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2. Bhatt, Anil, 'Voluntary Action in India : Roles, Trends and Challenge', *Economic and Political Weekly* 20-27, June 1996, Vol. XXX, No.16, Pp.880-85.

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Dr. Manmohan Singh A Fit Case For Impeachment

B. Vivekanandan

Manmohan Singh had functioned inimical to India's long-term interest, and ruled India mainly to assist foreigners to establish their grip on India. This is what his deeds convey. No amount of twisted explanation can drown this truth. Taken together, what Manmohan Singh did to the country, as Finance Minister and Prime Minister, was a great betrayal, unbecoming of an Indian occupying those positions in the country. By denying adequate funds, he obstructed the advancement of India's R&D and S&T, to help the West to maintain its lead in many key areas. He wilfully undermined India's drive for self-reliance and self-sufficiency from within.

Time is ripe to make a perspectival assessment of what Dr. Manmohan Singh did to India, and its people, as India's Finance Minister and Prime Minister. Two stark issues which come to the fore for assessment are: (1) Did he destroy, irretrievably, the ideological and programmatic foundation - the Nehru Legacy and thereby the future - of the Congress Party ? (2) Did he wilfully undermine India's prospect of rising to the top in the world, at the behest of India's ill-wishers abroad? In other words, did he play an Indian Quisling, as India's Finance Minister and Prime Minister between 1991 and 2014, with a pause between 1996 and 2004 ?

Dr Ashok Mitra, a highly respected former Economic Adviser of the Central government and a former Finance Minister of West Bengal, in his memoirs *A Prattler's Tale*, has clearly marked that Dr Manmohan Singh became India's Finance Minister, in the P.V.Narasimha Rao government in 1991, as the nominee of the World Bank in Washington. The World Bank made Manmohan Singh's appointment as India's Finance Minister, as a conditionality for India obtaining loans from it. Thus, the World Bank could smoothly plant its poodle as India's Finance Minister, in 1991, for 5 years, and subsequently as the country's Prime Minister, in 2004, for ten years, to implement its anti-Indian and neo-liberal agenda. During all these years Manmohan Singh played cunning and guile, like a Trojan Horse, and systematically undermined, from within, India's potential to become a top ranking nation in the world. With breakneck speed, within thirty five days after joining as Finance Minister, he presented to the Lok Sabha, the World Bank agenda for India, under the euphemism of a New Economic Policy (NEP), which struck at the roots of free India's self-reliant, public welfare-attuned Economy, built, till then, by patriots like Jawaharlal Nehru, V.K. Krishna Menon, and others.¹

Manmohan Singh's NEP was directed towards the dismantling of the Indian state, undermining its resource base, scuttling its public welfare programmes, sweeping off the Nehruvian, socio-economic model, opening India's huge domestic market for Corporates from abroad, bonsaing India's Research and Development (R&D) and Science and Technology (S&T) programmes by cutting down funds for them, and towards placing India on the track of a debt trap and deepen its dependence on the World Bank.

DESTRUCTION OF THE CONGRESS PARTY

As his thanks giving gesture to the Congress Party, which let him easily creep into the Central government as the nominee of the World Bank, Manmohan Singh struck at the ideological foundation of the Congress Party, and the socio-economic structure built upon it by

Jawaharlal Nehru, under the nose of a new, ill-informed Congress Party leadership, which was innocent of the ethos of the Indian National Congress.

Subversion of the Nehru Legacy

Jawaharlal Nehru was a Fabian Socialist. After India's independence, Indian National Congress followed policies based on Nehru's ideas of establishing a self-reliant 'Socialistic Pattern' of society, the components of which included a planned economy, a large dominant public sector, state control over key sectors of the economy, state funded education system and healthcare system, a state funded Welfare State System, and so on.

A Dominant Public Sector

Nehru's 'mixed economy' had adequate space for a healthy functioning of public sector and private sector enterprises, but, in it, the 'commanding height' was marked for the public sector, which was built up with the public money. It divided industries into three categories: (1) Industries, the future development of which will be exclusively the state responsibility; (2) Industries, which would be progressively state owned, but in which private enterprise also can supplement the effort of the state; and (3) All remaining industries which will be left to the initiative and enterprise of the private sector.²

Nehru built up India's mixed economy, with a dominant public sector. He strengthened the public sector undertakings (PSUs) by establishing the "Navaratna" enterprises, owned and administered by the Central government, in key sectors of India's self-reliant economy, which he envisaged. He established PSUs to play a pivotal role in his socialistic pattern of society. Indeed, they were all exclusive state monopolies, which played key roles in sectors like employment generation, social welfare, and economic development of India.

Indian Telephone Industries Ltd (ITI) was the first public sector undertaking Nehru established in India in 1948. Other top PSUs which

he established subsequently, included Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC), Indian Oil Corporation (IOC), Steel Authority of India (SAIL) DRDO and so on. Defence Production was made a public sector monopoly, when V.K. Krishna Menon was the Defence Minister.

Industrial Policy Resolution, 1956

The fact that Nehru gave pivotal importance to the public sector is clear in the Industrial Policy Resolution Act of 1956. It said:

The adoption of Socialist Pattern of society as the national objective, as well as the need for planned and rapid development, required that all industries of basic and strategic importance, the 'commanding heights' or in the nature of public utility, should be in the public sector. Other industries which are essential and requires investment on a scale which only the state in present circumstances could provide have also to be in public sector.³

The public sector undertakings were slated to augment resources of the government, and would also provide resources for more savings, capital formation, and investment.

Nehru wanted the state to be the main instrument of socio-economic change, and targeted India's development on socialist lines. The objective was to secure rapid economic growth, expansion of employment, reduction of inequality, prevention of the concentration of wealth and power, and creation of values and attitudes of a free and equal Indian society. In higher education, Science and Technology and Research and Development were given the high priority. The direction in which Nehru sought to take India, was explicit from the fact that he appointed a famous democratic socialist intellectual, Asoka Mehta, a former Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party, as the Deputy Chairman of India's Planning Commission, in 1963.

Self-reliance

The core of Nehru's policy was self-reliance. Its direction was import substitution and self-sufficiency, harnessed through speedy

development of indigenous advance technology and equipments for development, without straining foreign exchange reserves. It promoted cost-effectiveness. The Third Five Year Plan (1961-1966), Nehru's last Plan document, specifically stated that "the basic objective of the strategy of development is to create the conditions in which dependence on external assistance will disappear as early as possible". The market ideology based competitiveness was of no attraction for Nehru.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi also shared this vision of Jawaharlal Nehru to build India a 'self-reliant' country. In a letter sent to the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Bruno Kreisky, on 6 March 1980, Indira Gandhi crisply recorded her vision, shared with her father. She wrote: "Our primary objective is to build a strong and self-reliant India, which is not beholden to any super power. That is the only way we can maintain our non-alignment and our ability to look at international issues dispassionately".⁴

This was the core of the Nehru legacy, which formed the ideological foundation of the Congress Party. It was this Nehru legacy, and the ideological foundation of the Congress Party, which Mahmoan Singh has subverted systematically, during his Finance Ministership and Prime Ministership. During this period, Manmohan Singh had deftly converted the new Congress leadership into an anti-Nehru brigade, partly due to their own ignorance about the Nehru legacy and its value to the Congress Party, and partly due to their opportunism. However, Manmohan Singh deprived the Congress its vision and sense of direction, and reduced it to a rudderless motley crowd of neo-liberals. Sinking of the Congress in the bay of Neo-Liberalism became easy for Manmohan Singh, since Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, and the Congress President Sonia Gandhi, were innocent of economics and the ideological moorings of the Nehru legacy, and of the Congress Party. As a result, he instantly turned the Congress Party into a Neo-Liberal Rightist party, and quickly realised his immediate objectives.

New Economic Policy (NEP)

The New Economic Policy (NEP) was not part of the Election Manifesto of the Congress Party for the 1991 General Elections. But, for a World Bank nominee like Manmohan Singh, such democratic prerequisites were not a constraint. After all, he was a person who had shown no qualm to sign up an untruthful declaration that he was “ordinarily a resident of Assam”, when he was absolutely not, to get a seat in the Rajya Sabha from Assam. Further, he has a unique record of devaluing the Indian rupee, without even placing the proposal before the Indian Cabinet. Barely a month after he was sworn in as Finance Minister, on 21 June 1991, Manmohan Singh, in a budget presented on 24 July 1991, launched his new economic policy, containing, mainly, the World Bank agenda for India, aimed to derail India’s hitherto followed path of economic and social development programmes, and to augment huge inequality in the country.

The NEP undermined the economic and social policy pursued by Jawaharlal Nehru, and his Congress Party successors, till 1991. Before the NEP, the state and the public sector were given a large role in the economy, which was beneficial to the people as well. But Manmohan Singh’s NEP sought to dismantle the state, and to replace it with the free market and market based solutions to human problems. Under it, every activity became a business proposition. Greed and dishonesty ruled the roost. Significantly, till 1991 the Congress party leadership’s emphasis was on equity in society as the policy goal. But, after 1991, the emphasis has been shifted to the nurturing of inequality in the country. How to create a few billionaires in India, became a top priority for Manmohan Singh.

Objectives of Manmohan Singh’s NEP

Among the stated objectives of Manmohan Singh’s NEP were: To plunge the Indian economy into the pool of globalisation, and give it a new market orientation; to convert the Indian economy into a market economy, by removing all restrictions; to permit unhindered international

flow of goods, services, capital, human resources, and technology; to increase private participation in all sectors of the economy, except in Atomic Energy and Railways; to remove barriers of entry of foreign goods into the Indian market; to open the door for foreign corporates to come, invest, produce and compete with Indian producers and their products; and so on. He removed all controls on foreign trade, and launched privatisation of the public sector undertakings.

Dismantling of the Indian State

NEP was Manmohan Singh's programme of dismantling the state in India from within. Its focus was on market and growth, and not on distributive justice. Common people, their needs and aspirations, did not matter in it. Anti-people policies have been pursued without any compunction. Globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation were brought into a synchronised operation, that Manmohan Singh triggered their joint attack on the prevalent Indian State System, with break-neck speed. Every limb of India's economic and social system and its ideological foundation, has been attacked and disabled, and passed on to favourite private profiteers from India and abroad. In the process, the promotion of individual interest of a particular business man, or of a Corporate, from India, like Ambani, for example, or from foreign land, became the government policy. Doors of strategically vital, and profit-making, PSUs were opened up for the private profiteers to enter and exploit. Under the NEP, Manmohan Singh sold out shares of profit making PSUs, to help a few ordinary businessmen to become suddenly rich, and to climb up the ladder to quickly get a place in the *Forbes* magazine.

It meant that, as part of hollowing out the state, Manmohan Singh has permanently foregone the profit/income the government was earning from those shares of the PSUs. Indeed, Manmohan Singh had a strange fixation that, getting a few Indian businessmen a space in the *Forbes* magazine would tantamount to enhance the image of India as a developed country in the world. But the ground reality was that by

launching systematic pauperisation of the Indian state, Manmohan Singh deprived the government the needed resources to spend for the public Welfare, including health care. As a result, the State's responsibility to alleviate problems of ordinary people has been cut down by Manmohan Singh. Instead, following the American pattern, he introduced market solutions to humane issues like employment, healthcare and education. Under the NEP, allocation for education, as a percentage of the GDP has been steadily slashed down. Instead, he shifted the financial burden of education on the shoulders of students themselves, by launching a student loan system.

