment of banking and marketing infrastructure in small towns and rural areas.

Demerits of Green Revolution:

The drawbacks of Green Revolution includes:

- i) Increased usage of chemical fertilisers has resulted in a loss of soil fertility.
- ii) The water table below the earth has been decreased as a result of the continuous use of groundwater for tube well irrigation.
- iii) Chemical fertilisers, which are easily soluble in water, can contaminate groundwater.
- iv) They can harm beneficial bacteria and microorganisms in the soil.
- v) Excessive fertiliser application can render the soil alkaline and unsuitable for cultivation.
- vi) Large-scale farmers, according to critics of the Green Revolution, were the primary users of new technologies because they had better access to irrigation water, fertilisers, seeds, and loans.
- vii) As, the Green Revolution resulted in reduced output prices, increased input prices, and landlords' attempts to raise rents or push tenants off the property, small farmers were either unaffected or disadvantaged.

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viii) Critics also claimed that the Green Revolution pushed down rural wages and jobs by encouraging unneeded industrialization.

Since GR technology required significant infrastructure investment, it was better suited to large farmers who could afford to purchase farm tools and equipment and optimise their utilisation due to their vast farm sizes. Although expensive machinery was required for the adoption of HYV crops, even small farms needed to pay more in hiring and purchasing other inputs. Due to limited access to credit, small and marginal farmers were unable to invest. In practise, the HYV-fertilizer-irrigation technique was not resource-neutral, despite the fact that it was declared scale-neutral and boosted land productivity regardless of the size of operational holdings. As a result, some institution-building initiatives, such as the development of group-farming, were required to make cost-effective use of modern technologies on small and marginal-sized holdings. In summary, HYV seeds, chemical fertilisers and pesticides, modern agricultural machinery, vast irrigation facilities, multiple cropping, increased finance facilities, support price policy, and improved R&D and extension infrastructure became the major components and features of India's green revolution movement.

Check Your Progress

1. Discuss briefly the evolution of green revolution in India.
2. Write a note on the main features of green revolution.
3. Explain the success of High Yielding Variety (HYV) seeds.
4. Discuss the pros and cons of Green Revolution.
5. Define Nehruvian Model. What are his perspectives on economic policies and agrarian reforms?

3.7 Green Revolution: A Model Operation

Since, all of the conditions for success were brought together at the same time, India's green revolution remains a model operation. In some ways, it is a triumph of all sides' intelligence and competence. First and foremost, it possessed the necessary political will and dedication at the top. Following Nehru's death in May 1964, Lal Bahadur Shastri became Prime Minister,

expressing serious concern for agriculture and criticising the lack of touch between the elites and the peasants. Indira Gandhi became Prime Minister after Shastri's death in January 1966. She was no less committed to the improvement of agriculture and getting free from US grain dependency.

Second, there was also the matter of implementation to consider. Shastri, the Prime Minister, chose C. Subramaniam, one of the most effective statesmen, to be the Minister of Agriculture. Subramaniam was aided by some bright and committed ICS/IAS officers, as well as outstanding scientists such as M. S. Swaminathan.

Third, it had dependable international support. The Ford and Rockefeller Foundations already had representatives in India, persons who had extensive knowledge of the nation and a strong sense of compassion for its people. They were equally concerned about agriculture's future. The Report on India's Food Crisis and Steps to address it, issued by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1959, was written by the Ford Foundation. Meanwhile, agronomist Norman Borlaug of the United States was encouraging research into new high-yield grain varieties (HYVs). Both foundations introduced Mexican wheat seeds and Filipino rice seeds from their respective institutes, CIMMYT in Mexico and the Rice Research Institute in the Philippines. The Green Revolution was the introduction of new crop varieties, notably wheat and rice varieties, that allowed the countries to double, if not triple, their grain production. Norman Borlaug, the inventor of a dwarf wheat variety in Mexico, is widely regarded as the Green Revolution's godfather. He developed wheat types that formed a model for what may be done with other staple crops around the world. The properties of these new seeds (already introduced for wheat cultivation in the West in the 1950s) were as follows:

- i) Genetically, the new seeds responded better to higher dosages of chemical fertilisers than older kinds. To avoid lodging, they are shorter or dwarf breeds. They develop earlier than traditional types, allowing for year-round double cropping on the same soil.
- ii) Chemical fertilisers necessitate a greater water supply in many regions than traditional types grown without or with minor amounts of chemical fertilisers. As a result, water, particularly irrigation, plays a crucial role.

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- iii) Areas with inadequate irrigation potential and weak and irregular rainfall are unsuitable for the Green Revolution.
- iv) HYVs are more susceptible to pests than traditional types since they are genetically more homogeneous. This is especially true during the monsoon season. As a result, insect management is required.
- v) Seeds must be renewed every four to five years if yields are to be maintained. As a result, they necessitate a continuous research effort. Hybrid seeds (for maize and sorghum at the time) had to be replenished every year.
- vi) Any new seed variety may not be compatible for any physical environment or climate, necessitating extensive testing.

Check Your Progress:

1. Why is Green Revolution called as model operation?
2. Trace the relationship between Nehruvian Ideology and Green Revolution.

3.8 Summing Up

After going through this unit, you have comprehended the idea about the concepts like ideologies, Nehruism, Nehruvian model. You have learnt about green revolution and also how green revolution emanated from the concept of Nehruvian Ideology. This unit has also dealt with the main constituents of Nehruvian model. The features of green revolution has been dealt in details. Along with the features of green revolution, it also pointed out the pros and cons of green revolution. Moreover, reading this unit has helped you understand the difference between the different terms like ideology, vision, nehrusim, Nehruvian. From this unit you have also learnt about the success of green revolution and how green revolution can be called as a model operation.

