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China's Defence Posture

On July 24, China released its major military policy document entitled China's National Defence in the New Era, also known as 2019 Defence White Paper of China. This White Paper evidently embodies President Xi's self-dictated era, strategy, goals, reforms, and rhetoric. It reflects the Chinese strategy of making China great again under the leadership of President Xi at home and abroad while disallowing any domestic or foreign foe to disrupt this historic mission. China released its first defence white paper in 1998 and since then Beijing has been releasing a new white paper from time to time, discussing various aspects of defence and security related issues pertaining to China.

China's past white papers shed ample light on numerous aspects of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and Chinese security concepts and perspectives. China's past white paper of 2015 seemingly appeared to be signaling that a fundamental shift was underway in Beijing's security perspectives, especially alluding to China's assessment of its security environment probably confronted with increasing threats. According to some strategic experts, China's most of the past white papers have generally harped on the same broad assessment of the international situation. The overall 'tone and tenor' of past papers has remained one of peace and development, with least prospects for war among the major powers of a nuclear confrontation; and irrespective of articulation of such optimism, there has been allusions to factors of instability, including unresolved borders, some degree of tensions with immediate neighbours, perpetual concern for separatists, with specific emphasis on Taiwan. Holding the United States accountable for exacerbating regional instability has been the recurring feature of past white papers of China.

Nevertheless, the 2019 White Paper has evoked mixed reactions among defence and strategic experts. According to one defence expert, new White Paper is not only short of substantive updates but also contains confusing, arguable contradictory phrasing and exhibits simplistic, often unconvincing assurances meant for international public consumption. With regard to assertions in the 2019 White Paper: "China is always a builder of world peace... and a defender of international order... Never seeking Hegemony, expansion or sphere of influence... etc.," many experts are skeptical of these assertions. Many, in Vietnam and across the globe, still question the Chinese claim that the Beijing has never started any war or conflict. The 2019 Defense White Paper emphatically emphasizes on People's Liberation Army (PLA) embracing new concepts and missions that are significant in safeguarding China's national security. And also enabling it in winning informatized local wars. While explicating China's latest military strategic guideline, White Paper exhorts PLA must prepare to fight and win, in particular the need to prepare for maritime struggle.

While emphasizing on comprehensive full-spectrum operations, including peacetime probing and pressure, as well as combat readiness, it articulates a "holistic view of national security" embracing both traditional and nontraditional security and establishing an integrated joint operational system wherein all elements are seamlessly linked and various operational platforms perform independently and in coordination. It also highlights the need for safeguarding China's increasingly complex, far-ranging overseas interests that include four "critical domains" and corresponding forces: "seas and oceans, outer space, cyberspace, and nuclear..." Alluding to unprecedented maritime emphasis, the White Paper envisages that great importance has to be attached to managing the seas and oceans and protecting maritime rights and interests." It underscores determination to strengthen Chinese "strategic management of the sea" and calls upon China to "build a combined, multi-functional and efficient marine combat force structure." Concurrently, it also emphasizes growing power projection capabilities by asserting that. "The PLAN will continue to organize and perform regular combat readiness patrols and maintain a military presence in relevant sea areas." Some experts have opined that this entails moving from "near seas defense" to "the combination of 'near seas defense' and 'far seas protection'". The Defense White Paper also stresses on the need to develop a limited blue water navy. Some defence experts find China's latest Defense White Paper as vague in many areas, and unclear even in its specifics. Nevertheless, what the report does reflect explicitly is that Xi remains large and in charge, determined to make China great again by all means necessary, guided by a grand strategy. Interestingly, how China sees the world and how the world sees China can lead to a seriously dizzying view.

— BK

Changing Dynamics of Indo-Afghan Relations

Dr. Deepan Das*

[Afghanistan has largely been portrayed as a battlefield which is replete with the blood of Taliban and innocent people of Afghanistan. It was even being termed as a failed state when it was passing through the phase of struggle under a Taliban regime. However, during the last decade Afghanistan has come a long way on the path of reconstruction of its polity, society and economy. Accordingly, it has opened a new world of expectations for its neighbours in terms of trade and commerce. Establishing good relations with neighbours and consolidating democracy is one of the biggest challenges before the present political dispensation of Afghanistan.]

International war on terrorism', the oft quoted phrase, was coined by US and its ilk for effacing Taliban from this land. Since then Afghanistan is trying hard to send a message across the world that it has won the war and Taliban is now a phenomenon of the past. During September-October 2014 Afghanistan witnessed a unique political transition from one President to another President after an election. Ashraf Ghani was designated as President and Abdullah as Chief Executive Officer (CEO) which is often referred to as near to a Prime Minister.

Afghanistan's new President Ashraf Ghani visited India for three days in the last week of April 2015 after having been in office more than seven months. His visit speaks volumes about the new path that Afghanistan wishes to chart for itself. It also indicates the priorities that India is being accorded by Afghanistan's present political dispensation. This may be a signal for India's foreign policy makers in view of the fact that Ghani's predecessor Hamid Karzai had nurtured close ties with India, much to the chagrin of Pakistan.¹

Ghani must be having his own understanding of the geopolitics of the region and accordingly he has fixed his priorities. The fact that Ghani made first visit to China speaks volumes about his reorienting Afghanistan's priorities list of friends, close friends and distant friends. Before

coming to India Ghani also visited Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, the US, and Iran. Therefore, there is an imperative for the foreign policy makers of India to tighten their belt and redesign their policies and interventions towards Afghanistan.

Afghanistan has come a long way since 2001 when Taliban was overthrown. Since then the activities of the warlords have been on the wane. Reconstruction activities have been undertaken and the situations in different walks of its polity have been improving. Education is happening and rights of women are being restored. Yet Afghanistan is passing through a phase of transition in almost all walks of its polity; social, political, economic, internal as well as strategic security. It is longing not merely for internal stability and security but also for political stability in view of its ethnic divide and other related problems. It is stability of its polity which shall curve out a road to its prosperity and unity. Peace process is on, but how far it has been effective and whether it would lead to its long-term stability, is subject to the level of comprehensiveness of understanding about the contemporary situations in different walks of its life.

Afghanistan's Imperatives: Challenges for India

Political Restructuring of Afghan Polity

Afghanistan at present requires to move towards a decentralized political system but not

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ungoverned, in place of concentrating centralised power in a President who can only be changed every five years. Under the prevailing scheme of things, the President appoints all of the country's 34 provincial governors, meaning that locals do not get a say in electing their own leaders. A winner-take-all presidential system in a country as diverse as Afghanistan leaves many groups cut-off from power. Most of Afghanistan's neighbours in South Asia, such as India, Pakistan, and Nepal, are parliamentary democracies and have diffused political tensions through distributing power.

Nepal is almost on the threshold of delivering a new Constitution to its people by redesigning the diffusion of political and social power. A country which happens to be ethnically divided and diverse in many senses is the most befitting place for democracy to grow and is a healthy way to minimise the division in society. Democracy is the panacea for the kind of ill that Afghan polity suffers from.

Non-Pashtun ethnic groups in Afghanistan favour decentralization more than Pashtuns, since centralization generally projects Pashtun influence across Afghanistan. Former President Hamid Karzai opposed decentralization and parliamentary government for the same reason that other individuals support it: Afghanistan is a deeply fragmented, mountainous country, and a decentralized government could tear the country apart.² Therefore, the fact remains that a shift to parliamentary system would solve many of such issues.

India can play a constructive and determining role in this direction. India is a lesson in this regard which Afghanistan must learn by heart. India is more diverse than Afghanistan but the decentralization of power with tiers of government has strengthened the democratic process. It is here that India can be of great use to Afghanistan and help in real terms in transformation from presidential democracy to parliamentary democracy. It must educate that parliamentary democracy leads to more freedom

to its people and less governmental deadlock as the executive and legislative functions are not diametrically opposed to each other. On the other hand, Presidential system in developing countries tends to gradually concentrate power in the office of the executive. Therefore, to make the political system of Afghanistan increasingly inclusive India must try to help Afghanistan and educate accordingly the political leadership of the country for making necessary interventions in its Constitution.³

Parliamentary democracy would also help Afghanistan in addressing the problem of ethnic divide. At present one President belongs to one ethnic group and rest of the ethnic community feel being left out of the political and social process. Such a mind-set shall get transformed when there is parliamentary democracy with due representation to all the ethnic groups. This form of democracy would also help in strengthening the rule of law and unite the divided population by overcoming their differences.

Sustainable Peace Process: Need of the Hour

Former American President John F. Kennedy once made a remark: "Peace is a daily, a weekly, a monthly process, gradually changing opinions, slowly eroding old barriers, quietly building new structures. And however undramatic the pursuit of peace, that pursuit must go on."⁴ The context of on-going peace process in Afghanistan is described well by the statement of Kennedy which must have been evolved in some other context. The fact also remains that the history of Afghanistan suggests that it is a victim of instability because it has lost strength. Therefore, any peace process must come from a position of strength; otherwise it shall again be a victim of instability.

The present President of Afghanistan has been demonstrating that he is looking for an opportunity to reset and reinvigorate the Afghan peace process in a systematic, organized and objective manner.⁵ India can play a constructive role in this direction too by helping in terms of arms, armed personnel, as well as other methods

of mediation among the stakeholders and warlords who are still at loggerheads and have taken its development a hostage. India can take a lead in this direction. An intervention with armed personnel to establish peace would also enhance its regional personality and help carve out space for it in the geopolitics and geo-economics of the region.

The present political leadership within the government as well as in opposition lacks a cohesive and systematic approach as well as the capacity to undertake any comprehensive peace process. Taliban too has not shown any inkling for any engagement with peace process. Therefore, India should open a channel of communication with the leadership as well as the other stakeholders to chart out a roadmap for peace initiatives for a long-term sustainable peace.

Settling with Taliban: An Ambiguous Enemy

Afghanistan was freed from the shackles of Taliban in 2001 and since then it has become a phenomenon. However, at present there is lack of consensus as to who are the Taliban? Former President Hamid Karzai has referred to them as disgruntled sons of the soil, while Afghan security institutions and analysts consider them to be a conglomerate of core ideological Taliban, field commanders, and foot soldiers who comprise elements of the former Taliban regime, aggrieved individuals and tribal elders, victim of collateral damage, criminal networks, drug lords, foreign fighters (including Punjabis, Arabs, Chechens, and Uzbeks), and finally some elements of the Pakistan's notorious Inter-Services Intelligence.⁶ Therefore, it turns out to be ambiguous as to who are really Taliban.

Taliban as a regime that existed was a dreaded force which brought untold misery on the people and polity of Afghanistan. Each of the elements identified above requires a different approach to bring them into the mainstream of social and political process. Therefore, the need of the hour is to identify them and categorise them in a manner that the appropriate approaches could be devised

for reconciliation and mitigation by force wherever necessary.

Here again India can make interventions along with the government of Afghanistan given that it possesses a network of internal and external intelligence. Such task at the hands of intelligence and the diplomats would help them sharpen their skills and can also provide an opportunity to demonstrate to the world. The land of Buddha, Mahavira, and Gandhi can miss a lifetime opportunity if it fails to make interventions in the process of peace in its neighbourhood.

Geopolitical Imperatives

Afghanistan at present is in dire need of peace and progress. Fact remains that any attempt at peace without taking Pakistan into confidence or as a 'partner in peace' would be gross miscalculation and is bound to fail. The key to peace in Afghanistan lies with Pakistan. Pakistan has always been accused of being a safe-haven for terrorists, training camps are located in its territories and it is indeed a sanctuary for them as well as a manufacturing industry of terrorists. The terrorists that are manufactured in the training camps of Pakistan are exported to all the countries of the region.

Afghanistan understands the same and knows the cause as well as its effects, but does not have a remedy for the same. Pakistan uses terrorism as a foreign policy instrument in the region as well as with Afghanistan. India must understand that even under tremendous pressure from major powers of the world it cannot abandon terrorism as its foreign policy choice. However, it can do so only when there is a lucrative deal for the same including assurance of its territorial insecurities and strategic interests in the region.

However, it is not clear as to what that lucrative deal could be, but it could be deciphered only through meaningful and focused dialogue. Once it happens it shall also have potentials to change the geopolitics of the region. At present China is using Pakistan as a card to loom large in the region of southern Asia. However, Xinjiang is

an Achilles' heel for China, as Chechnya for Russia and as Kashmir is for India. Therefore, such a situation would help towards mobilizing these countries to make political, diplomatic and military investment towards containment of terrorism and mitigate terrorist activities from this region. This could be made possible by severing the supply line itself.

The recent pronouncement of jihad against al-Qaeda leader Ayman Al Zawahiri, and the subsequent attacks on Indian diplomatic missions across Afghanistan underscores the strategic importance of Afghanistan for India's security concerns. Therefore, India must play a decisive role by using its regional and international influence, leverage and above all its intelligence expertise towards helping Afghanistan reach a peace deal with Pakistan. India can also mobilize Russia and China in this endeavour and could make joint efforts for the same.

The emergence of the Islamic State (IS) in Afghanistan has further complicated the security situation both in Afghanistan as well as in the region. Counter-insurgency experts agree that the IS has become active in some parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan, having managed to attract Taliban fighters and a few tribal leaders on both sides of the border. Indian intelligence agencies have conceded that the rise of the IS in the region poses a threat to the country's security.⁷

With the growing incidence of Islamic State and its activities, Iran and Central Asia have also gained increased importance in the geopolitics of the region. The ranks of the Taliban are filled with fighters from the Central Asian states of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Kyrgyzstan, in addition to Chechens and others. The Taliban maintains close ties with the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Chechen terrorist groups, and Chinese Uyghurs.⁸

Iran has also been accused by the West of providing medical financial and logistical support to the Taliban in the volatile southern province of Nimroz.⁹ Therefore, India also needs to broker relations with Central Asian republics

and Iran to cut the inflow of fighters and logistical support to the Taliban through meaningful mechanism. This certainly would require continuous, consistent and sustained efforts on part of India by developing an appropriate method and mechanism for the same in its foreign policy machinery.

It would also require squeezing the financial network of Taliban and Haqqani network. This could be made possible by intelligence cooperation among the major powers of the region. It involves curtailing the trade related to opium, gems, extortion and kidnapping alongside other sources through which the Taliban has been financing its activities. It would also require a close monitoring of the hawala market and channels of money laundering in the region. Role of Turkey is also relevant in all such endeavours as it has an important business and strategic interests in Central Asia and Afghanistan.

Taliban requires to be impressed upon that it must shed the dream of coming back to power in Afghanistan all of its own. Therefore, the best possible course open for it is to transform itself into a political party and return into the mainstream of Afghanistan politics by participating in its elections to different offices. India can do this only by using its leverage with major powers in the region as well as outside the region. USA, UK and China, the major powers of East and West, have their own geopolitical interests which may outweigh the reconciliation efforts in Afghanistan. The real challenge lies as to how India is able to garner the support and mobilize its resources to make a way for the peace process.

India can also play a role in helping Afghanistan towards overcoming its' overreliance on West. The impending agreements like SOFA (Status of Force Agreement) and BSA (Bilateral Security Agreement) will never be in the interest of Indian security and role in Afghanistan. Afghanistan rather will do better if it opens a new chapter with the Islamic World and the Arab World. Western history of international politics is replete

with multiple instance of tearing the nations apart in furtherance of their national interests. Therefore, it is high time that Afghan political dispensation is made to understand the same and act accordingly.

Afghanistan, thus presents an extremely challenging geopolitical calculus. It is here the real challenge and difficulty that India shall have to face in comprehending and devising appropriate means and mechanism. The road to peace in Afghanistan looks long and difficult but once headway is made India shall have to gain and gain only. Therefore, it is up to the Indian policymakers to create an opportunity out of impasse in Afghanistan for itself to prevail in the region and in the world.

Managing and Mitigating Corruption

Transparency International's corruption perception index (CPI), has ranked Afghanistan at fourth position at the bottom of 174 countries that were under its scanner.¹⁰ Corruption has become a major obstacle towards doing business and to economic development process of Afghanistan. The reconstruction effort and money that is being pumped into the economy of Afghanistan is becoming a victim of widely prevalent corruption within the polity of Afghanistan. Several reports have been published as to how US reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan has become a victim of corruption. India has both challenges and opportunities in this regard as well.