To glorify the private sector, he and his cronies debunked the public sector saying that the PSUs were all inefficient and loss making. Government institutions like schools, colleges, hospitals and medical and Engineering colleges were all lampooned as bad, and inefficient institutions, and that private institutions, despite their vampire qualities, were presented better than the government institutions. To promote private hospitals, he destroyed the good image of government hospitals by starving them of necessary funds.

Liberalisation of the EXIM Policy

Liberalisation of the EXIM Policy to facilitate foreign Corporates to capture the Indian market, was part of Manmohan Singh's NEP. WTO wanted the removal of all quantitative restrictions on imports of various items to facilitate foreign multinationals to capture the Indian market, and to create mayhem in it. And, Manmohan Singh literally implemented the World Bank's definition of the State's subordinate role to the market, and its selective retreat in favour of the private Capital – i.e. withdrawal of State from the economy. If the demand for luxury was discouraged prior to the NEP, under the NEP, luxury was aggressively promoted in all sectors, to enhance the business interests of Western MNCs. It heightened inequality in India in an unprecedented manner.

A key element of the World Bank's agenda for India was

economic neo-liberalism, characterised by the relaxation of import duties, deregulation of markets for foreign and private business-enterprises, and reduction of taxes to curtail the resource base of the government, which would cut down allocations for R&D, S&T, and higher education, which was viewed necessary to keep India down and dependent, and to preserve the West's superiority in many sectors.

Patent Law Changed

Soon after Manmohan Singh became the Finance Minister, a critically important Dunkel Report, on Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), was brought before the GATT for deliberations and decision. Despite strong and erudite opposition in India to the Dunkel Report, Manmohan Singh bypassed that opposition, and supported the Dunkel Recommendations, which had potentially serious adverse impact on India's economy and advancement. In doing so, he overturned Nehru's policy on India's Intellectual Property Rights.

Joint Appeal of 44 Eminent Indians

Keeping in view the dangerous consequences of that unpatriotic move of Manmohan Singh for India's sovereignty, 44 Eminent Indians, from all walks of life, who included Justice V.R.Krishna Iyer, Justice E.S.Venkataramaiah, Justice Rajinder Sachar, Atal Behari Vajpayee, L.K.Advani, Murali Manohar Joshi, Yashwant Sinha, P.N.Haksar, Vasant Sathe, Indrajit Gupta, E.M.S.Namboothiripad, K.R.Narayanan, V.S.Achuthanandan, E.Balanandan, Rajni Kothari, Kuldip Nayar, Nikhil Chakravarty, Chaturanan Mishra, Kushwant Singh, Swami Agnivesh, Ashok Mitra, and 23 others, issued a Joint Appeal, on 11 January 1992, against Manmohan Singh's move to amend the Indian Patent Law to attune it to the Dunkel Recommendations and to promote the interests of foreign MNCs in India. They appealed to uphold India's independence, the socio-economic values of the Indian Constitution, the imperatives of self-reliance, industrial progress and prosperous agriculture. Towards this end, "we plead with the Government not to bend before external pressure".⁵ The appeal said:

We are aware that our balance of payment position... is precarious. But true to Gandhian tradition and Nehruvian vision, we must as a nation mobilise the people to resist inroads into our sovereignty even if it involves austerity, jettisoning modern luxuries, foreign goods and sophisticated technology catering to affluent amenities and exotic pleasures. May be we may have to ban certain types of imports altogether for a period. May be, we may have to manage with cruder plants and machinery, equipment and manufactures, made in India so as to become self-reliant. May be we may have to import less of oil and maximise the use of gas and coal. May be energy alternative may have to be developed all over the country to be independent of foreign imports.

Our law of Patents, carefully drawn and modelled on the best principles of national interest and international standards, is an expression of Parliamentary wisdom. Tampering with the laws of Patents to appease American interests may be fatal to our agriculture and industry. Therefore, we stand for the 'untouchability' of our law of Patents, since it protects our economy and our development and is consistent with fair norms internationally recognized. Hands off our law of Patents should be our stance at the GATT negotiations (Uruguay Round).

The appeal said further :

It is true that our Finance Ministry has chosen to borrow from the IMF and has resorted to certain measures like devaluation whose adverse impact on the people's conditions of life is beginning to tell. Distributive justice in regard to basic needs is being subverted and any further subordination of Indian interests to Western or Japanese interests may spell harrowing conditions for the millions and eventually lead to an avalanche of unrest.⁶

Instrumentality of WTO's DSM

This thoughtful appeal by 44 Eminent Indians, was made at a

time when the US and other multinational companies (MNCs) were trying to dismantle all trade barriers in the world, through the WTO by removing the domestic opposition to global free trade. The methodology followed was to obtain, first, favourable decisions from the WTO's Dispute Settlement Mechanism (DSM) by using the clout of MNCs' 'home countries' on it, and then, apply the principle of '*pacta sunt servanda*' (which connotes that *once signed, countries will have to obey the treaty obligations*) as per the interpretations of the WTO's DSM from time to time. In this venture, the US, MNCs, and the World Bank work in tandem, generally detrimental to the developing countries. Therefore, the WTO's DSM is a cleverly laid trap against the developing countries, which are quietly coerced to give way to the MNCs to expand their free trading, at the cost of their domestic national interests. Therefore, the DSM is an effective instrument in the hands of the MNCs to capture the global market. Through the DSM decisions, they force the developing countries to rewrite their national Patent Laws, to harmonise them with the WTO's Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), and cater the MNCs' insatiable appetite for the world market, by dismantling national trade barriers, with the systematic support of exceptional persons like Manmohan Singh.

In that frame, the WTO's TRIPS, negotiated in the GATT soon after Manmohan Singh became India's Finance Minister, was clearly a well timed anti-Indian measure. Manmohan Singh made India to sign up that anti-Indian measure of the World Trade Organisation, after going to the extent of changing India's Patent Law.

India's Patent System

India's patent system was governed by the Patent Act of 1970, which stated clearly that any process for the medicinal, surgical, curative or other treatment of human beings, animals or plants, is non-patentable. It stated also that the patent period for any invention would be 14 years. The aim of this Patent Act was to promote India's indigenous pharmaceutical industry, and to keep off the MNCs in the margins. The

Act had a Price Control System too, to keep the prices of medicines low at the Indian market. So low was the price of medicines in India that, a medicine which was sold in India for Rs. 7.17, was sold in the United States for Rs. 730.62, i.e. 100 times more.⁷ That was India's Patent Law, which Manmohan Singh changed, and assimilated with the WTO's TRIPS, inimical to India's national interest, to please the Western MNCs. If the prices of life-saving medicines remain so high in India today, Manmohan Singh is squarely responsible for it.

It was to stop Manmohan Singh and the Central Government from subordinating the Indian Patenting Law (IPL) to the WTO's TRIPS to support the Western MNCs, and preserve the IPL as an independent national law, that 44 Eminent Indians jointly appealed to the Government, in January 1992, not to change the Indian Patenting Act, to dovetail it into WTO's TRIPS. But Manmohan Singh's obeisance to the World Bank, led him to reject their appeal, and to support the placement of the TRIPS harmonised Indian Patent Law, under the WTO, and its Dispute Settlement Mechanism. The Amended Indian Patent Law removed the safeguards to protect public interest, and made the Government's Drug Prices Control Order, a dead letter. It has affected India's Public health sector most. The MNCs' success was that they got the support of Manmohan Singh to bring India's Patenting Law under the WTO's TRIPS, and, thereby, under the WTO's DSM. The damage Manmohan Singh did to India in this regard is immeasurable. The GATT Agreement came into force on 1 January 1995.

Loan/Debt Lever

Morarji Desai Rejects Loan Offer

A strategy which the international financial institutions, like the World Bank and the IMF, followed since 1970s, to keep potentially strong developing countries, like India, on the tender hook and remote control, has been to load them with big loans, and make them to invest the loan money on unproductive projects, which would not give them the returns

needed to repay the loan and interest liabilities. In this pursuit, India was a targeted country since mid-1970s. An ill-motivated attempt, in this regard, was made between 1977 and 1979, when the World Bank officials approached the then Prime Minister Morarji Desai, with an offer of a World Bank loan for India's 'development', a deceitful term used to trap naive Indians. That was the maiden attempt of the World Bank to hook India on a debt trap. But Morarji Desai, a former Finance Minister and a financial wizard himself, and a nationalist who believed in self-reliant development strategy, sensed the potential trap embedded in the offer, rejected it with contempt, and told them curtly that "India does not need your loan for its development".

Indira Gandhi Bits the Bite

Though the World Bank officials temporarily retreated from that venture, they returned and resumed their attempt as soon as Indira Gandhi returned as Prime Minister in 1980, and approached her with the same offer. In an unguarded moment, she hastily accepted their loan offer, and agreed, for the first time, to take a loan of \$ 5 billion, under the specious caption of "development assistance". From that small dose in 1980, India's external debt today stands at a staggering \$ 554.5 billion, bordering a debt trap.⁸ Significantly, much of these loans has been amassed during Manmohan Singh's tenure as Finance Minister and Prime Minister. Being a votary of the World Bank agenda, finance minister Manmohan Singh liberally gave green signals for loans from the World Bank, IMF and IBRD, and cut down spending on advanced studies, R&D, and S&T development, and dovetailed them with the objectives of the World Bank and the IMF, like protection and promotion of interests of big corporates from the West. As a result, today, India is faced with a daunting debt repayment liability, which is debilitating many vital state activities, including in sectors like public welfare, healthcare, higher education, R&D, and so on, which are cardinal for India's genuine development. In 2014, India's annual foreign debt repayment liability to the lending institutions stood at a staggering amount of \$172 billion.

Road Widening For MNCs' Car Market Expansion

Pertinent is the World Bank loan funded, Road Widening project in populated developing countries, to expand the car market of giant car manufacturers of the West. The inside story of it was told to me by Dr Bruno Kreisky, former Chancellor of Austria. He told me that, an expert Committee, appointed by the giant car manufactures of the West, gave an assessment report that the future big car markets in the world would be the populated developing countries like India. But, the draw back in them is the absence of wide roads, which is a pre-requisite to stimulate car demand, and to expand the car market. So the big car manufacturers of the West sought the help of the World Bank, to get the roads widened at the cost of the developing countries, which the latter gave. In order to help the Car companies, the World Bank made the road widening as a top priority conditionality for its loans, for the developing countries. That strategy worked. Third world countries were made to take huge loans from the World Bank to widen their roads to expand the car market of big car manufacturers of the West. That is going on in India too in a big scale. For India, it is an unproductive investment, with no returns to repay the loan and interest to the World Bank. Manmohan Singh welcomed this World Bank initiative for expanding the car market of automobile giants of the West, at the cost of the Indian tax payer.⁹

UNDERMINED INDIA'S RISE TO THE TOP**Undercut R&D And S&T**

It is axiomatic that resourceful countries, which aspire to rise in the world, invest substantial portion of their resources for Research and Development (R&D), and also for the development of Science and Technology (S&T). To take India to the top as a self-reliant and a self-sufficient country in the world, Jawaharlal Nehru promoted R&D and S&T as priority areas. With that objective in view, he established top government owned institutions like the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology, Indian Institute of Management,

National Institute of Technology, Atomic Energy Commission of India, and many research laboratories under the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, Indian Council for Agricultural Research, and Defence Research and Development Organisation. He established a string of about 45 major research laboratories in different parts of India, during his 17 years as Prime Minister, to strengthen the R&D and S&T in India. And all of them were built up as Centres of Excellence till Manmohan Singh, a professional bureaucrat, made a back door entry into the government in 1991, as India's Finance Minister. Being the nominee of the World Bank, Manmohan Singh had a concealed World Bank agenda with him to undercut India's advancement, from within, through a process of weakening the Indian State, by integrating it with globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation. His New Economic Policy (NEP), was virtually the World Bank's master plan to undermine India's growth and development.