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NEW WAVE OF POPULISM: MGNREGA

Unit Structure:

- 4.1 Introduction**
- 4.2 Objectives**
- 4.3 Key Features of MGNREGA**
- 4.4 Introduction to MGNREGA**
- 4.5 Implementing and Monitoring Authorities**
- 4.6 Principal Authorities for Planning and Implementation
Panchayats at District, Intermediate and Village Level:**
- 4.7 Minimum Entitlements of Labourers under NREGA**
- 4.8 Amendments in MGNREGA**
- 4.9 MGNREGA Operational Guidelines 20-2013**
- 4.10 Summing Up**
- 4.11 References and Suggested Readings**

4.1 Introduction:

Democracy is known as the welfare form of government and as such Democratic form of Governments across the world, puts in earnest endeavours to bring forth legislations that would harbingers a socio-economic parity in the society; so that the society can be rendered class less. Indian Government too, has, working according to the directive principals of state policy, exerted efforts to usher equality and development in the nation and as such Indian nation is known to be in villages, hence the progress of the villages is primarily significant. MGNREGA, a modification of the NREGA, scheme is considered a milestone in this regard.

4.2 Objectives:

After going through this unit you will be able to–

- *explain* the concept of populism.
- *discuss* the provisions contained in MGNREGA.

- *explain* the functionary of MGNREGA.
- *discuss* MGNREGA in recent changes.

In political discourse, Populism refers to the idea that Society is bifurcated: as the powerful or elite class and the less powerful or powerless or non-elite class and that both these classes are at loggerheads against each other, and a quintessential paradigm of populism movement that the real people or the non-elite class is being represented through the political leaders having affiliation to separate ideological basis. Not only this the common masses are thoroughly coaxed into conviction that their interests are represented by the populist leaders who pledge to hold their head high with respect, dignity and security. The term originated in the late 19th century within the discipline of political science as well as the political scenario, with different connotations implying utterly contrary significance: hence the term has also been derogatorily used for the leaders who tend to stand against the elite class; developing themselves into an authoritative voice.

4.3 Key Features of MGNREGA

- Only leaders are the true representation of the people & can safeguard their interests and can ward them off against all odds induced by the elite class.
- Very dominant figures who also become cult figures dominate the political parties representing the populist leanings, such people who claim to be the voice of the people. Former US President Mr. Donald Trump was known to be populist leader who in one of his speeches declared vehemently against the handful of elite people controlling the machinery: economic as well as government and thus the commoner are the victims.
- In the populist parties, both left and right wing leanings are usually displayed.
- Authoritarianism is usually one of the connotation associated with Populism.

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In the ideation populism, the movement of populism is not only the movement that can stand in isolation rather it's a movement that can be found and traced in many of the contemporary or conservative movements that have swept the social-political or economic strata, be it liberalism, nationalism, classical liberalism or socialism. Whereas the popular agency definition of the movement, interprets populism in the sense of helping the minority classes and marginalized classes seeking their rights and economically defying and overthrowing the structures that try to oppress them.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Populism is thus of the notion that society is not class less: its divided into two opposite groups: Elite & Marginalized.

It is of the profound conviction that it can safeguard the interests of the commoners against the elite class.

SAQ:

Q1. What is your stand on the derogatory perspective on Populism as Authoritative? (50 words)

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.....

4.4 Introduction to MGNREGA

After Second World War, India emerged as a welfare state since its independence and in a welfare state the welfare of the common citizens is the responsibility of the state. Generally speaking, development can be conceptualized as a movement from the less desirable to more desirable state of affairs. It includes, increasing the living standard of the society, more equitable distribution of wealth, political and economic empowerment, better education and health care services and ensuring social justice, etc. Thus “development is a process of change aiming at socio-economic transformation of a society into a modern one”¹

Therefore, rural development is an inevitable part of the overall development. In India, the concept of „rural development came into vogue in the context of agricultural development.² Since an overwhelming majority of India's population lives in villages, so the development of its rural areas remained of vital significance right after independence. At the international level, the Indian economy stands fourth. However it is unfortunate that the process of economic development has been uneven as most of the rural areas are deprived of the development process.

The Eleventh Five Year Plan¹⁷ (2007-2012) was primarily focused on a direct reduction of the poor. It has been conceived in the plan that speedy development of economy is required to minimize their number through the rapid expansion of employment opportunities. To this end, effective implementation of anti-poverty programmes and more and more investment in education, health, child nutrition, sanitation facilities, etc. is required. In this plan the adoption of a multi-pronged approach has been suggested in order to deal with the chronic and multi-faceted nature of poverty in our country. This plan reaffirmed the strategy for poverty reduction and inclusive growth through the successful implementation of poverty reduction programmes. The plan further emphasized the empowerment of workers under National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS). To promote savings on the part of workers, initiative towards the opening of accounts either in banks or in post offices has been encouraged on larger scale. To provide insurance cover to the workers, different life and health insurance schemes have been envisioned. Besides, a National Agency has been proposed under this plan to plan, organize and coordinate the anti-poverty programmes outside the ministry which will act as the think tank to provide requisite technical expertise and capacities. 10 workers, different life and health insurance schemes have been envisioned. Besides, a National Agency has been proposed under this plan to plan, organize and coordinate the anti-poverty programmes outside the ministry which will act as the think tank to provide requisite technical expertise and capacities. Twelfth¹⁸ Five year plan (2012-17) recommended for the creation of Flexi-fund for rural development having an amount of 40,000 crores which will be shared in the ratio of 70: 30 by the centre and state governments respectively to

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provide more flexibility to states with regard to their specific financial needs in implementing their various schemes for rural development. The plan also provided for expansion of permissible works under MGNREGA in order to develop its link with agricultural activities. It also provided for preparation of labour budget for the purpose of assessing the demand of work in advance so that employment could be provided as per the demand. Further this plan also proposed the mandatory appointment of a full-time Programme Officer at block level under MGNREGA.

STOP TO CONSIDER:

MGNREGA Introduced by the 11th Five Year plan but was more conceptualized in the 12th Five Year Plan of the Government.