Opportunity in terms of lessons to learn from the reports of American agencies as to how their reconstruction money has been used over the years and how it has become a victim of corrupt activities. Consequently, institutions of the state are also in bad shape. Judiciary of Afghanistan is considered to be one of the most corrupt, incompetent and fragile sectors of the Afghan government. The administration is in dire need to make commitments to the donor community to fight corruption, reform institutions, and strengthen the rule of law. This is the road to development in Afghanistan.

India can devise means and mechanism in a manner that the money invested by India in Afghanistan in any manner must not fall into bad hands and to corruption. Challenges are there in terms of curbing and mitigating the same, because a corruption free polity alone would ensure better and expedited development in Afghanistan and bring prosperity to state and people. Prosperity in due course will bring peace in the country.

Chinese Interventions and India's Concerns

China has already crafted its foreign policy for Afghanistan in the wake of American troops exit from there. China has started playing an important role in the ongoing efforts to broker peace between the government in Kabul and the Taliban. It is investing heavily in its efforts to ensure a comparatively peaceful political transition in Afghanistan after the US troops finally depart from Afghanistan.¹¹ China is aggressively pursuing its project of "new silk road" and hence resorting to expansion of its soft power in the region. China understands the importance of political and social stability in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Accordingly, China has pledged to invest \$46 billion for developing infrastructure for the project in Pakistan. Xi Jinping, the Chinese President visited Pakistan and laid the foundations of the Pakistan-China Economic Corridor Project which will allow China to directly transport goods from West Asia through a more secure and shorter land route. A 3000-kilometer network of pipelines, roads and railways will link the Pakistani port of Gwadar to western China.¹² Chinese assistance and investment in Pakistan is gradually surpassing that of US.

Under such circumstance India need to look for and create enough space for itself so that alongside China it can enter into economic engagement with these countries. India too requires peace in the region especially in the wake of IS growth in the region. Expansion of Islamic radicalism in this region is against the interest of both China and India. China has a

leverage with Pakistan which is key to peace in Afghanistan. Therefore, by all means China will be interested in using its influence in Pakistan and Afghanistan to fast-track talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban, which even US is interested in.

Therefore, it is an opportunity for India to cooperate with China and broker a peace deal between Afghan Government and Taliban. The international community, barring a few holdouts like India, now believes in differentiating between the 'good Taliban' and the 'bad Taliban'. It is the 'bad Taliban' that seems to be metamorphosing into the IS.¹³ India, therefore, needs to have a detailed overlook into its foreign policy towards Afghanistan.

Leverage for India

Afghanistan's President Ashraf Ghani, though was late in his visit to India, reaffirmed his commitment to the strategic agreement signed between the two countries in 2011, though there were no new announcement on the steps being taken to strengthen it. India did hand over three helicopters to Afghanistan before Ghani arrived. Ghani also emphasised the need for regional cooperation in fighting terrorism.¹⁴ He was also appreciative of the Indian government's efforts in Afghanistan and thanked the Indian government for its continuing support and aid to Afghanistan. India has been among the major international donors to Afghanistan, having contributed over \$2 billion.¹⁵

The Afghan President also invited Indian companies to invest in Afghanistan. He reiterated, "We see the Indian private sector as a key partner in transforming Afghanistan from an area shadowed by conflict to hub—where goods, ideas, people flow in all directions."¹⁶ Ghani also attracted Indian businessmen by highlighting that Afghanistan is blessed with significant mineral deposits, including lithium and oil. He also urged Indian industry to invest in the hydroelectric and petrochemical sectors.

China has already invested in mining areas in Afghanistan and has emerged as the top investor

in the country. Ghani has promised that it shall pressurise on Pakistan to allow the transit of Indian goods to Afghanistan, as at present only Afghan goods are allowed to be carried by truck up to Wagah border crossing on the Pakistan side of the border with India. He also made a remark that if Pakistan fails to allow India the transit passage, he would stop the transit of Pakistan exports to Central Asia passing through Afghan territory.¹⁷

Given this situation it becomes obvious that India has a great leverage with Afghanistan *vis-à-vis* Pakistan. India's stakes are not less than that of China. Pakistan has never had good relations with Afghanistan owing to continuous political interference and dispute on 'Durand Line', the border between the two countries. Therefore, India will be the safe choice for Ghani, provided India enhances the level of cooperation with Afghanistan both in words as well as deeds.

India's aid to Afghanistan continues to be biggest that has ever been given to any country. Ghani's visit to India was indeed to assure that it remains an important strategic partner and that its investment in Afghanistan is secured and would be protected from attacks by the insurgent groups. Accordingly, more investment was sought to accelerate the process of building Chahbahar port in Iran.¹⁸ This port shall provide Afghanistan access to sea which will provide with crucial access to port facility and reduce its complete dependence on Pakistan.

Conclusion

Afghanistan forms the lynchpin of India's Central Asia strategy, as it provides connectivity to these landlocked countries. The future of Afghanistan will not be determined by the millions of troops and soldiers and volume of arm and armaments that it is able to build. It shall neither be assessed on the basis of billions of dollars infused on the name of reconstruction. Nor it shall be known by the number of lives lost. The future of Afghanistan will certainly be determined by the secure sustainable economic development that it is able to achieve. Its future shall be known by

its capacity to create economic growth, stimulate job creation, and use financial innovation to create and sustain entrepreneurs and functioning markets as well as increase its access to global capital through its natural resources.

There is no doubt that development of schools, hospitals, educational and other basic social development institutions would provide alternative opportunities, to the people of Afghanistan. Afghan society, a victim of decades of war, is in desperate need of revitalization, for which it needs massive investment. The people of Afghanistan are being driven to join armed forces because of lack of infrastructure and jobs in other areas. On the other hand, people residing in rural areas sympathise for the Taliban are at risk of being pulled into the group's fight against the Afghan government.

Afghanistan runs a risk of becoming a failed state once again; therefore, it must pay for a long-term economic development. Accordingly, it is looking for regional and international cooperation to mitigate terrorism from its land as well as from the region and the world. It has been made amply clear that now Afghanistan does not want to be at loggerheads with Pakistan and is interested in making it a partner both in its development and its fight against terrorism. Pakistan is also interested that China should enhance its role in Afghanistan. China has shown interest that India must also be linked to the Economic corridor that it is building from China to Gwadar in Pakistan. Therefore, now there shall be likely integration of Afghanistan, Pakistan and China with sheer economic purposes.

India has traditional leverage with Afghanistan and China's interest in Afghanistan is mostly economic. Therefore, India must not worry that its security concerns will be affected with growing incidence of China in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. China will never wish that India should converge more with US therefore, it shall provide ample space for India to operate in the region as well as in Afghanistan. Therefore, India must shed the fear of getting isolated on the South

Asian economic turf. India, however, needs to redefine its role with special emphasis on the expansion of its 'soft power' diplomacy. There are probabilities that in coming days China and India shall also have to cooperate in Nepal which is in dire need for reconstruction in the aftermath of earthquake.

Undoubtedly, a peaceful Afghanistan would contribute significantly towards regional peace. It shall never be in the interests of India to allow Afghanistan as a surrogate of Pakistan. Accordingly, India has stressed for an Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace process. India also has the opportunity to participate towards bringing Taliban on the negotiating table as it shall help India towards checking the growth and adventure of ISIS in the southern Asian region. Even Taliban is interested in that in view of ISIS tentacles spreading in the region.

India must participate along with China, Pakistan and other interested parties to broker a peace with Taliban. China is taking a leap forward in this direction and India stands to lose if it loses sight of the geo-political and strategic development in this region. India has mining interests in Hajigok, and without peace in Afghanistan it would be difficult to extract the minerals. India at present seems to be more into a 'wait and watch' mode, which may not be in its interests hence, must become proactive.

Notes

1. John Cherian, "Recharging Relations", *The Hindu*, May 13, 2015. See also "Ghani seeks to renew India's commitment in Afghanistan", www.dw.de April 29, 2015.
2. Akhilesh Pillalamarri, "Afghans in America: Takeaways from Ghani and Abdullah's US Visit", *The Diplomat*, March 27, 2015. See also "PM Modi to hold bilateral meeting with Afghan counterpart Ashraf Ghani tomorrow", *The Indian Express*, April 27, 2015.
3. This is quite ironical that in 2004 when Afghan Constitution was drafted America pushed for a Presidential model on its own

- line in spite of the fact that American-occupied Iraq and Japan adopted parliamentary system. Ibid., n.2.
4. Tamin Asey, “Afghanistan’s Complex Peace Calculus”, *The Diplomat*, November 10, 2014. See also “Ghani seeks to renew India’s commitment in Afghanistan”, www.dw.de April 29, 2015.
 5. Ibid., n.4. Tamin here claims that both Ashraf Ghani and his CEO Abdullah is trying to prepare a roadmap featuring clearly defined objectives and a division of labour amongst the various stakeholders.
 6. Ibid., n.4. See also “Redraw the lines”, *The Indian Express*, April 27, 2015.
 7. Ibid., n.1. See also Praveen Swami, “As Ashraf Ghani negotiates with Taliban, challenge looms for India”, *The Indian Express*, May 18, 2015.
 8. Ibid., n.4. See also “New Kabul Pact”, *The Indian Express*, May 26, 2015.
 9. Ibid., n.4. See also Christophe Jeffrelot, “Not a Zero-Sum Game”, *The Indian Express*, April 16, 2015.
 10. See Corruption Perception Index (CPI)—2014 Results, www.transparency.org/cpi2014/results See also Tamim Asey, “10 Priorities for Afghanistan’s New President”, *The Diplomat*, November 24, 2014.
 11. Ibid., n.1.
 12. Ibid., n.1.
 13. Ibid., n.1.
 14. Praveen Swami, “As Ashraf Ghani negotiates with Taliban, Challenges looms for India”, *The Indian Express*, May 18, 2015. See also Ibid., n.1.
 15. Ibid., n.1. See also “Ghani seeks to renew India’s commitment in Afghanistan”, www.dw.de April 29, 2015.
 16. Ibid., n.1. See also, “Tagore’s ‘Kabuliwala’ has given us a brand: Afghan President Ashraf Ghani”, *The Indian Express* (PTI), April 28, 2015.
 17. Ibid., n.1.
 18. “Ghani seeks to renew India’s commitment in Afghanistan”, www.dw.de April 29, 2015. Despite geographical constraints, India’s contributions to accelerate economic growth are immense. For economic development in any country to succeed it requires things such as roads, communication networks, electricity, and human resources. India has built 220 kV DC transmission line from Pule-Khumri to Kabul. It is in the process of completing the Salma dam project, which although delayed for security reasons—is set to change the irrigation map of Afghanistan, as it will increase cultivable land from 35,000 hectares to 80,000 hectares and would produce 42 MW of electricity once completed. Afghan bureaucrats have been receiving training in India and it also provides 1000 scholarships to Afghan students.



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India's Space Programme in 21st century

Baruna K. Behera*

["Hans J Morgenthau said "International politics is a struggle for power" where each nation seeks to enhance its power and influence. However, in this background a question arises i.e. what should be the nature of power that is to be exercised by sovereign states in 21st century. Mere use of military power (hard power) may not be able to produce the desired objectives. As per the ideas of Joseph Nye, exclusive exercise of hard power may generate revolt/resistance against the country exercising military options, which may not be endeavouring in the long run. Therefore, it is advisable for each nation to use smart power in their day-to-day affairs, which would be instrumental in the fulfilment of national interest. In this context, this article seeks to understand the nature of India's space programme as to whether it can become an element of smart power in present century"]

The space technology arrived in the middle of the twentieth century when the erstwhile Soviet Union (USSR) placed Sputnik-1, world's first artificial satellite, on the low earth orbit in the year 1957. The arrival of space age was a great achievement for human civilization as it promised to improve the quality of life of human beings. Unfortunately, during that period Cold War politics dominated world affairs, which aimed at the military utilization of every aspect of science and technology. In this context space technology was not an exception. In the initial periods of space age, national pride, prestige and military application of space technology were the main factors behind the embracement of space programme¹.

From the aforementioned fact it can be said that space programme can be used to excel soft power and hard power at the regional as well as at the global levels. Space technology can be used to enhance standard of living of human beings and at the same time, it can also be used to strengthen military preparedness of a country.

As said by Joseph Nye, states should try to use smart power in present juncture to enhance their influence substantially. Too much emphasis on

hard power (i.e. military power) will not serve the real purpose of a state and its practice will definitely put a negative impact up on the exercising country as the case of USA. USA gives too much weight to its hard power application and analysis shows that such approach is affecting USA negatively. Therefore, each country should try to use its national power in a smart way i.e. a combination of hard and soft power instruments.

And in this regard, space programme is a perfect example of an element of smart power. It can be used for remote sensing, satellite communication, tele-medicine, tele-education purposes as well as for intelligence gathering, arms control monitoring, war planning, satellite targeting etc.

India's Initiative in this Regard

India's status has changed from a post-colonial state to an aspiring global power. This transformation has not achieved in few days but it is the result of perseverance with which India has been working in the last seven decades.

A country, where once upon a time, bullock cart constituted a principal mode of transportation, has become a major space faring entity in 21st century². India's space programme conducts two types of activities. (1) It builds satellites for remote sensing and communication purposes and (2) it also builds satellite launch vehicles³. One

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can realize the technological capability of India's space programme from the fact that India got success in its launch vehicle programme only in its second attempt, while Japan, a technologically advanced country, was unable to put a satellite into space until its fifth attempt. India's space programme, which is evolutionary in its progress, during its initial periods, produced low powerful satellites and satellite launch vehicles.

These low powerful satellites and launch vehicles did not have major military and economic benefits. But now Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO), organization, responsible for India's space programme, is capable to produce more powerful satellites and rockets having immense military and economic spin-offs.

Soft Power Applications of India's Space Programme

Before proceeding to discuss applications of India's space programme in the arena of soft power, it would be important to know what is meant by soft power in international politics. Soft power is the ability to influence one without exercising coercive techniques. Persuasion is the key in the application of soft power. Culture, political values and foreign policies are cited as main instruments of soft power in international politics⁴.

Joseph Nye coined the term 'soft power' in a 1990 Book, "Bound to lead: The changing nature of American Power". He further developed this concept in his 2004 Book, "Soft power: The means to success in world politics"⁵.

In the present time challenges like climate change, implementation of sustainable development goals, flood control, resource management, crop planning, meteorology, urban planning, weather forecasting etc., can be very well addressed with the help of application of space technology. This application of space technology is nothing but a form of soft power projection. A country with robust space programme can easily handle aforementioned issues and in this regard, ISRO is a world recognized leader.

ISRO through its remote sensing and communication satellites has been serving aforementioned points and should continue with this approach. ISRO should seek to provide space-based applications to developing countries as has been done by China. India has been seen as a leading country of Third World and it would be a win-win approach for India endeavouring to provide space-based technologies to Third World countries.

The best examples of soft power dimensions of India's space programme are launch of South Asia satellite (also known as SAARC satellite) and IRNSS (Indian Regional Navigation Satellite System)⁶. SAARC satellite is designed to provide space-based benefits to six SAARC countries namely Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka. It is an attempt to forge a faith and goodwill among the small neighbours of India in South Asia.

Similarly, IRNSS is designed to provide navigational services across 1500 kilometers beyond India's geographical boundaries. Civil aviation, marine navigation, road transportation and disaster management are some of the areas that stand to benefit from the operationalization of IRNSS. India's expertise to utilize its space programme to accelerate socio-economic development is of immense relevance particularly for third world countries, which have been characterized as have-nots from the technological point of view.

All these aforementioned points reflect how successful India has been in using its space power as a tool of soft power.

Space Technology and its spin-offs

Space technology can be utilized both for defence and development purposes. Space technology is no longer a means to achieve political supremacy but rather an economic asset and immensely valuable source of know-how, an ideal element of soft power projection⁷.

Thousands of spin-off products have resulted from the application of space technology in fields

like: human resource development, environmental monitoring, natural resource management, public health, medicine and public safety, telecommunications, computers and information technology, industrial productivity and manufacturing technology and transportation. Space technology also represents a substantial dividend on national investments in aero-space research⁸.