Since 1991, Manmohan Singh pulled back India's R&D and S&T from moving forward, by throwing spanners in their activities by curtailing their funds, to keep up the interests of Western MNCs. The Western MNCs were facilitated to commercially snatch away young, talented Indian Scientists, Information technologists, and bio-technologists, through offers of fat salaries. Moreover, he facilitated the MNCs to freely come and play havoc with the Indian market, and the Scientific and Technology establishments, through tricky methodologies like joint ventures, collaborations, and establishment of independent production units, in Manmohan Singh's newly created Special Economic Zones, which are free from India's labour laws.

India's Intellectual Tradition

India is a country which is endowed with an intellectual tradition, and, as such, the country has no dearth of talents. If that embedded brain trust is stimulated by provision of adequate resources for creativity, it can produce wonderful results in terms of inventions, innovations and discoveries in many facets of India's advancement. It was at this

reservoir of fertile talents that Manmohan Singh struck with his NEP, through wilful denial of funds for India's R&D, in order to preserve and promote the superiority of the West in technology and Science. He did not allow the growth of A.P.J. Abdul Kalam - spirit of self-reliance among scientists and technologist in India, by steadily slashing down funds for advanced studies and R&D, as desired by the World Bank and the IMF. It was a well calculated choking of vital R&D and S&T programmes of India's advancement. As a result, he kept India's R&D spending down to 1.0 percent of India's GDP, where as the United States spent 2.7 percent, Japan spent 3.4 percent, and China spent 18 percent of their GDPs for their R&Ds.¹⁰ On the part of Manmohan Singh, it was a pre-meditated stifling of funds, which had undermined India's advancement in many critical fields. Indeed, during his 15 years tenure as India's Finance Minister and Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh did his best to bonsai India's R&D and S&T in tune with the wishes of World Bank. Research component in higher education in India was kept at the minimum, enabling only one percent of higher education students going for Ph.D research. Instead of inventing, innovating and producing indigenously, Manmohan Singh liberalised imports of all kinds of products into India, which had effectively undermined the local imperatives for innovation and invention.

Nurtured Kleptocracy

Manmohan Singh's NEP has promoted kleptocracy of shady business men in India. The targets of Kleptocrats have been, generally, India's natural resources and minerals and the profit earning public sector undertakings (PSUs).

In India, the ownership of minerals lies with State. The Central government has control over all major minerals like the Iron Ore, Bauxite, Copper, Coal, etc. The state governments have control over minor minerals like sand, stone, granite, etc. In both categories privatisation is done through the leasing of mines to private companies. Mines of Iron Ore, Bauxite, Steel, Aluminium, etc, have been leased

out to private Corporates like Tatas and Birlas. Reports say that, of the 4.9 lakh hectares of land leased out for mining in 23 states, by the end of 2009, 95 percent of leases, comprising 70 percent of land, were given to private companies.

Foreign Companies Exploit Indian Minerals

87 minerals are being mined in India. They earn, annually, Rs 2 lakh crore for the Indian treasury, which constitute 2.26 percent of India's GDP. As per 1956 Industrial Policy Resolution, mining of all major minerals are done by the Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs). But in 1993 March, as part of his Neo-Liberal policy, Manmohan Singh declared a new National Mineral Policy, by which, in the mining of 13 important minerals, he allowed private participation. In mining the Iron Ore, Manganese, Chromium, Nickel, Platinum, Sulphur, Gold, Diamond, Copper, Lead, etc, he allowed, upto 50 percent, foreign private shares. In 2006, he raised the quantum of these foreign private shares to 100 percent. He estimated that there would be a \$ 300 million foreign investment in these mines.¹¹

India holds 20 percent of high quality Iron Ore in the World. The Manganese deposits in India are next only to Russia and South Africa. Similarly, India is rich in strategic minerals like Monazite, Uranium, Thorium and Radium. It is also rich in Coal, Fluoride, Limestone, Gypsum, etc.¹²

Handing over these natural resources to private/foreign Corporates for mining and marketing, turned out, indeed, patronisation of Kleptocracy in India in the mining sector. This was a bad opening Manmohan Singh made for foreign exploitation of India's people's assets.

An Indian Quisling ?

These actions which Manmohan Singh did, since 1991, were extremely unbecoming for an Indian Finance Minister and Prime Minister, worth the salt, which were clearly against India's long-term

national interests, while not forgetting the fact that he was a nominee of the World Bank. His opening of India's basic resource treasure to Indian and foreign Corporates to exploit under the facade of his NEP, was clearly an unpatriotic act. It reminds one, the role played by Vaidkun Quisling, a Norwegian who loyally served Hitler in Norway, during the Nazi occupation during the Second World War. Future will tell whether Manmohan Singh would be seen as an Indian Quisling of the World Bank.

Jharkhand state of India is immensely rich in minerals. 40 percent of India's mineral wealth is situated in this state. It has 27.3 percent of India's Coal reserves, 26 percent of Iron Ore, 18.5 percent of Copper Ore, besides having significant deposits of Uranium, Mica, Bauxite, Granite, Limestone, Silver, Graphite, Manganese and Dolomite.

Despite this abundance of mineral wealth, Jharkhand remains one of the poorest States in India, ranking low on various social and economic indicators. The reasons are that: (1) Political rulers systematically aid Kleptocracy of big mining companies, to appropriate these mineral resources, after duping local inhabitants, or by coercing them to give way to these Kleptocrats through corrupt methods; and (2) by handing over these mines to private entities, who pay meagre amounts of royalties to the State. As a result, the richest mineral State is earning a paltry sum from these private companies, which are mining these minerals, and selling them off for huge profits. These Kleptocrats have a big clout in the government, and are known for the use of their corrupting skills on the government functionaries, to keep the royalty/fees low. It is estimated that, in Jharkhand there are about 4000 lessees of these mines, and more than 6,600 dealers of these minerals. Most of these Kleptocrats are rich, where as ordinary people in the state live in abject poverty, malnutrition, joblessness, and face even starvation. Similar situations exist in other minerally rich states in India too.

Big Sharks

It is not only the small fishes who practise Kleptocracy and grow

rich, there are big sharks who too have practiced Kleptocracy as an art and amassed wealth to climb up the ladder quickly, to become the richest in the country, with the support of the Manmohan Singh Government. Many of them regularly get huge amounts of tax exemptions also, another form of support for the plunder of public money. In the 2010 budget, the Manmohan Singh government granted Rs 500,000 Crore tax exemptions to such wealthy businessmen.¹³

Manmohan Singh's NEP allowed private entrepreneurs to exploit key natural resources, including oil and natural gas. Till the NEP, the PSU, the ONGC, has been the sole custodian of oil and natural gas in India. But, Manmohan Singh opened it for private companies, like Reliance Industries, to exploit it and grow in leaps and bounds.¹⁴

ONGC and Reliance Industries

ONGC discovered huge natural gas deposit in Krishna-Godavari basin in Andhra Pradesh. Of these deposits discovered by the ONGC, as per Manmohan Singh's NEP, D-6 Sector was given to the Reliance Industries Limited (RIL) of Mukesh Ambani for exploitation and pricing. But the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) of India found that the RIL had committed a theft of Gas from the ONGC Gas fields. It has been found that from 2009 onwards, Reliance Industries of Mukesh Ambani used a secretly laid pipeline, from its D-6 gas field to ONGC's D-5 gas field, to steal gas from the D-5 gas field. When the CAG unravelled this secret theft of gas by the RIL, Jaipal Reddy, then Petroleum Minister under Manmohan Singh, ordered an enquiry into this theft. When the RIL was about to be caught, Manmohan Singh removed Jaipal Reddy from the Petroleum Ministership, and appointed RIL's own man, Veerappa Moily, as the new Petroleum Minister, to help the Reliance to continue the gas theft from the ONGC gas field D-5.¹⁵ ONGC regularly reported the facts of this gas theft of RIL to the Government. But, Manmohan Singh got, all those who asked for action against the RIL, instantly shifted out. Subsequently, an Inquiry Commission, found that, from 2009 onwards, Mukesh Ambani's Reliance

Industries had stolen 18 million cubic metre natural gas, worth \$ 1.7 billion or Rs. 11,000 crores, from the ONGC's gas field D-5, located just 500 metres away from RIL's Gas field D-6. Yet, no effective action against RIL has been taken. That was the level of Manmohan Singh's complicity with the flourishing Kleptocracy during his period in office. Indeed, Kleptocracy of natural resources had fattened many new rich in India, who could easily dole out pittances to their collaborators in the Executive.¹⁶ 2-G Spectrum, and Coal Scam were other high points of connivance which the CAG has exposed.

The Polyster Prince

Indeed, reportedly, the RIL has a long track record of sudden growth, which has been detailed by Hamish McDonald, an Australian Journalist, in his 297-page book, *The Polyster Prince: The Rise of Dhirubhai Ambani*, published in 1998, in Sydney, the distribution of which, in India, was blocked by Ambani, but, without questioning its content. The book is also a story of the corrupting influences liberally made use of by this business house. The blockage was to prevent the exposure of the bizarre level of this business house, and to hide the nitty-gritty of corruption behind the sudden growth of big business houses in India. A significant observation Hamish McDonald has made regarding the *modus operandi* of the quick rise of Ambani, is a loaded observation, in the book which annotates that: "The dark side of his abilities was an eye for human weakness and a willingness to exploit it".¹⁷ It encapsules everything which had taken place behind the curtain in the most concise way. However, the point is that Manmohan Singh's NEP had created a battalion of Kleptocrats in India – big and small. Living in a 27-storey house by a 5-member nucleus family, built at the cost of Rs 8000 crores, a vulgar display of upstartism, can hardly conceal the footprints of the past mode, which still seems to remain unchanged. Reportedly, Bill Gates, the richest man in the world, lives in a 3-bed room apartment.

It may be noted that in 1963-64, RIL did not figure at all in the

list of notable Indian business houses, which had assets worth a minimum of Rs 100 Crore. But in 1988, its assets had grown to Rs 2,022 Crore. By 2005, its assets have further grown to Rs 100,000 crore.¹⁸ The secret of the speedy rise of a person, who started his career as a clerk in a petrol pump, to one of the richest men in the country needs special study. Hamish McDonald's loaded observation might be the answer.

Optimum Petrol Price : Rs 20 Per Litre

That apart, the Manmohan Singh government had passed on the task of pricing of Petrol, Diesel and Gas to private oil marketing companies, like Reliance Industries, so that they can arbitrarily fix the price they like, instead of the price the government asks them to fix. In the opinion of experts, if the ONGC remained the sole authority for oil exploration and pricing in India, people would have got Petrol, Diesel and Gas at very low prices. According to a former ONGC Chief General Manager, K.Damodaran, if the ONGC alone is allowed to function independently, ordinary people would have got petrol for Rs. 20/- per litre, whatever the hike in international pricing.¹⁹ Indeed, since Nehru's time, all along the ONGC was working as a monopoly PSU, for India's self-sufficiency in petroleum products. But Manmohan Singh's NEP has destroyed that position of the ONGC, and inducted Reliance Industries into the Krishna - Godavari Basin and gave D-6 oil and gas field to Ambani, for exploitation and arbitrary pricing. It is an example of how national assets, which belonged to all people of the nation, are given to favourite private operators to exploit and grow rich. Indeed, it was a disgraceful thing to do. The story of this brand of Kleptocracy, perpetrated with aid of the Government, has been uncovered by the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India in 2011.²⁰ A very efficient and strategically important profit making key PSU has been destroyed from within, by a nexus of unpatriotic vested interests, opposed to public welfare. A notable aspect is the role of Manmohan Singh in it.

