104PO21

by Cde Anu

MAJOR ISSUES IN INDIAN POLITICS

M.A. Political Science
Semester-I, Paper-IV

Prof. V. Venkateswarlu
M.A., M.P.S., M.S.W., M.Phil., Ph.D.
Professor
Centre for Distance Education
Acharya Nagarjuna University
Nagarjuna Nagar 522 510

Ph: 0863-2346222, 2346208
0863- 2346259 (Study Material)
Website www.anucde.info
E-mail: anucdedirector@gmail.com

CONTENTS

Lesson - 1

CAUSES FOR THE DECLINE OF LEGITIMACY OF NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN INDIA

Study Objectives:

Through this study, we will understand the following:

1. The origins of national institutions that run the Indian parliamentary system and the challenges they currently face.

2. Measures taken so far to improve the standards of national institutions in India.

3. Future measures to be taken to improve the standards of national institutions in India.

Course Content:

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Parliamentary system of government in India

1.3 Challenges faced by national institutions in India

1.3.1 Criminalization of politics:

1.3.2 Dominance of archaic laws

1.3.3 Anti-defection law

1.3.4 Decline of democratic representation

1.3.5 Frequent conduct of elections.

1.4 Measures taken so far to improve the standards of Indian institutions

1.4.1 Electoral bonds

1.4.2 Controlling anonymous donations

1.4.3 NOTA

1.4.4 Removal of ancient/outdated laws

1.5 Future measures to be taken to improve the standards of national institutions in India

1.5.1 Legislative impact assessment

1.5.2 Codification of privileges

1.5.3 Parliamentary Committee reforms

1.1 Introduction

Governments come and go. Political parties rise and fall. But the constitutional and its independent institutions' legitimate vision is eternal. National institutions ensure both the stability and legitimacy of the political system. The issue of the decline of institutional autonomy erodes both the stability and legitimacy of the system. Representative democracy and parliamentary institutions have continued in India for over seven decades. This is a great tribute to India's democratic framework. However, in recent years, there has been a discussion regarding the decline in the legitimate standards of Indian national institutions. The 15-point reform charter recently given by the Vice President of India also clarified this.

Even after 70 years of independence, many institutions in India primarily function as regulatory ces rather than for governance and administration. These institutions, originating from colonial structures, have not evolved with the country's development, hindering the country's governance capacity through legitimate decline. This can be understood as dating back to the early colonial decades due nation-building planning, scale, and existential threats. When talking about governance capacity in India, we are not referring to specific governments or political parties, but rather considering the national institutions' power and capacity to serve and support the aspirations of its 5 crore people. The main question is: why are national institutions failing in public service and how can they be improved?

Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson, in their seminal paper 'The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development', stated that two types of institutions were established in former colonies - extractive institutions, mainly in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia where colonizers did not intend to settle and created national institutions to

2

exploit resources, and "Neo-Europes", which reflected European institutions in settler colonies like Australia and Canada. These had property rights protection and rule of law.

National institutions in India fall into two categories. They consider the Government of India Act (1935) as their foundation. Despite limitations, India had some regional autonomy with elected chief ministers and state assemblies. At the same time, the cornerstone of the Act allowed for the concentration of power in the hands of unelected, centrally appointed governors by dissolving state legislatures, obstructing laws, and diminishing the voice of elected representatives. Such centralization continued even after independence. It was supported as a way to ensure stability in the Constituent Assembly. In 1950, the Constitution gave significant powers to the central government to oversee state affairs through President's Rule, the Concurrent List, and the office of the Governor. Since then, despite the evolution in the country's development path, the nature of national institutions has largely failed to sustain them. For example, since independence, President's Rule has been imposed 121 times, by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (50 times between 1966-1977 and 1980-1984), and by the Janata Party (20 times between 1977-1980) for political gains rather than crisis resolution. Similarly, the high financial power held by the center weakens the concepts of cooperative federalism on which India was built and has led to irrelevant policies and decision-making.

1.2 Parliamentary system of government in India:

1. The executive is responsible to the legislature for its policies and actions.

2. The Indian Constitution provides for a parliamentary government at the center and in the states.

3. Articles 74 and 75 deal with the parliamentary system of government at the Union level.

   And Articles 163 and 164 contain provisions relating to the states.

4. The parliamentary system in India is derived from the Government of India Act 1935.

   1.3 Challenges faced by national institutions in India:

1.3.1 Criminalization of politics:

1. According to the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) report, the proportion of legislators with criminal cases has been continuously increasing. It was 15% in 2009 and reached 19% in 2019.

2. This has affected the standards of democratic debate, discussion, and dissent.

1.3.2 Dominance of archaic laws:

1. India is a young country, but it is still governed by old laws. For example, the police were governed by colonial-era laws like the 1861 Police Act, almost a century before independence.

2. Ancient laws are insufficient to address contemporary challenges.

1.3.3 Anti-defection law

1. The Anti-Defection Law (Tenth Schedule of the Constitution states that the Speaker/Chairman is the final authority to decide on the disqualification of legislators.

2. However, the role of presiding officers has been largely politicized. This has created doubts about the Speaker's role being biased, as recently seen in the Karnataka political crisis.

1.3.4 Decline of democratic representation:

1. According to the Anti-Defection Law, legislators must vote according to the party whip. Due to this, legislators have to vote according to party leadership commitments, regardless of their local or regional interests.
2. This has reduced dissent and diverse opinions in democracy.
3. India has a first-past-the-post electoral system, meaning candidates with the highest votes are elected.
4. This leads to neglecting the representation of voters who voted for another candidate.
5. Also, this voting system is not suitable for the representation of minorities, raising questions about representation.
6. Only 14.3% (78) of the total members in the current Parliament are women.

   All these factors combined have defeated the purpose of popular representative democracy.

1.3.5 Reducing standards in parliamentary scrutiny:

- To ensure that Parliament effectively discharges its law-making responsibilities, the concept of Department-related Standing Committees was introduced in March 1993. These committees are intended to scrutinize legislation related to specific ministries.
- However, most bills were passed by Parliament through a voice vote (without much discussion) and were not referred to parliamentary committees. For example, the RTI Amendment Act (2019), UAPA Amendment Act (2019) - which have a huge impact on civil liberties - were passed without being referred to a parliamentary committee.

1.3.6 Frequent conduct of elections:

1. India is a Union of 28 states, thus keeping India in a continuous cycle of Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assembly elections.
2. Frequent elections lead to huge expenditure and policy paralysis (due to the imposition of the Model Code of Conduct during elections).

1.3.7 Parliamentary powers curbing freedom of speech:

1. Parliamentary powers under Article 105 are sometimes used to curb press freedom through Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation (SLAPP).
2. SLAPP is a lawsuit intended to censor, intimidate, and silence under the guise of parliamentary powers.

1.3.8 Weak opposition in India:

- Democracy works on the principle of checks and balances. These checks and balances prevent democracy from becoming majoritarian.

4

- In a parliamentary system, these checks and balances are provided by the opposition party. However, a party's complete massive majority in the Lok Sabha has reduced the effective role of the opposition in Parliament.

1.4 Measures taken so far to improve the standards of national institutions in India:

1.4.1 Electoral bonds:

- To purify the system of political donations in the country, the electoral bond scheme was introduced in 2017.
- This is a useful step to reduce the black money in elections and to check political crimes.

1.4.2 Controlling anonymous donations:

- In the 2017-18 central budget, the government announced that the maximum cash donation a political party can receive from an individual is Rs. 2000.

1.4.3 NOTA:

- The NOTA (None of the Above) option on electronic voting machines was mandated by the Supreme Court of India in 2013. This allows voters to officially reject all contesting candidates.

1.4.4 Removal of ancient/outdated laws:

- As per the recommendations of the Rama Nujam Committee (2014), the government is considering repealing more than 1500 archaic laws.
- The bill to provide reservation for women in Parliament was introduced in 2008. However, it has not been passed yet.

1.5 Future measures to be taken to improve the standards of national institutions in India:

1.5.1 Legislative impact assessment

- Legislative impact assessment is necessary for a detailed understanding and subsequent framework.
- Every legislative proposal should have a detailed report on its social, economic, environmental, and governance impact.
- To review a legislative process and to ensure coordination, a new legislative committee should be formed by Parliament.

1.5.2 Codification of privileges:

- Parliament and state legislatures should define and limit their privileges.
- Article 105 should be amended to clarify the extent of immunity enjoyed by members under parliamentary privileges.

1.5.3 Parliamentary Committee reforms:

5

- Necessary steps are required to make the Department-related Standing Committees work effectively, such as a fixed tenure (instead of the current one year) and encouraging specialization.

1.5.4 Review of the Anti-defection law:

- The Anti-defection law should be limited to only allow discussion and debates in Parliament and to resolve no-confidence motions.
- The Speaker's decision-making power under the Anti-defection law should be transferred to the Election Commission of India.

1.5.5 Curbing criminalization of politics:

- In 2017, the Supreme Court asked the central government to implement the 12 fast-track courts formed in March 2018 to try criminal politicians within a year. However, only 7 such courts are currently functioning. Therefore, the government should make efforts to establish more fast-track courts.
- To curb the use of money in elections, India should adopt state funding of elections. For this purpose, a national election fund can be established, where all political donations will be deposited.

1.5.6 Legal reforms:

- The Representation of the People Act, 1951, can be amended to introduce a hybrid voting system. However, for simultaneous elections, a constitutional amendment is necessary.

1.5.7 Hybrid system of voting:

- This is a mix of the first-past-the-post and proportional representation voting systems.
- The Law Commission recommended this in its 170th report. It suggested that 25% or 136 seats in the Lok Sabha should be filled through proportional representation.
- This leads to better representation of all sections of society.

1.5.8 Simultaneous elections:

- This saves public money, reduces the burden on administrative setup and security forces, and enables timely implementation of government policies.
- This prevents the election machinery from being bogged down in election duties rather than governance.

1.5.9 Strengthening the Election Commission of India:

- Legal backing for Model Code of Conduct: To implement the Model Code of Conduct, the Election Commission of India (ECI) needs to be empowered with necessary powers. It would be good to give legal backing to the Model Code of Conduct without leaving any ambiguity.

1.5.10 Strengthen the role of the opposition:

- To strengthen the role of the opposition, a Shadow Cabinet institution can be established in India.
- "Shadow Cabinet" is a special institution in the British Cabinet system.
- It is formed by the opposition party to provide an alternative to the ruling cabinet and to prepare itself for future ministry.
- In such a system, the Shadow Cabinet minister should counter the actions of the Cabinet minister.

1.6. Conclusion:

Individuals and institutions provide a framework for functioning. The decline in the legitimacy of national institutions leads to a weakening of democracy. It leads to a decline in public trust and attempts to undermine the opposition. It is not just a cosmetic change, but it damages the institutions. The complete decline of governance...

1.7. Summary:

Even after 70 years of independence, many institutions in India primarily function as regulatory forces rather than for governance and administration. These institutions, originating from colonial structures, have not evolved with the country's development. They are hindering the country's governance capacity through legitimate decline. This can be understood as dating back to the early colonial decades due to nation-building planning, scale, and existential threats. In 1950, the Constitution gave significant powers to the central government to oversee state affairs through President's Rule, the Concurrent List, and the office of the Governor. Since then, despite the evolution in the country's development path, the nature of national institutions has largely failed to sustain them. The decline in the legitimacy of national institutions leads to a weakening of democracy. It leads to a decline in public trust and attempts to undermine the opposition. It is not just a cosmetic change, but it damages the institutions. The complete decline of governance... National institutions, if strong, will be respected.

1.9. Self-assessment questions:

1. Describe the origins of national institutions that run the Indian parliamentary system and the challenges they currently face?
2. Discuss the measures taken so far to improve the standards of national institutions in India?
3. Describe the future measures to be taken to improve the standards of national institutions in India?

1.10. Suggested Readings:

4. Seyoum, B., & Camargo, A. (2021). State fragility and foreign direct investment: The mediating roles of human flight and economic decline. Thunderbird International Business Review, 63(2), 159-174.

5. Didenko, N. 1., Romashkina, G. F., Skripnuk, D. F., & Kulik, S. V. (2020). Dynamics of Trust in Institutions, the Legitimacy of the Social Order, and Social Open Innovation. Journal of Open Innovation: Technology, Market, and Complexity, 6(4), 111.

6. Kohli, A. (1990), Democracy and discontent: India's growing crisis of governability. Cambridge University Press.

7. Zartman, I. W. (Ed.). (1995). Collapsed states: the disintegration and restoration of legitimate authority: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

8. Alagappa, M. (2001). Coercion and governance: The declining political role of military in Asia. Stanford University Press.

9. Kaviraj, S. (1984). On the crisis of political institutions in India. Contributions to Indian Sociology, 18(2), 223-243.

Lesson 2

INSTITUTIONAL ROOTS OF BUREAUCRATIC AND POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN INDIA

Learning Objectives:

Through this study, we will understand the following:

- Definition of Corruption and Corruption in India: Scale
- Nature of Bureaucratic and Political Corruption
- Causes of Bureaucratic and Political Corruption in India
- Eight Major Impacts of Corruption.
- Consequences of Bureaucratic and Political Corruption
- Measures Taken by the Government of India
- How can we end bureaucratic and political corruption in India?

Table of Contents:

Key Issues in Indian Politics

2.1. Introduction

Corruption is an ancient phenomenon that can now be seen everywhere. It is like a cancer in public life, which does not become prevalent and permanent in a single day; it strengthens over time. The word corruption means to destroy, do, or spoil a society or country. A corrupt society is characterized by immorality and a lack of fear or respect for the law. Corruption is the misuse of public power for private gain. Corruption comes in many different guises such as bribery, extortion, fraud, and coercion. Corruption has been defined as many things, including misuse of public goods, nepotism (favoring family members for jobs and contracts), cunning, and pending influence, each of which is absent in some respects. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to directly observe the behavior of employees or politicians because, generally, corrupt acts do not happen in broad daylight. According to the Oxford Dictionary, "corruption is the destruction of integrity in performing public duties through bribery or favoritism." The Webster Dictionary defines corruption as "inciting to wrong by illegal or unlawful means" as bribery. The most popular and simple definition of corruption was given by the World Bank. According to this definition, corruption is "the misuse of public power for private gain." It should not be concluded from this definition that there is no corruption in private sector activities. Especially in large private organizations, this phenomenon is evident, for example, in procurement or even in recruitment. Corruption also exists in private activities controlled by the government.

2.2. Corruption in India:-

In 2020, India's rank in the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) fell six places to 86th out of 180 countries. In 2019, India was ranked 80th out of 180 countries. Corruption has played a major role as a widespread aspect of Indian politics and bureaucracy.

The Indian economy was under a socialist ideology-driven policy for an entire generation from 1950 to 1980. Extensive regulation, protectionism, and public ownership shackled the economy, leading to pervasive corruption and slow growth.

Since 1991, economic liberalizations in India have reduced red tape and bureaucratic dominance in governance, supported the transition to a market economy, and transformed the economy with higher growth rates. However, even though the Indian economy has become the 4th largest in the world, growth has been uneven across social and economic groups, and poverty remains a major problem. Local and deeply entrenched corruption is a major factor in many social and political ills.

In Indian civilization, corruption has caused maximum suffering to society. The great Indian philosopher Kautilya in ancient Indian history says, "Just as it is impossible for a fish moving in water not to taste the water, even if it is in small quantities on the surface of the tongue, it is equally impossible for a government employee dealing with money not to taste it."

On the difficulty of identifying corruption, Kautilya says, "Just as a fish moving in water cannot be identified whether it is drinking or not drinking water, similarly, a government employee working in government work cannot be identified as taking money."

After independence, corruption has spread widely in the Indian official and political system and has now reached its peak. According to an international report, if it comes out in India, Indian black money is deposited in foreign banks, which are tax havens. With this black money, taxes can now be made zero for the next 30 years in India's annual budget. As an

example of how widespread it would become in the new India after independence, the scam that took place in 1948 in the purchase of jeeps required for military operations in Kashmir can be prominently mentioned. Other major scams include the Mudgal case (195), Mundra case (1957-58), Malaviya Sirajuddin scam (1963).

Nowadays, the administrative environment can be assessed through several observations. The A.D. Gorwala Committee was formed to suggest ways to improve the administrative system. The Santhanam Committee (1962), which examined the problem of corruption observed in 1964, "observed that the failure of integrity among ministers is not uncommon and there is an opinion that some ministers who have been in office for the past sixteen years have illegally enriched themselves. Through nepotism, they have benefited their sons and relatives and buried the purity in public life." In subsequent years,

Corruption is gradually spreading in Indian society. Effective measures to curb this threat have not yet been fully established.

In recent years, several major scandals involving high-level public officials have shaken the Indian public services. These scandals suggest that corruption has become a widespread aspect of the Indian political and official system. Some of the major scams are as follows:

1. Coal Allocation Scam (Estimated - 186000 Crores)
2. 2-G Spectrum Scam (Estimated - 176000 Crores) Commonwealth Games (CWG) Scam (Estimated - 70000 Crores)
3. 4 Mega Black Money Laundering Scam (Estimated - 70000 Crores)
4. Adarsh Housing Scam (Estimated - 18978 Crores)
5. Stamp Paper Scam (Estimated - 20000 Crores)
6. Bofors Scam (Estimated - 400 Millions)
7. Fodder Scam (Estimated - 950 Crores)
8. Hawala Scam (Estimated - 8000 Crores)
9. Satyam Scam (Estimated - 14000 Crores)
10. Stock Market Scam (Estimated - 3500 Crores)
11. Madhu Koda Scam (Estimated - 4000 Crores)

Some factual statistics prove that India is the most corrupt country in Asia. It is said that 1.38% of land and property deals in India involve bribes. In India, in 38% of land transactions, there are bribes in some form or the other, because for the buyer, this is the only way left. The entire nexus of government officials, politicians, judicial officers, real estate developers, and law enforcement officers controls the property business, in which they illegally acquire and sell land. Over 60 percent of enforcement officers take bribes. In fact, the police collect the highest amount of bribes. There are many methods of average bribes paid by a common Indian in a year, such as 30% for passport verification, 25% for traffic violations. Rs. 2500 from bold pre-journal exams, Rs. 500 for passport verification. According to Transparency International, officials collect 222 crores in bribes every year from trekkers/lorries, government regulators, police, forest, and sales and excise forces stopped on the roads, and 60% of this money is related to extortion. These delays lead to enormous losses in productivity. 60% of those who obtained a driving license from an agent

did not participate in the driving test. 31% of Members of Parliament have criminal cases against them. Only 40% of grain from government rations reaches the poor.

The Indian Constitution has three branches of government: legislative, executive, and judiciary. Each branch has clear mandates to function independently. For good governance, it is imperative that each of these units works with integrity and efficiency. Legislators are elected as public representatives and are responsible for making laws. The executive branch, comprising ministers, bureaucrats, and the entire government machinery, is responsible for implementing the laws framed by the legislatures. The judiciary impartially ensures that people are governed according to the law. It has the power to make any law. It can only interpret the laws passed by the lawmakers within the constitutional framework and give its judgments. But when corruption takes over, it indicates a loss of both integrity and efficiency in administration. Now, corruption in daily governance is widespread in every department of the Indian government system and politics.

The conduct of Indian legislators at the center and in the states is very desirable. Every time they are motivated by personal gain. From this point of view, corruption in assemblies is floor crossing, money for votes or other benefits for asking questions, making rules under the influence of large corporate entities at the expense of the general public, and criminalization of politics is another aspect of corruption in the current parliament. The fact is that a quarter of these MPs have criminal records and very serious allegations against them. This also clarifies the urgent need for electoral reforms to prevent criminals from entering Parliament or state assemblies.

In the executive branch, ministers are at the top of the hierarchy. They are responsible for formulating policies for the people. Because people have faith in them. and were elected by votes to form the government. In a recent analysis, we saw that the level of corruption among ministers is the highest, and the 2G Spectrum Scam, Coal Allocation Scam, Commonwealth Games Scam, Fodder Scam, etc., are the best examples of this.

In the Indian parliamentary system, the responsibility of implementing the policies made by the government at the ground level

is entrusted to the bureaucracy. But the report card of the Indian bureaucracy is also not very impressive. Official corruption in India thrives on red tape, complex procedures, and discretion. Governance in India is characterized by a lack of transparency in rules. A bureaucracy that enjoys complex procedures and wide discretion, according to an analysis of reports on bribe demands in India conducted by Trace International (published in January 2019). 90% of the demand for bribes came from government officials. This includes over 65% to avoid harassment, 50% for timely delivery of services to which individuals are still entitled, and almost 10% intended to provide any benefit. Official corruption has spread in the Indian administrative system with widespread practices such as bribery, nepotism, and misuse of official positions and resources.

The independence of the judiciary is guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. But corruption is also rampant in Indian courts. According to Transparency International, judicial corruption in India "is caused by factors such as delays in resolving cases, shortage of judges, and complex procedures. All of these are exacerbated by the prevalence of new laws." Approximately 3% of respondents in India perceive the judiciary as corrupt.

2.4. Causes of Bureaucratic and Political Corruption in India:

Corruption is a global phenomenon, and it is omnipresent. It has gradually grown and spread widely in our society. Corruption in India has wings, not wheels. As the country develops, corrupt individuals are also growing to invent new methods to cheat the government and the people. The cause of corruption is very complex.

Some causes of corruption are as follows:-

- The emergence of self-interest-based political elites rather than country-based programs and policies.
- Artificial scarcity created by some selfish individuals with malicious intent destroys the foundations of the economy.
- Corruption has arisen and grown due to changes in the value system and ethical qualities of the people who run the government. Old ideals of morality, service, and honesty are considered anachronistic.
- Public tolerance for corruption, lack of strong public outrage against corruption, and lack of a strong public platform to oppose corruption allow corruption to rule our people.
- Large population and widespread illiteracy and low economic infrastructure lead to local corruption in public life.
- In a high inflation economy, low salaries of government officials force them to indulge in corruption. Graduates from the Indian Institute of Management earn much higher salaries than government secretaries with no experience.
- Complex laws and policies prevent common people from seeking help from the government.
- Election time is the time when corruption is at its peak. Large industrialists fund politicians to meet high election expenses and eventually seek personal favors. Politicians buy government policies with bribes, and politicians buy votes with bribes. In the process of getting elected, politicians bribe the poor and illiterate.
- Low pay scales and wages
- Lack of strict and fast punishments
- Lack of unity among people
- Lack of awareness of fundamental rights among the people of India
- Lack of transparency in contracts and dealings
- Lack of an independent detective agency.
- Lack of adequate powers for the judicial system in India
- Lack of accountability.
- Encouragement of unhealthy competition in India
- Lack of effective management and implementation
- Lack of financial stability in India
- Lack of effective leadership in India

13

- Lack of autonomy
- Unemployment.
- Poverty and hunger
- Very low educational institutions and medical infrastructure,
- The vast population in India is the biggest cause of corruption in India.
- Another major cause of corruption in India is the nexus between political parties and industrialists.
- The emergence of interest-based political elites rather than country-based programs and policies
- Another major cause of corruption in India. Public tolerance towards corruption is another major cause of corruption in India.