The Act provides to ensure 100 days of employment in form of unskilled manual work to every household in rural areas. Initially, in the first phase the Act was implemented in 200 districts since February 2, 2006. The Act was later extended to another 130 districts during 2007-08 (113 districts were covered since April 1, 2007 and 17 districts in Uttar Pradesh (UP) were covered since May 15, 2007). The rest of the districts were covered under MGNREGA since April 1, 2008. Thus, till now MGNREGA has been implemented in all the districts of India except those districts which have a hundred percent urban population. The Act was enacted to achieve following goals.

1. To protect the most vulnerable people socially in rural areas by ensuring employment to them.
2. To provide livelihood security for the poor by generating long-lasting assets, improving water security, conserving soil and ensuring higher productivity of land.;
3. To undertake drought-proofing and flood management activities in rural areas;
4. To ensure empowerment to the socially disadvantaged, especially women, schedule castes (SCs) and schedule tribes (STs) through the processes of a rights-based legislation;

5. To strengthen decentralized and participatory planning through convergence of various anti-poverty and livelihoods initiatives;
6. To ensure deepening democracy at the grass-roots by strengthening Panchayati Raj Institutions;
7. To ensure greater transparency and accountability in governance.

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Check Your Progress

Q.1 Which goals are expected to be achieved with the initiation of MGNREGA?

Q2. MGNREGA is a scheme known as people's scheme, how?

Q3. Trace the development of MGNREGA.

4.5 Implementing and Monitoring Authorities

Central Employment Guarantee Council (CEGC): According to section-10 Central Employment Guarantee Council (CEGC) is to be constituted consisting of a chairperson, representatives from union ministries, planning commission and state governments. The council must also include non-official members representing Panchayats (two chair persons of district panchayats), worker organizations and disadvantaged groups (schedule caste (SC)/schedule tribe (ST)/ other backward class (OBC). Besides, one-third of the non-official members must be women. The council has its headquarter in Delhi. Functions and duties of Central Council: As per section 11 of the Act Central Employment Guarantee Council (CEGC) discharges functions including—advising central government for effective implementation of the provisions of MGNREGA; reviewing the monitoring and grievance redressal mechanism under the Act and making recommendations thereto; promoting maximum dissemination of information about the schemes made under this Act and to monitor the implementation of this act to prepare an annual report to be presented to parliament

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4.6 Principal Authorities for Planning and Implementation Panchayats at District, Intermediate and Village Level:

According to section 13 of the Act, the responsibility of planning and implementation of the works under MGNREGA scheme has been conferred to Panchayats functioning at village, block and district levels. The district level Panchayat supervises and monitor the projects undertaken at the block and district level besides approving projects block-wise. On the other hand the block level panchayat approves block level plans and submit these for approval to the panchayat at district level. Further, it supervises and monitors the works undertaken by the village panchayats and the block level projects.

District Programme Coordinator (DPC):

Section-14 of the Act provides that the responsibility of implementation of MGNREGA scheme at district level is of the district programme coordinator (DPC). This responsibility may be assigned to district collector or chief executive officer of the district panchayat or any other officer of appropriate rank. The district programme coordinator (DPC) discharges following functions:

1. Consolidates block level plans and projects approved by the district panchayat.
2. Provides administrative clearance and sanction regarding implementation of the projects under MGNREGA.
3. Coordinates with the programme officers (POs) and implementation agencies of district to ensure employment to workers as per their entitlements under the Act.
4. Supervises, monitors and reviews the performance the programme officers (POs).
5. Conducts periodic inspection of ongoing works.
6. Redresses the grievances of MGNREGA workers.
7. Prepares annual labour budget and submits it to district panchayat.

Programme Officer (PO):

According to section-15, for assisting blockpanchayats in implementing MGNREGA a programme officer (PO) atleast of block development officer

(BDO) rank, is to be appointed by the state government. The programme officer (PO) is held responsible to match the employment demand with that of opportunities of employment in form of projects within his jurisdiction area. Further, programme officer (PO) prepares plan after consolidating the project proposals of the gram panchayats and the block panchayats. The programme officer (PO) discharges following functions:

1. Monitors implementation of projects undertaken by gram panchayats (GPs) and other implementing agencies within the jurisdiction of the block.
2. Sanctions and ensures payment of unemployment allowance to eligible MGNREGA workers in the block.
3. Ensures timely payment of wages at prescribed rates to workers under MGNREGA within the jurisdiction in this block.
4. Ensures conduct of regular social audits of all works undertaken by gram panchayats within the block and is required to take prompt action to the objections raised in the social audit.
5. Deals with the complaints regarding implementation of MGNREGA scheme. Responsibilities of the Gram Panchayat: Section-16 of the Act provides that village level works under MGNREGA scheme are to be decided by the gram panchayat as suggested by the gram sabha which also supervises the execution of works undertaken by the gram panchayat at village level. The projects taken up by a gram panchayat are required to be sanctioned by the programme officer. Every gram panchayat prepare a development plan and maintains a set of projects after considering the recommendations of gram sabha and ward sabhas to meet the potential demand of work. Besides, the gram panchyat allocates available work among the persons who have applied for work under MGNREGA scheme. Social Audit of work by Gram Sabha: Section-17 of the Act mandates that every work under taken under MGNREGA scheme shall be subject to social audit which is to be conducted by gram sabha for all projects under taken by gram panchayat at village level. The gram sabha is also entrusted with the responsibility to monitor the execution of work undertaken by gram panchayat. For

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conduct of social audit, gram panchayat is required to provide muster rolls, vouchers, sanction orders, measurement orders, account books, etc.

Responsibilities of State Government in Implementing the Scheme:

Section-18 of the Act provides that for effective implementation of the MGNREGA scheme the district programme coordinators and the programme officers should be provided with technical support and necessary staff which shall be provided by the state government.

Grievance Redress Mechanism: Section-19 of the Act provides for establishment of grievance redress machinery by the state government in order to deal with complaints regarding implementation of the scheme both at block and district level. Further the state government is also required to provide procedure for disposal of complaints under the scheme.