Opened Retail Trade To Foreign MNCs

In India, the retail trade is more than a business. It is a community undertaking, which prevents social unrest by the provision of maximum employment, and widespread earning. It is community centric, low cost, and job intense. The retailing sector includes small shops, owner-run general stores, hand-cart and pavement vending. In a large number of cases, the whole family works in one shop. And, a whole community gets engaged in the retail trade of a defined area.

Retail trade, run by the local people, is a big factor in India's economy and social harmony. It constitutes 98 percent of total trade in India. In contrast, the organised trade accounts only for 2 percent. Indeed, it is the most decentralised economic/trade activity in the country, next only to agriculture. It is multi-layered, and its reach is from cities and towns to the remote hamlets. Most of the retail traders are self-employed people. It is the largest employment provider after the farm sector. About 40 million people in India are directly engaged in retail trade, and about 120 million people depend upon the retail sector. In contrast, Walmart, the world's largest Corporate retail trader, employs just about 5 lakh people.

Manmohan Singh opened India's retail trade to foreign multinational giants like Tesco, Walmart, Flip Cart, and Amazon, with grave adverse consequences for the national economic and social interests. His FDI policy allowed the back door entry of foreign MNCs by letting them to invest in Indian companies, which, in effect, allowed themselves to get smuggled into India's retail trade sector.²¹ Corporate-led retail trade (like malls and E-trade) would also drastically cut down local economies and local employment, which could disturb the social order. Indeed, the foreign retail giants would destroy the community-based retail trade in India, run by local traders. Manmohan Singh paved their way.

Special Economic Zones (SEZ)

Manmohan Singh launched Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in

India, on the pretext of attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the country, to provide unfettered freedom for foreign Corporates to produce and market in India. To buy silence from the local public for this secluded economic activity, patently false, and highly inflated, figures of potential employment opportunities for the local people were given during their launching. It is of common knowledge that the high-tech based production units of foreign MNCs carry the promise of least employment opportunities. Further, a good number of small favourite local enterprises were also given the SEZ status, simply as favours to free them from the constraints of the Labour Laws of India. The SEZ provision has been thoroughly misused that, even some small local institutions, like Dr Reddy's Laboratories, in Andhra Pradesh, were given the status of the SEZ. A food processing company and a pharmaceutical company, a sugarcane processing company, etc, were also given the status of the SEZ. Such widespread abuse of power took place in the name of the SEZ. In 2006 the total number of SEZ in India was 212.²²

Anti - Welfare State Build-up

The World Bank is well known as an anti-Welfare State Institution, and, therefore, Manmohan Singh too had to be an anti-Welfare State protagonist. Since a successful Welfare State System needs a strong, resourceful, state, weakening of the Indian state, and making it less resourceful, was a mission for him. Privatisation of profit making PSUs was one way he adopted to permanently block that stable source of the State's income. The PSUs Manmohan Singh thus slated for privatisation included: Cochin Ship Yard, Cochin Refineries, Indian Rare Earths Ltd, FACT, Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd, BSNL, VSNL, National Thermal Power Corporation, Oil India Corporation, Air India, Neyveli Lignite Corporation, Hindustan Copper Ltd, Steel Authority of India Ltd, Rashtriya Ispat Nigam Ltd, Hindustan Aeronautic Ltd., MMTC Ltd, NALCO, NMDC, and so on.

Privatisation of Healthcare

Manmohan Singh's NEP made India a state with one of the most

privatised healthcare systems. By promoting private healthcare system, he made healthcare for ordinary people in India unbearable. His NEP progressively slashed down the State's healthcare budget. Under him, India spent only 1 percent of its GDP for public health. During his tenure, the government owned pharmaceutical company, IPCL, curtailed its production of medicines. And, he gave the right of arbitrarily fixing prices of medicines to private medical companies. They were also given the right to direct marketing, of their medicines, with their own prices, in India. In the WTO, Manmohan Singh agreed to that provision in the GATT agreements. It made the National Pharmaceutical Pricing Authority dysfunctional. Marketisation of health sector by Manmohan Singh has created a new situation that, in rural India a common cause of widespread debt is the unaffordable healthcare expenditure. Nearly half of rural families are in debt due to this, or were forced to sell their assets to finance their hospital expenditure.²³

Private healthcare expenditure forms more than 80 percent of total healthcare expenditure in India. Normally, healthcare should be free as a fundamental right. But, Manmohan Singh's NEP has made it very costly. He showed a callous unconcern to the fact that 70 percent of Indian population is rural, and that 300 million people in India live below the poverty line, who also needed proper free health care. Therefore, basically, Manmohan Singh government's healthcare policy was anti-people and anti-poor. Free healthcare and free Education for all are ideological questions, and not questions to be left to the free market to answer. Private healthcare is not an alternative to the obligation of the State to ensure access to free healthcare for every citizen.

Commercialisation of Education

Manmohan Singh's NEP has commercialised education in a big way. This he did systematically after he became Prime Minister in 2004. Self-financing private educational institutions were promoted in a big way. Education has been made another business for making profit. Any

rich shopkeeper, with no educational background, nor interest in education, can start a self-financed professional college. This is Manmohan Singh's neo-liberalism, applied in education.

Since his NEP, allocation for education, as a percentage of GDP, has steadily declined. He allotted 6 percent of GDP for education, of which 3 percent was for elementary education; 1.5 percent for secondary education; 1.0 percent for higher education; and 0.5 percent for technical education.²⁴ But, his push was for the privatisation of education. He viewed education, not as a fundamental right, but as a business commodity. He created a new category of self-financing private professional colleges, and also private 'deemed universities', with a right to award even degrees and diplomas of doubtful standard. Sub-standard educational programmes, unethical approach from admission onwards, promotion of inequality between the rich and the poor, production of corruption-prone degree holders in professional fields, are the direct consequences of these self-financed colleges. Through this new turn, professional education has been made highly expensive, with huge capitation fees, admission charges, and monthly course fees. Altogether, it has created, generally, a large number of greedy robots, without any social commitment. These institutions have produced innumerable stigmatised degree holders, who generally invite derision from the community, and also from among the respective professionals.

Self-governing, academically autonomous, college, is another category of institutions, which has derailed common high standards in the higher educational system. Generally, such institutions in India impart sub-standard education. It was under Manmohan Singh that, in 2010, students education loan system was introduced, in India, aping in the United States, to transfer the financial burden of education on the shoulders of students themselves.²⁵ That was a sinister move. In US and Canada, graduates come out of their colleges generally with a debt burden of \$ 125,000/- on their shoulders. That was the pattern Manmohan Singh's neo-liberalism had followed in India.

Assimilation of MPs and MLAs with the Affluent

With a sinister motive, to bring about a fundamental change in the character and approach of parliamentarians in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, Manmohan Singh has brought a radical change in the life style, and approach, of elected representatives, through a big rise in their salaries, perks, allowances, interest-free loans to buy luxury cars, besides additional non-legislative functions, like operation of huge MP Funds, MLA funds, etc, as means to corrupt MPs and MLAs. He placed elected representatives, on a track of potential corruption, by enveloping them with luxurious environment, to assimilate them to be on the side of the rich and affluent in the country.

In 2010, Manmohan Singh government decided to fatten MPs' income with a three-fold salary increase – from Rs. 16,000 to Rs.50,000 per month. Allowances were also raised similarly. The daily allowance for attending Parliament sessions was raised from Rs.1000 to Rs.2000/- - Monthly Constituency allowance was raised from Rs. 20,000 to Rs 40,000/-. Office allowance was raised to Rs. 40,000/-. Travel allowance in place was raised from Rs. 100,000 to Rs. 4,00,000/-. For buying luxury cars, the interest-free loan amount was raised from Rs. 100,000 to Rs 400,000/-. Altogether, the aim was to put MPs on the track of a luxurious living environment, and, consequently, a closer identification with the rich section of the society. That was also an incentive for MPs to look at India's National problems from the angle of the rich and affluent, and support all pro-foreign Corporate measures of Manmohan Singh. That apart, an MP now gets, on average, about Rs 2 lakh per month as his salary and allowances alone.²⁶ As a result, today, an MP presents himself like a new prince. After the election, he is being lifted up very high from his voter, and make him to enjoy rich, and luxurious surroundings and develop a liking for 5-star facilities, which the rich vested interests can easily provide, off and on, to make use of him to serve their purpose. It was a very crafty neo-liberal move of Manmohan Singh to transform the character and environment of the Indian Parliament - in favour of the rich.

Corporatisation of India's Economy and Politics.

Following corporatisation of the Indian economy under Manmohan Singh, a nexus between Corporates and political elites has been formed on the basis of mutual assistance. Indeed, Corporates have been made a big factor in Indian politics and elections. As elections have been made expensive, political parties' dependence on the Corporate money has also increased. As a result, Corporates' support has become a big factor in Indian elections.

Corporates and Funds of Political Parties

As per the information furnished by political parties before the Election Commission, during the period between 2004-5 and 2011-12, 87 percent of donations political parties in India received, came from Corporates. Out of a total donation of Rs. 435.87 Crore, which they received during the period, Rs. 378.89 Crore came from Corporates. In this, the largest beneficiary is the BJP, which received Rs 192.47 crore, i.e., 85 percent of donations it received. The Congress Party received Rs 172.25 crore, i.e., 92 percent of donations the Party received. CPM got Rs. 1.8 crore from the Corporates, which constituted 31 percent of the total donations it received. Out of the total of Rs. 12.3 Crore the NCP received, as donations, Rs. 12.28 Crore came from the Corporates.²⁷ Whose interests these parties would protect after elections, is obvious from these figures. Clearly, they would not stand by their poor voter, beyond a superficial lip service. These figures explain why major political parties take pro-Corporate positions in Parliament, and Legislative Assemblies. Common man's interest becomes peripheral in their deliberations.

Dependence on Corporate money for Elections, and the new luxury environment which Manmohan Singh has assiduously created around MPs, and MLAs, have changed their outlook and approach in favour of the rich and the affluent, that the gap between the common man and his elected representative has widened after the elections. A general atmosphere has been built up around the Parliament and State

Assemblies in favour of luxury and affluence. Among the Indian Corporates, Aditya Birla Group occupies the lead position in the Indian Corporate donors of the Congress and the BJP. They vitiate and make our elections a rich men's contest.

Conclusion

What is the damage Manmohan Singh's 15-year administration, as India's Finance Minister and Prime Minister, had done to the Congress Party, which let him join the Narasimha Rao government, in 1991, as the nominee of the World Bank, and also to India's potential to become a top, self-reliant, independent country in the world.