2.5. Eight Major Impacts of Corruption:

1. Lack of quality in services
2. Lack of proper justice
3. Unemployment opportunities
4. Improper health and hygiene
5. Low growth rate of the economy,
6. Low foreign direct investment and low development rate
7. Low standard of living

2.6. Consequences of Bureaucratic and Political Corruption:-

Like development problems, corruption is also unethical. It can distort overall decision-making processes on investment projects and other commercial transactions and the social and political fabric of communities. In India, corruption is like a cancer to society. It is destroying the Indian economic, democratic, and political system.

Corruption reduces public revenue and increases public expenditure. This contributes to a large fiscal deficit, making it more difficult for the government to implement good economic policy. Corruption is likely to increase income inequality, as it allows well-off individuals to exploit government activities at the expense of others. Corruption distorts markets and resource allocation because it reduces the government's ability to impose regulatory controls and checks necessary to correct market failures. It acts as an arbitrary tax and diminishes the government's fundamental role. The market economy legitimizes and increases poverty.

India is the largest democracy in the world, and according to the basic corruption of democracy, the Indian constitution states that no tax shall be levied without the permission of the legislatures. The money yield through the tax process is the valuable wealth of the people, but black money is generated through corruption. This black money is like oxygen to corruption. According to an international report, the black money deposited in foreign banks is very high. If the entire amount of money is brought back to India, all foreign debts can be cleared, and then every Indian will get a profit of Rs. 20,000, or if the entire black money is brought back, it can make India tax-free for the next 30 years compared to the budget. This black money is destroying our democratic system.

14

Politically, corruption increases injustice and disregards governance or law. Fundamental human rights and freedom are at risk. Key judicial decisions depend on the corrupt bribes given to court officials rather than on the innocence or guilt of the concerned officials. Police investigations and arrests may be based on political harassment or personal revenge rather than legal reasons. Commenting on the socio-political consequences of corruption, the Supreme Court of India observed that corruption is like a cancerous disease in a civilized society. If not detected in time, it "leads to dangerous consequences and becomes fatal to the people."

Other consequences of corruption:

1. Increase in unemployment
2. Increase in hunger and poverty
3. Loss of Indian economic wealth
4. Decline in the growth of the Indian economy
5. Power and authority in the wrong hands.
6. Brain drain is the biggest consequence for India
7. Mental and social disorders (corruption is also a major cause of endless poverty as the rich get richer)

2.7. Measures Taken by the Government of India:

1. Demonetization, which banned 500 and 1000 rupee notes, which is the path to all evils like corruption, black money, and terrorism, is the biggest step.
2. Under the "Right to Information Act (RTI)", citizens can now ask the government how money was spent.
3. Through "Jan Dhan Yojana" and "Direct Benefit Transfer" schemes, bank accounts of millions of people have been opened, so that they can directly receive subsidies and benefits in their accounts.
4. E-auctions for spectrums and natural resources are a good step towards a corruption-free India.
5. The government is focusing more on digitalization. This will lead to more transparency in government functioning.
6. The government has introduced self-attestation of certificates and removed interviews from lower posts, so no one can bribe for jobs through interviews.
7. Another powerful check on corruption is the Central Vigilance Commission (CVC), which was set up by the government to advise and guide central government agencies in vigilance areas.

Anti-Corruption Laws in India:

1. Indian Penal Code 1860
2. Prosecution section of the Income Tax Act, 1961
3. Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988

4. Prevention of Money Laundering Act, 2002.

2.8. How can we end bureaucratic and political corruption in India?

Corruption

It is like cancer, it is necessary for every Indian to fight against it. Many new leaders have shown their commitment to eradicate corruption, but they soon became corrupt themselves and started accumulating huge wealth. Many are physically and financially based. There is no moral and ethical prominence in the business conduct of society. Why? Because such individuals or society or the country do not bear moral responsibility.

Corruption

There are many misconceptions about it. To fight corruption in India, public awareness is necessary. For this, it is necessary to improve our education system, because education is the best way to understand fundamental rights.

When people understand the value of morality and ethics in their lives and start believing, then corruption will be eradicated. When people truly believe in God and start living in a way that truly pleases God and humanity, then their lives

It should be implemented strictly, political parties should audit their accounts regularly and submit income tax returns, and many reforms such as preventing criminal background individuals from contesting elections should be implemented and brought. For a clean system, transparency, accountability, and impartiality are necessary, and the bureaucracy should be made more favorable, accountable, ethical, and transparent to the people.

To ensure timely and fair justice, courts should be started and cases should not remain pending in courts and justice should be delivered on time.

Independent bodies like Lokpal, Lokayukta, and Vigilance Commissions should be established with less expenditure to provide true justice. A strong Lokpal is necessary to eradicate corruption in India.

With the help of the Right to Information Act, citizens should be given the power to ask for information related to public services and other matters when necessary, and this information should be available to the common people. Such strict measures will definitely have a deterrent effect on corrupt officials.

2.9. Some more suggestions to end bureaucratic and political corruption:

- Give good salaries to government employees
- Bring transparency in the Indian financial system
- Try to make Indian society corruption-free
- Provide online payment options and bills for every transaction.
- Bring political parties under RTI.
- Determine the eligibility of Indian political leaders.
- Increase in digital and E-governance

- Build a transparent and clear system through clear rules
- More police reforms and excellent judicial system
- Block corrupt businessmen
- Bring more transparency in government employment rules.
- Keep inflation low.
- Speed up judgments and increase courts.
- If their crime score reaches a certain limit, their citizenship will be revoked with severe punishment.
- Disregard those who are not honest.

2.10. Conclusion:

Today, there is a lot of awareness about the institutional weaknesses that characterize corruption in Indian society. Such a weakness can be eradicated. This method has been widely understood. It is understood that it is necessary to eradicate institutional officials who are corrupt with this method. However, this awareness has turned into a question with the bureaucratic process. It is useful to note that the institutional reforms being developed for anti-corruption programs can be effectively utilized from the bureaucratic process. Similarly, it is important that any bureaucratic process, no matter how... and the bureaucracy and official awareness lead to definite results, and therefore, it is necessary to identify key institutional reforms in India and to formulate assistance for such reforms. Such initial reforms provide an opportunity to promote equality between prevention and implementation actions. Identifying the limitations for external actions has gradually led to a shift towards the middle path, because legal institutions are currently part of the corruption problem in India.

Therefore, corruption in India is a serious problem, it is like a disease, it is

Honesty and transparency are important for individuals, control over election expenses, and some key principles to combat corruption.

2.11. Summary:

Corruption is an ancient phenomenon that can now be seen everywhere. It is like a cancer in public life, which does not become strong and permanent in a single day; it strengthens over time. The word corruption means to destroy, do, or spoil a society or country. A corrupt society is characterized by immorality and a lack of fear or respect for the law. Corruption is the misuse of public power for private gain. Corruption comes in many different guises such as bribery, extortion, fraud, and coercion. Some factual statistics prove that India is the most corrupt country in Asia.

Corruption in India has wings, not wheels. As the country develops, corrupt individuals are also growing to invent new methods to cheat the government and the people. The cause of corruption is very complex. Corruption in India is a serious problem; identifying the limitations for external actions has gradually led to a shift towards the middle path, because legal institutions are currently part of the corruption problem in India. Therefore, corruption in India is a

Bribing: Influencing a person's judgment or behavior in a position of trust or authority by giving money or anything else that is acceptable.

Accountability: The government (or officials) is responsible for its actions to the public.

2.12. Self-Assessment Questions:

1. Define corruption and explain the root causes of bureaucratic and political corruption in India?
2. Discuss the nature of bureaucratic and political corruption?
3. Explain the eight major impacts of corruption?
4. Discuss the consequences of bureaucratic and political corruption?
5. Discuss the measures taken by the Government of India to curb corruption?
6. How can we end bureaucratic and political corruption in India?

2.13. Suggested Readings:

7. Gould, D. J., & Amaro-Reyes, J. A. (1983). The effects of corruption on administrative performance. World Bank Staff Working Paper, 380(2514).
8. Gupta, A. (1995). Blurred boundaries: the discourse of corruption, the culture of politics, and the imagined state. American ethnologist, 22(2), 375-402.
9. Das, S. K. (2000). Public office, private interest: Bureaucracy and corruption in India. Oxford University Press.
10. Verma, A., & Sharma, R. (2019). Combating corruption in India. Cambridge University Press.
11. Dauda, B. (2020), Corruption, Nepotism, and Anti-Bureaucratic Behaviors. In The Palgrave Handbook of African Social Ethics (pp. 317-338). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
12. Chakrabarti, B., Purayil, M. P., & Thakur, M. (2021). Studying Bureaucracy in Post-

Main Issues in Indian Politics

Colonial India: The Normative and the Quotidian. Journal of the Anthropological Survey of India, 70(1), 72-86.
7. Khatri, N., & Varma, A. (2019), Dynamics of corruption and cronyism in India. In Indian Business (pp. 61-71). Routledge.
Dr. V. Suresh

INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS TO CONTROL CORRUPTION - LOKPAL, CENTRAL VIGILANCE COMMISSION AND ELECTORAL REFORMS.

Study Objectives:

Through this study, we will understand the following:

1. Why are anti-corruption institutions necessary?

2. Background of the Lokpal system: Structure: Search Committee: Judicial jurisdiction and powers: Institutional limitations: Suggestions for improving performance, etc., will be studied.

3. History of the Central Vigilance Commission: Institutional and administrative functions: Jurisdiction and limitations, etc., will be studied.

4. Electoral reforms in India: Problems in electoral politics in India: Electoral reforms before 2000: Electoral reforms after 2000: Further necessary reforms for elections, etc., will be studied.

Syllabus Content

3.1. Introduction

3.2. Why are anti-corruption institutions necessary?

3.3.0 Lokpal

3.3.1. What are Lokpal and Lokayukta?

3.3.2. History of Lokpal

3.3.3. Structure of Lokpal

3.3.4. Lokpal Search Committee

3.3.5. Lokpal Judicial Jurisdiction and Powers

3.3.6. Lokpal Institutional Limitations

3.3.7. Suggestions for improving Lokpal's performance

3.4.0. Central Vigilance Commission (CVC)

3.4.1. Introduction to CVC

3.4.2. CVC - History

3.4.3. CVC - Institutional and Administrative Functions

Main Issues in Indian Politics

3.4.4 CVC - Powers
3.4.5. CVC - Jurisdiction
3.4.5.1. CVC Act, 2003

3.2

3.1. Introduction:

The Government of India is committed to "zero tolerance against corruption" and has taken several measures to combat corruption and improve the potential and accountability of government institutions. In this chapter, we are going to study the measures taken by the central government to formulate Lokpal, Central Vigilance Commission, and electoral reforms to control corruption.

3.2. Why are anti-corruption institutions necessary?

Abuse of power is like a termite that slowly erodes the foundation of a country and prevents the administration from completing its work. Corruption is the root cause of this problem.

Many anti-corruption institutions are not independent. The Supreme Court commented that the CBI is a caged parrot, which shows the level of CBI's performance.

Many of these agencies are advisory bodies with no effective powers, and their advice is rarely followed.

There is also a problem of internal transparency and accountability. Furthermore, there is no specific and effective mechanism to make these agencies.

In this context, the independent institution of Lokpal stood as a milestone movement in Indian constitutional history, providing a solution to the unprecedented threat of corruption.

3.3.0. Lokpal
3.3.1. What are Lokpal and Lokayukta?

The Lokpal and Lokayukta Act, 2013, was provided for the establishment of Lokpal for the Union and Lokayukta for the states.

These institutions are statutory bodies with no constitutional status. They perform the function of an "ombudsman" and investigate allegations of corruption against some public functionaries and related matters.

3.3.2. History:

1. In 1809, the institution of Ombudsman was officially launched in "Sweden."

2. In the 20th century, the Ombudsman as an institution developed most significantly after the Second World War.

3. New Zealand and Norway adopted this system in 1962, and it proved its importance in spreading the concept of Ombudsman.

4. In 1967, on the recommendation of the Wyatt Report, Great Britain adopted the Ombudsman institution in 1967 and became the first large country in the democratic world to have such a system.

5. In 1966, Guyana became the first developing country to adopt the concept of Ombudsman. Subsequently, it was also adopted by Mauritius, Singapore, Malaysia, and India.

6. In India, the concept of a Constitutional Ombudsman was first proposed in Parliament in the early 1960s by the then Law Minister, Ashok Kumar Sen.

7. The term Lokpal and Lokayukta was coined by Dr. L. M. Singhvi in 1966. The First Administrative Reforms Commission recommended the establishment of two independent authorities at the central and state levels to inquire into complaints against public functionaries, including MPs.

8. In 1968, the Lokpal Bill was passed in the Lok Sabha. But it lapsed with the dissolution of the Lok Sabha and has since lapsed many times in the Lok Sabha.

9. By 2011, eight attempts were made to pass the bill, but all failed.

10. In 2002, the Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution, headed by M.N. Venkatachaliah, recommended the appointment of Lokpal and Lokayuktas and also recommended keeping the Prime Minister out of its jurisdiction.

11. In 2005, the Second Administrative Reforms Commission, chaired by Veerappa Moily, recommended the establishment of the Lokpal office without delay.

12. In 2011, the government formed a Group of Ministers headed by Pranab Mukherjee to suggest measures to combat corruption and consider the Lokpal Bill proposal.

21

13. The "India Against Corruption Movement" led by Anna Hazare pressured the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government at the Centre, resulting in the Lokpal and Lokayukta Bill, 2013, being passed in both houses of Parliament.

14. It received the President's assent on January 1st, 2014, and came into force on January 16th, 2014.

3.3.3. Structure of Lokpal:

1. Lokpal is a multi-member body, consisting of a Chairperson and a maximum of 8 members.

2. The Lokpal Chairperson should be a former Chief Justice of India or a former Judge of the Supreme Court or an eminent person with impeccable integrity and outstanding ability, having special knowledge and expertise of at least 25 years in matters relating to anti-corruption policy, public administration, vigilance, insurance and banking, law, and management, including finance. (Out of a maximum of eight members, half should be judicial members and at least 50% should be from SC/ST/OBC/Minorities and women).

3. A former judge of the Supreme Court or a former Chief Justice of a High Court as a judicial member of Lokpal.

4. The non-judicial member should be an eminent person with impeccable integrity and outstanding ability, having special knowledge and expertise of at least 25 years in matters relating to anti-corruption policy, public administration, vigilance, insurance and banking, law, and law.

5. The term of office of the Lokpal Chairperson and members is 5 years or until the age of 70 years.

6. Members are appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Selection Committee.

7. The Selection Committee consists of the Prime Minister as Chairperson, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, the Leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha, the Chief Justice of India or a Judge nominated by him/her, and an eminent jurist.

8. For the selection of the Chairperson and members, the Selection Committee constitutes a Search Panel of at least eight persons.

3.3.4. Lokpal Search Committee:

1. According to the Lokpal Act of 2013, the DoPT should prepare a list of candidates interested in becoming Lokpal Chairperson or members.

2. This list goes to the proposed eight-member Search Committee, which shortlists the names and places them before the Selection Panel headed by the Prime Minister.

3. The Selection Panel may or may not choose the names suggested by the Search Committee.

4. In September 2018, the government constituted a Search Committee headed by former Supreme Court Judge Justice Ranjana Prakash Desai.

5. The 2013 Act also provides for the establishment of the Lokayukta office within one year of the commencement of the Act.

3.3.5. Lokpal Judicial Jurisdiction and Powers:

1. The jurisdiction of Lokpal includes the Prime Minister, Ministers, Members of Parliament, Group A, B, C, D officers, and central government officials. The Lokpal's jurisdiction includes the Prime Minister, except for corruption allegations related to international relations, security, public order, atomic energy, and space.

2. Lokpal has no jurisdiction over Ministers and MPs in any matter or vote given in Parliament.

3. Its jurisdiction also includes any person established by central law or responsible to society or a Director (Director/Manager/Secretary) or any other person funded/controlled by the central government and involved in abetting, giving or taking bribes, and any other persons.

4. According to the Lokpal Act, all government officials must provide their assets and liabilities, as well as those of their dependents.

5. It has powers of superintendence and direction over the CBI. If Lokpal refers a case to the CBI, the investigating officer in such a case cannot be transferred without Lokpal's approval.

6. The inquiry wing of Lokpal has the powers of a Civil Court.

7. Lokpal has the powers to confiscate assets, income, receipts, and benefits generated or acquired through corruption in special circumstances.

8. Lokpal has the power to recommend the transfer or suspension of a public servant involved in an allegation of corruption.

9. Lokpal has the power to issue orders to prevent the destruction of records during preliminary inquiry.

3.3.6. Lokpal Institutional Limitations:

- The Lokpal institution sought to bring much-needed change in the administrative structure of India in the fight against corruption, but at the same time, loopholes and shortcomings need to be rectified.

- Even though five years have passed since the Lokpal and Lokayuktas Act 2013 was passed by Parliament, not a single Lokpal has been appointed so far, indicating a lack of political will.

- The Lokpal Act called upon states to appoint Lokayukta within one year of the Act coming into force. But only 16 states have established Lokayukta.

- Lokpal is not free from political influence as its appointment committee includes members of political parties.

- The appointment of Lokpal can be manipulated as there is no criterion to determine a 'prominent jurist' or 'person of integrity'.

- The 2013 Act did not provide concrete immunity to whistleblowers. The provision to initiate an inquiry against the complainant if the accused is found innocent discourages people from filing complaints.

- Excluding the judiciary from the purview of Lokpal is the biggest drawback.

- Lokpal has no constitutional support and there is no adequate facility to appeal against Lokpal.
- Specific details regarding the appointment of Lokayukta are entirely left to the states.
- To some extent, the necessity of CBI's functional independence has been met by the change brought about by this Act in its Director selection process.
- A complaint against corruption shall not be registered after a period of seven years from the date on which the offense mentioned in such complaint is alleged to have been committed.

3.3.7. Suggestions for improving Lokpal's performance:

1. To address the problem of corruption, the anti-corruption institution should be strengthened in terms of functional autonomy and availability of manpower.

2. Greater transparency, more right to information, and empowerment of citizens and civil groups are needed, along with good leadership that is subject to public scrutiny.

3. The appointment of Lokpal alone is not enough. The government should address the issues that people are demanding for Lokpal. Simply adding the strength of investigative agencies will increase the size of the government but will not improve governance. The government's adopted slogan of "minimum government and maximum governance" should be followed in letter and spirit.

4. Furthermore, Lokpal and Lokayukta should be financially, administratively, and legally independent, who are called upon to inquire and investigate.

5. Lokpal and Lokayukta appointments must be made transparently, thereby reducing the chances of wrong persons entering.

6. To prevent excessive concentration of power in any one institution or authority, multiplication of decentralized institutions with appropriate accountability mechanisms is needed.

3.4.0. Central Vigilance Commission (CVC)
3.4.1. Introduction:

The Central Vigilance Commission is the apex vigilance institution, without control from any executive authority, overseeing all vigilance activities under the central government and advising various authorities in central government organizations on planning, implementing, reviewing, and reforming their vigilance work.

Vigilance means ensuring clean and prompt administrative action towards achieving the efficiency and effectiveness of the organization, especially of the employees and generally of the organization, as it tends to waste, losses, and financial decline.

The CVC was established by the government in February 1964 on the recommendations of the Anti-Corruption Committee headed by Shri K. Santhanam. In 2003, Parliament enacted the CVC Act, which provided statutory status to the CVC. The CVC is not controlled by any Ministry/Department. It is an independent body responsible only to Parliament.

3.4.2. CVC History:

- The Special Police Establishment (SPE) was established by the Government of India in 1941. The functions of the SPE began during the Second World War to investigate cases of bribery and corruption in war & supply transactions. Even after the war ended, a central government agency was felt necessary to investigate cases of bribery and corruption by central government employees.

- The Delhi Special Police Establishment Act (SPE) came into force in 1946.

- After the Act was promulgated, the superintendence of (SPE) was transferred to the Home Department, and its functions were extended to all departments of the Government of India.

- The jurisdiction of SPE was extended to all Union Territories, and the Act provided for its extension to states with the consent of the state government.

- By 1963, (CVC) was empowered to investigate offenses under 91 different sections of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) and 16 other central laws, including the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947.

- A central police agency at the central government that could only investigate cases of bribery and corruption was growing, but there was a need for an institution to investigate: violations of central financial laws, large frauds related to departments of the Government of India, public joint-stock companies, passport frauds, crimes in oceans, airline crimes, and serious crimes committed by organized gangs and professional criminals.

- On the recommendations of the Santhanam Committee on anti-corruption, the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) was established on April 1, 1963, by a resolution of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Later, it was transferred to the Ministry of Personnel, and now it attains the status of an attached office.

- In 1964, the Central Vigilance Commission (CVC) was established by the government on the recommendations of the Santhanam Committee to advise and guide central government agencies in the field of vigilance.

- In the Vineet Narain judgment, the Supreme Court (1997) issued directions regarding the superior role of the CVC. In this case, the role of the Central Bureau of Investigation was criticized, and the court directed that the CVC be given a supervisory role over the CBI.

- To provide statutory status to the CVC and powers to supervise the functioning of the Delhi Special Police Establishment (CBI), and to review the progress of inquiries related to it, the government issued an Ordinance in 1998: The offenses committed under the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988, will be investigated.

- The "Central Vigilance Commission Act, 2003" came into force, giving statutory status to the Commission. After the CVC Act, 2003, came into force, the Commission became a multi-member body consisting of a Central Vigilance Commissioner (Chairperson) and not more than two Vigilance Commissioners (members).

- 2003 Whistleblowers The Supreme Court, in a writ petition filed by a whistleblower, directed the establishment of a mechanism to deal with complaints from

25

whistleblowers working on corruption or misuse of power. Following that direction, the Government of India notified the Public Interest Disclosure and Protection of Informers (PIDPI), 2004. This resolution became known as the "Whistleblowers" resolution, and it appointed the Central Vigilance Commission as the agency to investigate complaints or external disclosures of corruption or misuse of power from whistleblowers.

- In 2013, Parliament enacted the Lokpal and Lokayukta Act, 2013. This Act amended the CVC Act, 2003, and thereby empowered the Commission to conduct preliminary inquiry and subsequent investigation on complaints referred by Lokpal.

3.4.3. CVC - Institutional and Administrative Functions:

1. The Central Vigilance Commission has its own secretariat, Chief Technical Examiner (CTE), and Departmental Enquiries (CDI) in the Commission. For investigation work, the CVC relies on two external sources: CBI and Chief Vigilance Officers (CVO) in various government organizations.

2. The multi-member Commission consists of a Central Vigilance Commissioner (Chairperson) and not more than two Vigilance Commissioners (members).

3. The Central Vigilance Commissioner and Vigilance Commissioners are appointed by the President on the recommendation of a committee consisting of the Prime Minister (Chairperson), the Home Minister (member), and the Leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha.

3.4.4. CVC - Functions:

1. CVC accepts complaints on corruption or misuse of power and recommends appropriate action. The following institutions/systems or an individual can approach the CVC:
    - Central Government
    - Lokpal
    - Whistleblower

2. Any individual, or a government institution, or an external individual (media, high government officials, or police, etc.) who has reported any mistake or provided some information to the public or some high official. Cheating, corruption, etc., should be in the form of these.

3. It is not an investigating agency, but it completes the investigation through CBI or Chief Vigilance Officers (CVO) in government departments.

4. It has the power to investigate offenses committed by certain categories of government employees as per the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988.

5. It provides details of the work done by the Commission in its annual report and also suggests systemic failures that lead to corruption in government branches.