Hard power applications of India's space programme:

It is the use of military & economic means to influence the behavior of others. This form of political power is often aggressive in nature. It stands in contrast of soft power. According to Joseph Nye, hard power involves the ability to use the carrot and stick of economic and military might to make others to follow your will.

From the above it is clear that hard power refers to the military strength of a country. When a country is using its military ability to fulfill its objectives, we can say that the concerned country is exercising its hard power. Space programme can be used for intelligence gathering, arms control monitoring and for the development of various anti-satellite weapons.

India's space programme with its present strength is able to perform all the aforementioned functions. The successful anti-satellite missile test (Mission Shakti) held on March 27, 2019 truly demonstrated hard power dimensions of India's space programme⁹. Many scholars argue that India's space programme has been instrumental for the development of its missile programme.

One can very well realize the link between India's space programme and missile programme from the following facts¹⁰. India's missile programme although started from the 1960s, however it did not achieve any kind of success till 1980. On July 18, 1980, ISRO successfully launched its first satellite launch vehicle (SLV-3). After that the government of India had established the Integrated Guided Missile

Development Programme (IGMDP) in July 1983. The establishment of IGMDP had given a better organizational, technological background to the missile programme of India.

At that juncture Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam was appointed as the head of IGMDP. Appointment of Dr. Abdul Kalam as the head of IGMDP was a turning point in the missile programme of India. It may be noted that Dr. Abdul Kalam was the project director of SLV – 3. The Indian missile programme which struggled to take off since 1960s suddenly became active with the appointment of Dr. Abdul Kalam thereby laying foundations for the development of indigenous missiles like Prithvi, Agni. On the basis of this co-relation, it can be said that there existed a relationship between India's space programme and missile programme.

Prospects for a smart power application

Smart power means a synthesis of hard and soft power. Coercion is not enough for persuasion but convincing one with non-violent methods may have a deep impact on bilateral & multilateral relations. In this regard the idea of smart power can be equated with the theory of functionalism enunciated by David Mitrany¹¹.

According to David Mitrany, possibilities of cooperation among nation states are more in non-political areas than in the political areas. It means possibilities of persuasion are more in the application of smart power than the application of hard power. Similarly, in the application of smart power, issue of resistance is likely to be seldom and the possibility of acceptance is more.

As mentioned above, India's space programme is capable enough to utilize constructive and destructive potentials of space technology. On the one hand, it can manufacture remote sensing and communication satellites meant to raise the standard of living of its people and on the other hand, it can develop sophisticated weapons like ASAT (Anti-satellite) missile.

Conclusion

It would be prudent for India to utilize more civilian aspects of its space programme. Use of space programme in military domain, particularly for the development of Anti-Satellite weapons, would be seen as offensive moves; therefore, India's venture in such areas should be restricted one. Such stand is essential to maintain India's status as a responsible power in International Politics. This status of responsible power has been instrumental behind India's inclusion into important forums like Australia Group, Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and Wassenaar Arrangement. ISRO's move in the operationalisation of SAARC satellite and IRNSS system should be encouraged to enhance further soft power of India. Efforts should also be made for extension of such endeavours into geographical areas like Africa and South East Asia.

Thus, India's space programme is well poised to act as an instrument of smart power. However, it should be ensured that in this application of smart power, the tilt should be more in favour of soft power application.

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Gandhi on Environment and Sustainable Development

Ashima Sahni*

[Gandhi was an environmentalist with a difference. His philosophy of environment can be traced in his writings. During his lifetime he has set several examples which reflect his concern for environment. Gandhi can be rightly categorized as a practical environmentalist for his honest efforts to translate his environmental perspectives in actual life especially the ashrams established by him. His environmental initiatives at Phoenix and Tolstoy Farms in South Africa as well as Sabarmati Ashrams were living examples for his ecofriendly and sustainable development approach. In post-Gandhian era, India witnessed several movements for environment protection under various socio-economic percepts. Most of these movements were based on strategies adopted by Gandhiji and most of the environmentalist in India adopted the techniques and methods used by Gandhiji. His environmental ethics are based on his love and concern for nature and all living beings. This paper is an attempt to comprehend Gandhi's philosophy of environment and development as emerges from Gandhi's philosophy and his life.]

Environmental protection and sustainable development are the buzz words of the 21st century. These issues have evolved to a matter of grave concern both at global as well at local level. Inter-governmental environmental cooperation and environmental diplomacy was intensified to meet global environmental challenges. Environment issue requires an unprecedented degree of national as well as international cooperation with regard to scientific research and harmonization of regulations through negotiation; however, scientific uncertainty, the complexity of the trans-boundary and inter-sectorial issues, and other wide range of actors are big challenges to secure environmental and sustainable development.

Before Stockholm conference, the environment was considered something outside the purview of human progress and environmental problems were viewed as parochial.¹ Since 1972, many efforts in this direction have been made. UN 2019 Climate Summit, which is to be convened on the theme of 'A Race We Can Win. A Race We Must Win' is another effort in this direction. Since environment and sustainable development

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covers wide range of issues; therefore, it is significant to study it from different perspective. Gandhian perspective on environment has been acknowledged by environmentalists in India and abroad.

Gandhian insights serve as a guide to understand the problem in a proper perspective. In fact, the entire life and teaching of Gandhi symbolizes environment-friendly experiments. He expressed his views on basic issues of environment and this can be easily observed in his perspective on environmental friendliness. It is in this context that Gandhi's philosophy has a comparative advantage to understand issues, concerns and challenges and to provide alternative solutions to problems proliferating from environmental degradation. Hence, in the present scenario, when world is developing so rapidly with globalization and digitalization, we need to pause and re-look at the vision of Gandhi².

The Emergence of Environment Problems

The environmental historians claim that the evidence for a longstanding concern for environmental issues has been readily available in manuscripts, publications and historical archives. It can be found under labels like

conservation, public health, preservation of nature, smoke abatement, municipal housekeeping, occupational disease, air pollution, water pollution, home ecology, animal protection etc. The Second World War was influential in introducing the idea that warfare could be hazardous to the environment. By 1960, it was accepted that the rapid pace of industrialization begun during the eighteenth century was an environmental disaster.

The modern word “environmental” was developed as a Silent spring by Rachel Carson stemmed from a genuine plea to arrest the rapid industrial progress for the sake of profit. By 1970, it was clear that the environmental pollution was increasing at a frightening and unstoppable pace. The sprout couple in their book *Space Ship Earth* outlined this argument. They drew a spaceship as a metaphor for planet Earth and built the argument that each traveler is equally responsible to ensure that the spaceship is protected from environmental degradation.

In 1972, alarmed by the spate of environment hazards, the UN under its aegis held the first environmental conference in Stockholm followed by series of conferences such as; World Commission on Environment and Development (1987), United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (1992), General Assembly Special Session on the Environment (1997), World Summit on Sustainable Development (2002), UN Conference on Sustainable Development (2012) and UN Sustainable Development summit (2015)

Environment & Sustainable development: Gandhi in Theory

Gandhi has not built up any theory of environmental philosophy or system which strictly falls within the scheme of present environmental sciences. Gandhi was deeply concerned with all problems confronted by humanity, and it was quite natural that he expressed his concern on matters related to ecology and environment³. The core of his philosophy on environment lies in his most

famous dictum, “We have enough to satisfy all people’s need but not enough to satisfy some people’s greed.”⁴ Although, Gandhi did not use the term sustainable but when Gandhi emphasizes the core element of equality, non-discrimination, self-reliance and empowerment in sharing of resources shows that idea of sustainability was inbuilt in his approach.

We may get answers and solutions both in the Gandhian philosophy of sustainable development which is largely about people, their well-being, and equality in their relationship with each other. It is interesting to note that Arne Naes, who coined the term deep ecology has acknowledged his indebtedness to Gandhi in the formulation of this term.⁵ Gandhi’s environment and sustainability perspectives are embedded in his ideals of swadeshi, sarvodya, trusteeship, village industry and manual labour. His views on machines and urbanization provide other dimensions of environment and sustainability. His personal life itself provides much of the clues about his ideas of environment and sustainability.

Gandhi’s concern for environment and sustainable development find its expression in his idea of swadeshi. Gandhi propounded an ideology of Swadeshi in the context of India’s struggle for freedom. He used swadeshi as a means to achieve India’s swaraj. Gandhi’s idea of swadeshi was an economic doctrine; however, it covered all aspects of the human life e.g. economic, political, religious and social dimensions, and it can also be understood in the context of environment and sustainable development. In the words of Gandhi: “My definition of swadeshi is well known. I must not serve my distant neighbour at the expense of the nearest...Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote”⁶

In swadeshi there is no distinction between one’s own and other people. With the temptation of serving the whole world, if one fails to perform

the duty towards the immediate neighbours, it is a clear violation of the very principle of swadeshi. Gandhi's concept of swadeshi was rooted in his philosophy of life for him, the purpose of production is to provide for essential needs and not in satiable greed. The law of swadeshi demands that one should not take more than required to discharge the legitimate obligations towards the family. Hence, he was opposed to mass production through modern machines in huge mills, "Industrialization on a mass scale will necessarily lead to passive or active exploitation of the village as the problems of competition and marketing"⁷

According to Gandhi, "A true votary of swadeshi will never harbor ill-will towards the foreigner, he will not be actuated by antagonism towards anybody on earth. Swadeshimism is not a cult of hatred. It is a doctrine of selfless service that has its roots in the purest Ahimsa i.e., love"⁸ The doctrine of swadeshi as propounded by Gandhiji has the ability and technique to deal with contemporary environmental crisis. Its application will certainly lead to non-exploitive and rational economic development paving the way for ecological consciousness.

Gandhi's Idea of trusteeship is in close proximity with environment and sustainable development. Gandhi's Idea of trusteeship arose from his faith in the law of non-possession or Aparigraha was founded on his religious belief that everything belonged to God and was from God. Gandhi's ideal of Aparigraha calls for giving up of all possessions. He said. "Earn your cores by all means but understand that your wealth is not yours; it belongs to the people. Take what you require for your legitimate needs and use the reminder for society"⁹ He took this concept from Upanishad which says, "All that is in the universe is pervaded by God. Renounce first therefore in order to enjoy. covet nobody's riches" In other words everything must in the first instance be surrendered to God and then out of it one may use only that, what is necessary for the service of God's creation according to one's strict needs.

Gandhi clarified about the fundamental basis of trusteeship. He said that: "Everything belonged to God and was from God therefore it was for his people as a whole not for the particular individual when an individual had more than his proportional portion he becomes a trustee of that portion of God's people"¹⁰ The institution of trusteeship is regarded by Gandhi as a compromise between private enterprise and state-controlled enterprise. Gandhi rejected the Marxist solution to the problem of economic relation because he believes it to be based on violence.

Gandhi seeks to harmonize the economic relation and to conciliate the ultimate value into a state of equilibrium through Trusteeship, a programmatic construction which means the joint trusteeship of capitalist and laborer over the wealth of society. Trusteeship is an idea of development, self-restraint rather than wealth accumulation and materialism. His model of development based on collaboration between the rich and poor where the rich act as trustees; voluntary cooperation and self-sufficiency with minimal dependence on outside resources. So, the rich must not only restrict their wants but must also treat their wealth as 'trust' for poor and use it for the welfare of poor.¹¹

Trusteeship is a non-violent alternative to state ownership. The alternative offered by him is a natural and happy life centered on the small and small and self-reliant unit of a village, rather than a life dependent on the machinery.¹² Trusteeship is an effective way to combat over-consumption and a definite solution for the present environmental crisis.

Sarvodaya is another concept given by Gandhi which is directly related to the issue of present-day environmental crisis. The term sarvodaya was first used by Gandhi as the title for his Hindi version of Ruskin's 'Unto the Last'. Which exercised a profound influence on his life. Sarvodaya means 'The welfare of all'¹³ In this work, Gandhi has outlined certain programmes to be followed to achieve sarvodaya and some

of the programmes like Khadi, rural industries, education of health & hygiene and village sanitation are directly related to the issue of environment and sustainable development, Hence, Sarvodaya being a practical philosophy offers guidelines to deal effectively with the environmental crisis.

Sarvodaya movement gave much consideration to protection of nature, “The Sarvodaya movement’s vision of development is equally applicable in the case of environmental protection and conservation”¹⁴ ‘Gandhi’s ideology of sarvodaya is based on wellbeing of all, love and law of non-violence, In unity and oneness of life is the crux of Sarvodaya ideology which can be considered as the underpinning of deep environmental philosophy.¹⁵ Sarvodaya society of Gandhi is free from undue exploitation of nature.

Khadi represents a non-destructive environment-friendly technology, Khadi industry is based on an indigenous technology and it works according to nature’s inbuilt rhythm. Gandhi advocated spinning wheel as panacea for all ills. According to Gandhi, khadi industry is a permanent and environment-friendly solution for unemployment. Khadi was permanent solution to overcome the root problem of poverty and unemployment by an environment-friendly method as it is based on an indigenous technology work as according to nature’s inbuilt rhythm.

Gandhi’s idea of village or cottage industry offers suggestive measures to ensure ecofriendly industrial set-ups. This concept of Gandhi if applied and understood in its true spirit has the vast potential to combat present environmental crisis. Gandhi’s idea of village or cottage industry essentially implied low-technology usage in production of goods at the villages with healthy relationship of mutual exchange of goods and commodities between cities and villages. His ideas about development can be accessed by his famous quote on development, that is; “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs”¹⁶

Expressing concern for village industry he once said, “I do visualize electricity, ship-building, ironworks, machine-making, and the like existing side by side with village handcrafts. But the order of dependence will be reversed”¹⁷ Thus, Gandhi was in favour of the self-sufficient village economy where the villages will be the independent economic units. In 1934 Gandhi established the “All India Village Industries Association” at Wardha and devoted most of his time towards reorganization of Indian villages. His target was to revive village crafts and agro-processing industries.

Gandhi trained many workers in rural reconstruction work such as making Neera from palm trees, jaggery, dairy farming, leather work, pottery, oil pressing, bee-keeping etc. In April 1936, he moved to Sevagram village and shifted the headquarters of All India Spinners’ Association to Sevagram. Since 1936 till his last, Sevagram Ashram remained his headquarters and He demonstrated a new way of constructive work for the establishment of a non-exploitative social order. According to Gandhi, concentration of industries in few cities has led to a number of problems like problem of overpopulation which in turn gives rise to pollution in the air and water.

Gandhi was not in favour of large-scale industries as it promoted monopolistic trends and unequal distribution of income and these industries are not related to rural population living in villages. Although he was not opposed to machines as such; he definitely opposed the large scale use of machinery¹⁸. For Gandhi, handicraft industry could play a better role in the development of village as handicraft industries are less machine-dependent, labor-intensive, energy saver and protect environment, Thus, his views about handicraft in education provide path for sustainable development without use of much machinery. He insisted the farmers to use eco-friendly agricultural technique of using minimum amount of fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides to prevent soil depletion and environmental pollution.

He preferred well-irrigation instead of large hydro-electric projects since this could lead to exploitation. In a talk with Rajendra Prasad at New Delhi on 27 June 1947, Gandhi made him aware of the possible consequences of introducing machinery in villages, "...Have you given a thought to the possible consequences of using tractors and pumping machines to water the fields and trucks instead of carts for transport of goods? How many farmers will become unemployed, how many bullocks will become ideal? Moreover, I feel in the long run the land will lose its fertility if it is ploughed with machines and tractors. People will stop keeping cattle and we shall have to import fertilizers.¹⁹

Gandhi's concern for environment and sustainable development also find its expression in his idea of development. His idea of development is based on consciousness and concern for the others as well as the posterity. In his scheme of development, he gives more weightage to cottage industry, village industry, manual labour, handicraft and an education-based on skill development in comparison to industrialization and urbanization. He was not in favor of absolute dependence of man on machine and was doubtful of Western model of industrialization. Gandhi was deeply concerned about the damages done by modern industrial civilization to the environment which he portrayed in his seminal work *Hind Swaraj* or *Indian Home Rule* written in 1909.²⁰

His doubts which he expressed in *Hind Swaraj* have been proved right in the context of present environmental crisis. According to estimates, Global GDP is 20 times higher than it was in 1900, having grown at the rate of 2.7% per annum, CO2 emissions have grown at an annual rate of 3.5% since 1900, reaching an all-time high of 100 million metric tons of carbon in 2001.²¹ Natural disasters all across the globe are occurring at an alarming rate with increasing frequencies of earthquakes, wildfires, cyclones, violent rain, vulnerable climate etc. Gandhi was right when he pointed out that, "Nature is lenient. It often does not punish us for our sins

immediately."²² 'Nature has provided us with sufficient reserves of vitality. But for that, man would have long ago disappeared from the face of the earth because of his own mistake'²³

Smog from factories, vehicle exhausts and other related sources has made the air toxic as such large number of companies are compressing and bottling fresh countryside air and selling it one such company is Vitality based in Edmonton, Alberta Canada. Gandhi was right when he said, "Nature has provided it (air) to such extent that we can have it at no cost. But modern civilization has put a price even on air. In these times, one has to go off to distant places to take air and this cost money"²⁴ He argued even in 1909 that industrialization and machines have an adverse effect on the health of people.²⁵ Each and every word of Gandhi about man's greed with regard to industrial production and exploitation of nature has proved to be correct.