Undercutting of Congress Party

Manmohan Singh's reward to the Congress Party, for giving him the leeway to get into the government, was given in the form of a grand undercutting. Within 35 days after he was sworn in as India's Finance Minister, he deftly destroyed the Party's ideological base, along with its invaluable inheritance of the Nehru legacy, lock, stock and barrel, by forcing the Congress Party MPs to support his New Economic Policy, and destroyed the party's relevance. The NEP, which contained the World Bank agenda for India, negated all what Jawaharlal Nehru held dear to his heart – a state centred development and public welfare, a dominant public sector, and so on. But, by forcing his New Economic Policy down the throat of the Congress, Manmohan Singh instantly changed the direction of the Party and made it the new torch-bearer of neo-liberalism, privatisation and marketisation – just opposite to what patriots like Jawaharlal Nehru and V.K. Krishna Menon worked for since independence. As a result, the new Congress leadership, which is not well-versed with the moorings of the Indian National Congress which they lead, is groping in the dark, in the limbo, regarding the Party's future programme and direction. But, one thing is certain. The Congress Party cannot rejuvenate itself and grow, unless it gets rid of all what Manmohan Singh did, since 1991, to its basic ideology, programmes and direction, at the behest of the World Bank. It is

disgusting that some PCC offices, including the one in Trivandrum, have replaced Nehru's picture with the picture of Manmohan Singh in their drawing-rooms. However, through crafty moves, Manmohan Singh has mutilated the Congress Party into virtually an anti-Nehru organisation, a sure way to self-destruction. In the new context, Rahul Gandhi and Sonia Gandhi do not speak about socialism in their public discourses. However, the public is at a loss to understand what for the Congress Party stands today. Manmohan Singh's undercutting is squarely responsible for this dissipating phase of the great erstwhile Indian National Congress.

Undercutting India's Future Rise to Greatness

More unpardonable is the undercutting Manmohan Singh has wilfully done, at the behest of the World Bank, to undercut the prospects of India's rise to the top of the world as a great, self-reliant, powerful country, matching other great powers of the world. It may be noted that since 1970s, the World Bank followed a policy of not to let India grow smoothly as a strong, self-reliant nation, by independently using its vast, embedded, national assets. To undermine India's freedom and independence, its initial strategy was to make it a debtor country, by inveigling it to take cheap loans from the World Bank, under the deceitful garb of "development aid", and entrap India into a crippling dependency. Complementing that move, another simultaneous move, at the macro-level, was launched to change the structure of the international system, through a process of financial globalisation, aimed to concentration of financial power in Washington, D.C., Head Quarters of the IMF and the World Bank, from where countries could be dictated what to do, and what not to do. A concurrent programme of Globalisation-Liberalisation-Privatisation was also launched to change the economic and political structure of the world, at macro-level, and erode freedom and independence of countries at micro-level. At the same time, in targeted countries, like India, they looked for local hench men, with proven loyalty to the World Bank and its agenda, who could be planted, by hook or by crook, in key positions of the targeted country

to quietly implement its agenda. In India, the World Bank got a quiet looking Manmohan Singh to do its job diligently. At the earliest opportunity, he was planted as India's Finance Minister.

Undermined India's R&D and S&T

Ever since Manmohan Singh was sworn in as India's Finance Minister, in 1991, as the nominee of the World Bank, he worked hard to implement the World Bank agenda for India, aimed to undermine India's rise to the top in future. His New Economic Policy was the first shot he did in that direction, followed by other numerable concurrent measures, aimed to hold back India's growth in many key areas of R&D and S&T, by denying them the needed funds, so that automatically it results in widening the gap in advancement, between India and the West.

He vigorously pursued the programme of dismantling the Indian state, and provided that space to the Western MNCs to occupy. He took steps to reduce the regular non-tax income base of the Indian state, by privatising profit making Public Sector Undertakings, and by opening them to foreign private investors, to cripple its public welfare programmes. He disincentivised indigenous production, by promoting imports. He provided maximum space for foreign enterprises in India's economic activity. He opened India's huge domestic market to foreign enterprises, and allowed free play of foreign retail-trade Corporate giants like Walmart, Flip Cart and Amazon, in India's retail market, which destroyed the livelihood of millions of local small-scale retail traders.

Craze For Foreign Corporates

A notable feature of Manmohan Singh's 15-year long administration was the craze he had shown to bring in foreign enterprises to exploit Indian opportunities at the expense of common man's interest. On the whole, he gave the impression that he ruled India to promote the interests of foreign Corporates. He liberalised India's EXIM Policy for the benefit of foreign enterprises. He changed the Indian Patenting Law to fasten India with WTO's Dispute Settlement

Mechanism and to help foreign Corporates. By using India's loan money from the World Bank, he supported road widening in India, to expand the car market in the country. Western giant car manufacturers were happy with him since, following the widening of the Indian roads, with the World Bank's loan, they sold, in 2009 alone, 14 lakhs cars in India. As a loyal World Bank man, he ruled India mostly to expand the space in India for foreigners.

Disrupted India's Progress

In many ways Manmohan Singh disrupted India's progress towards self-reliance and self-sufficiency. He allowed foreign companies to exploit Indian mineral resources. He privatised healthcare and education and made them more and more inaccessible to poorer sections of society. By changing the general environment around elected representatives, he transformed the elected bodies in India, both in the States and in the Centre, pro-rich and pro-affluent. In many sectors, he had placed market above the State. Impressed by Manmohan Singh's performance to protect the US interests, former U.S. President, George W. Bush, expressed, in 2009, his deep appreciation of the services rendered by Manmohan Singh, by initiating the liberalisation process in India in 1991.²⁸ But, three years later, in 2012, when Manmohan Singh was swarmed by scams, the U.S. newspaper *Washington Post* characterised him as most incompetent administrator.²⁹

In history we have seen characters like Mir Jaffer and Quisling, who collaborated with foreigners by cleverly betraying their countries, under undemocratic systems. But, they pale before Manmohan Singh, on the way how he carried out the World Bank agenda for India, by skilfully manipulating a vast democratic set up in India. By grinding down India's sovereignty to make space for foreign multi-nationals, through a globalisation-liberalisation-privatisation process, Manmohan Singh showed intellectual dishonesty to the oath he took during his swearing-in as India's Finance Minister and Prime Minister, that "I will

uphold the sovereignty... of India". He failed to comply with it both as Finance Minister and as Prime Minister. Instead, he engineered its mutilation in a big way by bringing in a plethora of multi-national companies through the back door, to implement the World Bank agenda in India.

Similarly, he had succeeded to considerably dismantle the Indian state, from within, from India's economic and social sectors, and to foist Western Corporates in those sectors, and aided them to capture India's huge market for their products. Further, he brought them into India's production sector, through liberalisation and privatisation, and by offering them foreign direct investments, and secluded Special Economic Zones, for exploitation. In that respect, Manmohan Singh got a true follower in Narendra Modi. Modi government's new farm laws, which opens up foreign multi-national corporations' (MNCs) eventual take over of India's agricultural production, marketing and seed supplies, and which spells disaster for India's farming community, is an off-shoot of Manmohan Singh's policy of bringing in foreign MNCs in key sectors of India's economy and trade. Farmers have clearly seen the trap in the new farm laws, and rightly launched an unprecedented nation-wide agitation, with an unequivocal demand of the repeal of those farm laws. That is necessary to prevent further springing of such dangerous off-shoots in India in future.

So, Manmohan Singh has successfully fulfilled the mission assigned to him by the World Bank to wide open India's doors for foreign enterprises for unhindered exploitation, including for foreign medical companies, to market their medicines at prices they arbitrarily fixed. To help their exploitation, he had disabled the Government of India's Administrative Price Mechanism, established to control prices of all kinds of products, including the Drug Prices Control Order for medicines, which was brought in to protect consumers from high prices. Indeed, making more space for foreign corporates became a favourite hobby of Manmohan Singh. Foreign banks and Corporates were made partners of their Indian counterparts to facilitate their smooth capture

of the Indian market surreptitiously. Increase in the level of the private insurance, and then giving health insurance to foreign Insurance Companies, showed the benchmark of Manmohan Singh's patriotism. In 2013, he allowed 49 percent FDI in the Insurance Sector, 49 percent FDI in the Defence Sector, and 100 percent FDI in the Telecom Sector.

In short, as Finance Minister and Prime Minister for 15-years, Manmohan Singh had functioned inimical to India's long-term interest, and ruled India mainly to assist foreigners to establish their grip on India. This is what his deeds convey. No amount of twisted explanation can drown this truth. Taken together, what Manmohan Singh did to the country, as Finance Minister and Prime Minister, was a great betrayal, unbecoming of an Indian occupying those positions in the country. By denying adequate funds, he obstructed the advancement of India's R&D and S&T, to help the West to maintain its lead in many key areas. He wilfully undermined India's drive for self-reliance and self-sufficiency from within.

In the circumstances, the Sixty-four thousand dollar question is: Should Manmohan Singh be impeached for wilfully doing all these unpatriotic acts which he did, from the seat of India's supreme political power? The well considered answer is a firm 'YES'.

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South East Asian Political Matrix and The Evolving India - Vietnam Relations

K.C. Sreekumar

Most of the developed and developing nations are conscious of the global power shift. In the context of the evolving multipolar international political system the perspective change in the Southeast Asian nations regarding their individual national interests and the adjusting of those with that of the other Southeast Asian nations in a mutually beneficial, positive and productive manner assumes much relevance. The unhealthy, 'big brother' behaviour of a nation would make many other nations antagonistic to that. This, in turn, provides the opportunity to many countries to organise and stand together to protect their interests. Looming large over the muddled waters of the South China Sea are not only the conflicting interests of both China and the US but also of the entire region. In this backdrop, this paper analyses the political game of one-upmanship in Southeast Asia and India's relations with the Southeast Asian nations, especially Vietnam.

In the context of the evolving multi-polar international system, what is thoroughly visible is the endeavour of nations that were under the umbrella of either the Soviet Union or the United States of America or pursuing a nonaligned policy, to acquire a leadership role, at least

regionally. Here, I do not intend to disestablish the significance of regionalism during the Cold War period. What is emphasised is the intention of a few developed and developing nations to play the role of one-upmanship. In the aftermath of the withering away of the Soviet empire and the decline of Cold War, a uni-polar moment emerged with the life span of a bubble. That evolved into a multi-polar world quite soon. Currently the descent in the power status of the US and an ascent in the might of Russia are prominently projected in world politics. Many observers believe that the strength of the European Union also is challenged by many factors like the Brexit. In the Asian scenario both China and India are covetous contenders of the super power status. The former with its dictatorial and arbitrary indulgences in the South China Sea (SCS), in the border with India, etc, are seemingly posing a challenge to peaceful coexistence of nations in the region. Being wary of the intentions of China, India is befriending and engaging many of the nations in Southeast Asia. Utilising the regional organisations is a part of the political game. India's demand for permanent membership in the United Nations Organisation (UNO) and the hostile stand taken by China necessitates the former's enhanced cooperation with all nations of the world. The cultural contiguity with the Southeast Asian nations is a strong positive factor that strengthens India's relations with those countries.

The changes in the perspective of the Southeast Asian nations about their individual national interests and the adjusting of those national interests with that of other Southeast Asian nations in a mutually beneficial, positive and productive manner have much contemporary relevance. The forces of Globalization shook the nations out of their dogmatic slumber in the spring-bed of sovereignty and whipped them into increased international trade and commerce. The end of Cold War, the rise as well as the decline in the fiscal might of nations, etc, also necessitated a global power shift. In the Asian context both China and India are covetous contenders for the super power status. There is no doubt that with the current economic reforms introduced by the

incumbent government gaining momentum, long term prospects for growth remain bright for India. In the emerging global order economic growth or military power alone, or combined together, won't make a nation a super power or a leader for that matter. A nation gains respectability based on its relations with neighbours as well as other nations. Confidence building involves befriending and engaging nations with the socio-political and economic development of all concerned. India has this in mind when it tries to befriend and engage the Southeast Asian nations.