3.4.5. CVC - Jurisdiction:
3.4.5.1. CVC Act, 2003:

- Union and Central Government Group - A officers and All India Service members related to their conduct.
- Officers of Scale - V and above in government sector banks.
- Officers of Grade - D and above in Reserve Bank of India, NABARD, and SIDBI.
- Chief Executives and Executives in the Boards and Schedule "A" and Schedule "B" public sector undertakings and other officers above E-8.
- Chief Executives and Executives in the Boards and Schedule "C" and Schedule "D" public sector undertakings and other officers above E-7. Managers and above in General Insurance Companies.
- Senior Divisional Managers and above in Life Insurance Corporations.
- Officers drawing a salary of Rs. 8700/- and above. And central government D.A. (Dearness Allowance) notification, and this can be extended to societies and other statutory bodies at any time.

3.4.5.2. Lokpal and Lokayuktas Act, 2013:

1. The Act amended certain provisions in the CVC Act, 2003, and thereby empowered the Commission to conduct preliminary inquiry for complaints referred by Lokpal related to Group "B", "C" officers and officers.

2. For Group "A" officers, for this, the Commission has to establish a Directorate of Inquiry for preliminary inquiry.

3. For Group "A" and "B" officers, the Commission will send such matters referred by Lokpal for preliminary inquiry to Lokpal.

4. For Group "C" related to such Lokpal referrals, the subsequent inquiry (after preliminary inquiry) to the Commission..................

3.4.5.3. Whistleblowers Protection Act, 2014

The Whistleblowers Protection Act, 2014, empowers the Commission as the competent authority to:

Accept complaints of corruption or misuse of power or any other misuse of authority by any public servant in a public interest and investigate such external disclosures or cause an investigation into such complaints and protect the person making such complaints.

- Even though CVC is "relatively independent" in its functioning, it has no power to take action on corruption complaints or officials.

3.4.7. Conclusion:

In recent times, India has emerged as a progressive and powerful economic system in the world. With the rapid growth in all sectors of the economic system, heavy investments have been made in the basic facilities of the country. Construction, retail, and many other sectors

in the economic system, fast-growing corruption has spread widely. To combat corruption in the CVC system, it is necessary to rectify the loopholes. At present, there is a greater need.

3.5. Electoral Reforms in India
3.5.1. Introduction:

Elections are the most important part of the world's largest democracy, democratic governance system in India. Only when elections are held freely and fairly can a true democracy function. When the first three general elections were held freely and fairly, the decline in standards began in 1967. It is generally accepted that elections in many countries are a counter-productive measure to political corruption. In the following sections, we will discuss the issues in this regard and some attempts at electoral reform.

3.5.2. Problems in Electoral Politics in India:

There are many problems in the election process in India. Some of the most important ones are listed below.

Money Power:
Candidates in every constituency have to spend crores of rupees for campaigning, propaganda, and other things. Many candidates exceed the permitted expenditure limit.

Muscle-Power:
In some parts of the country, during polling, violence, intimidation, booth capturing, and other such

Criminalization and Politicization of Criminals:
Criminals enter politics and use money and muscle power to win elections. As a result, cases against them do not move forward. Even political parties are happy as long as winning candidates are there. Political parties nominate criminals in elections for money and provide them with political patronage and protection.

Misuse of Government Machinery:
The party in power misuses government machinery, such as declarations with government expenditure, declarations with government expenditure, transfers of ministers, and opportunities to improve other ways. Their candidate wins...

Dummy Independent Candidates:
Serious candidates field dummy candidates to split votes and reduce the good share in the votes.

Casteism:
Some caste groups have strong support for certain political parties. Therefore, political parties offer various caste groups to win. And caste groups try to pressure parties to give tickets to their members for elections. Casting votes on caste lines in the country is a serious blot on democracy and equality. It also creates divisions in the country.

Communalism:
The multi-party system, parliamentary system, secularism, and socialism have a strong impact on Indian political culture.

Decline in Ethical Values in Politics:

Political corruption in India has paved the way for politics to become a business. Earning money and seizing power for money and power enter the public political arena. There are very few leaders who bring change in their public lives. The Gandhian values of service and sacrifice are not visible in the Indian political arena.

3.5.3. Electoral Reforms Undertaken So Far:

Electoral reforms undertaken by election officials can be broadly divided into two categories:

Before 2000 and After 2000. Both are discussed in the section below:

3.5.3.1. Electoral Reforms Before 2000:

1. Reduction of Voting Age:

   The 61st Amendment Act of the Constitution reduced the minimum voting age from 21 to 18 years (1988).

2. Deputation to Election Commission:

   All personnel working in preparing, revising, and correcting voter lists for elections are considered on deputation to the EC for the job. And they are supervised by the EC.

3. Increase in Number of Proposers and Security Deposit:

   The number of voters required to sign as proposers in nomination papers for Rajya Sabha and State Legislative Council elections has been increased to 10% of the voters in the constituency or whichever is less to prevent dummy candidates. Security deposit has also been increased to deter serious candidates.

4. Voting Machine (EVMs):

   First introduced during the 1998 elections in Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan, EVMs are now widely used as they are foolproof, efficient, and environmentally a better option.

5. Disqualification on Punishment for Violation of National Honors Act, 1971:

   This leads to a disqualification of a person from contesting elections to Parliament and State Legislatures for 6 years.

6. Restriction on Contesting from More Than 2 Constituencies:

   A candidate cannot contest from more than 2 constituencies.

7. Death of a Contesting Candidate:

   Previously, elections were opposed upon the death of a contesting candidate. In the future, no election will be countermanded upon the death of a contesting candidate. If the deceased candidate is recognized If set up by a national or state party, the concerned party will be given an opportunity to nominate another candidate within 7 days of the EC issuing a notice through elections.

8. Carrying weapons to or near a polling booth is prohibited by law. This is punishable by imprisonment up to 2 years.
9. On poll days, employees of organizations get paid leave and violation of this is punishable by fine.
10. Ban on liquor sales: No liquor or other intoxicants shall be sold, given, or distributed in any shop, eating place, or any other place, private or public, in the polling area for a period of 48 hours before the hour fixed for the conclusion of the poll.
11. By-election limit: By-elections to any house of Parliament or a state legislature shall be held within six months of the vacancy.
12. Campaign period reduced.

3.5.3.2. Electoral Reforms After 2000:

Electoral reforms aim at the electoral process in the country. A list of such electoral reforms is given below.

a) Ceiling on Election Expenditure:

Currently, there is no limit on the amount a political party can spend in elections or on a candidate. But, the Commission has imposed limits on individual candidates' expenses. For Lok Sabha elections, it is Rs.50-70 lakhs (depending on the state they are contesting the Lok Sabha seat from), and Rs. 20 - 28 lakhs for Assembly elections.

b) Restriction on Exit Polls:

Before the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, the EC issued a statement that exit poll results can only be broadcast after the final phase of elections. This was done to ensure that prospective voters are not misled or biased in any way.

C) Voting by Postal Ballot:

In 2013, the EC decided to expand the scope of postal ballot voting in the country. Previously, only Indian personnel on missions abroad and defense personnel in a limited way could vote by postal ballot. Now, there are 6 categories of voters who can use postal ballot:

Service voters, special voters, wives of service voters and special voters: - Voters under preventive detention, voters on election duty, and notified voters.

d) Awareness Creation:

The government has decided that January 25, the founding day of the EC, should be celebrated as 'National Voters' Day' by the EC.

e) Political parties must report any contribution above Rs.20000 to the EC to claim income tax benefit.

f) Declaration of criminal antecedents, assets, etc. by candidates is required and declaring false information in the affidavit is now an electoral offense, which can lead to imprisonment up to 6 months or fine or both.

3.5.4. Reforms Still Needed for Elections:

3.5.4.1. ....:

- State Funding of Elections: A system where the state bears the election expenses of political parties contesting elections. This brings transparency to the funding process as public finance limits the influence of interested donors and thereby helps curb corruption.

Simultaneous Polls:

The time has come to implement simultaneous polls due to their benefits such as conducting elections by the ECI and reducing the expenses of political parties.

Central Law:

The Public Interest Foundation and R. vs. Union of India 2018 case, the SC placed the responsibility on Parliament to undertake concerted efforts to prevent the criminalization of politics and cleanse the political system in the country. It is time to formulate appropriate legislation like FRBMA, 2003 (Fiscal Responsibility and Budget Management Act - which imposes a limit on fiscal deficit). If a limit is introduced by parties within the legal ambit (based on the ratio of budget resources they have), perhaps all parties will have a level playing field and unsustainable populist measures can be kept in check.

- The Law Commission in its 255th report on electoral reforms recommended strengthening the ECI election commission office to provide more independence and to provide teeth.
- 'First Past the Post System', where the person with the highest votes (even with one extra vote) is declared the winner, needs to be changed. Instead, a minimum percentage of total votes polled can be fixed to declare a candidate a winner. This can prevent criminals from being elected as not everyone in the constituency votes party-wise.

3.5.4.2. Reforms at Party Level:

Limit on party expenditure: There should be a limit on party expenditure. A timeframe should be set to calculate party expenses and publicly disclosed before the actual election date, so that voters and concerned officials are informed in advance. Consequently, political parties should be held accountable by auditing their accounts.

Political parties should grow ethically and self-discipline should limit their use of money power. Also, the flow of black money in the election process should be taken care of. Political parties should be brought under the purview of the Right to Information Act (RTI) Act, 2005. All parties should be given equal media space or airtime to provide a level playing field.

3.5.4.3 Voter Level Reforms:

- Voters should be made aware of the importance of their vote. They should be educated.

3.6.

The vicious cycle of corruption and the decline in the quality of democratic politics require bold reforms, addressing the governance system, and effectively regulating political financing. Reforming loopholes in existing laws to make the entire governance machinery more accountable and transparent is key. Also, the local administration should be held responsible and accountable. So that their burden is not borne by political parties.

According to statistics, the annual burden on party workers to indirectly manage an assembly constituency is Rs.3-4 crores. This gives birth to a strong relationship between party workers and bureaucracy,

who take small contracts, police case interventions, etc. in exchange for money, which leads to misuse of the administrative process. When a voter compromises on ethical values and accepts a gift or cash for his/her vote, he/she loses the right to question the government. Therefore, citizens should vote in elections based on the character, conduct, skill, and ability of the candidates, and not based on cash, caste, community, and criminal prowess. This may be the ultimate solution to check the power of money in politics. Constitutional executives who have pledged to uphold constitutional principles should be responsible for ensuring that the current political framework is not polluted by the evil of corruption.

3.7. (Summary):

The Government of India is committed to "zero tolerance against corruption" and has taken several measures to combat corruption and improve the potential and accountability of government institutions. Misuse of power is like a termite. It slowly erodes the foundation of a country and prevents the administration from completing its work. Corruption is the root cause of this problem. Many anti-corruption organizations are not independent, and many of these agencies are advisory bodies with no effective powers and their advice is rarely followed. In this context, this chapter discusses the history, structure, functions, and limitations of Lokpal, Central Vigilance Commission, and also comprehensively discusses the reforms of the electoral system, which is the root cause of all types of corruption.

3.8. Technical Terms:

Reforms: Improving the performance (of someone or something) by removing or correcting defects, problems, etc.

Ombudsman: A person who investigates, reports, and helps resolve complaints: a person usually associated with an organization or business who acts as an advocate for patients, consumers, employees, etc.

Penal Code: A code of laws relating to crimes and offenses and their punishment.

Secretariat: The administrative division of a government organization.

3.9. Self-Assessment Questions:

1. To what extent is the need for anti-corruption organizations in India necessary?

2. What are Lokpal and Lokayukta?

3. Write an essay on the background, structure, judicial jurisdiction, and limitations of Lokpal?

4. Give suggestions for improving the performance of Lokpal?

5. Write an essay on the functions, jurisdiction, and limitations of the Central Vigilance Commission?

6. Explain the problems in electoral politics in India?

7. Explain the electoral reforms undertaken so far in India?

8. Give your suggestions for the reforms needed for elections in India?

3.10. Suggested Readings:

2. Srinivas, J. H., & Srinivas, C. (2021). India. In The International Compendium of Construction Contracts (pp. 415-460). De Gruyter.
3. Sharma, A. (2013). From Hawala scam to Coalgate: An analysis of financial scams in India. Available at SSRN 2395931.
4. Krishna, M. D. (2013). The Higher Judiciary and the Prime Minister under the Ambit of the Lokpal: A Comparative and Constitutional Perspective. International Journal of Social and Economic Research, 3(2), 212-219.
5. Abedin, N. (1986). Transplantation of the ombudsman institution in developed and developing countries. The Round Table, 75(300), 333-353.
6. Jain, M. P. (1970). Lokpal: Ombudsman in India. Bombay: Academic Books.
7. Bhattacharya, K., & Mitra, S. K. (2014). More Can Be Less: Hyper Plurality of Can didates, the Rationality of Electoral Choice, and Need for Electoral Reform in India. India Review, 13(1), 15-39.
8. Blais, A. (Ed.). (2008). To keep or to change first past the post?: the politics of electoral reform. OUP Oxford.
9. Colomer, J. (Ed.). (2016). The handbook of electoral system choice. Springer.
10. Mehta, P. B. (2001, October). Is electoral and institutional reform the answer?. In SEMINAR-NEW DELHI- (pp. 66-69). MALYIKA SINGH.

HISTORICAL ROOTS OF
COMMUNALISM IN INDIA

Learning Objectives:

Through this study, we will understand the following:

- What is communalism?
- History of communalism in Indian society
- Factors contributing to the rise of communalism in India

Table of Contents

4.1 Introduction:

Communalism in the Western world is referred to as "a doctrine or system of government

in which virtually autonomous local communities are federated. Communalism is a political philosophy that proposes to abolish the market and money and place land and businesses under community control. But in the context of the Indian subcontinent, communalism is associated with tensions and conflicts between different religious groups in different regions. different religious groups in different regions.

4.2. What is communalism?

Communalism is an ideology consisting of three elements: -

1. A belief that people following the same religion have common secular interests, meaning they have the same political, economic, and social interests. Thus, socio-political groups arise here.

2. In a multi-religious society like India, these common secular interests of one religion differ and are distinct from the interests of followers of another religion.

3. The interests of followers of different religions or different 'communities' appear completely irrelevant. Communalism is the political business of religion. It is the ideology underlying religious politics. And religious violence has the imagined consequences of religious ideology.

4.3. History of communalism in Indian society:

If we discuss Indian society, we find that ancient India was united and there were no such religious sentiments. People lived together peacefully and accepted each other's culture and traditions. For example, Ashoka practiced religious tolerance and primarily focused on Dhamma.

In the medieval period, we have examples like Akbar, who epitomized secular practices and believed in promoting such values by abolishing the Jizya tax and initiating the concepts of Din-i-Ilahi and Ibadat. Similar acceptance of diverse cultures and traditions was observed in many kingdoms across India, which led to peace and harmony, with the exception of some sectarian rulers like Aurangzeb who at least did not tolerate other religious practices. But, such intentions were entirely guided by their personal greed for power and wealth.

Such rulers and their actions - imposing taxes on religious practices of other communities, destroying temples, forced conversions, killing Sikh gurus, etc. played a key role in further increasing and establishing the notion of religious differences in India. But, these incidents were not common, a large number of Indians were rural and away from such influences and people coexisted peacefully. However, they were very strict in practicing their own customs and practices. But it never became an obstacle to peaceful coexistence. Overall, Hindus and Muslims had common economic and political interests in those days.

Communalism in India arose as a result of the emergence of modern politics, which has its roots in the partition of Bengal in 1905 and separate electorates under the Government of India Act, 1909. Later, the British government appeased various communities through the Communal Award in 1932, which faced strong resistance from Gandhiji and others. Through the Communal Award, the colonial government mandated that consensus on any issue among various communities (i.e., Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and others) was a prerequisite for further political development. All these actions were taken by the British government to satisfy Muslims and other communities for their political needs. Since then, this communal notion has intensified. It has fragmented Indian society and caused unrest.

4.4 Factors contributing to the rise of communalism in India

The stagnant economy in India under British rule and the divide and rule policy were important factors contributing to the rise of communalism in India.

4.4.1 Stagnation of Indian Economy under British Rule:

The stagnation of the Indian economy under British rule is an important factor contributing to the rise of communalism in India. It is deeply rooted and an expression of the tastes and aspirations of the middle class in a social setup where opportunities are insufficient for them. The religious question, therefore, is equivalent to the middle-class question. The main attraction and main social base of communalism are also among the middle class. However, it is important to note that even in the 1990s and 1940s, a large number of middle-class individuals were non-communal.

According to Bipan Chandra, until 1937, communal politics revolved around government jobs, educational concessions, and political positions such as seats in the Legislative Council, municipalities, etc. These initiated control over these and other economic opportunities. According to him, communalism developed as a weapon of economically and politically resistant social classes and political forces. Class leaders and parties generally allied with these classes and forces. Due to their ability to distort and divert public struggle, selfish

interests have purposefully fostered communalism. It prevents the public from understanding real problems.

4.4.2. British Rule and its Divide and Rule Policy:

The growing British government and the Indian people's desire to unite as one nation and resist it, and to weaken it, used communalism. The colonial rulers presented it as a problem of minority protection. The British rule continued to appear as a cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. They were either favorable to one community or unfavorable to another in their services and promotions. The British policy of acting sluggishly to curb religious violence also contributed to the growth of this evil. Separate electorates were another aspect of British policy.

4.4.3. Hindu Shade in Nationalist Thought and Propaganda:

During the nationalist movement, a strong religious element entered nationalist thought and propaganda. They glorified medieval Indian culture and emphasized ancient Indian culture. Hindu nationalism was used to mobilize daily political agitation. In that way, Tilak used Ganesh Puja and Shivaji festival to spread nationalism, and also started the anti-partition Bengal agitation in Ganga.

4.4.4. Collective Perspective on Indian History:

The communal and distorted perspective of Indian history, especially the ancient and medieval periods, was also a reason for its growth. In this regard, the British historian James Mill in the early 19th century described the ancient period of Indian history as the Hindu period and the medieval period as the Muslim period. Other British and Indian historians followed him in this regard.

These writings portrayed all Muslim rulers and all Hindus as rulers. In that way,

4.4.5. Other Factors:

Paul R. Brass in his edited book Riots and Pogroms states that riots, rumors, and "psychological atmosphere" occur. However, after the partition wound, riots became more frequent. After the Jabalpur riots in 1961, the graph of riots began to rise.

According to Brass, "assemblies or groups of individuals violently break peace" and violence is "systematized chaos." Since independence, we have had two major killings. One was in 1984 against Sikhs in Delhi in the context of Indira Gandhi's assassination. The second was in December 1992 and January 1993 in Mumbai after the demolition of the Babri Masjid.

According to Asghar Ali Engineer Foundation, Jawaharlal Nehru's knowledge and mechanics were less effective than he wished. Firstly, partition severely injured the Hindu psyche. Secondly, the revival of Hindu-Muslim economic competition gave rise to a religious ideology. Thirdly, the growth of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) which Hedgewar founded in 1925 began. Since then, the systematic process of historical distortion through party textbooks and educational texts has attempted to permanently establish Hindu-Muslim history with the government.

4.4.6. Word of Mouth/Rumors:

almost every major communal riot, rumors play a role through the media. Due to proximity to the source, many regional newspapers spread rumors as "news."

The Mandal Commission's recommendation was implemented. BJP recognized the Hindu vote bank, and its president, LK Advani, announced a "Rath Yatra" on August 23. His communal procession went from Somnath in Gujarat to Ayodhya in UP, in the context of which riots broke out.

This propaganda directly led to the demolition of the Babri Masjid on December 6, 1992. In Mumbai alone, after December 1992 and January 1993, more than 800 people died in the riots.

In Surat, the death toll exceeded 300. In Mumbai, the police acted with partiality.

According to Asghar Ali & Govind Ballabh Pant, Jawaharlal Nehru ignored the advice given by Ram Lal in 1948 to demolish the mosque. If he had not, the Babri Masjid would never have been built after four decades.

4.5. Conclusion:

Religious fanaticism and political party opportunism are necessary for religious fanaticism. Majority and minority communal riots and political tag-of-war between religious parties result in a religiously charged atmosphere. Propaganda, unchecked rumors, and partial police intensify the violence and erode peace and stability.

Minority communalism is many times weaker than majority communalism. Governance in power

Mandatory Objective:

The objectives and goals of the governance body, and a definite form in its implementation, have been given (however, the actual objective may change over time), and it is believed that the bureaucracy will follow the governance objectives in implementing the laws.

Legislative Oversight: A process by which the bureaucracy's work is continuously monitored to determine its adherence to the governance objectives of the legislative body.

Liberal Democracy:

It is based on the idea that political establishment is a primary form, universal suffrage, and limited government.

4.7. Self-Assessment Questions.

1. What is communalism?
2. Explain the history of communalism in Indian society?
3. Explain the factors responsible for the growth of communalism in India?

4.8. Suggested Readings

4. Chandra, B. (2008). Communalism in modern India. Har Anand Publications.
5. Bayly, C. A. (1985). The Pre-history of ; Communalism? Religious Conflict in India, 1700-1860.

   Modern Asian Studies, 19(2), 177-203.
6. Golwalkar, M. S. (1939). Our nationhood defined. Nagpur, India: Bharat Prakashan.
7. Engineer, A. (Ed.). (1997). Communal riots in post-independence India. Universities Press.
8. Pandey, G. (2006). The construction of communalism in colonial North India.
9. Gopal, S. (Ed.). (1991). Anatomy of a confrontation: the Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhumi issue. Penguin Books.
10. Panikkar, K. N. (Ed.). (1991). Communalism in India: History, Politics, and Culture. South Asia

Lesson -5

FUNDAMENTALS OF MAJORITY COMMUNALISM IN INDIA

Learning Objectives:

Through the study of this chapter, we will understand the following:

- Growth of Majority Communalism in India
- Examples of communal riots
- Different perspectives on communalism
- Doctrinal discussion on Majority Communalism
- Suggestions for eliminating Majority Communalism

Chapter Content

5.1. Introduction

5.2. Growth of Majority Communalism in India

5.3. Examples of communal riots.

5.4. Different perspectives on communalism

5.4.1. Colonial perspective

5.4.2. Nationalist perspective

5.5. Doctrinal discussion on Majority Communalism

5.6 Suggestions for eliminating Majority Communalism

5.7 Conclusion

5.8. Technical Terms

5.9. Self-Assessment Questions

5.1. Introduction:

Communalism originated from religious fundamentalism, which believes that only one's own religion is the true faith. Communalism is an ideology of a social, political, or religious group, and their religion and practices are superior to other groups. Religion is a very

personal and sensitive issue for many. Therefore, any suggestion related to one's religion immediately provokes hatred and violence. Communalism is a

Division, by emphasizing the importance of one religion over others, effectively incites animosity even if the teachings and values of all religions are not different, due to conflicts of interest and the desire for dominance. It has also been observed in various instances that religious leaders incite fanatic behavior among followers through extremist speeches, and political leaders do the same to secure their vote bank for power.