Gandhian Views in Practice

His personal life itself is a great example as well as matter of study for many environmentalists and the way he interacted in different domains of human life opens several other possibilities to claim him as an environmentalist with a difference.²⁶ Gandhiji used to store pencil but still its end to utilize it fully without wasting a small piece. It is well known that he used to receive post for writing answers by turning the envelope. He would not waste even a single piece of paper.

Gandhi strictly followed simple diet because eating for man is not enjoyment but to live. And he argued that scientifically man's physical structure is suitable for vegetarian or solid foods this is why eating for pleasure must never be indulged in. We should eat only in order that we may live and should live only to realise the self"²⁷ Mahatma in his lifetime established four ashrams; these were: Phoenix settlement near Durban, Tolstoy Farm in the Transvaal, both in South Africa. Sabarmati ashram (Ahmadabad) in Gujarat and Sevagram (Wardha) in Maharashtra.

In practice, it was swadeshi ideology that shaped the Ashram's economic and productive life. Objective of this Ashram was simply to translate Gandhian ideals of living into action and to promote a life of simplicity based on the principles of sustainability and eco- friendly approach. For instance, on issue of water Gandhi had a very clear perspective. Gandhi at his Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmadabad demonstrated how water needs to be conserved in washing of utensils even though the Ashram was located on the banks of river Sabarmati. The Ashramites were required to immerse the utensils in three different water dips so as not to waste the water.

Once Gandhi's colleague Mohan Pandya asked him as to, he insisted on using only one loti (metal vessel) of water when the whole of Sabarmati River was flowing right next to his ashram? Then, Gandhiji explained to him that the river water was not just for him but it was for all animals, birds, insects and men. As it was a collective property, he had no right to use more than he needed.²⁸ Gandhi was therefore for a waste less society, a society in which the resources are used to fulfill the needs rather than the wants and greed of the people.

His concern for water conservation has proved to be right. In contemporary times, due to growing human population and industrial uses, natural resources of water like rivers, lakes etc. are drying up or have become polluted to use. Climate change is altering patterns of weather and water around the world, causing shortages and droughts in some areas and floods in others. The issue of water scarcity was first raised in the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1992.²⁹

India only possesses 4% of the world's freshwater...the concern has moved from surface to the groundwater and India's freshwater is under the greatest stress³⁰ [<https://businessconnectworld.com2018/01/11water-crisis-in-india/>]. By 2040, there will be no drinking water in almost all of India.³¹ Alex Prud Homme explains in his book, *The Ripple Effect*, the basic problem is the quantity of water in the

world is finite but demand is everywhere on the rise. As oil was in the 20th century, the key resource, a focus of tension, even conflicts, so water will be in the 21st century, as states, countries, and industries compete over the ever-more-precious resource.³²

The ashrams, his social laboratories, provided the platform to Gandhi to find solution for social problems. He was a great visionary he not only preached or warned about the environmental issues but he himself practiced ecological friendly lifestyles in these ashrams. He ensured clean drinking water for villagers. Gandhi aimed at the reconstruction of village for ideal state. He once said, "The village will maintain a village theater, school and public hall. It will have its own waterworks ensuring clean water supply. This can be done through controlled wells or tanks"³³. Gandhi's ashrams were symbolic of his approach for environment and sustainable development.

Conclusion

Gandhi was much ahead of his times; He was a great visionary. He gave the solutions for the problems even before their occurrence. His constant warning to mankind about excessive industrialization reflects his concern for environment. Gandhian concept of environmentalism is based on morality, his religious viewpoint and social justice. While presenting his views on environment he also provides suggestive measures for sustainable development. He categorically points out at the continuous struggle between the limited resources and the goal of rapid development.

Swadeshi, trusteeship and Sarvodaya are some of practical theories of Gandhi which has made him as a practical environmentalist. His fear about machines has proved true in the present times. Enough harm has been done to planet Earth in the name of development and modernization. The end result of such a development is fast depletion of the resources, environmental degradation, greenhouse gas emission and other such related issues. Gandhi has been recognized as a true environmentalist both at national level and at global level. As a matter of fact, there

exists vast amount of literature by different scholars, academician, researcher on Gandhian approach to environment; however, we have never tried to put it into practice with full zeal. There is every need for civil society as well as Government to do justice to tremendous and unique contribution of Gandhi to the cause of environment by implementing it.

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Socioeconomic Development of Scheduled Tribes

S. Balraj*

[Indian society is basically plural in nature. It is multiethnic, multilingual, and multi-cultural. In India divergent religious, caste and racial groups are living together in all the states. The plurality of Indian society and unity in diversity is the strength of India. Indian Constitution took note of the fact that certain communities in the country were suffering from extreme social, educational and economic backwardness and so they need special consideration for safeguarding their interests to improve socioeconomic development. Among these weaker sections of the peoples, Scheduled Tribes (STs) are one of the disadvantaged groups in India.]

Tribes in the Indian context today are normally referred to in the language of the Constitution as Scheduled Tribes. In India different tribal groups living on various degrees of socioeconomic backwardness. STs are facing the problems due to lack of social, cultural, and economic facilities. In India, there are 537 different tribal communities spread in all over country. According to 2011 census, the population of scheduled tribes consisted nearly 8.6 % to the total population of the country.¹

Before the Independence, the British Government was discussing the issues and problems of tribal development and practically did nothing either to uplift them or solve their problems. Independent India has been paying due attention to the problems of the scheduled tribes and attempts are being made to deal effectively with their problems. The foundation of tribal development policy was laid by the first prime minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, who enunciated the policy of “Panch Sheel”. The founding fathers of Indian Constitution laid a firm policy of tribal development by incorporating various provisions on the doctrine of compensatory discrimination.

Since independence several plans of Central and State Governments have been formulated and they

are implementing various programmes for tribal development. The Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Community Development set up sub- multi-purpose tribal blocks in various states of India to promote the welfare and the integration of the tribals.² The Ministry of Tribal Affairs is the nodal ministry for overall policy, planning and coordination of programmes for social and economic empowerment of tribals. The governments are paying due attention to the problems of the Scheduled Tribes and attempts are being made to deal effectively with those problems. In this context, the present paper makes an attempt to study on “Policies and Programmes for Socioeconomic Development of Scheduled Tribes.”.

Indian society is plural in its nature. Among the pluralistic sections of the people, Scheduled Tribes (STs) are one of the weaker sections as well as most disadvantaged groups in India. In India different tribal groups live in various degrees of socioeconomic backwardness. STs are facing the problems due to lack of social, cultural, and economic facilities. In India, there are 537 different tribal communities spread in all over country. Before the Independence, the British Government was only discussing the issues and problems of tribal development and practically did nothing either to face them or solve them.³

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Identifying the Research problem

Indian Constitution provides several safeguards for the development of disadvantaged communities. In the context of Article 46 of the Indian Constitution, it is worthwhile to highlight some of the aspects of an uneven socioeconomic development of the disadvantaged communities and Scheduled Tribes (STs) is one of the backward communities in India.

The tribal communities represent an important social category of Indian social structure. Indian tribals are called 'Adivasis' as they are believed to be the original inhabitant of this land who continue to maintain their distinct socio-cultural identities. India has the second largest tribal population in the world next only to the African Continent. Indian tribals are spread over the length and breadth of the country. Tribal problem has reference to non-tribals, comparatively they are considered backward in almost all walks of life.

The backwardness is termed as primitive in this parlance, because they are considered to be at a lower stage of development. It is also believed that if tribals are put in contact with advanced culture they will learn and develop. An overwhelming majority of tribal communities in the country have been living in the remote and inaccessible areas of the thick forests, hill areas, and in areas generally with poor facilities. According to 2011 census, the population of scheduled tribes is 1042.81 lakh consisting about the 8.6 % of the total population of the country, with 89.97 % of these people living in rural areas and remaining 10.03 % of them living in urban areas.⁴

Since Independence several plans have been projected for the all-round socioeconomic development of the tribals. So, the development of tribal people has been made an integral part of the planning and policy-making, both at the Centre and state levels. The advent of independence saw a plethora of official

programmes launched by various officials and non-officials for the welfare and development of the tribal people. Ministry of Tribal Affairs was constituted in October 1999 with the objective of focusing more attention on promoting socio-economic development of the most under-privileged sections of the Indian society.⁵

Objectives

- To trace the historical background of Tribal Policy for the development of Tribals.
- To know the Constitutional provisions with regard to the socioeconomic development of Tribals.
- To analyse the policies and programmes of socioeconomic development of Scheduled Tribes in India.

Methodology and Data Collection

In the present paper, only descriptive methods have been adopted and it has mainly relied on secondary data.

Historical Evidences for the development of Tribes

The first national policy on forests formulated by the British in 1894 introduced state control over forests in public interest curtailing rights and privileges of the tribals over the forest resources. The policy also provided for clearing of forests without any provision of their regeneration through plantation programmes. It had negative impact on tribal agro-forest economy and their sources of livelihood.

The British policy of *laissez faire* philosophy towards tribals and their habitat resulted in exploitation and encroachment of their lands and thus, they had lost command over the natural resources in their own habitat. The British administration neglected the tribal areas. Inaccessibility and difficult terrain, less revenue, lack of basic facilities, and influence of philosophy of noble savage on the administrators

and policy makers were some of the important reasons for negligence of tribals and their areas during British rule in India.

The Government of India after Independence also adopted the policy of isolation, of course in a slightly modified form. The partial exclusion of large tribal area was followed by special welfare measures. For the first time after the country became independent, the Government of India is proposing the formulation of a National Policy for the Scheduled Tribes. The policy seeks to bring scheduled tribes into the mainstream of society through multi-pronged approach for their all-round development without disturbing their distinct culture. Scheduled tribes are those which are notified as such by the President of India under article 342 of the Constitution and the first notification was issued in 1950.

The Constitution has provided for the socioeconomic development and empowerment of scheduled tribes. But there has been no national policy, which could have helped translate the constitutional provisions into a reality. The foundation of the tribal development policy was laid by the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, who enunciated the policy of 'Panch Sheel' for the tribal development. Five principles spelt out in 1952, known as Nehruvian Panchaseel, have been guiding the administration of tribal affairs.

They are

1. Tribals should be allowed to develop according to their own genius
2. Tribals' rights in land and forest should be respected.
3. Tribals should be trained to undertake administration and development without too many outsiders being inducted.
4. Tribal development should be undertaken without disturbing tribal social and cultural institutions.

5. The index of tribal development should be the quality of their life and not the money spent.⁶

Constitutional provisions for the Socioeconomic Development of STs

Tribal development or Administration of tribal areas was not formally assigned to any one of the three lists in the Constitution of India. These areas were brought under fewer than two schedules (Fifth and Sixth) for which special provisions were made. There are certain special provisions incorporated in the Indian Constitution – The part –III on fundamental rights, part –IV on Directive Principles of State Policy, and part –X on the scheduled tribal areas. The excluded areas covered under the tribal areas in the erstwhile Indian states were included in the fifth schedule.

Article 46 of the Constitution categorically speaks about the directive principles of state policy so as to enjoin upon the state the responsibility to promote with special care educational and economic interests of weaker sections. Apart from article 46, there are many provisions in the Constitution under articles 19, 46, 164, 244, 275, 330, 332, 334, 338, 339, 342, and the 5th and 6th schedules of the Constitution are relevant in this regard. Similarly, provisions have been made for their economic development under Articles 275 (1) first proviso and 339 (2). These provisions assign special responsibility to the central and state governments not only for drawing up of special schemes of development but also for providing them financial assistance.

The Panchayats (Extension to the scheduled Areas) Act, 1996

Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 or PESA is a law enacted by the Government of India to cover the "Scheduled areas", which are not covered in the 73rd amendment or Panchayati Raj Act of the Indian Constitution. It was enacted on 24 December

1996 to enable Gram Sabhas to self-govern their natural resources. It is an Act to provide for the extension of the provisions of Part IX of the Constitution relating to the Panchayats to the Scheduled Areas.

National Commission for Scheduled Tribes

Article 338 was amended on 20 September 2003 vide 89th amendment of the Constitution and new Article 338A was inserted which provides for a separate National Commission for Scheduled Tribes. This amendment came into force on 19 February 2004.

Reservation of seats in the Democratic Institutions for STs

Constitution provides for reservation to scheduled tribes and scheduled castes their representation in all the institutions of democracy from the panchayats to the parliament. Generally, any person can claim a right to contest election for a seat in Lok Sabha or Vidhan Sabha from any area. But the constitution has put a restriction on this right of general category of people to protect the interest of the SC/STs.

Therefore, articles 330, 332, 243D, and 243T of the constitution provide for reservation of seats in Parliament, state legislatures, municipalities and panchayats for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, in proportion to the percentage of their population in their respective states and union territories for protection of their interests in view of the increasing pressure and influence of money power.⁷

Tribal development through Five-year plans

The fifth five-year plan, (1974- 78) working group constituted by the Planning Commission formulated important policy guidelines which laid the foundation for the present strategies for development of tribals and their habitats. The fifth five-year plan marked a significant milestone in the strategy for tribal development. Fifth five-year plan introduced the Tribal Sub-

Plan (TSP) for the comprehensive development of tribals.

The TSP stipulated that funds of the state and Centre should be quantified on the ST population proportion basis, with budgetary mechanisms for the Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPS) to be delineated in the tribal concentrated states. Special Central Assistance (SCA) to Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) and grant aid under Article 275 (1) of the Constitution were also initiated in this plan to provide additional funds to TSP implementing states for income generating activities, infrastructure development and administrative reinforcement.

During the sixth plan (1980- 85) emphasis was on family-oriented economic activities rather than infrastructure development schemes A Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) was adopted for tribal-concentrated pockets of 10,000 populations with at least half of them being STs. Primitive tribal groups were also given emphasis for their overall development.

The ninth five-year plan (1997 -2002) approach envisaged advancement of STs through a process of i) social empowerment ii) economic empowerment iii) social justice for socioeconomic development. An exclusively Ministry of Tribal Affairs was set up in 1999 for a focused approach to the development and welfare of the tribals in the country.⁸

Socioeconomic policies and programmes for STs.

The tribal sub-plan (TSP) strategy was initiated for the rapid socio-economic development of tribal people in the 5th five-year plan. The strategy for the TSP was prepared for areas of tribal concentration which were designated as integrated tribal development projects. TSP is part of an overall plan of a state/UT and has the objective of socioeconomic development and protection of STs against exploitation through legal and administrative support for narrowing

the gap between their levels of development to that of the general communities.

The tribal development under TSP envisages⁹;

1. Education promotional schemes and schools, residential schools, hostels, scholarships, special coaching etc.,
2. Agriculture and allied activities by providing minor and medium irrigation facilities, animal husbandry, dairying, poultry, etc.,
3. Improved credit and marketing facilities for agriculture and minor forest projects.
4. Irrigation and power facilities to promote agriculture protection and small-scale industry etc.,
5. provision of basic infrastructure for speeding up the socioeconomic development of the tribal areas through community centers, communication network, schools, health centres, rural electrification, drinking water and other facilities etc.,
6. Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP), Modified Area Development Approach (MADA), cluster and primitive tribal group's special comprehensive development projects were to be administered by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

To sum up, an attempt has been made to study the policies and programmes for the "Socio-economic Development of Scheduled Tribes in India." As it is one of the vast areas of study, it focuses only on the provisions of Indian Constitution, policies and programmes framed by plans. It is observed that only minimal level of policy initiatives for the development of the tribal uplift has been undertaken from the British period and even after independence in India.