Geo-Political Significance of Southeast Asia

There is a strong belief that a developed Asia would be a prominent determinant of international politics in the future. Constituting organised nations, the Southeast Asian region assumes considerable importance. This region consists of the countries that are geographically south of China, east of India, west of New Guinea, and north of Australia. It consists of two geographic regions: 1. Maritime Southeast Asia, comprising of Philippines, East Malaysia, East Timor, Indonesia, Brunei, and Singapore, and 2. Mainland Southeast Asia, also known as Indochina, comprising Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar (Burma), Thailand, West Malaysia, and Vietnam. Southeast Asia is blessed with large physical resources. The world's busiest sea-lanes traverse the Malacca Straits and the South China Sea (SCS). The southern border of China abuts Southeast Asia along the northern borders of Myanmar, Laos, and Vietnam.

The geopolitical importance of this region stems from the competition between the US and China to have strategic dominance over here. The changing dimensions of the neo-cold war relation between the US and Russia point toward the need for having an Asian Strategic Quadrilateral comprising India, Japan, Vietnam and China. However, it is the arrogant and aggressive posture of China that is standing as a hindrance in achieving this unity. In this backdrop it is desirable that India, Japan and Vietnam form an Asian trilateral to

secure stability and security and to manage Asian conflicts' flash-points.¹ The US military presence in the region is acting as a balance to China. It has to be noted that Vietnam, approves the US military's controversial build-up in the Philippines. Since China is posing as a super power in the geopolitics of this region weaker states like the Philippines, Vietnam, ASEAN, and Japan must band together with the United States to contain it.²

Unlike the Middle East and Southwest Asia the Southeast Asian region had a peaceful existence for a long time. A major reason for this was unquestionably the role played by China which made the nations in the region believe that its economic development would help them all in their development. No wonder the Southeast Asian nations were clearly positive about that. The region was comparatively free of any large scale war or violence. Observers have noted that nearly three decades spanning the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the present one presented a picture of strategic quiescence in the region.³ However, systemic changes have considerably altered the geopolitical significance of the Southeast Asian region, in the recent times. But China maintained her close relationship with the nations of this region through bilateral visits of leaders and making good use of the platform provided by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). China definitely benefitted much out of all this. China is ASEAN's biggest trading partner. China has especially good trade relations with Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei. It was mainly Chinese state companies that financed and built railroads, air links, roadways, telecommunications networks, river transport, etc, that linked Southeast Asia to southern interior of China. Added to this were the effective endeavours of the ASEAN in solving the conflicts that emanated in the inter-state relations and bringing forth economic development and stability. Besides economic ties, China was making strategic partnership with ASEAN countries. China launched a new negotiation under the rubric Regional Comprehensive Partnership with ASEAN+6 countries.

As stated earlier China's power and strategic interests were

growing during all these decades. China's capabilities and intentions are factors that have tremendous implication in the geopolitics of this region. China is in a very superior position comparing to other Asian nations as far as her economic, technological, diplomatic, political, and military capabilities are concerned. China's economic growth, its huge annual military expenditure, its military modernization programmes all enable it to be a super power. However, China's intentions towards Southeast Asia can scarcely be of altruistic nature. The whole world came to know of that in 1974 when China attacked and occupied the Paracel Archipelago and destroyed a South Vietnamese garrison. Philippines had bitter experience of arrogance in the 1990s. China built a military outpost on a previously unoccupied atoll well within the Philippines Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). China claims that Taiwan, and the Senkaku islands under the control of Japan in the East China Sea are parts of it. She claims all of the SCS. It is interesting to note that until recently the SCS was not seriously considered by any nation as a security arena. "China's good neighbour diplomacy carefully kept the SCS out of the conversation", observes Marvin C. Ott.⁴

A Change in the Scenario

The clash between the interests of the US and China was gradually changing the dimensions of the strategic situation of this region. That became particularly conflicting during the first decade of the current century. Washington was annoyed when a US surveillance mission in international waters off the Chinese coast was harassed by a flotilla of small Chinese crafts. Vietnam too protested against Chinese seizures of its fishing boats for allegedly "violating" its maritime space - waters claimed by Vietnam. China threatened certain international oil companies which were offered drilling rights off the Vietnamese coast and within Vietnam's EEZ. China's claim of having sovereignty over the SCS was questioned by the members of ASEAN itself. This of course was made possible by an American intervention. The US did not show much interest in the affairs of this region during the Bush administration. The US got the opportunity during the annual meeting

of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) held in Hanoi in July 2010. The US Secretary of State was attending it for the first time. Considering the interest of Vietnam, the US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton raised the issue of SCS in her statement to the forum. She asserted that: (1) the SCS was an arena with multiple claimants and such disputes should be addressed through a multilateral negotiation; (2) the sea lanes through the SCS, like major international sea lanes elsewhere, were a “global commons” and not within the territory of any state—they belonged to the world.”⁵ A few days later China’s defence ministry spokesman declared that China has indisputable sovereignty over the SCS. Confrontations between the Chinese patrolling vessels and the Vietnamese and Philippines fishermen and patrol craft are on the increase since then. All these raise seminal strategic issues in Southeast Asian capitals. Virtually every American official who visits Southeast Asia these days reports an unmistakable welcome to the “pivot.” Actually the Southeast Asian nations are not interested in China or the US asserting its might in this region. However, they would welcome the US presence as a counter force to China. Even Myanmar is desirous of reducing its dependence on China and becoming closer to the US and the West. It has been observed that the consequence of a larger US presence in the region is worth considering. It is argued that the United States cannot be counted on to support the Philippines’ and Vietnam’s territorial claims, and Washington cannot be assumed to be motivated simply by balance-of-power considerations. In his opinion instead of solving the territorial questions of these nations a larger U.S. presence would only lead to a superpower conflict. He is afraid that China’s aggressive territorial claims, the U.S. ‘Pivot to Asia,’ and Japan’s opportunistic moves may create the possibility of a war.⁶

It goes without saying that the Southeast Asian nations are afraid of the spill over of the US-China fight to their nations. It is noted that the bordered identity of the 11 states of the region is falling into ever sharper definition, whether they want it or not, due to the pressure from extra regional states.⁷ Most of them are more afraid of the Chinese

intentions than that of the Americans. Anyway, the ASEAN unity is challenged by the new geopolitics. The proof of it could be found in the fact that the ASEAN Foreign Ministers could not agree on a joint communiqué following their Phnom Penh meeting. While Philippines tried to influence ASEAN take a stand on the dispute, the very host of the summit, Cambodia, was against it. Vietnam and Philippines blamed Phnom Penh for yielding to Chinese pressure. Some other members alleged that both Vietnam and Philippines were forcing ASEAN to be controlled by the US.⁸ Observers like Nicholas Kitchen are of the view that “it is only by avoiding the short-term gains of bilateralism and renewing regional multilateral structures that Southeast Asian states will be able to avoid being ultimately subsumed by the clashing superpowers.”⁹ Nevertheless, taking into consideration the fact that there is trust deficit among the nations of this region it is difficult to say how far this is possible. However, it has to be noted that Indonesia and Malaysia have maritime disputes with China over the SCS. Certain parts of Indonesian SCS, particularly near the Natuna Islands which are rich in gas, have been included in China’s nine-dash line.¹⁰ Indonesia asserted in March 2014 that China’s Nine Dash Line is in conflict with Indonesia’s maritime sovereignty around the Natuna islands. Vietnam and the Philippines also figure in the list of major claimants to the SCS.

A serious collective ASEAN discussion on China’s controversial actions in the SCS did not take place for a long time, may be thanks to China’s diplomatic endeavours. This was despite Philippine’s challenging China’s comprehensive SCS claims before an international tribunal. As early as 2002, ASEAN and China had agreed to a non-binding Declaration on the Conduct of Parties (DOC) in the SCS. This was with the aim of peaceful resolution of disputes utilising diplomatic means. But Vietnam and Philippines accused China of augmented aggressive naval patrolling in 2010. This according to them violated the spirit in which the DOC was signed. China retaliated stating that both these countries gave out contracts for oil and natural gas exploration

to foreign companies including that of India, in the disputed areas. ASEAN-China discussions resulted in agreeing upon a series of action plans. However, it remains a fact that the declaration of the Air Defence Identification Zone by China has resulted in mounting tension in the SCS. It has been noted that China is pursuing a tactic of slowly acquiring small reefs and islands in the SCS to consolidate its disputed entitlement. Recently the US was much annoyed by China's interference in the Second Thomas Shoal. This reef is situated within the Spratly Islands that lie inside Philippine's 200 nautical mile EEZ. A former US tank landing vessel ran aground on the shoal as a Philippine navy ship in 1999. The latter, considering the geopolitical significance of the SCS, has stationed its marines in the ship and its boats regularly carried supplies to the marines. The Chinese coast guard vessels stopped two such Philippine boats alleging that the latter was trying to build structures on the reef, which, the former claims, belongs to it. Manila's protest against this incident is backed by the US. But the latter cannot actively interfere unless and until there is an actual war between China and Philippines. But present Chinese diplomacy is aimed at slowly taking control of the reefs and small islands in the SCS. "Although most of the disputing nations are wary of Chinese behaviour in the SCS, ASEAN is divided in its view towards the disputes given the strong economic relationship its member-states enjoy with Beijing", observes Darshana M.Baruah.¹¹ But now, after Russia's annexation of Crimea and the serious inaction from the part of the US to prevent that, there is widespread fear among some ASEAN nations that China may emulate Russia and capture the disputed territories in the Region. The fear cannot be treated as unfounded taking into consideration the fact that the US did not effectively intervene when China declared a special air defence identification zone over disputed islands with Japan, in 2013. Japan is especially concerned about the contested Senkaku islands in the East China Sea (ECS) after the recent Chinese warning that it would not compromise on disputed territory. Fuel is added now to fire by Japan by starting work on a new radar station near the island. "This is the first deployment since the U.S. returned Okinawa in 1972, and calls

for us to be more on guard are growing...I want to build an operation able to properly defend islands that are part of Japan's territory.", says Japanese Defense Minister Itsunori Onodera.¹² While China is aggressively pursuing its territorial ambitions the US will have to reassure her commitment to the Asian allies. Integrating with Southeast Asia was a key component of China's multi-pronged regionalism around its borders. Integrating the backward regions with the Mekong Region is definitely a priority.