Establishment of National and State Employment Guarantee Funds: According to section-20 and section-21 of the Act creation of National Employment Guarantee and State Employment Guarantee Fund at the centre and the states level respectively have been mandated to arrange finance for implementation of the Act. **Funding Pattern:** Section-22 of the Act deals with sharing of cost between the centre and the state governments. Total cost of wages for unskilled manual work is borne by the central government whereas in case of cost of the material the share of central government is 75 percent whereas the state governments has to bear only 25 percent of the total material cost⁸ (which also includes wages paid to semi-skilled and skilled workers) and they do not have to pay for cost of wages paid for unskilled labour work under MGNREGA scheme, but the state governments have to bear the total cost of unemployment allowance paid if the state government failed to provide employment within 15 days of demand for work.

About MGNREGA In Brief:-

- The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), also known as Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MNREGS) is Indian legislation

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enacted on August 25, 2005. The MGNREGA provides a legal guarantee for one hundred days of employment in every financial year to adult members of any rural household willing to do public work-related unskilled manual work at the statutory minimum wage. The Ministry of Rural Development (MRD), Govt of India is monitoring the entire implementation of this scheme in association with state governments

- This act was introduced with an aim of improving the purchasing power of the rural people, primarily semi or un-skilled work to people living below poverty line in rural India. It attempts to bridge the gap between the rich and poor in the country. Roughly one-third of the stipulated work force must be women.
- Adult members of rural households submit their name, age and address with photo to the Gram Panchayat. The Gram Panchayat registers households after making enquiry and issues a job card. The job card contains the details of adult member enrolled and his /her photo. Registered person can submit an application for work in writing (for at least fourteen days of continuous work) either to Panchayat or to Programme Officer.
- The Panchayat/Programme officer will accept the valid application and issue dated receipt of application, letter providing work will be sent to the applicant and also displayed at Panchayat office. The employment will be provided within a radius of 5 km: if it is above 5 km extra wage will be paid.

Key facts that users should know about MGNREGA

1. MGNREGA guarantees hundred days of wage employment in a financial year, to a rural household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work.
2. Individual beneficiary oriented works can be taken up on the cards of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, small or marginal farmers or beneficiaries of land reforms or beneficiaries under the Indira Awaas Yojana of the Government of India.
3. Within 15 days of submitting the application or from the day work is demanded, wage employment will be provided to the applicant.

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4. Right to get unemployment allowance in case employment is not provided within fifteen days of submitting the application or from the date when work is sought.
5. Receipt of wages within fifteen days of work done.
6. Variety of permissible works which can be taken up by the Gram Panchayaths.
7. MGNREGA focuses on the economic and social empowerment of women.
8. MGNREGA provides “Green” and “Decent” work.
9. Social Audit of MGNREGA works is mandatory, which lends to accountability and transparency.
10. MGNREGA works address the climate change vulnerability and protect the farmers from such risks and conserve natural resources.
11. The Gram Sabha is the principal forum for wage seekers to raise their voices and make demands. It is the Gram Sabha and the Gram Panchayat which approves the shelf of works under MGNREGA and fix their priority.

Implementation Status

- The scheme was introduced in 200 districts during financial year 2006-07 and 130 districts during the financial year 2007-08
- In April 2008 NREGA expanded to entire rural area of the country covering 34 States and Union Territories, 614 Districts, 6,096 Blocks and 2.65 lakhs Gram Panchayat.
- The scheme now covers 648 Districts, 6,849 Blocks and 2,50,441 Gram Panchayats in the financial year 2015-16.

Works Permitted under Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (REGS)-
The works permitted under the Act includes- works related to conserving water, creation of facilities for harvesting of water, drought proofing, digging canals for irrigation, ensuring access to irrigation facilities to the land owned by schedule castes (SCs)/schedule tribes (STs), restoration of tradition sources of water, development of land, protection against flood and

improving connectivity to rural areas. Creation of Durable Assets- The Act aims to create long-lasting assets for increasing employment resources to rural people therefore, the State Council of the respective state is required to make a list of works for different areas on the basis of their potential to create durable assets and maintenance of the same shall be undertaken by the state government.

Payment of Wages- The payment of wages to MGNREGA workers is mandated to be made as per schedule of rates which are to be fixed by the state government for different kind of work every year after consultation with State Employment Guarantee Council (SEGC), it is for the work when wages are linked to the quantity of work. The schedule of rates for unskilled work is to be fixed in such a manner that for seven hours work a day a person would be paid wage rate equal to wage rate annually. Manner of Execution of Work- It has been mandated under the Act that the payment made against material cost including the wages to be paid against skilled and unskilled workers cannot exceed 40 percent of the total cost of the project. Further, for undertaking work under MGNREGA scheme contractor cannot be engaged and as far as possible the work is to be completed through manual labour and machine should not be used in this regard.

Transparency and Accountability- For every scheme made under the Act is required to contain provisions regarding regular supervision and inspection of works undertaken under the scheme for the purpose of enforcing accountability and ensuring accountability. Further, there should be provisions to ensure quantity and quality of work that is commensurate with the total wages paid for the work done. Further, facts and figures relating to achievements by implementation of the scheme are required to be shown in an annual report to be submitted by the district programme coordinator (DPC), the programme officer (PO) and gram panchayat (GP). Besides, all the records and accounts concerning to scheme are required to be made available for scrutiny by public and any person can inspect or take a copy of these records by paying a prescribed fee.

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4.7 Minimum Entitlements of Labourers under NREGA

1. Eligibility to Work- Any adult member of rural household is eligible to work under MGNREGA who has applied for work and issuance of job card by submitting his name, address and age to the gram panchayat of his area. Thus all registered persons of a rural household are eligible to work under MGNREGA subject to a maximum of 10, as per Schedule-II, Section-5, National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005

But the application for work must be at 14 days of continuous work. Place of Employment- A work under MGNREGA is required to be provided within a radius of five kilometers of his residence as far as possible but if it is not the case the worker will be paid ten percent extra wages to meet the additional cost of transportation and expenses on living.