5.2. Rise of Majoritarian Communalism in India:

Some scholars attribute this to the stagnation of the economy during British rule. Economic stagnation might have affected the aspirations and economic well-being of certain sections of society. Scholars believe that this section of society is generally referred to as the 'middle class'. They used communalism as a weapon for their survival at the expense of other classes in society. Subsequently, other leaders from the community and political parties joined in to fuel the tension of communalism in India. The emergence of modern politics with the partition of Bengal in 1905 and the presence of separate electorates under the Government of India Act, 1909, can be well illustrated by this. Later, the British government appeased various sections through the Communal Award in 1932, despite resistance from Gandhiji and others. All these actions were taken by the British government to satisfy Muslims and other communities for their political needs. Since then, the concept of communalism has intensified, fragmenting Indian society and causing unrest.

Before independence, the British used the policy of 'divide and rule' to weaken nationalist aspirations by creating a rift between Hindus and Muslims, favoring one community over another in terms of services and opportunities. This led to religious tensions between the two groups, and therefore, Hindu-Muslim disunity is believed to have occurred during the continuation of British rule in India.

During the national movement, a strong Hindu religious element was introduced into nationalist thought. Orientalist writings that glorified Hinduism and periods in history became a source of pride for nationalist ideas and the motherland. In this process, Muslims appeared as aliens. Other factors believed to fuel communal flames are distorted news spread through rumors and media, which disseminate misinformation to the public. Also, political parties resorted to appeasement politics, through which restrictions were used to appease various ethnic, religious, and cultural groups for votes.

These vote-bank politics greatly adopted appeasement strategies by providing services and opportunities to certain sections of the population against other communities.

5.3. Examples of Religious Riots:

a) Partition of India, 1947.

b) Anti-Sikh riots, 1984

c) Ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindu Pandits in 1989

d) Demolition of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya, 1992

e) Assam religious violence, 2012

f) Muzaffarnagar violence, 2013

5.4. Different Concepts on Communalism
5.4.1. Colonial Perspective

The British saw 'Hindu-Muslim antagonism' long before the term 'communalism' emerged. Colonial thinkers like Macpherson, in his work 'Origin and Growth of Communal Antagonism', rejected the idea that 'communalism' is "a modern invention, a product of recent political developments". This specifically refers to the politics of separate electorates. To prove his point, Macpherson cited the Tenarus riots of 1809 and the testimony of the "Bengal landlord" regarding the ancient enmity between Hindus and Muslims during the Muslim invasion of India.

5.4.2. Nationalist Perspective

For nationalists, both nationalism and 'communalism' are responses to colonialism, but the former is the 'correct' response and the latter is wrong. Nationalism proposes a unified and co-existent culture of historical cooperation between Hindus and Muslims, which was fueled by colonial rule, especially the British rulers' divide and rule policy in India.

5.5. Ideological Debate on Majoritarian Communalism:

Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing an open session of the All India Congress Committee in New Delhi in May 1958, stated that "majoritarian nationalism communalism is more dangerous than minority communalism." He argued that such communalism "wears such a disguise." "Communalism is deeply rooted in us and it quickly comes out with a small provocation, and even good people start behaving like barbarians when this communalism is provoked in them." The growing communalism in Indian civil society requires special scholarly attention. Nehru's ideas on democratic socialism and secularism, and the system of governance based on other matters known as the Nehruvian consensus, are completely contrary to the actual religious incentive process. It is debatable that it has collapsed irrecoverably, but the Hindutva project attempting to replace it has found its unstable state. There was a weak consensus on Nehruvian secularism from the beginning. Majoritarian Congress secularism can never be considered true secularism.

This foundational weakness and the mass corpus of pre- and post-partition communalism - riots, mass migrations, displacement, rapes, and murders - can help explain why clearly peaceful individuals show an island belonging to this generation. In moments color and animation, they transform into disguised communalists. Observing individuals who support the ruling party for the abrogation of Article 370 and those who do not, those who earlier supported demonetization and those who did not, and finally, those who strongly oppose CAA-NRC-NPR. That, they can be considered arguing Indians and the whole exercise can be considered a perfectly normal symbol of a powerful democracy. But when the popular argument degenerates to the level of treating Muslims as second-class citizens, denying their basic qualifications or worse, "teaching them a lesson or driving them out, the deep illness of majoritarian communalism is no longer exposed. The real trouble is that disruptive and socially divisive policies are creating deep fissures and creating irreconcilable hatreds right up to our drawing rooms. Worse, they are gaining popularity. They are certainly intended to do so.

Nirad C. Chaudhuri, in his book 'Hinduism: A Religion to Live By', explained how school teachers impressed upon their students "rather than feeling about Muslims as we do" and that Islam spread by force.

Muslims abducted women, and their rulers desecrated temples and forcibly converted Hindus to their faith. This demonization, which continues to this day, has rarely been forcibly confronted. After the mass political violence in late 1946, such apocalyptic explanations were not uncommon when the Hindu Mahasabha's movement for a "Hindu homeland" resonated powerfully with Hindus fearing permanent minority status in a Muslim-majority nation-state.

"Only the victory of Hindutva will help create." No Muslim writer, Savarkar or Golwalkar, wrote this. But Girilal Jain, the influential editor of the Times of India from 1978 to 1988, in his 1994 book "The Hindu Phenomenon," wrote about "an environment that compels them to try and overcome the inertia of tradition reinforced by the Ulemas." Now, even though the air is filled with calls for protests against CAA-NRC-NPR, and new battle lines are being drawn, there are not many occasions to enthusiastic as India's long-standing secular expectations have now become questionable. It is not very beautiful to see that a technically secular state government can formulate a law with clear bias against Muslims, which comes out with the belief that it will be supported by many people. If anyone wonders about the immense prevalence of a dual state when the entire country with more than 1.3 billion people is held hostage, the real reason for concern is the popularity and institutional support they command. Therefore, whether the unconstitutionality of CAA will automatically attract its annulment and be interpreted by the Supreme Court is not as certain as we live with less bias.

What is at stake? The popular opinion that India is a secular country because many Hindus are secular-minded - an idea consistent with the Hindu right, which identifies secularism in Indian thought with 'Sarva Dharma Sambhava' (all dharmas or religious beliefs are equal or harmonious with each other) - clarifying the concept of 'dharma' as evidence of India's essential religious tolerance and secular inclination.

Historian Partha Chatterjee once expressed doubt whether secularism as a theory could confront the problem of majoritarian communalism. It cannot. Only people, in practice and in principle, can fight in and out of crisis. That is why the protests at Jamia Millia

Islamia (JMI) University or Shaheen Bagh or Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) and elsewhere are very important to save the soul of India. India must win this numbers game to win the millennium battle.

5.6 Suggestions to Eliminate Majoritarian Communalism:

1. Role of Law and Order Administration - The police have an important role in preventing and spreading communal riots and flare-ups. They should act responsibly in confronting violence and work in cooperation with peace committees and conflict members in communities to resolve tension.
2. Role of Education - Study subjects should be free from any religious content and partial opinions about specific religions. It should, in fact, teach secular principles, appreciation, and respect for all religions. Schools and higher education institutions should use various teaching tools to promote national values and religious harmony. Teachers should be trained to motivate students to organize community programs with the involvement of their parents, neighbors, and others to promote secularism, nationalism, cooperation, and tolerance.
3. Role of Religious Leaders - Religious leaders play a very important role because their teachings are followed by the masses. People look up to their leaders, so these leaders should preach the importance of religious harmony through their speeches.

4. Role of Media - The media should act responsibly and avoid presenting news in a way that further encourages violence. Instead, the media should identify and expose communal elements. It should create a platform for discussion with information about the adverse effects of communal activities.
5. Role of NGOs - They should go for large-scale publicity campaigns in the media promoting communal harmony and national unity. They should draw public attention to more serious national issues and educate people about the adverse consequences of riots and destruction based on religious intolerance.
6. Ban on Religious Political Parties - The government should revoke the recognition of political parties directly or indirectly associated with communal forces. They should not play with people's religious sentiments and use them for political gain. This will help foster harmony among various communities.
7. Public Awareness - Awareness should be raised among the public about the harmful effects of communalism. Our Constitution, which declares India a secular country, has made provisions to protect the interests of all religions and to be above the code of any religion. Therefore, one should learn to prioritize national interests over one's religious views.
8. Security - All communities should be treated equally. People from minority communities should not feel isolated. Instead, confidence should be instilled in them so that they feel safe and secure to participate in national development. In a multi-religious society like India, followers of all religions live and practice their faith. From time to time, communalism shows its distorted face in many expressions. Demolition of mosques, killing of devotees in a train in Godhra and subsequent Gujarat massacre, recent Hindu-Muslim riots in Muzaffarnagar and Saharanpur, destruction of churches in Madhya Pradesh, killing of priests, harassment and intimidation of minority communities, conversion of Dalits and tribal Christians, and so on. These anti-social, inhuman, and barbaric expressions of extremist forces will lead to an insecure, divisive, and dangerous future for the country. Majoritarian communalism poses a serious threat to secularism. Consequently, democracy is in danger, and the peaceful harmonious coexistence of Indians belonging to diverse religious beliefs and faith systems is at risk.

5.8. Technical Terms

Mandate: An order from the government to do something.
Participatory Democracy: Some believe that political and philosophical democratic government depends on the special involvement of affected citizens in government decision-making processes. A related term is citizen participation.

PLURALISM:

A social and political concept emphasizing the appropriateness of group organization as a means of protecting broad group interests in society, and the diversity of groups and their activities. It considers groups to be good and that bargaining and competition among them benefit the public interest.

Sub-governments:

[32] The tendency of bureau[32]crats to seek political support for their programs from groups outside the formal hierarchy that possess resources unavailable to bureaucrats, primarily legislative committees and organized interest or pressure groups (also known as iron triangles).

5.9. Self-Assessment Questions

1. Write about the rise of majoritarian communalism in India?
2. Explain different concepts on communalism?
3. Discuss the ideology of majoritarian communalism?
4. Give suggestions to eliminate majoritarian communalism?

5.10. Suggested Readings

1. Palshikar, S. (2004). Majoritarian Middle Ground?. Economic and Political Weekly, 5426-5430.

2. Singh, P. (2015). Institutional communalism in India. Economic and political weekly, 48. 56.

3. Ludden, D. (Ed.). (1996). Contesting the nation: Religion, community, and the politics of democracy in India. University of Pennsylvania Press.

4. Singh, M. P. (1994). Secularism and Communalism in India: Dialectics and Dilemmas. The Indian Journal of Political Science, 55(2), 91-98.

5. Sircar, O. (2020). Proto-fascism and State impunity in Majoritarian India: An Interview with Teesta Setalvad. Jindal Global Law Review, 11(1), 135-156.

6. Hasan, Z. (1990). Changing Orientation of the State and the Emergence of Majoritarianism in the 1980s. Social Scientist, 27-37.

Lesson - 6
IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS OF MINORITARIAN COMMUNALISM IN INDIA

Study Objectives:
Through this study, we will understand the following:

- Inequality in power relations
- Institutional communalism
- Reasons contributing to the rise of minoritarian communalism in India

Syllabus Content

6.1 Inequality in Power Relations

6.2. Institutional Communalism

6.3 Reasons for the Growth of Minoritarian Communalism in India

6.4 Decline of Nehruvian Secularism

6.4.1 Role of RSS and BJP Politics

6.4.2 Accusations of Majoritarian Communalists

6.4.3 Polarizing Votes

6.4.4. Minorities Portrayed as a Burden on National Resources.

6.4.5. Lack of Genuine Commitment to Secularization by Leaders

6.5 Solution to Minoritarian Communalism

6.6 Conclusions

6.7. Technical Terms

6.8. Self-Assessment Questions

6.9. Suggested Readings

6.1. Introduction:

Communalism can be considered an ideological concept. It can encompass the social, economic, and political aspects of a group of individuals. Communalism is often used by political and religious leaders as a tool to divide and exploit people's religious identities to advance their opportunistic political and economic interests. Communalism damages the roots of a country's democracy, secularism, and national unity and shakes its foundation. The discourse and politics of equal distance from majoritarian communalism and minoritarian communalism are flawed because they equate two unequal concepts. The Indian nationalist perspective on this equidistant stance focuses more on attacking minoritarian communalism, as it is considered a separatist threat to India's territorial integrity, whereas majoritarian communalism - even if it develops into fascism - does not threaten India's territorial integrity.

45

The secular fundamentalist perspective, through its ideological rejection of religious groups, in practice, strengthens the existing power of the majoritarian communal group. The institutional Hindu communalist perspective rejected the policy of equality on the grounds that majoritarian communalism is prevalent in multiple institutions in India and increases the vulnerability of religious minorities in India. This can only be defeated from an egalitarian perspective by recognizing the social, cultural, and political power of religion.

6.2 Inequality in Power Relations:

The main flaw in the arguments made by Dalwai and to some extent Guha is that they failed to recognize the enormous inequality in the structure of power relations between the majority Hindu society and minority religious communities (Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Christians) in India. By equating two unequal parties, the discourse that equates majoritarian and minoritarian communalism further strengthens the power of majoritarian communalism and thereby exacerbates the inequality in power relations.

There are two distinct arguments that equate majoritarian and minoritarian communalism, and both are flawed. One line of thought is inspired by Indian nationalist ideology. Devotees who seek to create a unified Indian national identity see religious/sectarian nationalism in both majority and minority groups as dangerous. However, in this narrative, only minoritarian communalism is considered to have the potential to affect the country's territorial integrity. Majoritarian communalism is considered dangerous only because it increases the alienation of minorities and incites them to secession. Therefore, the criticism of majoritarian communalism is merely derivative, aimed at promoting minoritarian communalism. Since majoritarian fanaticism is believed not to harm India's territorial integrity by its very nature, majoritarian communalism is not at the center of its attack - although it recognizes the possibility of developing into authoritarianism or fascism. So this argument focuses solely on criticizing minoritarian communalism. In this nationalist framework, equating minoritarian and majoritarian communalism actually

Minoritarian communalism has more enemies than majoritarian communalism. Therefore, this perspective ultimately promotes the unequal power relations between the majoritarian Hindu society and various religious minorities in India. The failure or inability of majoritarian members to recognize and honor the attempts of minority members to create communal harmony, and to recognize and honor the attempts of minority members to create communal harmony, has been a failure. The protection of minority communal identity, as a social foundation, or as a response to the conditions of a common people, arises from the response of the people. The attempts by minority communal members to create communal harmony are often ridiculed by the discourse that mocks them as "minoritarian communalism", and thus we are given more opposition to those who oppose majoritarianism. For the sake of a purushartha, or for the sake of self-help networks, or for the sake of reversing the white caste discrimination, or for the sake of minoritarian caste communal movements (black

equating communalism and majoritarian communalism, and the widespread effects of majoritarian communalism's growth, weaken ideological means and political practices.

6.3. Institutional Communalism:

The institutional communalism described in India has permeated into widespread institutions of Hindu majoritarianism and highlights the depth of Hindu majoritarianism in these institutions. It brings to light the enormous inequalities between the majoritarian Hindu society and religious minorities. The vulnerability of two-Christian and Sikh minorities in India has been highlighted by their experiential dimension; the Christian population in India is only 2%. Even the largest religious minority in India, Muslims, are only 13% to 14% of the Indian population. The institutional communalism of Hindus, who are in the largest number in India, strengthens the importance of the majoritarian communal framework and also strengthens its use in understanding the structural inequality in power relations between the majoritarian community and minority religions. Institutional

6.4. Reasons for the Growth of Minoritarian Communalism in India

6.4.1. Decline of Nehruvian Secularism:

After independence, Nehru adopted a Western concept of secularism and opposed mixing religion with politics. His secular ideas gained great appreciation among scholars, and not only that, it was also appreciated by minorities, especially Muslims. In the post-Nehruvian period, secular commitment and opportunistic policies were seen to weaken. However, as a party, communalism, and secular and socialist ideologies continued to be promoted, it transformed into a unique goal of achieving victory in elections. The 80s and 90s have been shown to be very dangerous from this perspective. The continuous growth of Hindu fanaticism; the nation's secular governance has been continuously failing. As a result, the country is destroyed, and on the other hand, leaders created a vote bank system to turn Hindus and Muslims into separate voters. In election time, political leaders try to turn each vote bank towards themselves. Some policies are also created for each class. The gradual behavior of political leader has further strengthened the communal politics of fundamentalists. According to Newton's third law, for every action, there is an equal and opposite reaction. The same applies to communalism. We should understand that communalism only increases fanaticism. We should understand that communalism also promotes terrorism and at the same time gives encouragement to riots and inciting riots. On December 6, 1993, the unofficial Indian Mujahideen attacked a few dozen people with bombs; many of them gained Pakistani citizenship. The demolition of the famous Babri Masjid in Ayodhya was the first and only incident that sparked these riots. Similarly, the killings and atrocities against Muslims and minorities after Godhra, and the injustices that occurred, instigated.

6.4.4. Vote Polarization:

Even when there are aspirations for statehood in communal ways, no political party follows the statehood order with sincerity, and it weakens the foundation of the democratic process. If elections are polarized in a communal perspective, minorities may stay away from voting, and their vote results in Gujarat elections and the 2014 general elections were not affected. But, such an act, from a person who nurtured trust, should be taken as the last resort. Even if it is absurd - if one day, he will have the power to choose his ruler. Polarization You do not and we will not tolerate you.

6.4.5. Minorities Portrayed as a Burden on National Resources:

It is clear to anyone that these forces in power, and less educated and less successful Muslim minorities, have been portrayed as a burden on national resources and an obstacle to the country's economic progress. Communalism is a dangerous fallacy to equate fundamentalism with another form. There are both minoritarian communalism and majoritarian communalism in India. But the real question remains. What is the clear answer? Genuine production, and communalism's growth are a responsibility.

6.4.6. Lack of Genuine Commitment to Secularization by Leaders:

The limited secularism of India rested on the shoulders of leaders in the post-Nehruvian era, and many of them had a traditional background.

and this idea stands for coexistence. This idea shows how harmonious relations can be formed and how they can be permanent. Economic growth and saving independence are very important now. There is no doubt that there is unity, cooperation, and brotherhood in the country. It is not possible. At present, communal forces are dormant. They view every problem from their own perspective and ideology. In this context, composite nationalism has never been as relevant as it is today. People belonging to different castes, religions, and races, and speaking different languages, and belonging to different regions, should live with patriotism, human values, and good intentions along with their native land. They should abandon hateful feelings and narrow-mindedness. They should understand that gaining God's grace and attaining salvation is the purpose of religion. Such a path to salvation is different in different religions. But the goal is one. Religion teaches us compassion, love for humanity, and universal brotherhood. No religion preaches hatred among human beings.

With these feelings, every citizen should strive for the peace, progress, and stability of the country. In this effort, the state has a role, and in its work, any religion will necessarily be with its symbol. will be.

Allocative Effect:

Ways in which policies influence the allocation of resources. Allocative Function: Changing resources to priority (and non-priority) areas.

Authorizing Legislation:
A law that authorizes the continuation of a specific program or agency, or its establishment.

Interest Group:

Any group or organization that has an interest in the work and actions of a given official, agency, or institution, and seeks to support it; also, an interest (sometimes geographical area) provided by an elected or appointed government official.

State Policy:

A policy designed to benefit the public or to provide service to the government.

6.8. Self-Assessment Questions:

1. How do inequalities in power relations contribute to the growth of minoritarian communalism in India? Explain.

2. How does institutional communalism contribute to the growth of minoritarian communalism in India? Explain.

3. What are the reasons contributing to the growth of minoritarian communalism in India?

6.9. Suggested Readings

1. Sheth, D. L. (2009), Political communalisation of religions and the crisis of secularism Economic and Political Weekly, 71-79.

2. Jalal, A. (1997). Exploding communalism: the politics of Muslim identity in South Asia. Nationalism, democracy and development: State and politics in India, 79.

3. Jalal, A. (2010). Beyond communalism, Communalism and Globalization in South Asia and its Diaspora, 163, 86.

4. Hoffman, M., & Bagdanov, H. E. (2020). Defensive minoritarianism: support for democracy among Lebanese Christians. Religion, state & society, 48(5), 378-397.

5. Ratti, M. (2013). The Postsecular Imagination: postcolonialism, religion, and literature. Routledge.

6. Renzi, B. (2015). Anti-caste Radicalism, Dalit Movements and the Many Critiques of Secular Nationalism in India. In Multiple Secularities Beyond the West (pp. 63-94). De Gruyter.

7. Roy, K. (2015), Indian Secularism-Distinctive Ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Lesson - 7

INDIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL INEQUALITIES: THEIR NATURE

Study Objectives:

Through this study, we will understand:

- How the Indian social structure was formed based on which aspects, and how it shaped the life patterns of caste system, class, and family, and what their forms are.
- From what time social inequalities have grown in Indian society and what their forms are.
- What were the social consequences due to inequalities.
- We will learn about these aspects through this lesson.

Syllabus Content

7.1 Indian Social Structure - Characteristics

7.2 Nature of Social Inequalities

7.2.1 Growth of Social Inequalities

7.2.2 Forms of Social Inequalities

7.2.3 Consequences of Inequalities:

7.3 Suggested Readings

7.4 Questions

7.1. Indian Social Structure:

Social structure refers to the framework of social relations. When individuals interact with each other according to the norms of society and their respective statuses, a social relationship is formed. In social structure, individuals with extraordinary characteristics form themselves as a complete whole. The Indian social structure is a unique phenomenon. It indicates the external angles in society. Every social institution has its norms. This can be a group, institution, or system.

7.1.2 Characteristics of Indian Social Structure

(a) Pluralistic Society:

The Indian society, having a complex social order, is described as a pluralistic society. It is troubled by divisions of many castes, languages, religions, and races.

(b) Rural Society:

Approximately 70% of the Indian population lives in villages. Indian villages continue to develop. Rural areas are still troubled by the lack of basic amenities.

The benefits of industrialization and technological progress, which urban areas have experienced, have not yet reached rural areas. At present, our government has started giving due priority to rural development.

(c) Economically Backward Country:

India has achieved significant progress in business and industrial sectors.

However,

1. continues to be an economically backward country. Even now, it continues to be the 64th poorest country in the world. A large portion of our country's population lives below the poverty line.

(d) Cultural Diversity:

Cultural diversities have emerged in the minds of people in every region of society. They influence society and the political system. Culture includes science, customs, traditions, symbols, various arts, music, beliefs, social institutions, family, buildings, etc. All these aspects come under culture. These cultural aspects guide the country's political system and provide guiding principles to the people to protect it.

(e) Caste System:

The caste system is one of the oldest social systems in India.

It is described as a system that has been in existence for many years in society, and many life patterns have been systematically formed due to this caste system. It is stated in the Vedas that the caste system was formed.

7.6. Racial Diversity:

The Indian social aspect has a unique pattern of various races. The people of India belong to an ancient lineage. Over time, new races joined the existing races in India, and society became stabilized as many races. They are mainly Negrito, Mongoloid, Proto Australoid, Mediterranean, etc.

These races live in India. The Indian social system has to make decisions in a way that keeps all races on the same track and is acceptable to everyone. The Indian social system has maintained unity in diversity. This idea helped the British to separate the country.

It is said that it is one caste and it is under one political system. The Indian social system is a great nation that cooperates.

7.7. Religious System:

Various religions coexist in India. This is another characteristic of the Indian social system. This religious sentiment has the power to greatly influence individuals, institutions, and the political system of the Indian society. It is because of this that the Indian political system has adopted a secular policy. At present, due to social changes, this religious system is facing a threat to its balance and integrity. Communalism is perceived as a danger.