Besides provisions of Indian Constitution, policies and programmes framed through the Five-Year plans the Government of India has entrusted special responsibility of promoting the

welfare of the tribes to the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. There are multiple factors that are needed for the socio – economic development of STs. Though there is improvement in the life of STs, but there is still need for strong and viable policies and programmes for the comprehensive development of Scheduled Tribes in India.

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Development through Rural Entrepreneurship

Dr. Dipen Saikia*

[Self-realization and self-initiative are two most powerful weapons to wipe poverty out from the world map. Entrepreneurship through various sources has become a ladder to uplift the poor not only economically but also socially and mentally. Creating self-employment opportunities is one way for eliminating poverty and solving the problems of unemployment. Rural entrepreneurship is commonly considered major factor of economic development. That is the case; one would expect that the national and international development Governments / organisations pay a special attention to promoting rural entrepreneurship. The study finds that organisations /firms' agenda has not started yet to incorporate the basic insights regarding the link between urban and rural. It is inferred that this situation has to create opportunity for a rich analytical insight and policy agenda in the realm of rural entrepreneurship.]

India lags behind the developed countries and some of its new global counterparts in among the leading emerging economies. An average Indian is widely believed to be a risk-averse individual and this tendency has traditionally led a huge section of skilled and semi-skilled population of the country to look for a secure 'Job'. Entrepreneurship is the act of being an entrepreneur, which is a French word meaning "one who undertakes innovations, finance and business acumen in an effort to transform innovations into economic goods". This may result in new organizations or may be part of revitalizing mature organizations in response to a perceived opportunity. However, this has primarily been an urban phenomenon.

Gandhi's vision of India as a self-sufficient village economy could not be realized. However, not much has changed as far as the preferences of the rural population are concerned. Most of the rural households are involved in some or the other kind of agricultural service provider units, which serve as support units for the village agriculturalists and farmers. Schemes like the

MGREGA should be used for sustainable infrastructure creation in the rural areas so that this organization of units, either through incentives for cooperative farming or access to larger semi-urban/urban markets etc. can be facilitated.

India has a huge hidden potential in all its distant, obscure villages, in the fields of traditional arts and crafts & food industry. The problem is that both the natural and population dividends are not being optimally reaped through proper skill enhancement and incentives. There are but a few programs for the training of such rural entrepreneurs, to help them have the basic understanding of marketing, access to finances, their legal rights and obligations, and the pluses and minuses of other related aspects. These resources have a great empowerment and growth potential.

Agriculture continues to be the backbone of rural society. This also results in migration of farm workers in large numbers to the urban areas. In both the cases, the population remains below poverty line. Aim of most farmers is to earn profits from farming as from any other business, if they determine the objectives. A farm business necessarily requires deliberate decision and

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proper investment, after assessing risk and available resources to maximize profit. Though, cultivation requires more inputs and production prices are high but for the past couple of years monetary output is uncertain. It is also sensitive to many crop related diseases, pest and also highly risky crop considering natural hazards, as well as the day-to-day fluctuating wholesale price index.

Agricultural workforce has a share of 70 percent in the total workforce of the country. Cultivators who own farm land account for about 68 % of this workforce, while agricultural labor accounts for the remaining 32 percent. These cultivators are increasing in number over the years but the large increase was among the agricultural labor which went up from 20 per cent of the rural workforce to 32 percent. Still large part of population remains below poverty line. Thus, the policy for rural development has to tackle the problems by providing other occupation options to the rural youth. In the current scenario, rural markets and self-help groups have gained immense significance. Many institutes, both profit and non-profit, are focusing on rural entrepreneurship.

Review of Literature

Dr. Vineet Chouhan summarizes in his article that the entrepreneurs provide a magical touch to an organization, whether in public or private or joint sector, in achieving speed, flexibility, innovativeness, and a strong sense of self – determination. They bring a new vision to the forefront of economic growth.

Study by Petrin & Gannon (1997) reveals that rural entrepreneurial development requires improvement of support structures to provide business counseling, assistance, a healthy entrepreneurial environment, and the establishment of an entrepreneurial culture within

the community (CRECRE Commercial Real Estate

CRE Corporate Real Estate

CRE Commission for Racial Equality (Scotland)

CRE CCD (Charge Coupled Device) and Readout Electronics

CRE Camp Response Element , 2002). Cooperative rural development centers mentor and assist in the development of new venture concepts; advise on the assessment of new ventures; and provide technical assistance and counseling for small businesses in rural areas.

Report by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2005) on Turkey makes it discernible that for Turkey's poverty eradication and rural development projects during 2000-2004 included measures like building and sustaining innovative partnerships of the government, civil society, multinational corporations and multilateral organizations. Partnership with institutions, academies and various organizations encourage rural community development and strengthen institutional support structures and well-built relations between the government and the private sector in new enterprise development in rural provinces.

Jerry Rao, NASSCOM states that there are 7.5 million graduates in rural India in the age group of 20-34 years and the rural BPO industry will be in a position to employ at least one million of them over the next five years. By 2020, if one-tenth of domestic BPO is outsourced to villages, it will employ 900,000. Also, leveraging economies of scale and a modest increase in price will boost margins for domestic BPOs.

Study conducted by Lohmoller (1990) reveals that the training in agricultural sectors may target the application of suitable agricultural technologies and methods Hence, training farmers

on various production strategies and agricultural techniques promotes the development of agricultural products and their processing and may lead more entrepreneurs to recognize opportunities in rural regions. Rejuvenating rural regions through agricultural enterprises plays a crucial role in the growth of rural economies.

It is found that there is a need to study the Indian approach for development through rural entrepreneurship.

Need for the Study

The training for development of rural entrepreneurship has to be different from the entrepreneurship development training in urban areas. In Integrated Rural Development Programs, apart from providing the training to potential rural entrepreneur, an “industrial area exposure” is undertaken to estimate the kind of industries that could be set up in that particular rural region. Industrial area survey has all the details about the cost of the project, availability of technology, gestation period and return on investment for the projects that could be set up in that region. The District Industrial Centre conducts these area potential surveys for usage of potential entrepreneurs.

Rural entrepreneurial development requires improvement of support structures to provide business counseling, assistance, a healthy entrepreneurial environment, and the establishment of an entrepreneurial culture within the community. Cooperative rural development centers mentor and assist in the development of new venture concepts; advise on the assessment of new ventures; and provide technical assistance and counseling for small businesses in rural areas. These centers form a mentoring program with other successful entrepreneurs and provide forums for rural entrepreneurs to work with other entrepreneurs to explore new opportunities.

One of the major reasons why not much headway has been made in this area during the last 50

years is the lack of serious commitment on the part of government officials in implementing these projects.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are:

- To know the opportunities of rural entrepreneurship which in turn leads to rural development
- To identify the challenges in setting up rural enterprises by entrepreneurs.

Scope of Rural Entrepreneurship

Rural entrepreneurship could take off the excess of labor from the farms that causes disguised employment, which is symbolic of the fact that there might be groups of people working on the farmland and calling themselves employed. However, when these people are taken off that farm and employed elsewhere, the production of the farm does not go down.

The primary entrepreneurial basics should be applied to rural development.

- Entrepreneurial occupation for rural youth resulting in reduction of disguised employment and alternative occupations for rural youth.
- Formations of cooperatives like Amul in Gujarat, Mahila Samakhya in AP etc., for utilization of farm produce
- Optimum utilization of local resources in entrepreneurial venture by rural women.

However, there has not been enough development in this area. One of the reasons can be that management modes used were largely governmental. Those who were charged with responsibility of rural development were either bureaucrats or technocrats, who were using only the schemes as the motivation for developing entrepreneurs, without providing the necessary

training for running an enterprise. We can trace an imaginative entrepreneur, who has used the correct mode of management of rural entrepreneurial venture to the best.

The new Industrial Policy of the Government of India has specifically highlighted the need for special entrepreneurship programmes for women entrepreneurs in the nature of product-process-oriented courses – to enable them to start small-scale industries. A majority of women entrepreneurs are from the middle-class families who have low technical education, less family responsibilities but desire to become entrepreneurs. This potential should be identified and tapped.

Some examples

- Shri Mahila Griha Udyog Lijjat Papad est. 1960, Rs.350 crore turnover per annum. Seven illiterate and semi-literate women from the Lohana community of Gujarat started an economic drive that could have given the women some food for thought. All they knew was how to cook.
- To expand its markets, the challenge for Hindustan Lever (Unilever's business in India) as how to reach millions of potential consumers in small remote villages where there is no retail distribution network, no advertising coverage, and poor roads and transport. The solution was Project Shakti, launched in 2000 in partnership with non-governmental organisations (NGOs), banks and the government. Women in self-help groups across India are invited to become direct-to-consumer sales distributors for Hindustan Lever's soaps and shampoos. The company provides training in selling, commercial knowledge and bookkeeping to help them become micro- rural entrepreneurs. By the end of 2009, 45,000 Shakti rural entrepreneurs were selling products to three

million consumers in 100 000 villages in 15 states in India. Shakti has brought them self-esteem, a sense of empowerment and a place in society.

- The case of AMUL Dairy Development in the State of Gujarat. The Gujarat experiment was started more than 30 years ago. Starting from a small complex of eight societies which originally collected only a few hundred litres of milk, it has grown into a huge complex collecting nearly seven lakh litres of milk per day from 240,000 members organized into 840 village societies. Today 90 per cent of the processed butter and cheese market of the organized sector in the country is controlled by Amul. This has helped small farmers.
- The case of Adarsha Mahila Samakhya (AMS), Moosapet village, Addakal Mandal, Mahabubnagar district, (Andhra Pradesh). It is located in a cluster of 37 villages spread over 19,397 hectares in Addakal Mandal in the Mahabubnagar district. In Addakal, migration and suicide had been reported to as coping mechanisms against less productivity and economic level. The AMS is a federation of successful all-women micro-credit self-help groups with a membership of 6,300 from 21 villages in Addakal. It has been active since 1994.

In 2004, the all- women group calling themselves the Adarsha Mahila Samakhya (AMS), with the advocacy of the State Government of Andhra Pradesh, approached ICRISAT for help in setting up an information center or something to help the farmers in the Addakal Block survive and, even more so, surmount the drought. Scarcity is the mother of invention. Knowledge is power; these were knowledge seekers empowering themselves. In response, ICRISAT, through the Virtual Academy for the Semi-Arid Tropics, VASAT, a partnership, set up an Internet facility at the AMS campus with personal computers to

support basic operations. ICRISAT provided technical assistance and advice; the AMS is running the facility. The women have proven to be more successful in managing credit than the men. Self-maintenance of Mahila Bank, Cluster Level Livelihood Resource Centre, Solar Mango pulp preparation, Bulk Milk Cooling Center, Procurement and trading of Agricultural Commodities, Rural Provision Center, Restaurant and Handlooms outlet. Programmes conducted under the following support system of UNDP include: Velugu - APRPR Project, DRDA – IKP, WASSAN NGO, VASAT – ICRISAT, DWMA–CLRC & FCI.

These opportunities can be replicated by organizing farmers to form commodity / business cooperatives

Despite rural income generating activities conducted by the Government, there has not been much development in the rural area. However, before a profile of these rural entrepreneurs is carved, it is necessary to review the existing rural scene and the agencies involved in the rural development. Such a review would help us in understanding the problems of rural India in a better way. This would also help us in drawing the profile of the entrepreneurs for rural development. The term ‘entrepreneur for rural development’ is being utilized instead of entrepreneurs for rural industries.

The major problem with these entrepreneurs is that they look at the community only as a market. The industries in rural areas should be set up not just to take advantage of the cheap labour but also to bring about an integrated rural development. Similarly, rural entrepreneurs should not only look at rural areas as their markets, they should also see the challenges existing in the urban markets. They may not be setting up only an industry they might be bringing about a revolution with their innovative ideas. They may not set up manufacturing units; they

may set up a seed raising farm or carry out the trading for the benefit of millions. Based on our understanding of the need of rural industrial ventures, let us try to draw the profile of rural entrepreneurs.

Role of Rural Youth / Women

The rural youth and women play a major role in economic development of self and country. Almost two-third of India’s youth live in rural areas. As they don’t have any opportunities, many of them either work at farm or migrate. The need is to make them aware about other options to rural youth. Entrepreneurship could be the best option. If rural women and youth get appropriate training and skills along with technological and fiscal support, it could result in revolutionizing the Indian rural development.

Following are the advantages of rural industrial projects:

- Availability of cheap labor and at times raw materials.
- Increase in respect among the local community
- Leading by example for local youth
- Strong support from local people
- Opportunity for employment of local people.

Opportunities for Rural Entrepreneurs

Though the world is advancing towards urbanization, the resources are not increasing uniformly. The economic gap between the urban and rural sectors is increasing exponentially. Success of new economic trends such as microfinance and increasing number of companies in the rural sectors suggest that there exists a large untapped market at the bottom of the economic pyramid.

1. There is scope for tie-ups with e-choupal, More, Reliance Fresh etc., are the creation of opportunities for the rural entrepreneurs for product differentiation and innovation by offering them choices. Because of this sustainable market linkages, rural producers can participate in the benefits of globalization and will also develop their capacity to maintain global quality standard. And subsequently, they become part of the firms' core businesses.
 2. Due to increase in consumers' selective demand they are creating more and more marketing gaps or niches.
 3. Banks getting more entrepreneur friendly and venture capitalists spreading their wings.
 4. Barriers to globalisation are coming down, organisations are trying to outsource many goods and services.
 5. The Government is evolving schemes of phased development of industrially-backward areas through ancillary mechanisms.
 6. Government has reviewed the present arrangements in terms of special facilities providing incentives such as soft loans, establishing of proper linkages in the field of marketing and strengthening the credit facilities particularly for the decentralized sector as a part of modernization of packages.
 7. Financial assistance in India for SSI units is available from a variety of institutions. The important ones are: SIDBI – Small Industries Development Bank of India, SFCs – State Level Financial Corporations, NSIC- National Small Industry Corporation, SIDC – Small Industry Development Corporations, Commercial/ Cooperative Banks, DICs- District Industry Centers,
 8. Entrepreneurship development programs in India are: IRDP – Integrated Rural Development Program, DWCRA – Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas, TRYSEM – Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment, SITRA – Supply of Improved Tool kits to Rural Artisans, SGSY – Swarnajayanthi Gram Swarojgar Yojana, JRY – Jawahar Rojgar Yojana, PMRY – Prime Minister's Rojgar Yojana, Food for Work Programme, National Rural Employment Programme, Regional Rural Development Centres, Rural Innovation Funding, Social
- The involvement of the private /industry sector at the rural product and market development can also provide opportunities for the development of new services and values to the customers, which will find application in the developed markets. It will be worth mentioning that building a sustainable market linkage through industry's intervention will also empower the rural entrepreneurs to cope with socio-economic problems in the rural society and will ensure economic self – reliance.
2. Considering the fact that about 74 percent of Indians reside in villages, the domestic BPOs can bring a revolution in employment opportunities for the rural entrepreneurs and educated mass. The establishment of BPOs in villages is resulting in the development of rural entrepreneurship along with infrastructure, increase in standard of living, and generation of sufficient employment opportunities at the village level. Language is no barrier as global BPO requires English language skills, but Indian companies are now outsourcing domestic work, and need to do so in regional languages.

Opportunities for Rural Entrepreneurship

1. In rural areas there is no scope of procuring job in Government/ private which are declining in urban areas also.

Rural Entrepreneurship, Entrepreneurship Development Institute of India & Bank of Technology.

Challenges in Rural Entrepreneurship

There are significant challenges to the entire process the most important being the capacity building of the rural entrepreneurs. For decades, the entrepreneurs associated with very conventional / traditional knowledge of business, and facing humiliation from Government; therefore, the industries must play a catalytic role to cope with this challenge and should also train the entrepreneurs to develop their managerial and IT skills. On the other hand, the products of the existing and popular brand also stand as threat to the rural products.