Payment of Wages- Payment of wages under MGNREGA scheme can be made in cash or in kind but at least twenty five percent of the wages are required to be paid in cash. Besides payment of wages shall be made within a period of 15 days and if it is not the case labourers will get compensation for delayed payment of wages.¹¹ Entitlement to Women Labourers- Women beneficiaries are given work on priority and no discrimination can be made on account of gender in payment of wages they will be paid on the principle of equal pay for equal work. Further, it is mandated under MGNREGA that one-third of workers to be women.¹² Facilities at Worksite- The Act provides for the availability of certain facilities at work site like—safe drinking water, shade for children, first-aid box, etc. Besides, if at work site the number of children below six years is five in this case a woman worker is to be deputed to look after the children. Such woman will be paid wages as per wage rate.

Entitlements in Case of Injury or Death- If a person working under MGNREGA scheme has sustained injuries during the course of employment, he will be entitled to receive free medical treatment. If he needs hospitalization for treatment, it will be arranged by the state government and the expenditure on treatment, medicine and accommodation along with daily allowance not less than 50 percent of wage rate all are to be paid by the state government. If the worker has sustained permanent disability or

has succumbed to death during the course of employment in such a case an ex-gratia amount of 25000 rupees is required to be paid to the legal heirs or the disabled, as the case may be, by the implementing agency. Further, if any child accompanying any MGNREGA worker has sustained injuries at worksite, free treatment shall be arranged for such child and ex-gratia payment as prescribed by the state government if the child sustained permanent disability or death out of the injuries.

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4.8 Amendments in MGNREGA

So far, for the purpose of effective implementation many amendments have been made to MGNREGA from time to time by the Centre government while exercising the power under section-29(1) of the Act.

Amendments in 2006: On January 25, 2006 Centre government notified the districts covered by NREGA. Further, March 14, 2006 more districts covered under the Act were notified by the government. On March 21, 2006 the Central Council rules 2006 were notified by the government.

Amendments in 2007: It was notified on January 8, 2007 that the states shall formulate a scheme under NREGA within six months. On 6th March schedule-I and schedule-II of the Act were amended. In schedule-I, para 1 sub-para 4 was amended to include new works under permissible works. New works like horticulture, plantation activities regarding land development of schedule castes (SCs)/ schedule tribes (STs) or the below poverty line (BPL) families, etc. were included. Whereas, in schedule-II Para 2 and 13 were amended in order to reduce the requirement of minimum workers from 50 to 10 which is necessary to start a new work under the scheme. Further, in the same year notifications were issued on 26 March, 12 and 15 May to extend the scope of NREGA to more districts.

Amendments in 2008: Working hours of manual workers were increased from seven to nine hours to a maximum of twelve hours for providing rates of wages under NREGA: On January 15, 2008 consequently, Para 8 of the Schedule-I was amended. On February 8, 2008, NREGA was extended to the districts of Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh through notification. On April 2, 2008, the Centre government amended, through notification, Para-

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2 of schedule –II to provide for inclusion of important information in job cards by gram panchayat. The information includes job card number, member-wise work demand of household, descriptions about work done, dates and days of work done, muster roll number, details of unemployment allowance paid if any, postal/bank account number and insurance policy number. On 18th June, 2008 again sub-para 4 of Para-1 of the schedule-I was amended to include eligibility conditions to become beneficiary¹⁴ landholder under MGNREGA. The beneficiary must have worked in a project under MGNREGA and he needs to be a job card holder. The project for development of beneficiaries land must be approved by the gram panchayat (GP) and for each project a ratio of 60:40 between labour and 14Beneficiary to have works under NREGA on private lands owned by SC/ST/BPL Families/Beneficiaries of land reforms and IAY of government of India.

STOP TO CONSIDER:

Different amendments were made to MGNREGA in order to bring better results of the scheme so that more and more people can be benefitted. SC & BPL sector was given more attention.

On 31st December, 2008 schedule-I was amended to include conditions regarding execution of work, conduct of social audit, mandating proactive disclosures by implementing agencies and free inspection and scrutiny of accounts records. Under third entry detailed conditions relating to work like –each work and muster roll shall have a unique identity number, muster roll must bear the signature of the programme officer (PO) and counter-signature of each worker for their attendance and wages earned, a detailed record of muster roll is mandated, details of sanctioned work and Measurement Books containing measurement of work are to be made available for public inspection and scrutiny, every worksite is required to put and update a board for citizen information and all works and records are mandated to be checked and evaluation to be recorded in works register by the vigilance and monitoring committee is required to be submitted to gram sabha during social audit. Under entry number the provisions for

ensuring accountability and transparency at all levels of implementation have been further elaborated. Some of these provisions include the following—

Proactive disclosures gram panchayat at village level and programme officer at block level are required to make proactive disclosure about employment provided, fund received, expenditure incurred, approved projects and all other information regarding MGNREGA to public through website. Further, information relating to work done, muster rolls, wages paid and measurement of work are to be proactively displayed on citizen information boards. Social Audit: It has been provided that gram sabha amongst its members (who have under MGNREGA) must constitute a Social Audit Committee to conduct audit of the accounts regarding implementation of MGNREGA. Further, for the purpose of audit, gram panchayat is required to provide all relevant documents to the committee at least before 15 days. All the staff involved in implementing MGNREGA and public representatives are to be informed in advance to attend social audit by the programme The records must be maintained in the registers as prescribed by Government of India.

Check Your Progress

- Q1. Discuss the amendment to MGNREGA in 2013.
- Q2. What would happen if a labourer dies at the site of the work?

The findings of the audit committee are to be presented in the meeting of gram sabha and people can take information from gram panchayat and officers concerned and they can also verify records. Besides, action taken report on previous audit is to be readout in the beginning of each social audit. All findings regarding violation of the Act are to be treated as complaint for which enquiry is to be made. Moreover, for any misappropriation of funds is to be recovered by taking action against concerned person. During social audit public can participate and any outsider can also attend social audit as an observer.