7.8. Family System:

The family plays a prominent role in Indian society. The joint family system is prevalent in Indian society. The joint family system is useful as a center for solving many social problems in Indian society. It provides protection to the elderly, disabled, and unemployed.

However, due to many reasons today, the joint family system has disappeared and the nuclear family system has emerged.

This has become the center of many evils today.

7.11. Illiteracy:

The illiteracy and ignorance of the people are another important characteristic of the social system in India. Approximately 60% of the population in India continues to be illiterate. Illiteracy creates many social problems. To eliminate the illiteracy rate, effective government actions and strong social support are necessary.

country, the people of India are different from each other in many aspects like economic, social, cultural, religious, etc. The main reason for inequality is the difference in economic statuses among people. In India, people who have the same language, religion, or caste can generally be observed to live together in society if their economic status is the same. India, being a developing country, needs to focus on equal growth in its economic system. However, in reality, there is always inequality in the distribution of wealth and income. This inequality in distribution also leads to social and economic injustice, and ultimately needs to be eliminated.

To reduce and eliminate such inequality, the Indian government has taken many measures like the five-year plans. However, instead of reducing inequality, it has gradually increased and become widespread over time.

7.2.1 Growth of Social Inequalities:

After implementing reforms in the 1990s, India achieved an unprecedented growth rate. However, this growth also Strong Inequalities:

Inequality due to caste is one of the main reasons for discrimination and inequality. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, who are most affected by caste discrimination, are subject to inequalities in almost every aspect. And their situation is backward in terms of health, education, and material lists. In India, (SC) and (ST) are still considered untouchables and they are only given limited opportunities. Many laws and regulations have been formed

to reduce caste discrimination, but untouchability and inhuman acts still exist. It was introduced to create an environment where no person is treated inhumanely due to caste.

7.2.4 Gender-based inequalities:

Women are subject to social inequalities due to gender discrimination. In the past, women were only considered to be born to do household chores. Due to this, they were also far from education. But today, due to the changes occurring in society, women have also achieved new progress in education and employment aspects. However, women are still given lower wages than men.

For them, Article 39(2) of the Indian government Equal work Equal pay and Article There are. Among these, economic opportunities and health standards are decreasing.

1.2.6 Consequences of Inequalities:

Even after many policies and programs were started to reduce and eliminate inequalities, the country faces a great tragedy as there has been no significant reduction in inequality and discrimination so far. India is still considered a developing country. The main reason behind this is the unequal distribution of wealth, and the people of lower castes who belong to poor families And many unemployed people are working for daily wages. They cannot get opportunities for livelihood. As the rich become richer and the poor become poorer, due tothis destructive caste system, inequalities continue across the country. India, being a developing country, needs to focus on how inequalities will decrease and how people will get equal opportunities, services, employment, and material distribution. What is another consequence of growing inequality is that the Gini coefficient continues to increase. India is a country with extreme inequalities. Another consequence of inequality is the situation where the poor are getting poorer: the government and its policies and programs can be effective and help people below the poverty line.

Inequalities are still continuously increasing in the country. States must formulate strict laws and regulations to reduce inequalities. For proper legislation and its implementation, proper administration must be established. Thereby, inequality will be reduced in all aspects.

Books to Read:
1. Srinivas - "Social Change in Modern India".
2. Preamble of Indian Constitution.
3. S.K. Chatterjee - Language and Linguistic Problem

Questions
1. Explain the social structure of India?
2. Write an essay on social inequalities in India?

Lesson - 8

MODERNIZATION - ITS IMPACT ON SOCIETY AND CHANGES IN THE CASTE SYSTEM AND CLASS SYSTEM DUE TO MODERNIZATION

Study Objectives:

Modernization can be considered synonymous with globalization, which has led to a new trend in the current social lifestyle. Through this lesson, what is modernization? How has modernization impacted social aspects in India? What changes have occurred in the caste system and class system due to this? And at what levels do the major classes and the dynamics of the caste system begin in Indian society? These aspects will be discussed.

Lesson Content:

8.1. Introduction

8.2. Characteristics of Modernization

8.3. Different Responses to Modernization

8.4. Modernization in India

8.5. Various Changes in Caste and Class Relations in India as a Result of Modernization

8.6. Major Classes in India

8.7. Mobility in the Caste System

8.8. Books to Read

8.9. Questions

8.1. Introduction

Modernization and its impact on Indian society. The term 'modernization' is a broad and complex term. According to (ShAtates), "Modernization is the process of introducing modern scientific knowledge into society with the ultimate goal of achieving a better and more satisfying life in the broader sense of the term accepted by society."

Professor Yogendra Singh said, "Modernization refers to a rational perspective towards problems and their evaluation, but not from a specific viewpoint." He also said that modernization is rooted in a scientific worldview and has a deep and positive association with the levels of dissemination of scientific knowledge, technical skills, and resources.

Professor (SC) Dube - "Modernization refers to a general pattern of behavior," (CE) Black in his work "Dynamics of Modernization" defines modernization as follows: "Modernization is

a process by which historically developed institutions adapt to rapidly changing functions. It reflects an unprecedented increase in man's knowledge. This allows him control over his environment." Here Black gave primary importance to institutions and their roles in the modernization process.

WC Moore suggested that "modern society has specific economic, political, and cultural characteristics."

In the modern field, modern society is categorized by the following aspects:

(A) Development in technology

(B) Innovative economic aspects

(C) Scope of savings and investments

(D) Market expansion

Goals of society's modernization in the political sphere:

(A) Decline of traditional rulers

(B) Rulers developing ideology to maintain power.

(C) Decentralization of power among members of society, providing opportunities for all to participate in decision-making processes.

Modernization in the cultural sphere is characterized by:

(A) Increasing differentiation between major elements of culture such as religion, philosophy, and science.

(B) Spread of literacy and secularism

(C) Introduction of a complex institutional system for the advancement of special roles.

(D) Expansion of media communication

Modernization is the process of adopting new values, cultural elements, and technology in various fields of life. Modernization is a tool to face, overcome, and prepare oneself for new challenges.

Modernization Social Methods:
In the process of modernization, society adopts two methods.

1. Modernization reorganizes the social structure.
2. It revises traditional norms and values.

A modern person has the mobility to move from one place to another, from one profession to another, and from one level to another.

8.2. Characteristics of Modernization:

1. Modernization is a revolutionary process.
2. Modernization is a multidimensional process.
3. Universal process.
4. Irreversible, complex process.
5. Global process.
6. Continuous and prolonged process.
7. A systematic process.
8. Modernization represents anger, rationality, and a secular attitude.
9. Modernization is a phased process.
10. Modern society is an open society.
11. Modern society is a progressive society.
12. Modernization is a complex process because it requires not only a relatively stable new structure but also the ability to adapt to constantly changing conditions and problems.
13. Modernization is a centralized process.

8.3. Different Responses to Modernization:

Modernization expects society to acquire not only a relatively stable new structure but also the ability to adapt to constantly changing conditions and problems. Its success depends on society's ability to respond to its elements. But not all societies respond to modernization in the same way.

Herbert Blumer in his work "Industrialization and the Traditional Order" described five different ways in which traditional society responds to the modernization process.

(A) Rejection Response:

i. Traditional society may not like the elements of modernization and society may reject it. Two main factors come to the forefront in rejecting modernization. The element of human groups comprising powerful groups like Zamindars/landlords, intermediaries, etc., to protect social self-interests.
ii. The value system within society, which includes traditional values, customs, belief systems, etc. These two factors try to maintain the traditional order and reject the modernization process.

(B) Differentiated Response:

In this type of response, modernization as a process functions as a disconnected development. Old elements and new elements exist together but without any interference. People do not face any controversial situations due to modernization. They can lead their traditional life.

(C) Assimilative Response:

Society, in this case, accepts the elements of modernization without affecting its own organization and way of life. It assimilates elements into its system without disruption. For example, farmers in Indian rural society use fertilizers and other modern machinery like tractors. But these do not affect their way of life in any way.

(D) Supportive Response:

Supportive responses mean that society accepts modern elements to strengthen the conditional order. Traditional groups and institutions should take advantage of the use of modern elements. Here modernization acts as a supportive element to the traditional model. For example, the introduction of science and technology in the education system.

(E) Disruptive Response:

This type of response occurs when the traditional order is underestimated at many levels. This happens when society tries to incorporate modern elements into the traditional order. Considering these five responses, two types of situations can arise in society. In one case, society can respond to all of them at different levels or times, and in another case, society can express all these responses with different combinations.

In India, the response to modernization depends on three factors because it involves a multi-form process. First, the nature of the choice our society has made regarding the preference of people in accepting modern elements. Second, people's interest in using modern elements is also very important, as it expresses the nature of our response to changes brought about by modernization. Third, the role of cultural tradition based on history is important because the value system controls our behavior in using and understanding modern elements.

8.4. Modernization in India:

Many changes are observed in India due to modernization.

1. Introduction of new institutions like banking, mass media communication, etc.
2. Introduction of new value systems like equality, justice, individualism, secularism, etc.
3. Acceptance of scientific innovations
4. Increase in living standards
5. Introduction of heavy industries
6. Restructuring of the political system, i.e., introduction of democracy
7. Introduction of structural changes in social institutions like marriage, family, caste, etc.
8. Emergence of the middle class.
9. There are some eradicating changes like the disappearance of cultural characteristics, behavioral patterns, values, etc.

Example: Abolition of feudal power.

10. Changes from a single religion to a secular attitude.
11. Emergence of new forms due to the synthesis of old and new elements. For example, the nuclear family is in structure but functions collectively.
12. Adoption of new cultural characteristics like the new electoral system.

8.5. Various Changes in Caste and Class Relations in India as a Result of Modernization:

Orthodox Marxists observe only two classes (categories) in Indian agriculture. They are:

1. Zamindari landlord class:
2. Agricultural labor class:

Another opinion is that there is and was class differentiation in terms of agricultural laborers, poor farmers, middle farmers, rich farmers, landlords, etc. Marxist scholars consider the relations between these classes as capitalist.

(AR) Desai opinion is that the property regulations of India's capitalist society were considered the axis of the development strategy. The economic determinism inherent in orthodox Marxism was resisted by those who emphasized the use of indigenous concepts to understand the specific social reality of Indian society.

VM Dandekar made a list of five major classes when examining the nature of class and class conflicts in Indian society. These are:

1. Pre-capitalist labor force
2. Independent workers in capitalist society
3. Employees
4. White-collar employees (Gazetted employees)
5. Blue-collar workers

8.6. Major Classes in India

The major classes in India can be indicated as follows:

1. Agricultural classes
2. Industrial classes
3. Professional classes
4. Business and trade classes

Dandekar expressed his doubts about the application of the Marxist approach to India's class structure. 'Large-scale industries and monopoly capitalism have different effects in India compared to Western countries. The role of trade unions and collective bargaining of workers has been suppressed. Along with class antagonism, class harmony is also a reality of life. The many classes between "rich" and "poor" classes cannot escape our attention. India, as a welfare state, today has the largest employee system. Can a democratic welfare state, like

monopoly capitalists, engage in oppression or exploitation? Only one-ninth of the total workers in India are organized through trade unions. Like caste, class is also a complex phenomenon in Indian society. It overlaps with caste, occupational classes, and pressure groups.

Instead of classes at the top and bottom of the pyramid of social classes, the middle class and mixed classes have emerged as a key phenomenon in contemporary India. The emergence of the upper-middle class in the last decade and at a rapid pace has led to a trend of social mobility. This change is particularly evident among highly qualified individuals in the fields of science and technology.

The revival of caste with its multi-dimensions is a new phenomenon in the post-independence period. Those who analyzed class relations as the dominant causal factor explain caste and other cultural elements in Indian society as part of class analysis. Class is not merely the result of new forces of change. Changes are present in traditional caste and class relations, and it is not only caste that paves the way for the emergence of class relations. Therefore, just as castes are rooted in Indian society, classes appear as part of the social stratification system. Class relations and class conflicts are not the same. Class groups have multiple criteria for identification, and class is also a concrete unit of interaction in relation to other units.

In India, caste involves many issues related to economic dominance and oppression, powers and deprivation, and survival. Class relations in the context of caste and kinship treatment are considered background assumptions. The Jajmani system can be explained in terms of class relations and mode of production. Division of labor and patron-client relationships indicate the economic consequences of the Jajmani system.

Caste discriminations often occur in regions reporting economic deficiencies. Upper castes waged class war against Harijans. Dalits attacked and murdered Harijans, raped their women, and humiliated upper-caste landlord families.

Caste groups formed in a class hierarchy to mediate between individuals and associations. But they are socially and culturally fighting against the upper castes. These castes have benefited more from land reforms and upper classes than other caste groups. Due to the emergence of middle castes, which are predominantly numerically strong, Brahmins have lost their traditional dominance.

The caste system is used as an effective method of economic exploitation. The dominant group (caste) also gains political power and social prestige. With that, it further perpetuates and consolidates the caste hierarchy. Therefore, the caste hierarchy reflects land ownership. And the economic hierarchy is closely related to the social hierarchy. Caste determines a specific relationship to the means of production and livelihood. Especially in rural areas, caste riots reflect the conflict of class interests. Ambedkar observed that the caste system is not merely "division of labor" but also "division of laborers."

However, caste prevents laborers from becoming a class on their own. That is why caste is an ideology. Caste continues as a religious and shared ideology, but today the caste system is not strong due to the disappearance of inter-caste relations. Castes, different groups, therefore, are divisive institutions. In the contemporary situation, such caste members behave or have behaved as caste groups. Caste is not daily life.

Inequalities between caste, class, and power indicate social mobility in the caste system. The corporate nature of this caste is based on conflicts. Dominant castes enjoy power dominance. Sanskritization, as a process of change, influences the dominance of upper castes and creates awareness among lower castes about their rights. However, it has been recognized that castes are not social systems that can dominate. Only families and individuals experience dominance and power. Corporate majority (Sanskritization) is generally not possible in economic and political spheres.

8.7. Mobility in the Caste System:

Mobility in the caste system occurs at three levels:

1. Individual
2. Family
3. Group

The individual is part of both the family and the caste. And the family is considered important in the caste. And both family and caste become sources of identity and support for the individual. Members and families within a caste can explain inter-caste differences in terms of honor and respect.

Castes act as interest groups because they strive for new models of distributive justice and equality. Caste associations, caste panchayats, and caste-run newspapers have strengthened caste ideology. Caste seeds and caste lobbies in Parliament, State Assemblies, Zilla Parishads, Panchayat Samitis, and Gram Panchayats have become a reality in today's political life. Many elections have been held on the basis of caste. The situation has come where caste must exist. Caste is a source of economic power for its members. Corporatism takes on a new dimension. Human and family thinking has shifted from rituals to elections, jobs, and employment opportunities.

8.8. Books to Read:
1. Karl Marx - "The British Rule in India"
2. Ranade, B.T. - "Caste, Class, and Property Relations"

8.9. Questions
1. Impact of modernization on the social system of India?
2. Explain the different responses to modernization?
3. Explain the changes in caste and class relations in India as a result of modernization?

Lesson - 9

HOW ARE THE NEW LIBERAL REFORMS IN INDIA A CAUSE FOR ECONOMIC INEQUALITIES THEIR CONSEQUENCES - POLITICAL ASPECTS

Study Objectives:

New liberal reforms are primarily related to and have profoundly impacted the economic system that began lazily as a result of globalization. How were the necessary reforms for political institutions and economic institutions shaped in the states? What are the causes of economic inequalities in India and how have the new liberal reforms impacted the democratic values of India? We will learn about these aspects through this lesson.

Lesson Content:

9.1. Introduction

9.2. Causes of Economic Inequalities in India

9.3. New Liberal Reforms and Democracy in India

9.4. New Liberal Political Reforms

9.5. New Liberalism and Liberal Democracy

9.6. Legislative Democracy

9.7. Conclusion

9.8. Books to Read

9.9. Questions

9.1. Introduction

New liberals like Hayek and Friedman argue that self-regulation and individual self-interest and merit lead to prosperity. For these reasons, the free market was considered the best way to promote economic growth. WTO Director-General Moore opined, "To help the poor, it is definitely good to continue free markets." It is believed that for developing countries to achieve rapid economic growth, they must follow new liberal reforms under the leadership of institutions like the World Bank. Poverty, inequality, unemployment, and economic crises that have arisen due to economic promotion are proving to be inefficient and wrong.

Nevertheless, critics question whether new liberalism is truly beneficial for society as a whole. According to one common opinion, the benefits of new liberal policies do not reach the poor, but only the upper classes in society who are at the highest level. Many countries

have faced economic growth since the 1980s. New liberal policies are the reason for increasing inequalities, and even the IMF, one of the key institutions in the new liberal sphere, has admitted in its report that some new liberal policies have increased inequalities instead of promoting growth, thereby harming the spread of growth. According to international institutions like IMF or WTO, the Indian government believed that implementing new liberal policies was the best way to create rapid economic growth. Due to these external pressures and a severe balance of payments crisis in the late 1980s, the new economic policy came into effect in 1991.

Through this, the rationalization, reduction, and commercialization of regulations related to foreign and domestic investment and government's role in the industrial sector and allowing foreign investment in the power sector have led to results in two decades that could not provide favorable estimates.

9.2. Causes of Economic Inequalities in India:

More than statistics, other factors are very powerful in curbing inequalities in India. Economic inequalities are increasing day by day in India. Some reports Robert and income will increase. There is no high demand for highly skilled workers in India. The number of those who are in traditional castes and are not getting opportunities is increasing. Due to this, inequalities are increasing. Statistical and mechanical automation with high prevalence has fewer inequalities than many industrial societies in India. It is said that other countries are more powerful than statistics in curbing inequalities in India. The service sector contributes more than 50% of India's GDP. However, a large portion of its labor force has low skills and middle-level skills. This has created a market that is always expanding for those with technological-based service institutions and system proficiency. Similarly, digital automation has helped Indian businesses to adapt to foreign standards. More members in low-skilled, productive sectors. The form of inequality is part of this.

9.3. New Liberal Reforms and Democracy in India:

The discussion related to new liberal reforms has profoundly impacted the economic system that began lazily. The country's The country has gained less popular support than other countries. Western world's democracy in India has not only achieved recognition but also seems to have deep roots. Nevertheless, dissatisfaction with Indian democracy and its political leaders is also clearly visible. Political leaders are identified as self-interested individuals who are prone to cruel actions for power and personal gain. Honest political leaders who are committed to public service are recognized. There is a strong belief among many that such leaders are ready to dedicate themselves to public service.

Regarding representative democracy in India and the political leaders created through it, there are no serious problems, but questions also arise about some political reforms that are currently being initiated in accordance with the new liberal agenda.

(1) The impact of new liberal policies on the economic system, and on the growth model being followed, and in recent years, there has been a significant political debate in the country. Nevertheless, the changes entering the country and the importance of governance are always

The law-bound state, as a general rule, can be said to be the cause of the problems that surrounded the welfare state and investment-based economic system in Western countries after the 1960s. In the post-war decades, the increasing inflation and unemployment that arose due to the decline in the high economic growth rate of Western economic systems. Along with the increase in government spending on public sector expansion and social services, the welfare state appeared to be in a crisis between 1970 and 80. Such problems were also debated on the growth situation, modernization, and development concepts. In addition, it appeared that the offers of social democratic parties like the British Labor Party and the Indian National Congress to resolve the crisis were also less. This has provided a pseudo-scientific field that has gained widespread legal validity of new liberal principles.

It has been argued that to address certain adversities that are likely to arise in states with democratic and growing economies, specific reforms are often necessary. What was one criticism of the welfare state is that it has put public interests aside and tried to gain power over the state for its own and its constituent groups. Consequently, states have expanded themselves. And they have not been able to achieve their goals. The goal of the reform agenda is to reduce political pressure and implement measures to prevent such problems from recurring and to ensure careful adherence to the reform agenda.

New liberal principles are opposed to the viewpoint adopted in liberal democratic principles. Social scientists like Harold Laski and Robert Dahl have been associated with pluralistic democratic principles.

Here is the English translation of the provided Telugu document, focusing on the main sections and key information:

Major Issues in Indian Politics

9.6 Neo-liberal Reforms...

It was argued that the goals were not achieved. To prevent such problems from recurring, the strategies suggested in the neo-liberal political agenda include proposals to restructure governance to distance decision-making and implementation in many sectors from political influences and pressures. It is believed that by removing some government functions from the direct control of political leaders and by ensuring political accountability to elected bodies, the rationality and efficiency of policies and their implementation will be diluted, and there will be less opportunity for political pressures.

In liberal democratic theory, the distinctions between state and society, public and private are central. However, in our liberal theories, non-state actors, civil society, global and national corporate interests are considered natural partners of the state. Therefore, liberal notions of sovereignty and autonomy are being redefined with terms like "embedded autonomy." With the mention of the state the public-private divide has now spread throughout, focusing on state societies. These are considered appropriate terms to describe the unexpected new relationship between state and non-state actors. States need to develop horizontal relationships with diverse interests and civil society in the global economy.

The impact of such theories can also be seen in India. Many new practices have been initiated in India, based on partnership and shared interests. Partnership does not only mean the state promoting business interests, but also that business interests are expected to bear some responsibility for promoting economic growth and social welfare. However, the extent and nature of their contribution are determined by them. Even though governments have

withdrawn from some social responsibilities, corporate philanthropy is now considered an important long-term goal for the private sector. Business organizations have established philanthropic trusts to promote various public causes such as improving the quality of education, trying to expand employment opportunities for the poor, or supporting the arts. In some cases, organizations prefer to provide support by obtaining private partnerships with government departments to promote specific projects.

It should be noted that while the concept of state autonomy has been revised in neo-liberal theories, autonomy is still considered a desirable characteristic for government institutions by analysts influenced by new institutional economics and historical institutionalism of political scientists like Theda Skocpol. However, their concern is related to the internal autonomy of government institutions. The design of institutions and their rules, policies, and incentive systems are important in determining the capacity of the institutions they advocate.

9.7 Acharya Nagarjuna University - Distance Education Center

In recent years, as part of the neo-liberal reform agenda, only some of the many far-reaching changes initiated at various levels of governance in India have been discussed. Such changes are formal and can lead to new power arrangements. Therefore, this process is controversial, and the success of the reform process is not necessarily guaranteed in all parts of the country. Returning to the past is a critical consideration of the reform process.

9.5. Neo-liberalism and Liberal Democracy:

Although the primary goal of political reforms is to improve governance capacity and productivity, they have inevitably also impacted the liberal democratic state. As discussed above, principles central to liberal democratic theory such as the distinction between state and society, public and private, are being redefined. The need for states to network in the division between state and non-state sectors has been emphasized. States are now expected to share the responsibility of promoting public interests with corporate interests and civil society. Furthermore, the concept of public interest can be reinterpreted in market terms.

Neo-liberal theories reject the social democratic concept of public interest and social justice, and the responsibility placed on the state to promote interests ignored by markets. They also reject the social democratic perspective that citizens are entitled to all political, social, and economic rights necessary to live with dignity. In contrast, neo-liberal theories define citizens as consumers of state-provided services and active participants in the market, capable of promoting their own interests.

While social democratic theories place the responsibility on the state to promote collective welfare and collective justice, neo-liberalism is accused of seeking individual-based solutions to collective problems and leaving the problems to the market to formulate solutions. This approach is reflected in policies currently being implemented in countries like India to address issues such as rural poverty and environmental degradation. Although the causes of such problems are political, a collective effort is needed to solve them. For example, promoting self-help groups is a policy that is gaining significant importance today as a category for addressing rural poverty.