Failed Diplomacy

Vietnam's suspicion of China's intentions is deep rooted in her ignominious history of being conquered by the empire of China. Again, the nation had to engage in a border war with China for a long period, from 1979 to 1990. They share a common border of 1,281 kilometres. It has to be emphasised that, that was not long after North Vietnam received whole hearted support from China during the Vietnam War. At present the territorial disputes in the SCS spoil the diplomatic endeavours for better relations between the nations. War, conquest, social assimilation, common ideological leaning, extended political support, mutual suspicion, etc, colour the picture of China-Vietnam relations. Imperial China dominated Vietnam in four separate periods between 1st century BC and 15th century AD. Even during the 2nd century BC there was large scale migration from China to North Vietnam. Chinese cultural influence, perhaps, dates back to that.¹³ The Ly dynasty of Vietnam could defeat the Song dynasty of China in the war that lasted from 1075 to 1077. It is observed that this could be considered as the major factor for the later conflict between China and Vietnam. It was owing to the defeat of China in the war with France that led to Vietnam coming under French rule in 1884. Considerable changes took place in the bilateral relations in the course of time so as to enable China to support North Vietnam in the Vietnam War. The territorial disputes between these nations still continue, though not overtly. The united Vietnam cancelled North Vietnam's earlier acceptance of China's claim for the Paracel Islands. Both China and Vietnam control

portions of the Spratly Islands and, as mentioned earlier, both claim sovereignty over all of the Islands.¹⁴

However, the disintegration of the erstwhile Soviet Union positively affected the Sino-Vietnamese relations. Official normalisation of ties in 1991 was followed by exchange of visits by top-ranking officials and thrashing out of many disagreements. Now it seems that this did not last long. China opposed Vietnamese military conducting exercises in the SCS and, as stated elsewhere, the Vietnamese oil exploration there. In retaliation to China's claimed sovereignty over the Spratly Islands and the surrounding waters Vietnam made legislation making Spratly and the Paracel Islands under Vietnamese jurisdiction. Treating this as illegal China legislated to establish the prefecture of Sansha City, which encompassed the Xisha (Paracel), Zhongsha and Nansha (Spratly) Islands and the surrounding waters.¹⁵ Vietnam was forced to stop gas drilling in its bases in the Spratly, in 2017, owing to military threat by China.

The visit of a US aircraft carrier to a Vietnamese port has challenged the strength of the Sino-Vietnamese relations. The ship accompanied by a cruiser and a destroyer paid the visit following the completion of China's airbases, radar stations and other infrastructure in the Paracel and the seven artificial islands in the Spratlys. Both Vietnam and the US are suspicious of the intentions of China. It is easy to agree with Ralph Jennings, when he calls China and Vietnam "neighbours with deep shared interests as well as deep mutual distrust"- as "best 'Frenemies' forever"¹⁶

India's Befriending Role

Being a nation that is proud of its rich past and looking forward to having a powerful say in the contemporary international political system, it is quite natural and desirable, that, India try to maintain good relations with regional and global associations of sovereign states. India's increasing role in the politics of the Southeast Asian region necessitated the country counterweighing the strategic influence of

China here. Being a contender for regional supremacy India has to engage the nations of Southeast Asia through economic and strategic cooperation. With the relegation of Cold War in to the backyard of international politics, the advancing of Globalization with the strength of a thesis of the epoch, its shadow stalking the economic reforms of the country, India had little choice than befriending and engaging the nations of Southeast Asia. Now with the global power shift it accrues more meaning. In fact Southeast Asia was strongly influenced by India much before the commencement of European colonialism.¹⁷ Even today this heritage continues to influence people's lives in this area "although it is more evident socially and culturally than politically and economically"¹⁸

India's 'Look East'/'Act East' policy aims at creating healthier relations with the Asian nations in the east. Securing a vantage position in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) definitely matters much. ASEAN, which was established in 1967 included in it, with the Asia Summit, Japan, China, South Korea, India, Australia, and New Zealand, beside the ten members.¹⁹ Thus was born ASEAN+6. In the beginning of the 1990s India made trade agreements with South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), ASEAN, and with individual countries in East Asia. China's dominance in Southeast Asia was a serious security concern for India. The 2012 Delhi summit of ASEAN was attended by all the heads of state of South-East Asia region. India started increasing its interaction with Southeast Asia by rebuilding its ties with ASEAN.²⁰ The very theme of the summit was "ASEAN-India Partnership for Peace and Shared Prosperity". In the 11th India-ASEAN Summit held at Brunei Darussalam the Prime Minister said that India and the ASEAN nations "seek to promote not only mutually beneficial bilateral relations, but also to work institutionally with regional partners and foster a climate that is conducive to stability, security and economic development in our region."²¹ In his speech he emphasised that all these countries have equal stakes in the security and prosperity of their shared Asian neighbourhood. An observer can

read something in between the lines. The prosperity of the shared Asian neighbourhood is not sufficient. It is perhaps security that matters much more than that. It should not be forgotten that China allured most of these nations assuring them prosperity. Looking at it from the security angle, India is apprehensive of the role of China.

The India-ASEAN relations were, as once observed by an Indian Prime Minister, “becoming increasingly strategic.”²² He emphasised the need for India and the ASEAN countries “intensifying their engagement in maritime security and safety, for freedom of navigation and the peaceful settlement of maritime disputes in accordance with international law.”²³ Since India shares many security challenges with the ASEAN countries she has entered into many bilateral security cooperation agreements. But even more importance is given to improving trade relations. The India-ASEAN free trade agreement (AIFTA) was signed in 2009. The major chunk of India’s trade with ASEAN is directed towards Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand.

Policy of Caution

Observers of the regional geopolitics are of the opinion that both China and India can cooperate and do business in this region because there is enough space for both of them.²⁴ India’s stand was that maritime boundary disputes between the concerned countries should be resolved through dialogue. At the same time India emphasises the need for freedom of navigation in international waterways. India is cooperating with ASEAN to combat piracy, terrorism and drug trafficking. A major Chinese foreign policy initiative is related to constructing Silk Roads all across inner Asia. Modernising the Karakoram Highway linking China and Pakistan and building an industrial corridor along the Indus River are on top of its agenda. China’s transportation network comprising both rail and road in India’s strategic neighbourhood points like Tibet poses grave security challenge to India. It is observed that unless India rushes forward to build rail and road connectivity to the border regions she is “bound to remain on the

defensive with China's Silk Road strategy."²⁵ China is insisting that India support a corridor connecting south-western China with eastern India through Myanmar and Bangladesh. One cannot easily discard the importance of the so called 'China factor'. India is wary of China's intention to tilt the balance of power in this region in favour of it, which in turn will adversely affect the interests of India. It should be with this perspective that one will have to assess the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multisectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) and the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation (MGC). It is worth noting that China was excluded from these regional cooperation agreements initiated by India.

India-Vietnam Relations

Regarding the cultural ties between India and Vietnam, it is believed that Buddhism was transmitted to Vietnam directly from India about 2000 years ago. Hindu temples were built in the valleys of Vietnam beginning with at least the 7th century. The noted temple complexes include the Cham Shivite temple towers of this region. By 13th century Theravaada Buddhism spread through the mainland.²⁶ There are proofs of many other influences. For example, the Champa and Chan Lap kingdoms, which merged together to form modern Vietnam, were influenced by Indian culture.²⁷ The kingdom of Chan Lap was the kingdom of Funan. It was a multicultural society that was constituted by various ethnic and linguistic groups. Milton W. Meyer has noted that Indianization advanced more rapidly, in the late 4th and 5th centuries, in part through renewed impulses from the South Indian Pallava dynasty and the North Indian Gupta empire.²⁸ Funan was principally an Indian civilization set in Southeast Asia. Interestingly it was ruled by Hindu rulers and the influence of the Pallava dynasty was clearly there. The Indian concepts of jurisprudence, astronomy, literature and universal kingship had influenced the Funan culture. Sanskrit was the language that was used in the Funan courts. It is worth noting that the first writing system and inscriptions used in Southeast Asia originated out of Sanskrit.²⁹ Further increase of Indianization

happened through the travels of merchants, diplomats and scholars from India to Funan. Large Indian immigration in the fourth and fifth centuries gave a fillip to this. Through that the elite culture got thoroughly Indianized. Along with the wide use of Sanskrit and alphabet based on Indian writing system, the laws of Manu, the Indian legal code, were adopted. Since Funan existed in an area covering parts of Cambodia and Vietnam both of these nations were thoroughly influenced by the Indian culture. With such a culturally binding past it is quite natural that both India and Vietnam continue to maintain good relationship today. Indian archaeological experts have been contributing to the heritage conservation projects in My Son (pronounced MEE SUN) in Quang Nam province. The discovery of a magnificent icon of 9th century AD monolithic Shiva Linga here serves as a new testimony of the cultural linkage of these nations. Added to this is the leading popularity of Yoga in Vietnam.

The similar colonial experiences also enabled the nations to understand each other. It was at a conference on anti-colonialism held at Brussels in 1927 that Jawaharlal Nehru met Ho Chi Minh. India supported Vietnam's liberation from France. Nehru visited Vietnam in 1954 and Ho Chi Minh paid a return visit in 1958. During the Vietnam war India opposed American involvement. India assisted Vietnam during the Cambodian Vietnam war. Both the nations have been maintaining good relationship since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1972. The strength of the Indian community in Vietnam at present is 5000. Most of the members of the community are professionals.³⁰ Both of them have strategic and defence ties. Joint military exercises, giving training to police personnel of Vietnam, etc are part of it. Prime Minister Narendra Modi's offer of US \$100 million as buyer's credit under the National Export Insurance Account became operational in 2014 and could be used for Vietnam's defence purchases. During his visit in November 2018, the President of India offered a credit of US \$500million to the development of the defence industry of Vietnam. In the bilateral agreement both these nations emphasised increase in

defence cooperation and oil exploration. The importance of navigation, over-flight and unimpeded economic activities in the SCS was reaffirmed. It was agreed to effectively implement the Joint Vision Statement on Vietnam-India Defence Cooperation for the period 2015-2020. The collaboration between the Army, the Air Force and the Naval and Coast Guard of the two countries would be further promoted. The mutual port calls by each other's naval/coast guard vessels would be sustained.³¹ Also, it was agreed to hold the first Maritime Security Dialogue on issues related to maritime domains.³² The two countries agreed on the procurement of weaponry and military hardware, capacity building, collaboration in the area of warship building and repair. Vietnam has shown keen interest in buying defence equipment from India, particularly Akash surface-to-air systems and Dhruv advanced light helicopters. Sale of Brahmos missile systems also is being considered. Regarding maritime cooperation the regular friendly port calls of the Indian ships to Vietnam assumes significance. The Vietnamese participation in the International Fleet Review held at Vishakhapatnam in 2016 was much noted by strategic analysts. During the Indian Vice President Venkaiah Naidu's visit to Vietnam in 2019 both the countries agreed to enhanced strengthening of the bilateral cooperation in defence and security, peaceful uses of atomic energy and outer space among other areas. Here, it won't be out of place to mention about the importance of the Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative (IPOI). This was launched by Prime Minister Narendra Modi at the East Asia Summit in Thailand in November 2019. The seven pillars of the initiative include maritime security, maritime ecology, maritime resources, capacity building and resource sharing, disaster risk reduction and management, science, technology and academic cooperation, and trade connectivity and maritime transport. Vietnam is invited to partner on one of the seven pillars.³³ A favourable scenario is being dawned by the election of both India and Vietnam, to be non-permanent members in 2021, in the UN Security Council, and Vietnam's leadership of ASEAN. By the way, it has to be mentioned that Vietnam is always supportive of India's endeavours to become a Permanent Member of the UNSC.

Considering the strategic challenges of China in the Indo-Pacific region both Vietnam and India decided to work in close coordination in global institutions like the UN. It is learnt that some members of ASEAN like Indonesia are planning to take positions against the interests of China because of the latter's continued harassment and naval intrusions in Natuna islands earlier in this year. It was decided to step up cooperation in human resource training and in cyber security and information sharing. Both nations are members of the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation. Both of them are committed to create an 'Arc of Advantage and Prosperity in Southeast Asia.