For providing free copies of records and accounts for public scrutiny entry number of the schedule has been substituted. On 31st December, 2008 Para 36 to the schedule-II of the Act has been inserted to lay down complaint

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procedure and the programme officer is required to maintain a complaint register. The complaints received are required to be disposed by the programme officer (PO) enquiry, inspection and spot verification within 7 working days. Amendments in 2009: On 1st January, 2009 section 6(1) was amended to empower the centre government to prescribe wage rates in respect of states/union territories for unskilled workers working under different schemes under MGNREGA. On February 19, 2009 schedule-II, Para 31 was amended to make it mandatory that the payment of wages under MGNREGA should be made either through post-offices or banks in order to weed out corruption in payment of wages to MGNREGA workers. Further, the provision relating to part payment in kind and payment on daily basis was repealed.

On February 27, 2009 there was an amendment to MGNREGA Central Council Rules, 2006 by which membership in the Central Council was extended. The extended membership includes— one representative of Prime Minister, one member from Ministry of Labour and Employment, one member from Ministry of Law and eight members representing the states. On July 24, 2009 sub-para 4, para-1, of schedule-I was amended to extend the list of permissible work under MGNREGA. The list was amended to include the work related to provision of irrigation facilities, horticulture, plantation and land development facilities on the land of schedule castes (SCs), All Action Taken Reports shall be filed within in a month of convening of the social audit.

In June 2011, it was mandated through notification that gram sabha shall conduct a social audit two times in a year according to the prescribed procedure for this purpose Social Audit Rules were made.

On 4th May 2012 amendment was made to schedule-I of the Act through a notification issued by the Central Government to further extend the list of works permitted and separate guidelines for these works were also issued.

4.9 MGNREGA Operational Guidelines 20-2013

In order to facilitate the effective implementation of MGNREGA and to achieve desired objectives operational guidelines have been issued by Rural

Development Ministry of Central Government. The new Operational Guidelines in this regard has been issued in 2013. An overview of these guidelines has been given as under.

- 1) **Roles and Responsibilities:** These guidelines provide for the roles and responsibilities of different functionaries working at state, district, block and panchayat level.
- 2) **Detailed Procedures:** Detailed procedures for financial management planning, registration and allotment of employment, payment of wages and unemployment allowance and execution of work have been prescribed under the guidelines.
- 3) **Planning and Labour Budgeting Procedures:** For the purpose of planning of work preparation of Labour Budget has been prescribed. Further, guidelines also provides for conduct of baseline survey in order to assess the quantum and timing of the demand for work, preparation of development plan and projects for the Labour Budget. Guidelines also deals with the issues relating to approval of annual plan and Labour Budgets by gram sabha, consolidation

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4.10 Summing Up

Reading of this unit has helped you in learning that Indian Government in its effort to implement the directive principles of state policy has adopted many schemes. One such scheme is Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), also known as Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MNREGS). It was enacted on August 25, 2005. Since an overwhelming majority of India's population lives in villages, so the development of its rural areas remained of vital significance right after independence. Moreover, poverty reduction is another important goal of India. To this end, effective implementation of anti-poverty programmes and more and more investment in education, health, child nutrition, sanitation facilities, etc. is required. The 11th Five year plan further emphasized the empowerment of workers under National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS). The 12th Five year Plan also provided for expansion of permissible works under MGNREGA in order to develop its link with agricultural activities. The Act provides to ensure 100 days of

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employment in form of unskilled manual work to every household in rural areas. The major aim of this Act is to ensure deepening democracy at the grass-roots by strengthening Panchayati Raj Institutions. After reading this unit you have also learnt that On 31st December, 2008 schedule-I was amended to include conditions regarding execution of work, conduct of social audit, mandating proactive disclosures by implementing agencies and free inspection and scrutiny of accounts records. Some guidelines are also issued for successful operation of MGNREGA.

4.11 References and Suggested Readings

- Dey Moitri (2016), MGNREGA: Success or Failure ! Adroit Publishers
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UNIT-5

STATE, COERCION, EXTRA ORDINARY LAWS and ARMED FORCES SPECIAL POWERS ACT

Unit Structure:

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Objectives

5.3 Meaning of State, Coercion and Extra ordinary laws

5.4 Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) 1958

5.5 Consequences of AFSPA

5.6 Summing Up

5.7 References and Suggested Readings

5.1 Introduction:

State is the most important actor in any contemporary political system. The era of globalization, privatization and liberalization makes states role more significant than ever. The state commonly refers to either the present conditions of a system or entity, or to a governed entity such as country or a sub-entity such as a province or a region. It is an organization which controls the population occupying a definite territory. It is differentiated from other organizations operating in the same territory. With the emergence of state as a powerful institution the conflict between state and non state actors also arises. In the era of neo liberalism it was anticipated that state should use minimum power which is also known as good governance. But irrespective of this idea of state, we can find many strict laws and regulations which are being used by the state to combat any kind of conflict within the state. The modern states in almost all part of the World use coercive methods and laws to suppress any kind of dispute that took place within the territory of the state. Indian state is also not an exception to it. From time to time Indian state enacted many such laws which resulted in human right violation and creates anger and dissatisfaction in the minds of the citizens. For example we can mention some laws like Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1987(TADA), Prevention on Terrorism Act 2002

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(POTA), National Investigation Agency Act (NIA) and Armed Forces Special Power Act 1958 (AFSPA).