9.6. A Procedural Democracy:

The procedural model of democracy appears to be the correct counterpart to the political reform initiated under the influence of the neo-liberal political agenda. According to political scientists like Robert Dahl, good policies in a modern, industrial state are the most effective

way to promote democratic values like freedom of speech and equality, rather than direct popular participation in government. Results do not need to ensure equality. In fact, in terms of market rationality, outcomes should reflect individually executable skills and resources.

9.7. Conclusion

Prioritizing democratic procedures as a defining characteristic of a democratic state can divert political attention from long-standing and important problems facing politics. The unlimited political agreements and corruption we see around us today are not symptoms of widespread problems plaguing politics, but they can lead to beliefs that they cause problems. Such a perspective is reflected in the often-expressed opinion that strict enforcement of laws to curb political corruption, severe penalties for crime, and public vigilance may be present. However, given the complex roots of corruption, it is debatable whether such measures alone would suffice, assuming they can be implemented.

9.8. Suggested Readings:

1. F.A. Hayek - The Constitution of Liberty
2. L. Arbour - Poverty and Human Rights Violations
3. W. Brown - 'Neoliberalism', 'Neoconservatism'
4. Harvey - 'A Brief History of Neoliberalism'

9.9. Questions

1. Reasons for economic inequalities in India.
2. Briefly explain neo-liberal reforms and democracy in India.
3. Explain neo-liberal political reforms.

Lesson -10

JAMMU AND KASHMIR AND SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS IN NORTHEASTERN STATES

Study Objectives:

By studying this, we will understand the following:

1. Historical background of the Jammu & Kashmir issue:

2. Two perspectives on the Kashmir issue:

3. Overview of the security situation in Jammu & Kashmir (1988-2017):

4. Reasons for the rise of terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir:

5. Government policy towards terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir:

6. Why militancy failed in Kashmir? Assessment of the abrogation of Article 370 in Jammu & Kashmir and its impact:

7. What policies should India adopt regarding the problem in Jammu & Kashmir in the current situation?

8. Separatism in Northeastern states: Historical background

9. Reasons for insurgency in Northeastern states:

10. Reasons for the presence of armed ethnic groups in Northeastern states:

11. Government programs to curb Northeastern insurgents:

12. What more should the government do to curb separatism in Northeastern states?

Syllabus Content

10.1. Introduction

10.2. Historical Background

10.3. Two Perspectives on the Kashmir Issue

10.4. Overview of the Security Situation (1988-2017)

10.5. Reasons for the Rise of Terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir

10.5.1. 1987 Assembly Election Rigging

10.5.2. ISI

10.5.3. Mujahideen Influence

10.5.4. Feeling of Alienation

10.1 Introduction:

In ancient times, the breathtakingly beautiful valley of Kashmir was a confluence of peaceful thoughts, intellectual progress, and religious diversity, largely coexisting in an atmosphere of tolerance. In the modern geopolitical era, this very diversity, a blend of Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism, and Buddhism in this single state, has become a center of war rather than cultural progress.

10.2. Historical Background:

The origins and development of the Kashmir independence movement have been evident since independence. Despite joining India in 1947, the hopes for Kashmiri consciousness never faded.

The insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir or the Kashmiri insurgency is a conflict between various Kashmiri separatists and Indian nationalists, sometimes referred to as a war between "ultras" (militants) and Indian governments. Some groups prefer Kashmir's accession to Pakistan, while others seek complete independence for Kashmir. Since 2002, clashes with local insurgents have remained the main conflict in the Kashmir region. The conflict in Jammu and Kashmir has strong Islamic elements among the insurgents, with many terrorist groups identifying with and supporting jihadist movements.

The roots of the conflict between Kashmiri insurgents and the Indian government are tied to disputes over local autonomy. Democratic development in Kashmir was limited until the late 1970s, and by 1988, many democratic reforms provided by the Indian government were reversed, and non-violent avenues for expressing discontent were limited, leading to a dramatic increase in support for insurgents advocating violent separation from India. In 1987, controversial state elections created a catalyst for the insurgency, resulting in some state legislators forming armed insurgent groups. In July 1988, a series of demonstrations, strikes, and attacks against the Indian government initiated the Kashmir insurgency, which became the most significant internal security problem in India in the 1990s.

10.3. Two Perspectives on the Kashmir Issue:

From an Indian perspective, there are two viewpoints that complicate the Kashmir issue:

1. External perspective: Due to Pakistan's involvement and its claims on Kashmir's former status.
2. Internal perspective: Due to the socio-political demands of the Kashmiri people.

From an external perspective, the Jammu & Kashmir issue has resulted in four traditional wars, numerous border conflicts, and the formation of nuclear war clouds between India and Pakistan. Pakistan's proxy war against India through Kashmir has continuously made our internal security situation conflict-ridden. Moreover, it has not only alienated Jammu & Kashmir from the Indian national mainstream but has also become a major obstacle to India's development. This problem forces India to use its resources for national defense rather than development. Due to human rights violations and other social restrictions, it has become an obstacle to India's declaration as a great global power, thereby weakening its developing democracy.

From an internal perspective, Jammu & Kashmir is a complex interaction between religion and region, as well as multi-ethnic/multi-cultural and political issues. It has many layers of complexities. Protests, agitations, and shutdowns demanding greater autonomy and special rights have repeatedly brought the state to a halt and highlighted the unstable nature of its politics. Due to the interaction of many interdependent issues, the resolution of the Jammu & Kashmir problem is not easy.

- Indian territorial defense,
- Pakistan's state claim, and
- Kashmiri nationalism make it a zero-sum game.

All of these prevent any kind of win-win situation for all parties involved in the problem.

10.4. Overview of the Security Situation (1988-2017):

In 1999, due to Prime Minister Vajpayee's internal and external peaceful policies, violent incidents in Jammu & Kashmir decreased. The optimism that arose after the initiation of this peace process was continued by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh until 2007. This was evidenced by a decline in violence levels, cross-Line of Control infiltrations, and ceasefire agreement (CFA) violations. The overall fall in violence severely reduced the internal support provided by local Kashmiris to militants and separatists. CFA violations increased again after 2009, when Jamaat-ud-Dawah (JuD) carried out the 26/11 Mumbai attacks, and the peace process began to dissolve.

In 2015, although more terrorists were eliminated, civilian and security force casualties decreased, but in 2016, the number of security force personnel and terrorist deaths significantly increased.

Thus, despite the decrease in terrorism-related violence, separatist sentiment in Kashmiri society has significantly increased in the last few years, especially in 2016.

10.5. Reasons for the Rise of Terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir:

10.5.1. 1987 Assembly Elections:

An insurgency erupted in 1987, alleging rigging in the state elections. This contributed to anti-government sentiment. A government report found that almost half of the Kashmiri Panchayat Raj seats were vacant, and attributed this to the destabilizing effect of the conflict. The report also stated that those who effectively governed were "crippled."

However, in the 2014 Assembly elections, after the insurgency broke out, the highest voter turnout in the last 25 years was recorded. It registered more than 65% voters, which is higher than the average voter turnout in other Indian states, and is considered to increase the confidence of the Kashmiri people in India's democratic process.

10.5.2. ISI:

Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence is providing aid and encouragement to the Kashmir independence movement through insurgency due to the dispute over the legitimacy of Indian rule in Kashmir, using terrorism as an easy way to mislead Indian forces and internationally condemn India.

10.5.3. Mujahideen Influence:

After the Soviet Union's attack on Afghanistan, Mujahideen fighters, with Pakistan's help, slowly infiltrated Kashmir with the aim of spreading radical Islamist ideology.

10.5.4. Feeling of Alienation:

Jammu and Kashmir is the only Muslim-majority state in Hindu-majority India. Although India is a secular state, Muslims are politically, culturally, and economically marginalized compared to Hindus in India. The government's decision to transfer 99 acres of forest land to a Hindu organization (for the establishment of temporary shelters and facilities for Hindu Amarnath pilgrims) strengthened this sentiment and led to the largest protest rally in Jammu and Kashmir.

10.5.5. Human Rights Abuse:

After the insurgency began in the Kashmir Valley in the late 1980s due to the above reasons, Indian forces entered the Kashmir Valley to control the insurgency. The forces faced allegations of human rights violations and committed unlawful killings. Military forces in Jammu and Kashmir operate under emergency powers granted by the central government. These powers allow the military to curtail civil liberties, further strengthening the insurgency. Insurgents also abused human rights by eliminating Kashmiri Pandits from the Kashmir Valley, which some called ethnic cleansing. The government's inability to protect the people from its own forces and the atrocities of terrorists further reduced public support for the government.

10.6. Government Policy Towards Terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir:

Over the past two decades, India's response to the political insurgency in Kashmir has gone through various phases. In the final outcome, New Delhi's response to the insurgency has shifted from policies of force without non-violent avenues to an active search for dialogue and broader peaceful interventions. As the situation steadily changed from stable peace before the problems of the 1980s to war and along the crisis curve to crisis and unstable peace, increasing emphasis was placed on peace-building policies aimed at bringing stable peace and harmony. Furthermore, India's actions have not completely deviated from militarism, which hinders a rapid transition to normalcy.

10.6.1. UDAAN:

UDAAN, the Special Industry Initiative (SII) for Jammu & Kashmir, is financially supported by the Ministry of Home Affairs and implemented by the National Skill Development Corporation. This program is intended to address the economic problems and the needs of educated unemployed youth in Jammu & Kashmir. UDAAN has four objectives:

1. To introduce graduates and post-graduates from Jammu & Kashmir to corporate India, offering them the best opportunities.
2. To involve them in corporate India to expose the rich talent pool available in the state.
3. To reach 40,000 youth of Jammu & Kashmir in the next 5 years.
4. UDAAN provides a supportive framework for youth to travel, receive training in organizations, and transfer to work.

10.6.2. NISHTHA:

The National Initiative for School Heads and Teachers Holistic Advancement (NISHTHA) has been launched in Jammu and Kashmir (UT). It is a capacity building program for "improving the quality of school education" through integrated teacher training.

10.6.3. Himayat Mission:

This project aims to create sustainable livelihood opportunities through self-employment for the youth of Jammu and Kashmir through comprehensive entrepreneurial development programs and cross-cutting policies. Its goal is to provide entrepreneurial skills for sustainable livelihoods to 10,000 youth of Jammu & Kashmir and facilitate access to finance and support services for at least 50% of them within a period of 3.5 years.

10.6.4. Rehabilitation Policy:

The objective of this rehabilitation policy is to provide facilities to terrorists who have changed their minds, abandoned the path of violence, and accepted the integrity of India and the Indian Constitution, to encourage them to join the mainstream and lead a normal life. It aims to make terrorists partners in the welfare and progress of the state and the country.

10.5.1. Rehabilitation Policy:

This policy is intended for former militants from Jammu & Kashmir who were trained in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir or Pakistan and wish to return.

10.5.2. Other Programs:

1. Appointment of enthusiastic individuals in the state as special police officers in recognition of their services.
2. Scheme to provide financial assistance to displaced families from Pakistan Occupied Jammu.
3. Helicopter services in the country.
4. Central scheme for financial assistance to disabled security force personnel and military personnel in Jammu & Kashmir.

10.6. Why did militancy fail in Kashmir?

The state and central governments have significantly reduced the level of violence by increasing national and religious consciousness and improving governance. The reasons for the failure of militancy in Kashmir are as follows:

1. The Kashmir problem affects only 6% of the Indian population, and this is very limited. Kashmiri Muslim agitations failed to gain support from the Muslim population in other parts of India.

2. Similarly, agitations by other communities like Kashmiri Pandits also failed to gain support from major sections of the Indian population, and these only attracted more attention to border-crossing terrorism and strategic problems.

3. Militant Kashmiri leadership failed to emerge and also lacked a vision to support the Kashmiri cause. Kashmiri leaders suffered greatly as no one was willing to come close to the Indian leadership in New Delhi, and they were constantly at odds with each other.

4. Growing

10.7. Abrogation of Article 370 and its Impact Assessment:

In 2019, the Indian state abrogated all constitutional provisions that applied to Jammu & Kashmir. With this, Article 35A was also automatically abrogated.

Key Changes:

1. The state of Jammu & Kashmir was divided into two Union Territories: Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh.

2. The Union Territory of Jammu & Kashmir will have an assembly, while Ladakh will be a Union Territory without an assembly.

3. The special status granted by Article 370 was abrogated. With this, Article 35A was also abrogated.

10.7.1. Importance of the decision to abrogate the Article.

1. To allow various sections to join the state political mainstream, which was largely distant for the past 7 decades.

2. A major step towards national integration.

3. To facilitate ways to attract investments in this region.

4. To provide employment and reservation opportunities to backward classes in this region, which were denied until now.

10.7.2. Positive Outcomes of Article 370:

1. Parliament and the Indian Constitution have extended their scope to this region. For example, acts like RTI (2005), RPA (1951) are now applicable in this region.

2. New domicile rules will allow individuals who were denied resident status due to Article 35A to reside in the state for years.

3. Construction of rehabilitation facilities for Kashmiri Pandits to return to their homeland, and cash assistance for displaced persons settled in Jammu.

4. Schemes like Atal Pension Yojana and PM-KISAN, Start-up India, PM Jan Dhan Yojana, and other development schemes have expanded to this region with social security measures.
5. Terrorism-related deaths have decreased in this region.
6. The number of terrorists in this region has significantly decreased.
7. Fewer IED and grenade attacks occurred in this region in the last year.
8. The division of this region from Ladakh has fulfilled the aspirations of the people and has sent a clear signal of internal integration in India.

10.7.3. Article 370: Negative Outcomes:
1. The abrogation of Article 370 while the assembly was suspended led to a sense of betrayal among Kashmiris.
2. Shutdowns and internet blackouts severely impacted education in this region, especially digital education during COVID.
3. Communication blackouts, curfews, and militant threats severely impacted business and industrial production in this region.
4. The economic system suffered greatly due to lockdowns. This led to the internationalization of the Kashmir problem.
5. Although terrorism-related deaths have decreased, youth militancy and cross-border infiltration attempts have increased after the abrogation of Article 370.

10.8. What should India do in the current situation?

Professor Amitabh Mattoo suggested implementing 4Ds to resolve the problems in Jammu and Kashmir. These are as follows:

1. Dialogue: Continuous dialogue between the state and non-state actors or institutions.
2. Demilitarization: Necessary to move forward with dialogue and the peace process.
3. Devolution: To bring Jammu, Ladakh, and Kashmir together for devolution of power. Military presence is necessary to prevent religious extremism.
4. Development: Achieve development through the participation of the Kashmiri people.

Separatism in Northeastern States:

10.9. Introduction to Northeastern States:

After independence, the state of Assam had a large and culturally diverse population in the northeastern region of India. Over time, the Indian government reorganized this region into ethnic and tribal states, creating the "Seven Sisters" of the Northeast. These new states, along with other factors, sometimes led to violent disputes between ethnic groups, but this did not completely resolve the disputes.

10.10. Separatism in Northeastern States: Historical Background:

The traditional ties in the Northeast are more with Tibeto-Burmese/Mongoloid and Southeast Asia than with South Asia. It is ethnically, linguistically, and culturally very different from other states in India. Although cultural and ethnic diversity is a reason for conflict, the way in which state boundaries were defined in the 1950s ignored ethnic and cultural specificities in the Northeast, leading to a major problem. Dissatisfaction and a sense of betrayal. However, the ruling powers have largely ignored the region and its people, and have ruled it as a "border region." As a result, the large parts of the Northeast have always been isolated from

the rest of India. Interestingly, 99% of the Northeast's borders are international, and only 1% are national borders.

10.11. Reasons for Insurgency in Northeastern States:

Specifically, the Northeast has faced some challenges that have led to insurgency. There are 6 main factors that have fueled insurgency in the region:

- Feeling of alienation,
- Economic backwardness,
- Language/ethnicity,
- Central government's negligence, and
- Lack of integrity among local political leaders and elite classes,
- Migration and social relations due to underdeveloped infrastructure.

Other factors: Control over local resources, governance problems, and widespread feelings of deprivation and marginalization have led to various Indian insurgent groups resorting to violence and making diverse demands.

In some contexts, the demand for sovereignty, an independent state, or a homeland, or their representation.

The demands vary until better conditions for the ethnic groups mentioned as holding.

Covert groups engage in violent and terrorist activities and intimidate people with weapons to achieve their goals/demands. They maintain cross-border relations, collect weapons, recruit and train their cadres, and engage in illegal activities such as damaging public property, bomb

blasts, robberies, killing innocent civilians, attacks/kidnappings of security forces personnel, government employees, politicians, and businessmen.

10.12. Reasons for the existence of armed ethnic groups:

10.12.1. Political Motivation:

Politics is central to the violence strategy of insurgent groups. Many insurgent groups gain public support for their violent activities by citing a political cause, which is significantly important to the target population. According to Mao Tse Tung, the promise of mobilization for revolution fails in any country where official administrative structures fail to provide basic responsibilities of providing minimum living standards to its citizens. Political mobilization is the first crucial step in any armed movement to gain critical support and create space for conflict escalation.

10.12.2. Availability of Weapons:

Insurgent groups use violent means for political purposes when there is a possibility of armed rebellion in a given situation. The feasibility hypothesis argues that "where rebellion is physically possible, it is." The physical conditions for armed rebellion are economic and military, and the easy availability of weapons in Northeast India enables NSCN (K), NSCN (IM), ULFA, UNLF, and PLA to sustain their movements.

10.12.3. Popular Support:

An insurgent group critically relies on its popular support for funding, safe areas, recruitment, and food supply, and intelligence networks. Since insurgent groups portray themselves as representatives of a particular ethnicity or community, public support adds to the group's legitimacy.

The geography and terrain of a particular location are crucial for the continuation of insurgent movements. Without supportive terrain, lightly armed, highly mobile insurgent cadres are less likely to compensate for the technological superiority of a strong force.

10.12.5. External Support:

One of the most critical measures of insurgent groups is external support. Support from neighboring countries can be based on political, moral, military, economic, territorial, or cultural and ethnic relations. A 2010 RAND study on insurgencies suggests that without external support and available sanctuaries, an internal insurgency will not develop over a 10-year period.

10.13. Strategy and Nature of these Separatists:

NSCN (IM), ULFA, UNLF, and PLA have a declared strategy of prolonged armed conflict. Interestingly, ceasefires can be seen as phases to regroup, recruit, finance, and re-arm. This has happened in many cases. ULFA and NSCN (IM) were determined and rearmed and regrouped during the ceasefire phase.

Table 1: Separatist Groups of Northeast States, their Goals/Demands

వేర్పాటువాద గ్రూపు	వారి లక్ష్యం లేదా డిమాండ్
UKLF (United Kuki Liberation Front) KNF (Kuki National Front)	ప్రత్యేక "కుకి" మాతృభూమి రావాలి. కుకీలు "మంగోలాయిడ్" మూలం మరియు అస్సాం, మిజోరాం, మణిపూర్ అంతటా వ్యాపించి వున్న జాతి తెగలు.
NCSN-IM(National Socialist Council of Nagaland)	ఏకీకృత నాగాలాండ్ NOFB (నేషనల్ డెమొక్రటిక్ ఫ్రంట్ ఆఫ్ బో దోల్బాండ్) రావాలి, ప్రత్యేక "బోడో" మాతృభూమి రావాలి
Dima Haolim	డిమాసా తెగకు సార్వభౌమ రాష్ట్రాలు రావాలి (కాచార్, నాగాప్, కర్బియాలోంగ్)

ULFA(United Liberation Front of Assam)	"మాతృక / పూర్వం" ప్రత్యేక అస్సాం రావాలి
KLO(Kamatpur Liberation Organization)	"కామత్ పూర్" తెగకు ప్రత్యేక మాతృభూమి రావాలి. కోక్రాఝూర్, బొంగాగావ్, దున్స్ మరియు గోల్పారా తో కూడి ఉండాలి.
రాజకీయ పార్టీలు మరియు ప్రధాన ప్రవంతి భారతీయ రాజకీయ పార్టీలు,	ఏమీ లేదు– వారికి కావాల్సింది అక్రమ బంగ్లాదేశ్ వలసదారుల ఓట్లు కాబట్టి వారు కొన్ని అద్భుతమైన అస్సాం టీని అస్వాదించవచ్చు మరియు భారీ అవినీతిలో భాగస్వామ్యం పొందవచ్చు

10.14. Government Initiatives towards containing Northeast Insurgency:

The state's response to armed ethnic insurgencies in the Northeast falls under three concepts.

1. Balanced use of military force.
2. Use of dialogue and negotiations.
3. Structural changes.

For this, government responses/containment measures are as follows: -1. AFSPA:

Violence has become a way of life in the northeastern states of India. State administration has been unable to maintain its internal affairs. This law grants certain special powers to members of the armed forces in disturbed areas of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, and Tripura.

This law has faced much resistance from various human rights groups as it provides broad powers and deterrent force to the army in these "conflict" or "disturbed" areas. As of January 2020, this law is in force in Nagaland, Assam, Manipur, and Arunachal Pradesh.

Assam:

Signed with ULFA in 2011 and continues indefinitely. Tripartite MoS with Bodo groups signed in January 2020. A total of 23 underground groups under two conglomerates (United People's Front and Kuki National Organization) are currently in a truce with the government.

Nagaland:

Ceasefire agreements signed with NSCN-NK and NSCN (Reformation) have been extended until 27-04-2020. The agreement with NSCN (Isak-Muivah) is valid for an indefinite period.

10.14.2. Peace Process in North East Region:

Keeping in view the diverse ethnic groups and complex situations in the Northeast region, the central government is pursuing a policy for discussions/negotiations with such groups to address violence. It seeks peaceful solutions for their issues within the framework of the Indian Constitution.

Consequently, many underground groups have come forward for a truce with the government or entered into Suspension of Operations agreements, and some of them have signed Memorandums of Settlements (MoS) and disbanded themselves. Currently, the government is engaged in peace talks with various insurgent groups of the northeastern states. The central government has appointed interlocutors to conduct peace talks with various insurgent groups in the region.

10.14.3. Scheme for Surrender-cum-Rehabilitation of Militants in Northeast Region:

The aim is to distance misguided youth and hard-core militants who have been caught up in militancy and subsequently trapped in that network. This scheme also attempts to ensure that surrendered militants do not find it attractive to rejoin militancy.

It provides the following assistance:

- An immediate grant of Rs. 4 lakhs to each surrendered person, to be kept as a fixed deposit in his/her name for 3 years.

- Payment of stipend of Rs. 6000/- per surrendered person per month for a period of 3 years.

- Incentives for weapons/ammunition surrendered by terrorists.

- Funding for the construction of rehabilitation camps.

10.14.4. Security Related Expenditure

The central government is implementing a non-plan scheme for reimbursement of Security Related Expenditure (SRE) to states severely affected by terrorism/insurgency. This scheme

will be implemented in all states of the region except Mizoram and Sikkim. Under it, expenses incurred on various items will be reimbursed.

10.14.5. Civic Action Program in Northeast States:

To gain the confidence of the local people and enhance the image of the armed forces among the general public, the Army and Central Armed Police Forces conduct Civic Action Programs. Under this program, various welfare/development activities are undertaken. Medical camps, sanitation drives, sports meets, distribution of study material to children, minor repairs of school buildings, roads, bridges, and adult education centers, etc.