These global giants (brand) may try to suppress the rural products in the markets with their communication hype. Therefore, developing alternative and additional market linkages for these products is an absolute necessity. Moreover, the low volumes of rural products, high operating costs, high attrition, and absence of local know-how and relationships may also create problem in the process.

The institutional voids, numerous intermediaries and infrastructure bottlenecks etc., are some of the challenges being faced by rural entrepreneurs while marketing their goods they are likely to confront:

- Shopping Malls
- Low Assistance
- Frequent Power cuts
- Lack of Technical knowledge
- Low Infrastructure arrangements
- Poor Transportable roads

Conclusions

More efforts are still required to promote and develop rural entrepreneurship to bring it at par with the level of development of rest of the country. In any approach of rural entrepreneurial development due care is to be given to the removal of the problems and also using the potential for rural entrepreneurship. This will mean taking effective steps for creation of awareness of rural entrepreneurial opportunities among youth, developing opportunities and their knowledge and skill and raising their level of motivation for rural entrepreneurial career.

Therefore, instead of just schemes (financial and developmental) as the carrot for entrepreneurship development an intensive training needs to be provided to the youth in rural India. To manage agricultural sector and non-enclave projects in rural areas, rural entrepreneurs need to apply entirely different management and administrative concepts.

There is need for creation of entrepreneurial environment in the support system and social environment. Greater emphasis should be laid on developing rural entrepreneurship in agriculture sectors. Rural entrepreneurship is the answer to removal of rural poverty in India. Therefore, there should be more stress on integrated rural development programs. Entrepreneurs of the developing countries need to grow from imitators to innovators and also compete against subsidized products from richer countries. They need to keep the momentum towards opening markets and away from a reversion to protectionism.

Besides there is also need to give due emphasis on women / youth entrepreneurship, especially in SC/ST sector. These steps will finally help in the emergence of successful rural entrepreneurship. The problem is that most of the rural youth do not think of entrepreneurship

as the career option. Therefore, the rural youth need to be motivated to take up entrepreneurship as a career, with training and sustaining support systems providing all necessary assistance.

These issues gain added complexity under globalization, where markets are characterized by extreme competition and volatility. While rural products have been perceived traditionally as catering to the local market, or at best, to a wider national market through limited formal channels, the reality of globalization since the 1990s introduced a new dimension to the market for such products. The issue of rural product generation through industrialization, therefore, needs to be viewed from a new angle and on far more scientific lines.

The core of a scientific approach is to understand the market opportunities for rural products along with the country's development priorities and to chalk out a strategy where rural industries have an important role to play. While rural products are forced to increasingly become part of global supply chains, these products need to adapt themselves, not only according to the changing tastes of the national market, but also according to changes in tastes in the international market.

Therefore, a process is essential to explore the market linkages and capacity building for SHGs through a bottom up approach and continuous dialogue with stakeholders of rural enterprise. This process should ensure the participation of rural people as consumers and producers in the globalization mechanism, with better livelihoods and global access to markets. The real challenge of building a sustainable market linkage starts here.

Although there are various ways to empower people living in rural areas but seeing the upsurge of Internet usage, it seems to be one of the best ways for the development of rural India. In the context of the necessity to stop migration to the urban and metro areas, the Government must encourage such initiatives by providing adequate

infrastructure support. Through connectivity, rural entrepreneurship can challenge the information age.

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Socio-economic status of migrant laborers in Tamil Nadu

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[Throughout the world, December 10th is celebrated as Human Rights Day and May 1st is celebrated as Labors Day. Though we celebrate, we refuse to talk and write about the hardships faced by the laborers' in their life. Everyday nearly 50 million laborers 'migrate from place to place in search of livelihood. It is unstoppable, because they are migrating to fulfill their basic needs and to earn and afford for their livelihood. They highly expect the happy and peaceful life like sunshine reaches the world. At the same time, they migrate with the worries and bewildered longings. Their migration towards socioeconomic changes depends on their subsistence necessity.]

At the time of Pakistan's separation from India, a lot of people migrated across both sides. This was perhaps one of the largest migrations in the annals of world history. But at present, a migration has been taking place in India without any protest. This displacement is being conducted from North India to South India. Several studies have recently been conducted on displaced workers. Their economic position in almost all studies is of great concern. Unequal wage, dwelling and unprotected livelihood environment etc., are hardships covered by various studies. The task of doing a three-person work done by one person is the expression of exploitation of capitalism. These laws are practically different. Multinational organizations of the countries have written more beneficial laws for the laborers, but everything is only in paper and not in action.

There are many workers in the developing countries, such as India, who are not aware of the practice. From the 1980s to 1990s, many workers from South India migrated to work in

North India. To set up the road and the large factories, thousands of Tamil Nadu laborers migrated to North India. But today it has turned upside down. From North India lakhs of laborers are coming to Tamil Nadu. In today's environment of globalization, the countries that cannot be excluded are inadequate. The value of money in globalization can only see the growth of the economy. There is no more concern about the laborers' plight.

The most important part of the process is to improve the quality of life of the victims and their families. In order to improve the efficacy of the laborers, it is necessary to take care of all the essential factors. In this situation where the rich are becoming richer and the poor becoming too poor, there is no question of getting a minimum balance. In the competitive world, in the midst of rising prices, inflation and economic recession; the workers are pushed from one place to another.

The disadvantages of developing countries such as India in the realm of migration are increasing day by day. On one side is the growth and on the other side is poverty and famine. The neo-liberalization policy implemented in India has not created a good impact on India. What is the result of level of workers between the ages of

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20 and 40? This is the ultimate exploitation of globalization. Global warming is the next factor to be on one side. These issues continue to be the subject of discussion.

Earth's thermodynamics and climate change have become a reason for less rain and decrease in agricultural production. So, the farmers have migrated from village to cities. This kind of migration has been taking place day-by-day.

Migration towards Tamil Nadu

Due to unemployment problems in North India, thousands of people from West Bengal, Gujarat, Tripura, Meghalaya, Odisha, Manipur, Uttar Pradesh and Assam are migrating towards Tamil Nadu, especially to Chennai, Coimbatore, Tiruppur, and Kadalur in search of livelihood.

On behalf of Tamil Nadu Government, some private organizations have carried out a research on North Indian laborers. It has been found that there are nearly 10 lakh laborers employed in Tamil Nadu. But some people who belong to labor community say that there will be more than 20 lakh North Indian laborers found in Tamil Nadu. In the early days, North Indian laborers were given the task of fixing tiles on floors and walls in construction sites. Day by day, they entered into constructing buildings, and they handled the production areas. After that, they largely migrated to Tamil Nadu. Even now the dislocation of laborers is increasing.

Employment is the main reason for their migration to Tamil Nadu. Here the proprietors of large industries or organizations give less wages and employ more North Indian laborers. Because of this, their migration has increased. In addition to this, Tamil Nadu Special Economic Zone needs large number of laborers to work in constructions. So, a greater number of North Indian laborers is found in Tamil Nadu.

Especially, they are found more in places like Kanchipuram, Chengalpattu, Coimbatore and Trichy. 27 % of laborers work in production department and 14% of laborers work in construction department. They are also employed in textiles and in weaving areas in districts like Tiruppur. Nearly 20% of laborers do various kinds of work in Kanchipuram district.

No Basic Amenities

A man should have his basic needs like food, cloth and shelter. This is the policy of any law. That is, for a person's survival all these facilities are important. The basic needs of migrant laborers should be fulfilled, which is very essential. But 95% of organizations did not follow this law.

Work exploitation and actions against Human Rights

Every labor work has been exploited by the Capitalists' with the power of world globalization. But the migrant North Indian laborers are greatly exploited. The laborers who are working in construction sites and in production departments are given only Rs.290 per day. But they have to work from 12 hours to 15 hours.

In addition to this, in 1979 North Indian laborers had demanded for many amenities, but it was not accepted and sanctioned by the organizations. According to 1979 law for migrant laborers, organizations have to register the details of the laborers. If it had not registered, then it should provide 75% of salary increment.

Under the guidance of World Health Organization, laborers should be provided comfortable accommodation especially airy-buildings and luxury hostels. But the organizations have constructed small tin sheds (10X10) for them, in which six to eight laborers have to stay. Because of this, laborers are

affected by transmitted diseases. Both men and women use same toilets; take bath in open spaces which result in loss of immunity and infections. But missions like Swachh Bharat continuously advertise and teach the common citizens on the habit of stools in open space. But they don't advertise or teach the organizations which make their laborers to indulge in unhealthy practices.

There is a rule that the scholars who do research on laborers cannot be prohibited. They are given freedom to visit any organization at any time to analyze the conditions of laborers. On the other side, local laborers involve in violence with these migrant laborers. They fight and snatch their money and illegally force them to leave their jobs to get their jobs in return. It has been found that there is heavy disgust among local laborers and migrant laborers. Even the North Indian owners do not take care of these problems and it is a shocking cruelty.

Reputed organizations act against the Human rights by treating North Indian laborers unkindly. There have been recurring incidents of sexual harassment of women, denial of education facilities to their children, work without rest, more work less wages, and no safe accommodations etc.

Conclusion

In democratic countries like India, the corporate organizations wield tremendous influence. Some of these organizations are greatly exploiting the hard work of the migrant laborers at cheap rates and the incidents of use of violence against the laborers are increasing day by day. To avoid these mishaps, the information collecting center can be started. With this the details of all migrant laborers can be collected. Through this, they can be helped by providing residential facilities. In addition, Identity Card can be given to them and they should be authenticated as migrant laborers.

Those documents should be maintained so that all migrant laborers in India will have equal basic wages. But these laborers are living like refugees in their own country. So, they should be considered as the people below poverty line to receive benefits from government.

The developing nations like India should have symmetric development and plans to facilitate proper employment for the laborers. At the same time, the Indian government should implement new employment opportunities for the laborers and it should strictly follow the existing laws of migrant laborers. Guarantee for children education should be given. Beyond this, the culture of brotherhood has to be developed among people. Through these, the rights of the laborers will be saved and the illegal actions against human rights will be stopped. So, the socioeconomic status of the people would be uplifted.

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Jawaharlal Nehru: The Builder of Modern India

Balbir Singh*

[Jawaharlal Nehru was foremost amongst those who belonged to the galaxy of leadership of that period to architect the Indian nation in modern ways. His dynamic ideas and leadership tremendously influenced and shaped the destiny of the Indian subcontinent in a common nationhood which richly deserves to be appreciated. He started the journey of nation building in very diverse circumstances with the immense challenges of integration, reconstruction and consolidation which began in right earnest. He dreamed for liberal democratic, secular and socialistic model of government which was impossible in Indian pluralistic society but his strong efforts with the commitment and lots of sacrifices fulfilled his dream with the promulgation of new Constitution of independent India which came into being in 1950.]

Nehru was determined to foster the 'scientific temper' to provide a way for technological advancement of the country which would become the 'visible symbols of building up the new India and of providing life and sustenance to the people of country. 'Nehru did all this and thereby consolidated the most subtle basis of the Indian polity. But he did more. He gave to it a more durable foundation by incorporating his life's work and the work of all his distinguished forbears into a framework of rules, institutions and conventions' (Kothari 1964: 1203).

Jawaharlal Nehru was a great leader of India in the sense that he not only struggled for freedom against the British and their imperialism but he is also a builder of modern India. He was educated in the Western countries, so also was influenced by Lenin, Marxist ideology. At home, his ideas were influenced by Gandhi. These influences had a determining impact on the development of Nehru as a thinker and as a politician.

His impact on India has been long lasting and far reaching (R. G. 2014: 196). "The French writer

Andre Malraux once asked Jawaharlal Nehru, what had been his great difficulty since independence; Nehru replied, creating a just state by just means and creating a secular state in a religious country" (Guha 2007: 226). India was established as a secular state with the collective efforts of the Constituent Assembly where Nehru was sitting in an important position, but nation building was not an easy task for Nehru in a huge country with so many socio-economic and cultural diversities.

Nehru was son of a renowned lawyer and was sent to Harrow for education in 1905. He had joined the Fabian Socialist Group in England. During the agitation against Rowlett Act in 1919, he met Gandhi and was attracted towards him. In 1920 he visited some U.P. villages and was shocked to see the sub-human conditions of living of the village peasants. He called the then picture of India as naked, starving and utterly miserable. During the non-cooperation movement, he was arrested. For the first time, the movement gave him a sense of freedom.

In 1929 Nehru was elected President of AICC. Under Nehru's leadership, the party passed the 'Independence Resolution' at Lahore on 31st December 1929. He participated in the Civil

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Disobedience Movement of 1930 but was very critical of the Round Table Conference of 1931 which was attended by Gandhi. Though Nehru was drawn towards Gandhi and his approach towards the freedom struggle yet Nehru differed from Gandhi on various issues (Mishra, 2013: 78).

Nehru emerged as a charismatic political leader in the post-independence period. It was his charisma that helped the Congress in emerging as the dominant party in the 1952 general elections and retain that status in 1957 and in 1962 elections. He played very important role in the nation building process in India. But his role in the nation building had become a subject of controversy even during his lifetime. There are divergent and conflicting views regarding the functional and dysfunctional consequences of his model of nation building on the one hand and its relevance in the changed national and international environment on the other hand.

His task had become herculean as a result of the setback to the nation-building process caused by the partition of India. Nehru had to do nation-building in a situation marked by communal riots. His task had become all the more difficult owing to the powerful hold of the forces of communalism, castism, linguism and regionalism on the one hand and the forces of secessionism on the other. The decision of the British to end their suzerainty over the princely states and to give them the choice of joining the dominions of India or Pakistan or remain independent had also made the complex problem of nation building all the more compounded for Nehru.

Besides, he had to undertake the job of nation-building in a polity which was suffering from large scale poverty, ignorance and backwardness. The problem of acute food shortage and rehabilitation of the refugees from Pakistan had further made the task all the more gigantic (Singh 2005: 38-39).

Nehru had to design model of nation-building for a country having a continental size. He had to do it for a country which had become underdeveloped economically owing to exploitation by the colonial regime for about two centuries. It had to be done for a society marked by social plurality, cultural diversity and linguistic multiplicity. Nehru had to do nation-building in a society which had been badly fragmented by the British policy of divide and rule. He had to do it for a country in which the concept of nation was beyond comprehension for most of the people.

Nehru had to do nation-building for a country in which *Desh* or country meant a locality or a sub-region for most of the inhabitants. He had to accomplish this task in a society having parochial, primordial and particularistic political culture. Here most of the people identified themselves with their tribe/caste, dialect/language, religion/sect, region/province and other narrow social formations. Nehru had to do nation-building for a country which had remained politically backward and whose large numbers of people were lacking in political consciousness despite the presence of national movement for a long time (Singh 2005: 39-40).

He was appointed as Gandhi's political heir instead of Sardar Patel, and the responsibility of nation-building was put on Nehru's shoulders. Gandhi claimed that "he will speak my language when I am gone", but Nehru didn't opt Gandhi's model of nation-building. After the death of Gandhi, Nehru became the key figure in the process of founding the newly independent Indian nation and creating a nation state to replace the British Raj. At home and abroad he became recognised as the architect of the new India and he saw his own life as now totally political and dedicated to this goal (Brown 2003: 185).

The problem created by diverse languages would have created conflicts in the country. But during the Nehru era the problem connected with it very

rarely threatened national unity. Whenever it threatened to do so, he was in a position to ease the situation. He was in the tradition of the well-known all India leaders of the nationalist movement. Equally important was that the political activities in the Nehru era were mainly moulded, if not fully led by the political culture of the metropolitan cities.

There were few exceptions like the agitations demanding the reorganisations of the states on a linguistic basis and the protest in Tamil Nadu against what the people in that state considered the imposition of Hindi. Nehru displayed some political sense in yielding to some of the demands of the people and in making them give up some demands (Karunakaran, 1979: 23).

Nehru could never think of opting for the Fascist model which had plunged the world into the Second World War in 1939. It must be noted that Nehru had opposed Quit India Movement because British were fighting against the Fascism at that time. However, as a disciplined follower of Gandhi and as a democrat, he accepted the decision of the party and underwent detention in jail.