5.2 Objectives:

After completing this chapter you shall be able to-

- *understand* the concept of the state
- *aware* regarding the nature of the extra ordinary laws
- *comprehend* the meaning and features of AFSPA
- *assess* the consequences of extra ordinary laws
- *critically* examine if these laws are necessary or not

5.3 Meaning of State, Coercion and Extra ordinary laws-State:

As we have discussed above the state is the most powerful institution in the present World order. The advocates of classical liberalism or the theory of laissez-faire individualism argues that, the state is an evil but a necessary evil on account of the selfishness and egoism of man. John Locke viewed that, state exists for the people who form it and they do not exist for the state. The basis of the existence of the state is the consent. The state exercises authority in terms of law. The state has limited power. It is limited not only by natural law but also by civil law which is a re-statement of natural law. Natural rights have the sanctions of natural law and are inviolable. The state should be tolerant and it should tolerate the differences of opinion. The state has primarily negative functions. The only function of the state is to remove hindrances in the way of liberty.¹ According to Bentham, the business of the state is to promote the happiness of the society by a system of punishment and rewards. It had no other justification for existence. Bentham treated the state as an instrument devised by men for the promotion of the happiness of the community, but he did not contemplate any wider scope of state activity. The main function of the state according to him is legislation and the chief objective of legislation is to remove all institutional restrictions on the free actions of individuals.² According to these political theorists the nature of the state should be soft and righteous, but from time to time state

proves it to be a strong institution that uses power to minimize any sort of crisis within the state. The modern states act as a welfare state and the same time we can see the use of cohesive methods to fulfill its own functions. State always tries to act strong over other forces which challenge its power and authority.

Coercion:

Coercion is a form of power. To exercise coercion is to exercise power. It is compelling a party to act in an involuntary manner by use of threats, including force. It involves a set of various types of forceful actions that violate the free will of an individual to induce a desired response. We can use coercion opposite to freedom. It implies use of force by the government to solve any dispute. It contradicts the concept of good governance. Good governance which speaks about minimum use of power by the government opposes the strong methods used by the states within their territory.

SAQ:

1. AFSPA has been criticised as being a ‘Draconian Act’. In your opinion should the law be repealed totally? (50 words)

.....
.....
.....

Extra Ordinary Laws:

It may not be in related with best democratic practices, but almost all contemporary liberal democratic regimes have an assemblage of “exceptional” laws. According to modern state these laws supports democracy, like in the US and India. These laws are often referred to as “extraordinary” laws, such laws are designed to, and legitimized by, the persistence of extraordinary situations. Internal trouble of a violent, destabilizing nature, civil war, threats to national security and terror activities formed some of the reasons for the enactment of extraordinary laws globally. In case of India we can give some example of extra ordinary

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laws which are already mentioned above. They are, Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1987(TADA), Prevention on Terrorism Act 2002 (POTA), National Investigation Agency Act (NIA) and Armed Forces Special Power Act 1958 (AFSPA). Though these laws are tough and strict by nature but most of the time we can witness the unconstructive side of the law which generates more conflict and violence in the respective state.

Stop to Consider:

Some of the extra ordinary Laws of India:

1. Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1987 (TADA):

It is an anti-terrorists law of India to prevent the terrorist and disruptive activities. This law came into force under the insurgency of Punjab and made applicable for the entire country of India and. This law was commenced on 23 May 1985, The Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, was deemed on 3 September 1987 and from 24 May 1987 and 3 September 1987, it began in two parts which had a sunset provision from 24 May 1987 for two years and were renewed in 1989, 1991 and 1993. It was the first anti-terror act applied by the government to oppose terrorist activities. According to the provisions of the Act if a person is found to be a terrorist then he will be punishable and got imprisoned for at least 5 years or lifetime imprisonment with a liable fine. The activities may be the disruption in the sovereignty, peace or integrity of the country i.e. those activities which were done directly or indirectly by any act, speech, advice, suggestion or any media to disrupt the sovereignty, harmony and integrity of India should be considered as the terrorist act and for that, there will be imprisonment with a fine. (<https://unacademy.com/content/upsc/full-forms/tada-full-form>)

2. Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2002 (POTA) :

This law is also an anti-terrorist law. The objective of this Act was passed by the Parliament of India in 2002 was to strengthen anti-

terrorism operations. The Act was enacted due to several terrorist attacks carried out in India and in response to the attack on the Parliament.

3. National Investigation Agency Act (NIA):

This Act was passed in 2008. This Act makes the provision for constituting an investigating agency to investigate and prosecute offences affecting the sovereignty, security and integrity of India.

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5.4 Armed Forces Special Power Act 1958:

The act Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act of 1958 (AFSPA) is one of the more draconian legislations that the Indian Parliament has passed in its 45 years of Parliamentary history.³ Under this Act, all security forces are given unrestricted and unaccounted power to carry out their operations, once an area is declared disturbed. Even a non-commissioned officer is granted the right to shoot to kill based on mere suspicion that it is necessary to do so in order to “maintain the public order”.⁴

The AFSPA gives the armed forces wide powers to shoot, arrest and search, all in the name of “aiding civil power.” It was first applied to the North Eastern states of Assam and Manipur and was amended in 1972 to extend to all the seven states in the north-eastern region of India. The enforcement of the AFSPA has resulted in innumerable incidents of arbitrary detention, torture, rape, looting and killing by security personnel. This legislation is sought to be justified by the Government of India, on the plea that it is required to stop the North East states from seceding from the Indian Union. The implementation of this act violates the right to life of the people of North-East India. Though there are oppositions and protests against this act in the various parts of the region Indian government ignored all this. The death of people under this act cannot be taken for judicial action; hence this act also violates the right to get justice of the people.

The section 3 of AFSPA defines “disturbed area” by stating how an area can be declared disturbed. It grants the power to declare an area disturbed to the Central Government and the Governor of the State, but does not describe the circumstances under which the authority would be justified in making such a declaration. However, since the declaration depends on the satisfaction of the Government official, the declaration that an area is

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disturbed is not subject to judicial review (Armed Forces Special Power Act: A Study in National Security Tyranny, 2009.) So in practice, it is only the government's understanding which classifies an area as disturbed. There is no mechanism for the people to challenge this opinion.

The 1972 amendments to the AFSPA extended the power to declare an area disturbed to the Central Government. In the 1958 version of the AFSPA only the state governments had this power. The 1972 amendment shows that the Central Government is no longer concerned with the state's power. Rather, the Central Government now has the ability to overrule the opinion of a state governor and declare an area disturbed. This happened in Tripura, when the Central Government declared Tripura a disturbed area, over the opposition of the State Government.