10.14.6. Advertisements and Publicity:

Considering the complex issues of the northeastern regions, namely, militancy, infiltration, and the feeling of alienation, the Ministry of Home affairs in the northeastern states implements an advertisement and publicity scheme with the aim of highlighting the government's activities for peace in the region and informing it about the "Peace Payment" scheme.

10.14.7. Modernization of Police Force:

The Ministry of Home Affairs implements a non-plan scheme, namely, Modernization of State Police Forces (MPF), especially to face the challenges of internal security such as terrorism, Naxalism, etc.

10.15. What more should the government do to curb separatism in the northeastern states?

Despite their diversity in demands and methods, there is a common element among the insurgent groups in the Northeast, which is identity and development. Therefore, there is a need to explore some common solutions with specificities derived from them for specific areas and groups.

Fulfilling the political aspirations of groups by granting autonomy. Implementing the provisions of the Sixth Schedule in these areas will help protect their identity and culture while giving them more autonomy. Economic development of the region in a calibrated manner. Any development must be sustainable and have the participation and approval of the locals.

Improving the administration and delivery mechanisms of the government and administration. The precondition of completely reducing violence for peace talks is a flawed concept. If violence is ignored and peace is established, the need for peace talks becomes futile. Dialogue should be an ongoing process to reach concrete solutions involving all stakeholders. And not just one group.

Coordinating activities with neighboring countries and using force only when necessary. Highly stringent laws like AFSPA should be repealed, as this is one reason for the rise of insurgency in the Northeast.

Insurgent groups should be more practical by seeking more autonomy within the constitutional mandate rather than demanding new states and regions based on ethnic and linguistic identities beyond acceptance.

The center and states should coordinate in decision-making. In the recent agreement with NSCN (IM), the center did not involve the concerned state governments and other groups. This should be avoided.

State police and central forces should cooperate on intelligence sharing, investigation, and operations against militants. The army alleged that the attack on the army in June 2020 was possible because the state police did not share intelligence related to the attack with it. This is unfortunate and counterproductive.

10.16. Summary

Separatism in Jammu & Kashmir and the northeastern states can be considered a prominent issue among the major problems currently faced by India. The origins and development of the Kashmir independence movement have been evident since independence. Despite joining India in 1947, hopes for it never faded from Kashmiri consciousness. The insurgency in Jammu Kashmir or the Kashmiri insurgency is a conflict between various Kashmiri separatists and Indian nationalists, sometimes referred to as a war between "ultras" (extremists) and the Indian governments. Some groups prefer Kashmir to be part of Pakistan, while others want complete independence for Kashmir. Since 2002, clashes with local insurgents have remained the main conflict in the Kashmir region. This chapter extensively discusses the measures taken by the Indian government to resolve the Jammu & Kashmir separatist movements and what further measures are needed.

The northeastern states of India are very different from other states. While cultural and ethnic diversity does not cause conflict, the Northeast is territorially organized in a way that ethnic and cultural distinctiveness were ignored in the process of defining state boundaries in the 1950s, which is a major problem for the region. Dissatisfaction and asserting one's identity. However, it took almost a century for the colonial rulers to merge the entire region, and the hills were administered as a loose 'frontier area'. As a result, large parts of the northeastern mountainous regions never came into a principled relationship with the central administration. The current Indian nation, with its democratic policies, is attracting the people of the Northeast and working tirelessly for their development, striving to integrate them into the mainstream of Indian society.

10.17. Technical Terms:

Integrity: The state of being complete or whole.

Extremism: Advocating for extreme actions or views.

Terrorism: The systematic use of terror, especially as a means of coercion.

Human rights: Rights (such as unlawful imprisonment, torture, and capital punishment) considered to belong fundamentally to all individuals.

Agitations: Persistent and continuous efforts (appeals, discussions, or demonstrations) to stir public sentiment or influence public opinion.

10.18. Self-Assessment Questions:

1. Explain the historical background of the Jammu & Kashmir issue and the two perspectives of the problem.

2. State the reasons for the rise of extremism in Jammu & Kashmir.

3. Explain the government's policy towards extremism in Jammu & Kashmir.

4. Assess the removal of Article 370 in Jammu & Kashmir and its impact.

5. Explain the historical background of separatism in the northeastern states and the reasons for the insurgency.

6. Discuss government programs towards containing northeastern insurgents.

7. What further measures should the government take to curb separatism in the northeastern states?

10.19. Suggested Readings:

1. Datta, P. (1992). Secessionist movements in north east India. The Indian Journal of Political Science, 53(4), 536-558.

2. Ganguly, S. (1999). The crisis in Kashmir: Portents of war, hopes of peace. Cambridge University Press.

3. Shah, M. (2014). Jammu and Kashmir: Understanding Identity and Difference, Available at SSRN 2541342.

4. Ganguly, S. (1996). Explaining the Kashmir insurgency: political mobilization and institutional decay. International Security, 21(2), 76-107.

5. Das, T. K., Das Gupta, I., Haldar, S. K., & Mitra, S. (2015). Conflicts and socioeconomic consequences in northeast India. Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Studies (ISSN: 2321-2799) Volume, 3.

6. Syed, K. H., & Khan, I. (2021). Articles 370 and 371 of the Indian Constitution in the Context of Kashmir. sjesr, 4(1), 286-294.

7. Majid, D. A., & Hussin, D. M. (2020). Kashmir: A conflict between India and Pakistan. South Asian Studies, 31(1).

<div align="center">

Lesson-11

TRIBAL ALIENATION/DEPENDENCE AND POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES IN CENTRAL INDIA - JHARKHAND, CHHATTISGARH, ODISHA REGIONS.

</div>

Study Objectives:

Through this study, we will understand the following:

1. Tribal movements before independence:
2. Tribal movements after independence: Types
3. Factors and solutions for tribal movements.

Syllabus Content

11.1 Introduction

11.2. Tribal movements before independence

11.2.1. Biharia Rebellion in 1772

11.2.2. Various rebellions between 1832-56

11.2.3. Santhal Rebellion (1855-1857)

11.2.4. Adivasi Rebellion in Jharkhand

11.2.5. Oraon Tana Bhagat Movement in 1914

11.2.6 Rebellion in Odisha in 1857.

11.2.7. Various rebellions between 1868-13

11.2.8 Rebellions in tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh in August 1922

11.3. Tribal movements after independence

11.3.1. After independence, tribal movements can be classified into three groups.

11.3.2. Movements can be classified into four types based on their orientation.

11.4. Tribal alienation and political consequences in Central India - Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Odisha regions.

11.4.1. Naxalite movement of tribals in Bihar, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh

11.4.2. Jharkhand movement

11.1. Introduction

After independence, various attempts were made to improve the socio-economic conditions of tribals and to continue constitutional protection for them. The central and state governments made continuous efforts towards tribal welfare and development. Special programs for their development were undertaken in successive five-year plans. The aim was to bring them on par with other developed sections of society. But with the introduction of development plans, the results were not encouraging in all cases; some communities felt disintegrated.

The establishment of heavy industries, the construction of dams, and the initiation of development plans in tribal areas necessitated the displacement of the local population. Thousands of tribal families were displaced from their traditional habitats. Contact with outsiders was equally harmful.

The destruction of forests due to felling of trees for industrial purposes threatened small communities of hunters and food gatherers.

Those who could take advantage of new economic and educational frontiers were able to improve their situation, while the majority were not adequately prepared to face new challenges. Gradually, they became frustrated among the poorer sections of society. Against that and social inequalities, they raised a collective voice.

Especially the tribals of Central India reacted against their exploiters. These movements were directed towards freeing their land from all those who exploited them economically and culturally, at the same time, each of these movements focused on the revival of their culture, their traditional culture, which was wavering under the influence of outsiders.

11.2. Tribal movements before independence:

Soon after the British took over South India, tribal rebellions began to question foreign rule. In the early years of colonial rule, India did not face such devastating consequences as

82

Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, and Bengal. The first to fight against British colonial rule in India were the tribals of Odisha. It is necessary to highlight the reality and history of their struggle against the British. For historians, it started in 1768, not in 1820. In 1768, during the reign of Phulhad Raja Pumas Krishna Bhanja, the Kond tribes fought against the British, and many plans failed.

In the same year, Raja Narayan Deb of Parlakhemundi fought another battle in which 30 tribals died in the Jhalawar. Meanwhile, the British took over Ganjam as part of the Madras Presidency and appointed Edward Court as its head. But the tribals periodically fought wars under the leadership of the Maharani Parala Bhikari Bhanja and Divangat Trikar Bhanja.

Walsh

Permanent Revenue System - They fought against the reforms. On June 30, 1855, the Santhal tribe's heavy burden, more than ten thousand, and their rejection of the British and moneylenders were clearly expressed.

The leadership of the Santhals, the British, and the Zamindars proved that they would end the rule of the moneylenders and the Zamindars and accepted the establishment of an independent Santhal state.

Moneylenders and Zamindars infiltrated the Santhal areas. They forcibly took over Santhal lands. Interest rates on loans varied from fifty to five hundred percent. The Santhal Rebellion (1855-1857) was an attempt to regain tribal land that was gradually lost to outsiders and to drive out the tribal leaders from the region. It is estimated that fifteen to twenty thousand Santhals died in this rebellion.

As mentioned earlier, in 1855, the Santhals fought against the permanent revenue reforms. And a year later, in 1857, many supporting leaders played a key role in the independence struggle. But by 1858, the British intensified their oppression on the national wealth and resources.

The Forest Act, approved in 1865, allowed the British government to declare any forest or wasteland as government property and manage it according to its own choice.

He was arrested for doing so, and he was released only after two years.

From prison, Birsa wanted his people to prepare their hands to fight against injustice, and he trained his army and became a political leader. Still, the seeds of unrest were sown among his people, and they continued to fight against injustice. This movement became the basis of the Jharkhand movement.

11.2.5. Oraon Tana Bhagat Movement in 1914:

In 1914, it was called the "Oraon" Tana Bhagat Movement. The Tana Bhagat Movement as a type of Bhagat movement, and it originated in Chotanagpur, Bihar, among the Oraons. The Tana Bhagat Movement had an inherently religious nature. Although the Birsa Munda movement initially started as a socio-religious movement, it later acquired a political-military character. The word Bhagat in Oraon refers to a distinct sect that has attained devotion. The Bhagat movement is characterized by its attempt to raise Hindu ideals in its ideology.

However, in both movements, tribal leaders, landlords, and foreign exploiters like contractors fought.

11.2.6. Rebellion in Odisha in 1857:

In 1857, the Sepoy Rebellion in Odisha was ready to impact. In this first rebellion for independence, the Khonds, Gonds, Santhals, Bhils, and Gonds joined hands with Surendra Sai.

11.2.7. Various Rebellions between 1868-1939:

Bhajan Mali from 1868-1891 and for more than two decades thereafter, the British were engaged in skirmishes, accidental attacks, and wars. This struggle against imperialism was another important milestone. Under the leadership of Munda, the Munda tribals fought the British in 1900. On January 9, 1900, the British killed innocent people and took revenge on these rebellions. But it did not deter their courage. And history repeated itself. This time, the Munda rebellion against the British oppression of the people in the Gangpur princely state. Nirmala Munda

Before independence, in Odisha, the tribal struggle against the British was led by Lakshman Nayak. The struggle was small, and Lakshman's life ended with it.

He was hanged in Berhampur Jail on March 29, 1943.

11.2.8. Rebellions in tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh in August 1922:

In August 1922, in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh, a rebellion took place under the leadership of Alluri Sitarama Raju (also known as Sitaram Raju). The Andhra hill tribals succeeded in attracting the British to a full-scale guerrilla war. The British brought the Malabar Special Force to crush the Alluri-Adivasi attacks. The British could not contain the Alluri-Adivasi attacks. The British succeeded only when Alluri Raju died due to their deceitful tactics.

With the expansion of the independence movement, it attracted tribals to all kinds of anti-establishment activities. Many landless and severely oppressed tribals joined hands with the high-class freedom fighters, hoping for a new public order.

11.3. Tribal movements after independence:

Unfortunately, after fifty years of independence,

(i) Forest-based movements,

(ii) Socio-religious movements or socio-cultural movements

(iii) Movements seeking statehood and new administrative structures (Nagaland, Mizoram, Jharkhand) and

(iv) Economic movement, Naxalite movement - 1967 and Bristle movement 1968-69.

In Munda, a cultural movement was seen under the powerful leadership of Dhir Abha, who advocated Hindu ideals of purity, asceticism, and religious gurus.

11.4. Causes of tribal alienation and dependence and political consequences in Central India - Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Odisha regions:

The Naga rebellion began in 1948, and when the new government came to power, only then was the Naga insurgency controlled and continued until 1972. As a result of their movement, Mizoram state was formed from the Mapulaya state in April 1970.

11.4.1. Naxalite movement of tribals in Bihar, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh:

The Gond and Bhil movements in Central India and the Gond forest-based movements mainly started for the liberation of tribals recognized by exploitation, discrimination, backwardness, poverty, unemployment, and oppression.

11.4.2. Jharkhand movement:

The movement was launched to solve problems such as new administrative structures, unemployment, and the influx of outsiders. In Bihar, the tribal movement in Odisha and Surguja in Central India.

11.8 Central India - Jharkhand...........

Worried about having to leave their hearths and homes, people started blockading roads and held demonstrations in front of government offices in Kashipur and Rayagada. Companies were denied permission to survey those areas. The responses of the tribal people were coordinated by organizations like Prakrutiki Sampada Suraksha Parishad, Baafilimali Suraksha Samiti, and Anchaha Surakhya Samiti. Now, every village has resistance.

The dispute over bauxite mining took a violent turn with the killing of three innocent tribal people. Since 1993, the police have registered 80 criminal cases against tribal people and activists. On many occasions, the police resorted to lathi charges. Activists were attacked, and resistance movement offices were destroyed.

The resistance to the aluminum project and police firings has significant implications. Subsequent governments, various political parties in power, local elites, and local businessmen supported the alumina project. At the same time, the people's struggle and their determination to sacrifice anything to protect their civil and political rights, livelihood, and habitat clearly demonstrate that the marginalized people will not tolerate the onslaught of market forces.

Another movement against mining was launched in the 1990s in Keonjhar district of Odisha for displaced people, especially tribals. Keonjhar, mining activities led to the influx of workers from many parts of the country. The 1990s saw an increase in migration due to geographical and socio-economic reasons, which led to the threat of cultural invasion. All kinds of violence increased. Indiscriminate mining led to deforestation and displacement of residents.

The movement against mining gained popularity among advisors like Bhuiyas, Juang, Munda, Santhal, and Kond. The main slogan of the movement against mining was "Our Lands, Our Minerals - and Our Rights". Villagers were harassed by the police and implicated in false cases for organizing meetings, public rallies, and hunger strikes. Many villagers were sent to jail in false cases between 1994 and 1999.

11.4.4 Andhra Pradesh Tribal Movements:

Villagers and tribals from Rallagaru village in Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh

11.9 Acharya Nagarjuna University

bravely resisted the illegal mining of various companies in the past decades. The largest tribe in the hills of North Andhra Pradesh, Rallagaru, located in the hilly regions of the state, is famous for its calcite, firestone, and mica reserves. And it is one of the most popular places for mining! Hundreds of attempts have been made to illegally acquire tribal lands.

11.4.5. Identity Crisis:

It can be said that the diverse tribal movement is centered around their identity issue. When it comes to the Northeast, the Bodo and Naga movements are good examples of how ethnic identity takes a political path to advance their interests. In all these separatist movements, unequal development and modernization, concentration of profits in some areas and their non-dispersion to other areas, and urban-centric growth models are the main reasons.

11.4.6 Growing Tribal Consciousness:

Tribal regionalism, border tribalism, etc., gained recognition after the movements in the Northeast border areas. Tribal regionalism, political in nature, has been described as a struggle for identity against alienation from basic sources, i.e., the aspiration to protect land, forests, and traditional culture. A recent movement in Tripura led by TUJS and Bodoland in Assam took place. The Gorkhaland movements have gone beyond the limited aspiration phase in culture. The newly emerging elites in these regions prefer to have a share in the power structure.

11.4.7 Regional Leaders:

Those who enhance or manipulate identity symbols to mobilize group sentiments can rarely predict the responses of political authorities and dominant social groups. As the movement continues and identity claims transform the relevant morality into a political conflict group, leadership must adapt modern skills and mobilize resources.

11.4.8. Partners in the Development Process:

Tribals become partners in modernization and participate in the democratic power game. In both Gorkhaland and Jharkhand, such democratization is clearly visible. The Indo-Nepal agreement, the inclusion of the Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution

11.10 Central India - Jharkhand,

and other economic factors fueled the Gorkhaland agitation. The main objective was to assert Indian Nepali identity through the demand for citizenship. In the Gorkhaland Accord (1988), the formation of the 'Gorkha' Hill Development Council, two major issues were not touched upon. It was said that the identity issue was resolved by including the word 'Gorkha' in the Council.

It remains to be seen whether the granting of statehood to Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh will improve the conditions of Adivasis in India. However, it is essential that all Adivasi districts attract special attention from the central government on investments in schools, participatory forest management and conservation, pollution-free industries, and opportunities for Adivasi communities and the preservation of their rich heritage. Suggestions must include special access to educational, cultural, and economic opportunities to reverse the colonial impacts and previous injustice experienced by advanced communities. At the same time, the country can learn much from the culture of Adivasis: the beauty of their social practices, their profound humility and love and respect for nature, and their deep devotion to social equality and civil harmony.

11.5.
A recent study published by 'Samaj Resource Group for Women and Health' (2018), 'From Margins to Center' focused on health inequalities among tribal communities in selected districts of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, and Odisha. It was supported by the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) and emphasized the relationship between the poor health status of tribal communities and their marginalized positions in socio-economic and political contexts.

Land dispossession, loss of access to and control over forests, forced displacement due to development projects and lack of proper rehabilitation, and debt are some of the key reasons for the marginalization of Adivasis.

The impact of displacement and denial of access to forests has affected lives and health, especially of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs). These communities lived in forests and traditionally depended on forest resources for their livelihood. The Government of India itself has recognized this and is continuously striving to introduce many schemes for the development of tribals and make them partners in community development.

11.6. Summary
After independence, various efforts were made to improve the socio-economic conditions of tribals and to continue constitutional protection for them. Both central and state governments made continuous efforts towards tribal welfare and development. Special programs for their development were undertaken in successive five-year plans. The aim was to bring them on par with other developed sections of society. But with the introduction of development plans, the results were not encouraging in all cases; some communities found themselves fragmented. The establishment of heavy industries, the construction of dams, and the initiation of development plans in tribal areas necessitated the displacement of the local population. Thousands of tribal families were displaced from their traditional habitats, and contact with outsiders was equally detrimental. The destruction of forests by cutting down trees for industrial purposes threatened small communities of hunters and gatherers. It is necessary to reiterate and highlight in history the fact that the tribals of Odisha were the first to fight against British colonialism in India. It should be noted that, contrary to historians, it started as early as 1768 and not in 1820 as they claimed. After independence, tribal movements can be classified into three groups: movements due to exploitation by outsiders,

movements due to economic deprivation (like Gonds in Madhya Pradesh and Mahars in Madhya Pradesh and movements due to separatist tendencies (like Nagas and Mizos). Land dispossession, loss of access to and control over forests, forced displacement due to development projects and lack of proper rehabilitation, and debt are some of the key reasons for the marginalization of Adivasis. The impact of displacement and denial of access to forests has affected lives and health, especially of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs).

Traditionally, they depend on forest resources for their livelihood. The Government of India itself has recognized this and is continuously striving to introduce many schemes for the development of tribals and make them partners in community development.

11.7. Technical Terms:

Displacement: The act or process of displacing.
Exploitation: The act or instance of exploiting.
Democratization: A form of government in which people elect leaders through voting.
Forestry: The science of developing, conserving, or cultivating forests.
Market forces: The actions of buyers and sellers that cause the prices of goods and services to change without government control: the economic forces of supply and demand.

11.12 Central India - Jharkhand,

11.8. Suggested Readings:

1. Baviskar, A. (2001). Written on the body, written on the land: Violence and environmental struggles in central India. Violent environments, 354-79.

2. Sarap, K. (2017). Erosion of access to resource, poverty and public action in the tribal belt of central India. Sociological Bulletin, 66(1), 22-41.

3. Ambagudia, J. (2010). Tribal rights, dispossession and the state in Orissa. Economic and Political Weekly, 60-67.

4. Rupavath, R. (2009). Tribal land alienation and political movements: socio-economic patterns from south India. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

5. Sharma, C. K. (2001). Tribal Land Alienation: Government's Role. Economic and Political Weekly, 4791-4795.

6. Patnaik, K. (2009). Land Alienation and Other Land Related Issue in Tribal Area: An Overview. Critical Issues in Tribal Development, 187-204.

Lesson-12
LEFT WING EXTREMIST IDEOLOGY AND PUBLIC SUPPORT IN INDIA

Study Objectives:

Through this study, we will understand the following:
1. Origins and evolution of Left Wing Extremism
2. Various phases of Left Wing Extremism
3. Objectives of Left Wing Extremism (LWE) in India
4. Reasons for the spread of Left Wing Extremism
5. Factors contributing to/motivating the continuation of the Left Wing Extremist movement
6. Government of India's perspective on Left Wing Extremism
7. What more should the Government of India do?
8. A common citizen can do the following to fight LWE

Course Content

12.1. Origins and evolution of Left Wing Extremism

12.2. Various phases of Left Wing Extremism

12.2.1. (1967-1972)

12.2.2. (1970-2000)

12.2.3. Emergence of CPI (Maoist) (2004-present)

12.3. Objectives of Left Wing Extremism (LWE) in India

12.4. Reasons for the spread of Left Wing Extremism

12.4.1. Land-related factors

12.4.2. Displacement and forced evictions

12.4.3. Livelihood-related reasons

12.4.4. Social exclusion

12.4.5. Governance-related issues

12.5. Factors contributing to / motivating the continuation of the Left Wing Extremist movement

12.5.1. Appealing ideology

12.5.2. Organizational strength of extremist groups

12.1. Origins and evolution of Left Wing Extremism:

The roots of Left Wing Extremism in India lie in various factors such as left-wing/communist political movements, labor and agricultural unrest, revolutionary societies, and tribal rebellions that erupted in many phases of colonial rule in India.

India's independence from foreign rule raised immense hopes among the landless, tribals, and other marginalized sections of the country. It did not take long for people to realize that independence had brought nothing new to them and almost everything remained the same. There was no hope for change in the future.

Electoral politics was dominated by landowners, and the promised land reforms were not undertaken with the expected spirit. The old exploitative structure continued in a different guise. This led to much disillusionment and despair among the people. They could recall the prophecies of early left-wing leaders and revolutionaries that political independence from British rule meant a change of exploiters and that the socio-economic structure would remain the same, and an armed revolution was needed to end it.

This disillusionment found expression in the increased support for left-wing parties in the second general elections in Kerala. At the same time, the Communist Party of India (CPI) in Bengal also gained strength and the United Front (of which it was a part) became the main opposition party. The radicals in the party accused the party leadership of "revision" as they opted for parliamentary democracy. Growing differences in the party eventually led to the split of the CPI. The newly formed party, the Communist Party of India (CPI-M), also participated in the United Front governments in Bengal and Kerala in 1967.