Nehru was a great admirer of the role of science and technology in the nation-building process and economic reconstruction of the post-colonial society. In this area, he did not agree with Gandhi. He was responsible for the installation of national laboratories and cosmopolitan centres. Yet the success was limited. India is a land of villages and villagers. His approach could not help the villages and villagers. But one cannot deny his contribution to this area (Mishra, 2013: 80).

Gandhi wanted India to be a commonwealth of villages in which every village would be politically independent and economically sufficient. He wanted maximum powers with the village panchayat and minimum powers with the Central government. Nehru on the contrary wanted a strong Centre. He didn't favour Gandhi's idea of the party-less democracy as

Nehru regarded parties necessary for a democratic system. Gandhi wanted indirect election through consensus for the representative bodies at the state and the national levels. Nehru was aware of the dangerous implications of such a system.

He also didn't share Gandhi's economic ideas. While Gandhi favoured cottage and small-scale industries, Nehru's choice was for heavy industries (Singh 2005: 42). Nehru spoke on science, economic and socialism. But Gandhi was more concerned with truth, God and religion. He also welcomed the Gandhian method of peaceful resistance as the most civilized form of warfare. He also liked the Gandhian doctrine that the end could not be separated from the means. In fact, Nehru was a bridge between Gandhites and Socialists because of the seminal contributions of Gandhi over the means-end concept.

He was a liberal who was tremendously influenced by Marxism. He was a nationalist who had some vague sense of internationalism. He preached socialism and retained the social and economic structure of capitalism and strengthened it by developing a public sector in heavy industries (Mishra, 2013: 80).

Being a believer in secularism, Nehru obviously could have nothing except strong repulsion for the model nation-building expounded by the Hindu nationalists. They believed in Hindu, Hindi, and Hindustan and there was no room for non-Hindi speaking people in their concept of nation. They also believed in revivalism and fundamentalism. The Hindu nationalists advocated the adoption of assimilation model of nation-building instead of giving autonomy to various linguistic and regional groups, therefore, they favoured a unitary system of government. Last but not least, they stood for the Akhand Bharat (unified India), and for that purpose they wanted to undo the partition. Nehru's rejection of the model of nation-building expounded by

the Hindu nationalists is understandable if we keep in view his personality and value system (Singh, 2005: 41).

Nehru opposed nation-building model of Subhash Chandra Bose which was based on one-party dictatorship for the first ten years after independence but Nehru was so deeply committed to democracy that he couldn't think of dictatorship even for a day. He also rejected the model of nation-building proposed by the Socialist Party under the leadership of Jai Prakash Narayan. This model not only advocated the nationalisation of heavy industries but also pleaded for radical land reforms and other steps for reducing economic inequalities for improving a lot of peasantry and the weaker sections. He couldn't do so due to compulsions of political power because rightist forces were too strong to be ignored at that point of time.

That's why he backed socialistic pattern of society but lacked the will of following the path of socialism. Nehru also rejected the path of nation-building suggested by communist such as complete nationalisation of industries and abolition of the Zamindari system without the payment of compensation. He believed in democratic methods and had been shocked by the communist uprising in Telangana (Singh, 2005: 42-43).

The main ingredients of Nehru's strategy of nation-building were: (a) The making of a Constitution based on consensus and accommodation, (b) secularism, (c) parliamentary democracy, (d) federalism, (e) linguistic re-organisation of states, (f) democratic decentralization for Panchayati Raj (g) party building and (h) penetration of Centre into periphery through the administrative process. He realized that a Constitution acceptable to all sections of the Indian society is the first requirement for national integration. This needed a consensus through dialogue and discussion. It also required accommodation of divergent interests and ideologies.

That is why he played an important role in the framing of such a Constitution for India in which the minorities were accommodated by giving them the Right to Equality, the Right to Religious Freedom and the Educational and Cultural Rights. The capitalists and the landlords were accommodated by giving them the Right to Property. The working classes were accommodated through the provisions in the Directive Principles of state policy (Das 2001: 7).

Nehru believed in parliamentary democracy. But to him democracy was not only a form of government; it was a way of life, a way of solving problems by argument, discussion and persuasion. Democracy involves tolerance and restraint. According to Nehru, "You may define democracy in a hundred ways but surely one of the definitions is self-discipline of the community. The less of the imposed discipline the more the self-discipline, the higher is the development of democracy".

This statement of Nehru caused awkward situation when the 'Preventive Detention Act' was introduced. He observed- The Act is required to meet the situational exigencies. The act had to be passed because of the lack of self-discipline. He further stated that agitational approach or taking resort to direct action weakens the democratic structure. It was under the able leadership of Nehru that India's journey of electoral democracy commenced in 1952 with 173 million voters being asked to give their consent.

It was a stupendous task. Nehru led Country's democratic process in the first three general elections with exemplary conduct and massive popular support. The second and third general elections held in 1957 and 1962 were repeat performances. He was at the helm of one-party dominant era in India. Even prominent political scientist Rajni Kothari interpreted the electoral performance and party system in Nehru's India as 'Congress system'. He thus laid the foundation

of world's largest electoral democracy with the provision of universal adult suffrage (Mishra, 2013: 79).

The launching of Panchayati Raj was, without a doubt, a great step forward in taking democracy meaningfully to the people in the rural areas. The process of institution-building received further fillip when it was launched. Those people should be actively involved in the process of nation-building and that India's diversity and vastness required a wide institutional framework for developmental work were stressed by Nehru right from the dawn of Independence. Most of the institutions established by him struck roots despite the lack of adequate resources and lack of a large number of trained personnel. India became a shining example of a smooth transition from traditions to modernity combining the strength of the former and the confidence of the latter (Reddy, 2012).

Nehru's dynamic leadership and dominant role during the one-and-a-half decades after independence was a positive factor in protecting the federal fabric and in promoting cooperative federalism (Rajshekara, 1994: 135). He realized that unitary system would not suit a continental-sized country like India having a pluralist society. That is why he favoured a federal structure based on cooperative federalism for India. It envisaged partnership between the Centre and the states for integrating various religious linguistic regional, caste and tribal groups through the process of federalisation.

While the Central government was to act as 'staff, the state governments were to act as line agencies. Nehru always took the Chief Ministers of various states into confidence on all crucial issues and regularly communicated with them. He respected their sentiments while appointing and transferring the Governors. But the federal system created by Nehru proved dysfunctional for national integration in the post-Nehru era because the states had neither been given adequate

powers nor autonomy under the scheme of federalism provided in the Constitution of India.

Moreover, his successors misused the provisions of the Constitution for the centralization of the powers and for destabilizing the governments of the opposition parties. This only substantiates the thesis that only the strategy of genuine federalisation could be functional for national integration and the strategy of centralisation is bound to be counter-productive in this context (Singh, 2005: 44-45).

Nehru had a very powerful pen. He could communicate as effectively as any established writer. His autobiography stands as testimony to this. Nehru's unusual ability to think, reflect and contemplate vigorously, effectively and intensively was second to none. He is not with us for the last 'fifty years', but the impact of Nehruvian strategy on economic planning based on equity and social justice continues to be the focal theme of the nation-building process in India (Mishra, 2013: 80).

Nehru deserves the credit of legitimising the status of Congress leadership in post-colonial India by trying to create 'the developmental state' (Chatterjee, 1998: 12). He was persuaded that India needed to encourage cottage and small-scale industries to ease the problems of poverty and unemployment; he saw them as a temporary expedient only necessary until the country became fully industrialised. Unlike Gandhi he was convinced that India could not permanently eliminate poverty and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of its people without large-scale industrialisation. More importantly, the modern world was industrialised and a country that failed to keep pace with it remained weak and vulnerable to foreign domination (Parekh, 1991: 36).

Having achieved a degree of consolidation and integration, and having brought about an element of consensus in the nation, the leadership should look beyond, towards the productive functions

of nation-building. The critical areas which require a determined approach are the reorganisation of the administrative structure and personnel in the country (the real blind spot in the nation), the building up of the military infrastructure of Indian democracy (necessarily a part of the developmental effort), and the pushing ahead with the programme of economic development through a greater concern for encouraging and mobilising voluntary effort and people's willing participation, with or without the help of the bureaucracy. These are tasks that may require substantial rethinking on some of our theories and models.

Knowingly or unknowingly, Prime Minister Nehru had often permitted a simplistic view of things to prevail in his government. Himself, however, he had always shown a readiness to change outdated ideas and theories that had become dysfunctional to the tasks in hand. Preoccupied with his integrative role, he did not have enough time to implement this outlook in the realm of policy. There can be no better memorial to him than a continuous search for building further on the foundations he left behind and, wherever necessary, improving upon them (Kothari, 1964: 1207).

We cannot deny the positive facts of Nehru's contribution that he imparted much for the freedom struggle as well as for the nation-building in India, in unfavourable situations. But the story does not end there, for Nehruvianism also witnessed certain distortions in India's nation-building process and much of the present-day dichotomies in Indian polity are to be found rooted in these distortions. It has become obsolete in the present phase of liberalization. However, it would be unfair to belittle its contribution in the nation building in India at a crucial juncture (Singh, 2005: 46).

While the sectarian political forces which have wrested control of the Indian state take to task the progressive features of Nehruvism, my own

critique would rest on the premise that Nehru did not become as progressive as he could have been. That instead, there were significant gaps between what Nehru preached and what remained the ground reality (Das 2001: 6). Amit Shah criticized him in a public gathering that his idea of nation-building was replacing old traditions with 'imported ideas'. He said, "Congress made Nehru as Prime Minister of the country, who was a believer of bringing foreign ideas and discarded the age-old values and traditions while building the nation (The Indian Express, June 6, 2016)."

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Examination Reforms and Quality Education

Dr. G. P Surve*

[Teaching, learning and evaluation are three dimensions of education which ultimately aim at bringing about desirable changes in cognitive, affective and conative domains of students' personality. In any program of education, a variety of other activities should be conducted besides the curricular subjects. In order to determine the extent to which the desirable changes have taken place in the learner it is very necessary to adopt a comprehensive scheme of evaluation.]

Evaluation in education is considered as a systematic, comprehensive and continuous process. It is systematic process as it excludes causal, uncontrolled and unsystematic way of judging learner's growth and progress. It is comprehensive in the sense that it covers the entire process of education at any stage of education and all aspects of learner's growth and it is continuous because to know the true and complete account of changes which are taking place in the learner. It is very necessary to evaluate their progress from time to time till the end of course or programme.

Teaching and Learning Methods

A great harm has been done to higher education in Indian Universities by equating teaching with learning only. A good teacher is one who delivers good lecture from well-prepared notes. It does not matter whether the students understand correctly whatever they have been taught. The students do not submit any assignments or projects to the teacher and do not know whether they have made any mistake in the answers given by them in the answer books. This shows only the marks given and does not point out the errors for which marks have been deducted.

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The students therefore believe that the answers they wrote were correct and they go on committing same errors again and again. This does not happen in Western countries where students submit assignments almost every week and these are corrected by the teacher and returned to the students. The students are free to see others' answer books and to discuss the errors pointed out by the teachers. Real learning takes place in the course of these discussions. In India, these discussions are completely absent in the classroom. In the Universities, the teachers examine answer books but they do not examine the answer books of their own students and do not point out errors. If we want to improve learning by students, evaluation by their own teachers has become an integral part of the learning.

Defective Examination System

In the present examination and evaluation systems, there are many defects. There is an intense need to reform and redesign the evaluation in higher education. In almost all the Indian universities the system of evaluation is mostly limited to written examinations conducted mainly at the end course or term to assess the learner's performance. The achievement tests by question paper used in examination lack the desired level of validity and reliability of the question papers are not determined and hence unknown in a written examination. Undoubtedly, most of learning outcomes in the cognitive domain can be measured.

However, it is a matter of serious concern that memorization occupies a dominant place in most of the written examinations. Most of the questions in any subject are meant for measuring knowledge outcome, very few measuring comprehensions. Higher level outcomes like analysis, synthesis and evaluation hardly find place in a question paper. The type and number of questions included

in the question paper reflects its scope of coverage, both objective and content. It is a fact that in the question papers used at examination only limited and repeated types are included year after year. Hence the question papers lack variety and mostly essay type of questions are only measuring a particular type of learning outcomes.

In the present system of evaluation, which is dominated by external examinations, most of our efforts are directed towards the measurement of few scholastic attributes. It is the curricular subjects which are considered as the main field of educational experience. Evaluation of co-scholastic aspects' like those of interest, attributes, values, appreciations, adjustment, habits and the personnel social quantities like regularities, punctuality, discipline, initiative, cooperation leadership etc., are neglected.

Other dark side of this written examination system is that, this system has given birth to another system of malpractices like individual-level copying, mass-copying, paper leakage, crowded examination halls, wrong seating arrangements, unhappy and unskilled supervisors, some questions papers with same sequence number of questions, expecting same type of answer from lakhs of students

This system of examination is generating tension in the mind of examination controller, examination centers, conductors, Principals and Vice-Chancellors of the universities. During examination days, campuses are being patronized by police personnel. They have been common practices of intervention by politicians, goondaism, lack of ethics among supervisors, custodian of paper etc. Examination activity has created many serious problems in this system. With the advancement in communication technology, there is advancement in malpractices like e-mail, SMS, Internet Video pictures fax Xerox, and mobile phones etc.

Thus, the written examinations have lost their reliability. As a sequel to over-emphasis on written examinations, instead of continuing assessment, the development of affective domain of the learners and scholastic growth is scarified. When an evaluation activity is linked with certifications, these activities either by hook or crook get more significance in the system. Thus, the present system of evaluation in higher education is clearly an indication of the neglect of development of learners.

Suggested methods for Evaluation

In the existing system, the use of evaluation tools and techniques is limited largely to written examination. Achievement tests/question papers are main and, in many cases, perhaps the only criterion of evaluation for assessment of students' performance using a variety of tools is still a far cry. Some of the Universities have replaced external examinations by few mid-term written tests/examinations or conduct the same written testes/examinations internally as a part of external examination work.

Suggestions

1. There is need for the case of other tools and techniques like interview, oral tests, observations, rating, scales, checklist, assignments, survey work, field visit, project reports and records.
2. For the assessment of learners' growth in scholastic aspects requires schemes and tools which are totally ignored in existing set-up of evaluation
3. Evaluation of outcomes in the affective domain and the participation of students in various indoor and outdoor activities/programmes is not possible by using a traditional paper-pencil test. the term or course activity is replaced by continuous

evaluation as one of the teaching and learning activities.

4. Continuous and comprehensive assessment can be done periodically with the aim of discovering their place of progress, their strength and weakness.
5. Implementation of good valuation programme depends on good, appropriate and accurate evidence that can be collected about the learners' growth.
6. Judgment about the merit, worth, effectiveness of a programme/course/activity are based on certain criteria-process and product are considered very importance in the evaluation in education. The criteria vary to the extent, they are specified and measurable. There are explicit criteria like academic achievements, score of students which are directly observational. On the other hand, these are implicit criteria such as judgments based on observations.
7. Comprehensive and accurate assessment of all aspects of learners' growth requires collections of data from number of multiple sources. The selection of evaluation tools and techniques is directly linked with nature of data.

Conclusion

Thus, the present evaluation system in higher education lays emphasis on the development of scholastic aspects. Unfortunately, the non-cognitive learning is neglected. In the true sense, if these methods/schemes are implemented, the evaluation in higher education becomes comprehensive in nature and integrated in this approach. Indeed, the teaching is complex and combined process of learning and evaluation.



Appraising National Policy on Education 2019

Dr. C. Sivakkolundu*

[While providing a brief of earlier education policies of 1968 and 1986 and appraising their contribution in the imparting of education in India, the author provides a brief overview of new draft education policy recently launched by the NDA government. Along with focusing on major features of the new policy, this article also takes into account a critical appraisal of drawbacks in the draft policy with emphasis on suggesting remedial solutions to do away with the drawbacks.]