The section 6 of AFSPA establishes that no legal proceeding can be brought against any member of the armed forces acting under the AFSPA, without the permission of the Central Government. This section leaves the victims of the armed forces abuses without a remedy. The AFSPA is used to provide legal protection for the members of security forces who violated human rights. National Human Rights Commission is also not empowered to address allegations against military and paramilitary personnel.

From the discussion above we can understand that, AFSPA is one of the biggest examples of coercion used by the government of India. Recently this act is being removed from all parts of North- East India other than Nagaland. In Nagaland government extended this act for another six months. This leads to vast protest in Nagaland by its citizens, student organizations and civil society organizations.

SAQ:

2. Do you think AFSPA has been successful in maintaining law and order in the disturbed areas of North East States? (50 words)

.....
.....
.....

5.5 Consequences of AFSPA:

From the above discussion we can make out that the extra ordinary and coercive laws cannot bring peace to any conflicting society. Rather it creates more mayhem. The consequences of AFSPA are also similar to it. As mentioned in chapter 5.4 AFSPA gives enormous power to the security personals especially to the Indian Army. When a particular group enjoys more power than the other groups of the society it makes that group relentless. Army is mostly trained to tackle the foreign enemy of a nation their training is not for the civilians of that nation. Using of Army in internal issues leads to gross human rights violation. Innocent peoples are also becomes the victim of Army operations. India is the largest democracy of the world, here every citizen can enjoy their democratic rights without any restriction according to the Indian constitution, but in practice this is not followed by the Indian Government. In the name of state security Indian Parliament passes such types of laws which violate the supreme right of its citizens that is right to life. There are numerous reports that due to these laws there are arbitrary or unlawful killings, including extrajudicial killings of suspected criminals and insurgents, especially in the conflicting areas of North-East India.

For a state it is important and necessary to protect its integrity and sovereignty. It never compromises with any factors that try to violate the basic law of the land. It is also the duty of the government to not encourage such practices. But at the same time making of strict and coercive laws will worsen the situation instead of solving it. In a report on the AFSPA to the UN Human Rights Committee in 1991, Nandita Haksar, a lawyer who has often petitioned the Guwahati High Court in cases related to the AFSPA, explains how in practice this leaves the military's victims without a remedy. Firstly, there has not been a single case of anyone seeking such permission to file a case in the North East. Given that the armed forces personnel conduct themselves as being above the law and the people are alienated from the state government, it is hardly surprising that no one would approach the central government for such permission. Secondly, when the armed forces are tried in army courts, the public is not informed of the proceedings and the court martial judgments are not published.⁵

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Check Your Progress

1. Why state is consider as most important in contemporary World order?
2. What is the importance of extra ordinary laws?
3. What do you mean by AFSPA?
4. Indian government uses _____methods to combat insurgency. (fill in the blanks)

5.6 Summing Up:

To sum up it can be said that the state is the most powerful organization in the modern political World. To sustain its power and legitimacy state uses extra ordinary laws which due to its rigid nature become coercive for the people of the state. In the contemporary World order it is very obvious for any state to maintain discipline inside its territory so that the foreign states will not able to take advantage of it, in fulfilling their own political and economic interest. For instance due to the insurgency in North East India countries like China and Myanmar got the opportunity to accomplish their political interest. The camps of most of the insurgent organization from this region can be found in Myanmar. There are evidences which prove that China helps most of the insurgent groups by providing arms. Even in Jammu & Kashmir the involvement of Pakistan can be seen in encouraging the Kashmiri youth to join militant organization against India. These developments direct to passing of strict and rigid laws by the Government of India, as it the utmost duty of a state to protect its own territory from external interferences.

But at the same time these coercive methods adopted by the state paved the way for more violence and dissatisfaction in the minds of the people. There should be a balance between the laws and its implications. Government should try to address the issues which are raised by the citizens. Government should become more accountable in nature. Adopting a poised approach to the internal conflicts can improve the situation better. The powers to shoot to kill must be unequivocally revoked. Arrests must be made with warrants and no force should be allowed in the search and seizure

procedures. Any persons arrested under the extra ordinary laws are to be handed over to the police within twenty-four hours. Citizens should allow availing the right to constitutional remedy so that those who suffer abuses at the hands of the security forces may prosecute their abusers. Through these measures state can receive more participation from the citizens in every important subject of it.

5.7 References and Suggested Readings

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2. Bhattacharjya Chandana, *State Security and Human Rights: A study of Armed Forces Special Power Act*, *Vistas De Society*, Annual journal of USTM, volume v, 2020-2021.
3. Mahajan V.D., *Political Theory*, Rajendra Ravindra printers, New Delhi, 2003
4. G. Oberleitner, *Human Rights and Security: The Two Towers?*, Centre for the study of Human Rights (London School of Economics and Political Science), 2003.
5. *Armed Forces Special Power Act: A Study in National Security Tyranny*, Published by South Asia Human Rights Documentation Centre, New Delhi, 2009.
6. Unpublished thesis of the author, title: *Conflict resolution in Assam: responses of state and civil society towards United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA)*, submitted in North Eastern Hill University, Shillong 2016.

(Footnotes)

- ¹ Unpublished thesis of the author, *Conflict resolution in Assam: responses of state and civil society towards United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA)*, submitted in North Eastern Hill University, Shillong 2016
- ² V.D. Mahajan, *Political Theory*, Rajendra Ravindra printers, New Delhi, 2003,p.621

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³ Armed Forces Special Power Act: A Study in National Security Tyranny, Published by *South Asia Human Rights Documentation Centre*, New Delhi, 2009, p.11

⁴ Chandana Bhattacharjya, State Security and Human Rights: A study of Armed Forces Special Power Act, *Vistas De Society*, Annual journal of USTM, volume v, 2020-2021, p. 45

⁵ *Ibid*, 33