Discontent grew, and radicals within the CPI(M) began to doubt the revolutionary zeal of the leadership. They became convinced that armed revolution was the only way. They were greatly inspired by Mao's success in China, so they wanted to replicate the same in India. They lost patience and began mobilizing tribals, landless people, and sharecroppers. And they initiated what was called a revolutionary "armed struggle" in some parts of Bengal. This movement crystallized into an organized armed movement after the police firing incident in Naxalbari village in Darjeeling district of West Bengal on May 25, 1967.

12.2. Various phases of Left Wing Extremism:

12.2.1. (1967-1972):

The Naxalbari incident can primarily be seen as the trigger that led to the transformation of a political and socio-economic agricultural movement into an armed struggle. The incident emerged from the underground efforts undertaken by radical hardened communist leaders like Charu Majumdar, Jangal Santhal, and Kanu Sanyal, who were able to mobilize landless farmers to forcibly occupy land belonging to landlords, whom they called "class enemies."

Inspired by Mao in China, radical communists from various parts of the country rallied around Charu Majumdar as their leader. In 1967, the All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR) was formed to rectify the differences within the CPI(M) party. It failed, and the radical leaders were expelled from the party. They founded a new party, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), i.e., CPI (ML), on April 22, 1969. The party was to follow the Maoist path to achieve revolution.

During 1969-72, fierce battles took place between the CPI (ML) and government officials, resulting in widespread violence and bloodshed. The government also vigorously undertook land reforms. With the Congress-backed government coming to power in Bengal in 1971, a major operation called "Steeplechase" was launched in Naxal-affected areas, involving joint military, paramilitary, and state forces. The extremist movement was brought under control within two months. The movement died down after Charu Majumdar's arrest and death in July 1972. The movement also gradually died down in other parts of the country and remained calm for almost a decade.

12.4 Left Wing Extremism in India.........

Although the "Naxalbari rebellion" failed, it marked the beginning of the violent left-wing extremist movement in India and gave birth to the terms "Naxalism" and "Naxalite." Identifying revolutionary politics with the name of a village rather than a leader is unique in history.

In this phase, the movement could not gain the support of poor farmers, sharecroppers, agricultural laborers, urban middle class, and workers because they did not consider it their own struggle. Moreover, people were not mentally prepared for "armed struggle." Over-identification with China, the nationalist image alienated the extremists from the mainstream, and this factor largely contributed to their distancing from the general public. The movement relied on an over-optimistic assessment of its rapid progress and underestimated the country's military strength. Regardless of the courage, sacrifice, and motivation of the activists and protagonists, without widespread public support, the movement gradually faded. However, the leaders succeeded in providing an ideological platform and cutting-edge militancy to the Marxist-Leninist movement. They also succeeded in attracting some of the best minds among the idealistic youth of the country.

12.2.2. (1970-2000):

Charu Majumdar's death was a blow to Naxalites across the country. Thereafter, the CPI (ML) fragmented into countless groups and subgroups, which engaged in internal squabbles and accused each other of betrayal and following wrong ideology and action. The 1970s and

1980s witnessed bitter disputes that divided these groups, but, at the same time, efforts were made to rebuild the Maoist movement as a whole.

In 1971, Satyanarayan Singh revolted against Charu Majumdar's "annihilation" policy and launched his own group called CPI (ML) Satyanarayan Singh Group (SSS). Similarly, during the 1971 Indo-Pak war, Apim Chatterjee and Santosh Rana also left CPI (ML) due to Charu Majumdar's opposition to the Indian government's stance. Mahadev Mukherjee and B.S. Sharma led the CPI (ML) after Charu Majumdar's death. The unity did not last long as Mahadev Mukherjee expelled Sharma. Another split occurred in Mahadev Mukherjee's camp when CPI (ML) split between pro-Lin Biao and anti-Lin Biao groups. Vinod Mishra was elected General Secretary of "Liberation" in 1975. Although he claimed to follow Charu Majumdar's line, he was the first Naxal leader to recognize the futility of armed rebellion against the Indian government. Without explicitly rejecting Charu Majumdar's methods, he launched a "correction movement" aimed at rectifying the flaws and shortcomings in armed rebellion. As part of this new line of thinking, "Liberation" joined mass mobilization and entered electoral politics through a front organization called the Indian People's Front (IPF) in 1982. The IPF was envisioned as a nationwide alternative to the Congress party. In 1989, the IPF won one seat in the parliamentary elections, and the first Naxalite member entered the Indian Parliament.

Another group called "Dakshin Desh" in Bihar was founded in 1969 by Kalai Chatterjee and Amulya Sis. This group mainly consisted of lower castes and landless people and was most brutal in eliminating landlords. Gangs like Ranveer Sena ruthlessly massacred Naxalites and those suspected of being Naxal sympathizers. The Maoist Communist Center (MCC), formed in 1975, merged with the Revolutionary Communist Center, India (Maoist) in 2003 to form the Maoist Communist Center (India) or (MCC) (I) or MCCI.

12.2.3. Emergence of CPI (Maoist) (2004-present):

The Maoist insurgency doctrine, as extracted from many documents collected from their hidden locations during various attacks and encounters, was based on the influence of extreme left-wing ideology. It legitimizes the use of violence to overcome the existing socio-economic and political structure. Based on this ideology, the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army was created as the armed wing of the Communist Party of India - Maoist (CPI-M). In 2004, the movement gained strength with the merger of the influential People's War Group (PWG) in Andhra Pradesh, the Maoist Communist Center of India (MCCI) as a strong center in the central Indian states, and the CPI-M. This merger significantly improved the fighting capabilities of LWE groups.

For decades, the LWE movement is estimated to have affected 40 percent of India's territory and 35 percent of its population. In 2018, according to the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA), 60 districts in 10 states such as Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal were severely affected by the Left Wing Extremist movement.

Based on the intensity of the insurgency, 30 districts spread across the ten states mentioned above were classified as highly affected LWE districts.

1. Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha, and Bihar states were severely affected.

2. West Bengal, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, and Telangana states were partially affected.

12.6 Left Wing Extremism in India.........
and

3. Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh states were less affected.

Currently, the LWE movement's operational capability has increased many times. In 10 states of India, it is estimated that there are approximately 9,500-10,000 armed combatants in these extremist organizations. Additionally, there are estimates of about 40,000 full-time cadres (Government of India, 2017).

12.3. Objectives of Left Wing Extremism (LWE) in India:

The main objective of the LWE movement is the establishment of a People's Revolutionary State, which is achieved by establishing a "Red Corridor" that extends from the Nepal border to Central India and down to the Southern states.

The objective is to achieve this by primarily using armed struggle to gain the support of the oppressed and exploited. They believe that violent armed struggle will continue to help unify the movement and expand the corridor.

Naxal leaders support various issues such as protecting the rights of people over Jal (water), Jangal (forest), and Zamin (land). These are mainly the major concerns of the people in rural India because many

became primary means and victims of violence.

Some of the reasons for the spread of LWE are as follows:

12.4.1. Land-related factors:

1. Failure of land reforms, for example, land ceiling laws.
2. Existence of special land periods (meaning, gaining concessions as per ceiling laws),
3. Aggression by powerful sections in society and government and even tribal lands.
4. Landless poor not having land rights from the government.

12.4.2. Displacement and forced evictions:

- Eviction of tribals from their traditionally used lands,
- Large-scale land acquisition and displacement for "public purposes" without proper compensation or rehabilitation.

12.4.3. Livelihood-related reasons:

- Lack of food security due to issues like erratic public distribution system.
- Lack of opportunities for traditional occupations and alternative employment. No rights over forest assets.

12.4.4. Social exclusion:

- Continuous discrimination in some areas, and various forms of untouchability continue to cause misery.
- Non-implementation of special laws like the Scheduled Castes and Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, and the Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act, 1976.

12.5. Factors related to governance:

- Failure to provide basic public services such as primary health care and education, and non-implementation of welfare schemes.

12.8 Left Wing Extremism in India.........
- Incompetent, poorly trained, and unmotivated government employees are accused of being more present at their posting stations. Police misuse of authority and violation of legal restrictions.
- Electoral political fragmentation and unsatisfactory working methods of local government organizations.

12.5. Factors contributing to / motivating the continuation of the Left Wing Extremist movement:
12.5.1. Appealing ideology:
A prominent feature of Naxal ideology is that it envisions and propagates the complete overthrow of the existing social system at all times. This belief gives strength to the movement. This belief also helps in condemning the present flaws in economic development.

12.5.2. Organizational strength of extremist groups:
1. The Left Wing Extremist groups (LWEGs) are characterized by a well-organized, institutionalized, and disciplined approach to their work.

2. Their ideological clarity, cadre-based organizational system, and ability to understand the micro socio-economic situation in various parts of India, plan extremist activities, execute them, and effectively mobilize their cadres.

12.5.3. Sources of funding:

As Naxalites need funds for their livelihood, they are able to target every source related to wealth generation in their affected areas in a tactical manner. To provide financial assistance for their activities, Naxalites

12.5.4. Continuous availability of recruits

1. Extremists are able to target the youth in the marginalized areas of the country, both economically and socially.

2. This belief also helps in condemning the present flaws in economic development. The lack of employment opportunities attracts youth towards Naxalites. Along with economic insecurity, it also provides them with a sense of achievement and honor.

12.5.5. Inadequate assessment, coordination, and response from the government:

Adequate assessment of any problem is key to formulating appropriate strategies to counter and develop it. The inherent nature and vastness of the LWE problem have been inadequately understood or observed. As a result, various states and the central government implemented different approaches, and their efforts were not well coordinated.

From then on, the Naxalite narrative of forming a "Red Corridor" to strike at the nation's regional integrity has been used to portray it as an "extremely internal security threat."

The Naxalite movement is a multi-dimensional problem, and there is a need to formulate ways and means to address it and to contain the unrest in the country. National security is being used as a cover-up for a two-pronged approach.

The lack of coordination and proper response from the state police forces in Naxal-affected areas also contributes to the social, political, and economic problems in those areas. The Naxalite movement's response from the state has been reactive, uncoordinated, and inadequate.

12.6. Government of India's perspective on Left Wing Extremism:
The Government of India's perspective on security, development,

and development-related, comprehensive action plan (now called additional central assistance to LWE affected districts) has been implemented since 2010 to provide basic public amenities and services in 88 affected districts.

It definitely observes the progress of primary schemes of authorities. The Forest Rights Act has been given special priority to ensure rights to local communities over minor forest produce.

"Police" and "Public Order" are primarily within the purview of state governments. The central government definitely monitors the situation and coordinates their efforts in many ways.

Along with these:

1. Provision of Central Armed Police Forces (CAPFs) and Commando Battalions for Resolute Action (CoBRA):

2. Establishment of India Reserve (IR) Battalions, Counter Insurgency and Anti-Terrorism (CIAT) schools.

3. Modernization of State Police Forces (MPF scheme) and modernization of State Police and their intelligence equipment and upgrade:

4. Reimbursement of security-related expenditure (SRE) scheme:

5. Provision of helicopters for anti-Naxal operations, assistance in training state police by the Ministry of Defense, Central Police, and Research and Development Bureau:

6. Intellectual participation: Facilitating inter-state coordination; community policing and public action programs.

- There should be a consensus on how the country should deal with extremists.

- A permanent institutional mechanism should be established in the form of a coordination center to eliminate the differences between the central and state governments.
- Enhancing the capabilities of the police as a primary force against Maoist violence should be key in dealing with extremists.
- If development is an effective tool against Maoist extremism, then it is essential to have a systematic approach to injecting resources into extremist-affected areas.
- It is essential to work with security forces for development. The forces should ensure that an area is cleared immediately after the start of governance activities.
- The administrative system should not only label extremists as bad people, but it is also very important to have a comprehensive communication system based on their own honorable objectives.
- It is necessary to conduct elections for local self-governing bodies in affected areas, and then strengthen these bodies with additional financial and administrative powers.
- The success of security force operations should not be based solely on the idea of war. It should make maximum efforts to prevent collateral damage.
- Reducing the trust deficit between the government and civil society through local NGOs and other civil society organizations and IEC campaigns.
- The government should immediately publicize the war and victory.

3. Maoist Front Organizations and Maoist ideologues/sympathizers should be made aware of the propaganda war against India.

4. The nihilistic and anarchist nature of Maoist ideology and awareness should be countered, and the democratic way of life deeply rooted in our polity should be honored and promoted.

12.9. Conclusion

The Government of India believes that a comprehensive strategy focusing on development and security will successfully resolve the problem. However, it is not desirable to want to solve the root causes related to development such as Maoist party buildings, roads, railways, health basic amenities, communication facilities, etc. They are looking for ways to influence the population in their affected areas.

Conversely, the development process in many parts of the country has been reversed due to the LWE impact. civil society and media should recognize this. To abandon violence against Maoists, and to join the mainstream, and to recognize the fact that the socio-economic and political dynamics and aspirations of the 21st century are far from the Maoist world. Also, the ideology based on violence and nihilism will fail in democracy. It should consider left-wing extremism only as an ideology that encourages violence while providing a law-bound framework for solving public problems.

12.10. Summary:

to join the mainstream, and to recognize the fact that the socio-economic and political dynamics and aspirations of the 21st century are far from the Maoist world. Also, the ideology based on violence and nihilism will fail in democracy.

12.11. Technical Terms:

Naxalites: A member of an extremist Maoist group that originated in West Bengal in India in 1967 and uses agricultural extremism and direct action.

Leftism: Beliefs and actions of people who support socialist ideals, and whose aim is to eliminate all the divisions of the French Revolution.

Communism: A political and economic theory that is opposed to liberal democracy and capitalism, and instead advocates for a classless system in which the means of production are communally owned and private property is non-existent or greatly reduced.

Radicals: A person or a section of a political party that advocates for complete or total political or social change, or a section of a party that pursues such objectives.

Maoism: A form of communism developed by Mao Zedong. It is a doctrine for seizing state power through armed struggle, mass mobilization, and a collection of tactical theories.

12.12. Suggested Readings:

1. Basu, I. (2011). Security and development-are they two sides of the same coin? Investigating India's two-pronged policy towards left-wing extremism. Contemporary South Asia, 19(4), 373-393.

2. Chakrabarty, B., & Kujur, R. K. (2009). Maoism in India: Reincarnation of ultra-left-wing extremism in the twenty-first century. Routledge.

3. Chakrabarty, B. (2014). Left radicalism in India. Routledge.

4. Tanwar, N. (2011). Is the Employment of Army the Only Solution for Solving the Naxal Problem in India?. ARMY COMMAND AND GENERAL STAFF COLL FORT LEAVENWORTH KS SCHOOL OF ADVANCED MILITARY STUDIES.

5. Shah, A. (2006). Markets of protection: The terrorist Maoist movement and the state in Jharkhand, India. Critique of Anthropology, 26(3), 297-314.

6. Srivastava, D. (2013). Left-wing Extremism: Misplaced War Mongering?. In Armed Conflicts in South Asia 2010 (pp. 107-138). Routledge India.

M.A DEGREE EXAMINATION, APRIL 2022
First Semester
Political Science and Public Administration
Paper IV - MAJOR ISSUES IN INDIAN POLITICS

Time : Three hours   Maximum : 70 marks

PART A - (2 x 5 = 10 marks)

Answer any TWO of the following questions.

1. What efforts have been made to control corruption in India?

2. Write the ideological sources of majoritarian communalism.

3. Describe the role of caste in India.

4. Explain Tribal alienation in India.

PART B - (4 x 15 = 60 marks)

Answer ALL the questions.

5. (a) What are the roots of Bureaucratic and political corruptions in India?

Or

(b) Explain the reasons for the decline of legitimacy of institutions.

6. (a) Elucidate the roots of communalism in India.

Or

(b) Describe the ideological issues of minoritarian communalism in India.

7. (a) Describe the inherent inequality of the Indian social systems.

Or

(b) Discuss the impact of modernization in Indian politics.

8. (a) Explain Secessionism in North - East.

Or

(b) Discuss the ideology of left extremism.

98

104PO21

13	Internet Source	1 %
14	theprint.in Internet Source	1 %
15	s3-us-west-2.amazonaws.com Internet Source	1 %
16	content.patnawomenscollege.in Internet Source	1 %
17	cdn1.byjus.com Internet Source	1 %
18	blog.ipleaders.in Internet Source	1 %
19	www.achieveriasclasses.com Internet Source	1 %
20	eudoxuspress.com Internet Source	1 %
21	anucde.info Internet Source	<1 %
22	launchpadeducation.in Internet Source	<1 %
23	vbook.pub Internet Source	<1 %
24	mu.ac.in Internet Source	<1 %
25	Submitted to Gitam University Student Paper	<1 %
26	www.scribd.com Internet Source	<1 %
27	upscwithnikhil.com Internet Source	<1 %

28 www.coursehero.com
Internet Source
<1 %

29 archive.org
Internet Source
<1 %

30 ijrar.org
Internet Source
<1 %

31 karnataka.pscnotes.com
Internet Source
<1 %

32 iaslhe.files.wordpress.com
Internet Source
<1 %

33 www.sbhambriadvocates.com
Internet Source
<1 %

34 www.jatinverma.org
Internet Source
<1 %

35 www.sociologylens.in
Internet Source
<1 %

36 mppscadda.com
Internet Source
<1 %

37 Submitted to Symbiosis International University
Student Paper
<1 %

38 www.jeywin.com
Internet Source
<1 %

39 Submitted to University of Petroleum and Energy Studies
Student Paper
<1 %

40 Submitted to Vivekanand Education Society's Institute of Technology
Student Paper
<1 %

41 www.lokayan.com
Internet Source
<1 %

42 iipa.org.in
Internet Source
<1 %

43 abhipedia.abhimanu.com
Internet Source
<1 %

44 pendulumedu.com
Internet Source
<1 %

45 Submitted to University of Mumbai
Student Paper
<1 %

46 www.aspireias.com
Internet Source
<1 %

47 media.smartleadersias.com
Internet Source
<1 %

48 dspace.vpmthane.org:8080
Internet Source
<1 %

49 s3-ap-southeast-1.amazonaws.com
Internet Source
<1 %

50 retail.sk
Internet Source
<1 %

51 pioneeracademypace.in
Internet Source
<1 %

52 www.xisdxjxsu.asia
Internet Source
<1 %

53 idoc.pub
Internet Source
<1 %

54 www.thehindu.com
Internet Source
<1 %

55 Submitted to University of East London
Student Paper
<1 %

56 anyflip.com
Internet Source
<1 %

57   pdfs.semanticscholar.org
      Internet Source   <1 %

58   Submitted to O. P. Jindal Global University
      Student Paper   <1 %

59   Submitted to Leiden University
      Student Paper   <1 %

60   Submitted to Miami University of Ohio
      Student Paper   <1 %

61   tnou.ac.in
      Internet Source   <1 %

62   Arijit Mazumdar. "Left-Wing Extremism and
      Counterinsurgency in India: The 'Andhra
      Model'", Strategic Analysis, 2013   <1 %
      Publication

63   www.itgoawbunit.org
      Internet Source   <1 %

64   Submitted to Queen Mary and Westfield
      College   <1 %
      Student Paper

65   Submitted to Senn High School
      Student Paper   <1 %

66   nsdcindia.org
      Internet Source   <1 %

67   thefactfactor.com
      Internet Source   <1 %

68   vdoc.pub
      Internet Source   <1 %

69   Submitted to Carrington College
      Student Paper   <1 %

70   cvc.nic.in
      Internet Source   <1 %

71	docslib.org Internet Source	<1 %
72	en.wikipedia.org Internet Source	<1 %
73	www.insightsonindia.com Internet Source	<1 %
74	www.thequoteunquote.com Internet Source	<1 %
75	Aqsa Agha. "chapter 2 Communalism", IGI Global, 2017 Publication	<1 %
76	Submitted to Maharashtra National Law University Student Paper	<1 %
77	Submitted to National Law University New Delhi Student Paper	<1 %
78	journalsofindia.com Internet Source	<1 %
79	1200artists.com Internet Source	<1 %
80	aspirantsjunction.blogspot.com Internet Source	<1 %
81	doi.org Internet Source	<1 %
82	triumphias.com Internet Source	<1 %
83	www.isidelhi.org.in Internet Source	<1 %
84	Submitted to The WB National University of Juridical Sciences Student Paper	<1 %

85	polmun.pl Internet Source	<1 %
86	rajyasabha.nic.in Internet Source	<1 %
87	recentscientific.com Internet Source	<1 %
88	Submitted to Manipal University Jaipur Online Student Paper	<1 %
89	mbimph.com Internet Source	<1 %
90	www.southpunjabnews.com Internet Source	<1 %
91	Submitted to Azim Premji University Student Paper	<1 %
92	Submitted to National Law School of India University, Bangalore Student Paper	<1 %
93	entri.app Internet Source	<1 %
94	www.clearias.com Internet Source	<1 %
95	Submitted to Nexford Learning Solutions Student Paper	<1 %
96	Submitted to The NorthCap University, Gurugram Student Paper	<1 %
97	m.epw.in Internet Source	<1 %
98	sites.google.com Internet Source	<1 %

99   kiet.asia
      Internet Source   <1 %

100   Submitted to Institute of Technology, Nirma
      University   <1 %
      Student Paper

101   Submitted to National University   <1 %
      Student Paper

102   Submitted to Tamil Nadu National Law
      University   <1 %
      Student Paper

103   Yang-Soo Rhee. "A cross-cultural comparison
      of Korean and American managerial styles",   <1 %
      Global Economic Review, 10/1981
      Publication

Exclude quotes	On	Exclude matches	< 14 words
Exclude bibliography	On		

104PO21

FINAL GRADE

GENERAL COMMENTS

/0

PAGE 1

PAGE 2

PAGE 3

PAGE 4

PAGE 5

PAGE 6

PAGE 7

PAGE 8

PAGE 9

PAGE 10

PAGE 11

PAGE 12

PAGE 13

PAGE 14

PAGE 15

PAGE 16

PAGE 17

PAGE 18

PAGE 19

PAGE 20

PAGE 21

PAGE 22

PAGE 23

PAGE 24

PAGE 25

PAGE 26

PAGE 27

PAGE 28

PAGE 29

PAGE 30

PAGE 31

PAGE 32

PAGE 33

PAGE 34

PAGE 35

PAGE 36

PAGE 37

PAGE 38

PAGE 39

PAGE 40

PAGE 41

PAGE 42

PAGE 43

PAGE 44

PAGE 45

PAGE 46

PAGE 47

PAGE 48

PAGE 49

PAGE 50

PAGE 51

PAGE 52

PAGE 53

PAGE 54

PAGE 55

PAGE 56

PAGE 57

PAGE 58

PAGE 59

PAGE 60

PAGE 61

PAGE 62

PAGE 63

PAGE 64

PAGE 65

PAGE 66

PAGE 67

PAGE 68

PAGE 69

PAGE 70

PAGE 71

PAGE 72

PAGE 73

PAGE 74

PAGE 75

PAGE 76

PAGE 77

PAGE 78

PAGE 79

PAGE 80

PAGE 81

PAGE 82

PAGE 83

PAGE 84

PAGE 85

PAGE 86

PAGE 87

PAGE 88

PAGE 89

PAGE 90

PAGE 91

PAGE 92

PAGE 93

PAGE 94

PAGE 95

PAGE 96

PAGE 97

PAGE 98

PAGE 99

PAGE 100