The National Policy on Education (NPE) is a policy formulated by the Government of India to promote education amongst India's people. The policy covers elementary education to colleges in both rural and urban India. The first NPE was promulgated in 1968 by the government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, and the second by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1986. The government of India had appointed a new committee under K. Kasturirangan to prepare a Draft for the new National Education Policy in 2017. All education boards in India like CISCE and CBSE are based on this policy

History of Indian Education System

Since the country's independence in 1947, the Indian government sponsored a variety of programmes to address the problems of illiteracy in both rural and urban India. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, India's first Minister of Education, envisaged strong central government control over education throughout the country, with a uniform educational system. The Union government established the University Education Commission (1948–1949), the Secondary Education Commission (1952–1953), University Grants Commission and the Kothari Commission

(1964–66) to develop proposals to modernise India's education system.

The Resolution on Scientific Policy was adopted by the government of Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister. The Nehru government sponsored the development of high-quality scientific education institutions such as the Indian Institutes of Technology. In 1961, the Union government formed the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) as an autonomous organisation that would advise both the Union and state governments on formulating and implementing education policies.

Stages of National Education Policy

Based on the report and recommendations of the Kothari Commission (1964–1966), the government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi announced the first National Policy on Education in 1968, which called for a "radical restructuring" and equalizing educational opportunities in order to achieve national integration and greater cultural and economic development.

The policy called for fulfilling compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14, as stipulated by the Constitution of India, and the better training and qualification of teachers. The policy called for focus on learning of regional languages, outlining the "three language formula"

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to be implemented in secondary education - the instruction of the English language, the official language of the state where the school was based, and Hindi.

Having announced that a new policy was in development in January, 1985, the government of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi introduced a new National Policy on Education in May, 1986. The new policy called for “special emphasis on the removal of disparities and to equalise educational opportunity,” especially for Indian women, Scheduled Tribes (STs) and the Scheduled Castes (SCs) communities. To achieve such a social integration, the policy called for expanding scholarships, adult education, recruiting more teachers from the SCs, incentives for poor families to send their children to school regularly, development of new institutions and providing housing and services.

The NPE called for a “child-centred approach” in primary education, and launched “Operation Blackboard” to improve primary schools nationwide. The policy expanded the Open University system with the Indira Gandhi National Open University, which had been created in 1985. 1986 education policy expected to spend 6% of GDP on education.

The 1986 National Policy on Education was modified in 1992 by the P.V. Narasimha Rao government. In 2005, Former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh adopted a new policy based on the “Common Minimum Programme” of his United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government. Programme of Action (PoA), 1992 under the National Policy on Education (NPE), 1986 envisaged conduct of a common entrance examination on all India basis for admission to professional and technical programmes in the country.

Features of National Education Policy 2019

- Extension of right to education from pre-school to class 12th.
- System of Modular Board Examination.
- Early childhood care and education for children of 3-6 years of age.
- Study of liberal, modern & classical art.
- 3-language formula-making Hindi compulsory in non-Hindi state.
- Restructure of school curriculum.
- Stress on learning new languages.
- Expanding Scope of RTE to include children aged 3-18
- Target of improving Gross Enrolment Ratio from current 25% to 50% by 2025
- Focus on improving teacher quality by revamping selection and training procedure and requirements
- Introduction of new bodies like National Education Commission and National Research foundation
- Emphasis on improving employability through integration of 21st century skills and rigorous outcome-based school.
- Recognising importance of ethics, arts and classical languages together with science.

Challenges of new National Education Policy

- The draft is silent on as to how the new bodies manned from the same pool would be an improvisation over existing regulatory bodies (UCG, AICTE, MCI, CBSE etc.)
- It is also silent on the cost and human talent required to put the changes in place

- The alternate schooling models needed to cater the changing aspirations of the society has not been explored (home schooling, honing of talents and skills since childhood etc.)
- Lack of Industry-academia collaboration as to make education more updated and relevant.
- Apart from scholarship the draft lacks in making teaching more lucrative so as to draw in the talent which is quintessential to achieve goal of quality education.
- The three-language formula by making learning Hindi compulsory has provoked protest from non-Hindi zones.
- Big ideas are recommended based on experimental funding formulas.
- Without improving the already existing universities, the idea of setting up new universities may seem little haphazard it when comes to implementation.
- It wants to bring the medical, agricultural and legal education under one umbrella-again, the idea may result in a counterproductive way.
- Doubling of public funding to 6% of GDP.
- Quality Infrastructure.
- 3-language formula.
- Funding Requirement.
- Proper functioning of whole education system.
- Competent Teachers.
- Competent and qualified teachers should be appointed -No temporary teachers.
- Functioning of all schemes & whole education system should be monitored properly.
- Teachers not only in urban regions but also the teachers in anganwadis should be given proper training for quality deliverance in rural regions.
- Good infrastructure with all needed facilities in both rural and urban areas.

Recommendation

Therefore, it is needed to put accountability of the new institutions in place, ensure coordination in curriculum as well as between the institutions, increase funding in education as envisaged by Niti Ayog as well as diversify funding sources. Have periodic review and assessments to keep the system updated, take initiatives to make teaching lucrative for youngsters and to devise a curriculum that promotes practical skills than rote knowledge.

Way forward

Solutions to achieve National Education Policy

- It is now the duty of the conscious persons of the country to study the draft and recommend preventive steps. The Government should also take measures for the quality implementation of the ideas and make it easily accessible to the people.
- India has one of the youngest populations in the world, by 2020 the median age of India will be just 28 compared to 37 in China and US and 49 in Japan, therefore it is imperative to address the above challenges and make education more holistic and humanistic to truly reap the demographic dividend and usher transformation in education.
- More expenditure on educational sector.
- Delicately handling of language issue.

- Technology will play an important role in the improvement of educational processes
- The policy also advocates that to ensure that data is secured against misuse
- The draft policy wants to create National Digital Library to provide high-quality content
- After more than two years of consultations, the committee of draft national education policy, under the Ministry of Human Resource Development has submitted the draft for public consultations.

Conclusion

New draft has recommended some relevant points because Indian Education System is in crisis to some extent and is affecting a quality of human resource. Keeping in mind the policy and aspects of the new draft, government should implement best possible policy, so that it could give a new path to the Indian education system. The draft policy says that technology will play an important role in the improvement of educational processes and outcomes. The draft policy says that the relationship between technology and education at all levels is bi-directional.

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Appraising Urban Governance under MG-MG Maxim

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[In 2014, the Prime Minister's office had indicated Prime Minister Modi's guiding principles in making his new team. For the first time the Prime Minister adopted the guiding principle of MINIMUM GOVERNMENT AND MAXIMUM GOVERNANCE (MG-MG) the latter going beyond the structure of government and providing some space to the civil society and market institutions consistent with constitutional principles of legitimacy and accountability. He also emphasised on rationalization with a commitment to bring about a change in work culture and style of governance.]

Prime Minister's Office went on to declare that Prime Minister is eventually aiming at smart governance where the top layers of government will be downsized. During the decade a large number of scams and instances of maladministration have only increased the trust deficit. The notion of Minimum Government and Maximum Governance (MG-MG) is said to ensure that the systems are accountable, transparent, fair, equitable and above all ethical, which brings ethics and moral values to the centre-stage of governance today.

The term "Local Self-Government" originated when the British regime ruled our country. Gradually, the British regime took the decision to engage and associate Indians in administering local affairs which contributed more towards the process of Local Self-Government for the people of our country. With the enactment of the Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act, 1992 and the Constitution (74th Amendment) Act, 1992, local self-governments, both rural and urban, have got constitutional recognition in our country. Moreover, it is the third stratum of government, the first two being the central and the state governments.

Understanding the local requirement, to fulfil them properly, and where local people co-operate

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with local administrator is known as local self-government. So, the organization set up by law to carry out administration is known as local self-government organization. Such local self-government has been established to make the administration easy, scientific and simple and more so to involve the local residents.

- This type of government solved local problems very fast and very effectively.
- Local people are directly involved to solve the problems, because they know their real needs.
- This is the first step of a democratic country and it is like a school of democracy.

The 73rd and 74th Amendments have created uniformity in the structure of Panchayati Raj and Nagarapalika Institutions across the country.

Urban Local Governments

- Municipal Corporation
- Municipal Councils
- Nagar Panchayats

Local Self-Government organization can be broadly classified into village area and urban area. In village area it is known as Gram Panchayat, Taluk Panchayat and District Panchayat whereas in urban area is known as Municipality and Municipal Corporation².

Urban Administration

The main functions of the administration are to assist the government in town and country planning matters, coordinate with various departments involved in development schemes like Andhra Pradesh Housing Board, Andhra Pradesh State Housing and Urban Development Corporation, Andhra Pradesh Industrial and Infrastructure Corporation, Industries Department etc., which more often make technical recommendations to the government in the matters like change of land use proposals, alienation of lands and relaxation of rules, suggest and implement various environmental improvement schemes, remunerative schemes and road widening schemes.

Migration from Rural areas—Urban Governance

Cities are economically vibrant spaces around the world and draw a large number of rural migrants looking for better prospects. This is a sustained trend, particularly in developing countries now, as production, jobs and markets get concentrated. More evidence of this comes from the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, which has released its 2018 Revision of the World Urbanization Prospects. Forecasting for the year 2050, the UN agency estimates that the percentage of urban residents in India would be 52.8 percent compared to 34 percent today, while Delhi would edge past Tokyo as the world's 'most populous city by 2028.

India China and Nigeria are expected to lead other countries and account for 35 percent of the projected growth in urban population by mid-century. This forecast frames the challenge before developing countries, India in particular. Urbanisation in the country is a complex process, since it is defined not by a constant migration of rural residents but by the flow of workers, mostly men, and the expansion of big cities through the addition of neighbouring towns.

Among governments there is a strong policy emphasis on improving facilities in rural areas, indicating a political preference for reduced migration to urban centres, although there is a

natural economic magnetism to cities. The imperative before the centre and state governments is to come up with policies that provide adequate services in the villages, while investing in cities to ensure that their high levels of productivity and efficiency are not compromised.

Even with only a third of the population living in cities, civic anarchy is rampant in the country. Housing deficits have led to the proliferation of slums, lack of enforcement of building norms has left the metros heavily congested, and poor investment in public transport has fueled unsustainable levels of private vehicle use. Moreover, as recent data released by the World Health Organisation show, 14 Indian cities are among the top 20 worldwide with the worst air quality profiles for fine particulate matter of 2.5 micrometres. Most cities are also unable to collect the waste and simply dump them in the suburbs. Such a dismal scenario can only get worse with higher population concentrations, unless city governments come into their own.

Even two-and-a-half decades after municipal laws were reformed, elected Majors lack the stature and authority to introduce urgently needed reforms. Now is the time to take a fresh look at urban governance. While the Centre's goal of homes for all by 2022 is laudable, it is unlikely to be realised without a push from the States, and the launch of scheme driven by innovation and low-cost approaches. Augmenting rental housing should be a priority within the plan. Integrating green spaces, open commons and wetlands will make cities cleaner and aesthetically richer.

Tirupati Municipal Corporation

Tirupati Municipal Corporation is the 1st largest urban local body in the Chittoor district of A.P, it is spread over an area of 27.44 sq. kms with a population of 374260 (2011 census). It is famous for its spiritual city foot hill town of Tirumala Hills and abode of Lord Venkateswara. Tirupati Municipal Corporation is the civic body that governs the city of Tirupati in Andhra Pradesh.

It is one of three corporations in the state, alongside Kakinada and Vishakhapatnam, to feature in smart city project. It is located 71 kms from district Headquarters. It was established as 3rd grade Municipality in the year 1886 and upgraded as Municipal Corporation w.e.f March 2, 2007. There are 50 election wards in this municipality.

Organization Structure

The Tirupati Municipality was formed on 1st April 1886. The municipality saw many gradations over the years and formed as Municipal Corporation on 2nd March 2007. The following table shows the timeline of the municipality. Tirupati, a holy city of India, lies in the state of Andhra Pradesh in India. It is located in southern part of India in the Chittoor District of Andhra Pradesh in the Eastern Ghats. The city has been rated as fourth largest growing city of Andhra Pradesh. The city also houses many business activities.

The area of Tirupati Municipal Corporation was 16 59 km² (6.41 sq. miles) when it was formed as a corporation. The present area after expansion is 27.44 km² (9.3 sq. miles) the corporation population as per the 2011 census was 287035. The organization structure of Tirupati Municipal Corporation is presented in Figure.

Tirupati Municipal Corporation is the civic body that governs the city of Tirupati. It is one of the three corporations in the state, alongside Kakinada and Visakhapatnam to feature in smart city project. The Tirupati Municipality was formed on 1st April 1886. The Municipality saw many gradations over the years and formed as Municipal Corporation on 2nd March 2007. The following table shows the time line of the Municipality³.

Type of Municipality	Upgraded
Municipality	1st April 1886
First Grade	12th January 1965
Second grade	1st October 1962

Special grade	13th February 1970
Selection grade	7th October 1998
Municipal Corporation	2nd March 2007

Source: Office of the Municipal Corporation, Tirupati.

The Tirupati Municipal Corporation is one of the 27 shortlisted cities in Round 2 of the competition under smart cities programme of the Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India. As per para 10 of the smart city mission guidelines, the selected smart city is revised to form a Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) which will plan, appraise, approve, release funds etc. And evaluate the smart city development projects. The SPV will be a limited company incorporated under the Companies Act, 2013 at city level, in which the state and the urban local body will be s having 50: 50 equity share-holding. The Special Officer, Tirupati Municipal Corporation vide Council Resolution No. 258, dated 28 June 2016 has awarded approval to incorporate a Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) for Tirupati smart city as per the guidelines of Government of India.

Municipal Administration and Urban Development

The department of municipal administration and urban development handles planning and development in urban and rural areas. The development is achieved through master plans prepared for urban centres and rural areas. The main functions of the department are:

- Assist the government in town and country planning matters.
- Coordinate with various departments involved in development schemes like A.P Housing Board, A.P State Housing and Urban Development Corporation, A.P Industrial and Infrastructure Corporation, Industries Department and more.
- Offer technical recommendations to the government in the matters like change of land use proposals, alienation of lands and relaxation of rules.

- Suggest and implement layouts and regulate the development of industries and other buildings as per suggested norms.
- Suggest and implement various environmental improvement schemes, remunerative schemes and road widening schemes.
- Tirupati, located at the base of the Tirumala hills is an important transit point for pilgrims visiting the Sri Venkateswara Shrine, which is the richest shrine in the Hindu world and is the second richest religious shrine after Vatican. It is an important pilgrimage site in the Hindu world, with pilgrims climb several hills to arrive at the hilltop town of Tirumala where the famous temple is situated.
- It is estimated that more than 50,000 people visit the temple everyday taking the number of visitors to almost 19 million annually, with an annual increase of 2 to 5%. There are as many as 90,000 to 100,000 visitors on peak festival days and holidays. Tirupati is also an important education centre and has universities and about 150 schools. The town also attracts floating population for business and commercial purposes from the nearby cities of Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad. Also, the government of Andhra Pradesh has identified Tirupati as one of the Tier-II cities which has to be developed into an IT hub.

Number of Wards in Tirupati

Wards Profile

Ward number	Ward Officer	Localities
1		Akkarampalli, Subbareddy Nagar, TTD Quarters, ASI Colony, Srinagar, Beedi Nagar Colony, Padmavathi Nagar, SNI Colony, Timmanaidupalem, Madigawada, (Timmanaidupalem), Harijanawada (Timmanaidupalem), Reddigunta, Karnam Mitta, Kothapalle.
2		Pulevanigudsnta, Karamanigunta, Gollavanigunta, Ambedkar Colony, Rajeevgandhi Colony, Krishna Reddy Nagar, Krishna Reddy Nagar Extension.
3.		Postal colony Extension, Renigunta Road, Jayanagar, Tiruchanur Road, Sarada Nagar, Narayanapuram, Parvathipuram, Narayanapuram, STV Nagar, Karamanigunta.
4.		Upanki Harijana Vada, Renigunta Road, P&T Colony road, Postal Colony Extension, Korlagunta
5.		Korlagunta, Karakambadi Road
6.		Korlagunta, Maruthi Nagar
7.		Korlagunta, Maruthi Nagar
8.		Karakambadi Road, Erramitta, Sivajyothi Nagar, Sanjay Gandhi Colony, Korlagunta, Maruthi Nagar.
9.		TML By Pass Road, Korlagunta /road, Maruthi Nagar, Ashok Nagar, TTD Bypass Road, Sanjay Gandhi Colony

(....Continued the Next Issue)

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