Both India and Vietnam are committed to protect each other's interests on international matters. This has to be interpreted as a collective security measure. The support that India received from Vietnam for the peaceful use of nuclear energy matters a lot. There is much cooperation between these nations in the energy sector. The Government-run Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) has worked with the Petro Vietnam Exploration Corporation to search for oil and gas in the SCS. One may feel to ask why Vietnam prefers India to many other potential oil explorers. The answer lies in the words of Maxfield Brown, Senior Associate with the business consultancy Dezan Shira & Associates in Ho Chi Minh City: "I am sure that Vietnam is keen to find countries that are willing to invest in its natural resources and aren't necessarily scared off by the threat of China."³⁴ Here it has to be mentioned that China is against Indian cooperation for oil exploration in Vietnamese waters. This assumes significance because of the existing dispute regarding the ownership of Spratly Isles and other nearby islands. India considers these as Vietnamese property. The support that Vietnam received from India for her entry into WTO was not a small favour. Worth considering is the help that India give to Vietnam for the latter's advancement in the field of education. Scholarships are given by India to Vietnamese students and researchers, every year, to study in Indian educational institutions. India gives training to Vietnam's manpower in the IT sector.

A nation's trade with another one matters much. In the case of India and Vietnam the bilateral trade was worth a meagre amount of US\$ 200 million in the year 2000. However, it increased to US\$ 12.34 billion during 2019-20. Globally, Vietnam is the 18th largest trading partner and within ASEAN, the fourth largest trading partner after Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia. India is the 7th largest trading partner of Vietnam. It is reported that, as of June 2020, India has about 278 projects in Vietnam with total invested capital of US\$ 887 million. Vietnamese investments in India are to the tune of US\$ 28.55 million.³⁵ In the virtual meeting of the India Vietnam Business Forum, on October 20, 2020, it was observed that the bilateral trade turnover was still not commensurate with the levels of the economic development of these nations and it has to be broadened to intensify the trade relations to achieve its full potential. Before the COVID crisis, there used to be large and multiple business delegations led by leading business chambers and promotion councils of India visiting Vietnam to attend seminars, workshops and international exhibitions. It is hoped that once the pandemic situation subsides, both the countries will have more frequent physical exchanges apart from continuing the virtual mode of interaction.³⁶ Vietnam ranks first in the list of Indian FDI recipients in the ASEAN. The former is only happy to facilitate conditions for Indian companies to invest into new thermal energy and renewed energy projects in the country. After the talks with Nguyen Tan Dung, Prime Minister Narendra Modi said that India's defence cooperation with Vietnam is "among our most important." Moreover, he expressed India's commitment to "modernize Vietnam's defence and security forces."³⁷ At the time of the visit several bilateral agreements were signed. This included a MoU for exploration by ONGC Videsh Ltd in two blocks in the SCS. Though these are not in the disputed areas China's apprehension still continues. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Hong Lei said that the India-Vietnam MoU on oil exploration must not "undermine China's sovereignty and interests."³⁸ Modi was vociferous about India-Vietnam relations and said that the latter was at the "forefront" of India's efforts in the Asia Pacific region which his

government had “promptly and purposefully intensified” since coming to power. Here one has to remember that the tough statement of Modi is in conformity with his earlier statements and the positions that he had taken. During his visit to Japan in September 2014, Modi accused China of “expansionist policies”. It has to be recalled and emphasized here that a recent Indo-US Joint Statement urged “safeguarding maritime security in the SCS.”³⁹ Suhasini Haidar adds: “With the decision to set up supplying vessels and training the Vietnamese navy, Mr. Modi seems to be backing the tough words with conscious action.”⁴⁰

COVID-19 and India’s Response

India announced contribution of US \$ 1 million to ASEAN COVID-19 Response Fund and called for greater cooperation in the area of traditional medicine, during the 17th India-ASEAN Summit on November 12, 2020. India’s cooperation extended to CLMV countries (Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Vietnam) related to the pandemic is noteworthy. India provided medicine and medical supplies to Lao PDR and Myanmar. As a part of capacity building measures, medical officers from armed forces of CLMV countries participated in an e-Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) Defence Medical Course on COVID-19, organised in July 2020. Since India believes that search for effective pharmaceutical interventions for COVID-19 is a continuous and collaborative effort the country looks forward to having increased cooperation and collaboration between the ASEAN countries on vaccine and drug development. India is only willing to share COVID vaccine with them, whenever it is made available.⁴¹

Cooperation Through Quick Impact Project (QIP) Scheme

This has been functioning as an important foundation of India’s cooperation in the CLMV countries since 2015. So far, under this scheme, 29 projects were completed. At present 29 projects are under implementation and out of these 25 projects were sanctioned in 2020. Water Resource Management is a new area of cooperation that is added to the QIP scheme. With the aim of building infrastructure for

efficient water management in the draught prone areas, 7 projects were sanctioned in Vietnam. Under the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation (MGC) India has been taking up QIPs, each valued at US\$ 50,000, in different provinces of Vietnam for development of community infrastructure. For the benefit of the Cham community in Ninh Thuan province in Vietnam seven grant-in-aid assistance projects are under implementation with an outlay of around US\$ 1.54 million. India is also providing technical assistance worth US\$ 2.25 million for conservation and restoration of ancient Cham monuments. The help of India's private sector is sought for the growth in the CLMV region. Accordingly, a Project Development Fund titled "PDF-CLMV" with a corpus of Rs.500 crore has been created by the Government of India in order to attract investments from Indian private sector in the CLMV region by setting up manufacturing hubs. At present, two projects in Myanmar and one project each in Vietnam and Cambodia have been identified for collaboration with the Indian private sector. As a part of cooperation with these countries India has extended Lines of Credit (LoC) to Mekong region, which includes all CLMV countries plus Thailand, disbursing a total of US\$ 580 million for various projects including hydro power generation, rural electrification, digital connectivity, installation of transmission lines, irrigation schemes and building educational institutions. At present works are going on for the operationalisation of the India-Myanmar-Thailand (IMT) Trilateral Highway. Along with Vietnam, the other countries in the CLMV receive India's assistance in capacity building and human resource development. Currently India offers 50 annual scholarships under the Indian Council of Cultural Relations (ICCR) Mekong-Ganga Cooperation Scholarship Scheme. Also, there are 700 scholarships offered for short duration training programme administered bilaterally under the ITEC Programme. In Vietnam the Centre of Excellence in Software Development and Training (CEDT) is nearing completion. It should be noted that Vietnam has six investment projects in India with total estimated investment of US\$ 28.55 million, mainly in the areas of pharmaceuticals, information technology, chemicals and building materials.

Conclusion

The end of the Cold War, the emergence of a multi-polar world, the forces of Globalization posing a challenge to the concept of national sovereignty, the weakening of the United Nations Organization, the decline in the power of military alliances, the spread of terrorism and religious fundamentalism causing war and violence in many parts of the world, the environmental politics, etc, have brought chaos in the global political system. For many nations this poses an opportunity to emerge, at least, as a leader of nations, if not of the world. In Asia both India and China are contenders for the super power status. In Southeast Asia they are engaged in a game of one-upmanship. In the case of Vietnam, despite the helps received from China so far, it is the fear about the dark intentions of the latter that moves the country closer to India. Many nations, especially the US support that in one way or other. If not containing China, at least controlling her is an ambition of the US, India and many Southeast Asian nations. Our foreign policy is framed on the basis of the need of engaging Southeast Asia, which, in a way, helps the process of confidence building as well. Our relations with Vietnam as well as other nations of the world are addressed by our heritage and the desire to promote peaceful coexistence. India endeavours to become a great power, not in the expense of other nations, but depending on their cooperation.

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The Anglo-Indian Conundrum

Pearl Monteiro

The Constitution of India had special provisions enabling nomination of two Anglo Indians to the Lok Sabha and the State legislative assemblies. These provisions were removed by Constitutional Amendment in 2019. This paper briefly traces the evolution of the Anglo-Indian community in India. It focuses on their contribution specially in the field of education. The article enunciates the history and the reasons behind inclusion of the constitutional provisions providing for Representation of Anglo Indians in Parliament. The author argues for the retention of these provisions as they benefit not only the Anglo-Indian community but the whole country. Nobody can deny the contributions of the Anglo Indians to the field of education. At the same time a dwindling community without a voice, with no representation will neither be able to save themselves nor contribute significantly to society. This Amendment will have the effect of making an already micro community into an invisible one.

I. Introduction

“Brought into existence deliberately by the British, used throughout British Indian history to serve and often to save British imperial interests, treated for the most part in a churlish manner, this

comparatively microscopic Community, which has forged a not negligible, and in many respects, a notable history, was cynically betrayed by Britain before its withdrawal from India”(Anthony 2007).

“We the people of India ...” these iconic words of the Preamble strongly remind us that the Constitution and all its institutions exist for the people and is meaningless without them. As Abraham Lincoln said, “We the people are the rightful masters of both Congress and the courts, not to overthrow the Constitution but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution” (Lincoln 2020). A Constitution which loses its *raison de etre* is meaningless and redundant. “If I find the constitution being misused, I shall be the first to burn it” (Ambedkar 2008). A Constitution remains meaningful only if it protects the rights of all its citizens, not just the majority in power. It is imperative for a Constitution to specially protect the voiceless, those who may otherwise be invisible.

India is one of the largest democracies in the world. Due to its very nature, there is always a danger of democracy becoming the rule of the majority of the day. ‘Democracy is the worst form of government except all the other forms that have been tried from time to time’ (Heywood 1997). It is teeming with people of diverse ethnicity, religions, cultures, languages, and beliefs. In fact, it is often referred to as “cultural melting pot.” This unique cauldron of contradictions, this colorful mosaic is what makes India so special, it is what makes India, unique. Historically Indians have been known as a tolerant people, a people who welcome people, a people who embrace differences and diversity.

Indian civilization is indeed ancient and varied. “A Country’s civilization is gauged by its treatment of minorities” these words, often attributed to Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation, recognize a universal truth. The Constitution recognizes and protects the rights of its minorities as fundamental rights, inalienable on the whims and fancies of the government of the day.

Anglo Indian has been defined, as “a member of a group possessing a distinctive sub-culture whose characteristics are that all its members are Christians of one denomination or another, speak English, wear European clothes on almost all occasions, have substantially European dietary habits though addicted to the fairly lavish use of Indian spices, are occupationally engaged in a restricted number of trades and professions, and are by and large, endogamous” (Roy 1974).

The Anglo Indian is one such minority. In fact, it is submitted, that the Anglo Indian is a triple minority: religious, cultural and linguistic: they are usually Christian, have a unique culture, and as they are the only Indian community who can claim English as their mother tongue.¹ As observed in *Bombay Education Society*, “mother tongue of these respondents as of other members of the Anglo-Indian Community is English”.

The community is small but its laurels and achievements outweigh its numbers. India has benefitted and owes much to them. Our world respected ICSE system of education, Railways, Telegraph, Customs, Police, Indian Medical Department, Nurses much of our presence in the world of sport, literature, beauty, music, some of our most outstanding military personnel all owe their genesis to the Anglo Indian (Anthony 2007).

It might be argued that the State is making attempts of assimilating the Anglo Indians into the mainstream, however a policy of assimilation should not lead to the disappearance of a community, irrespective of its size. History testifies that deliberate assimilation policies have always led to disastrous results.²

II. Historical background

“Race did not make me an Indian. Religion did not make me an Indian. But history did. And in the long run, it’s history that counts” (Bond 2016).

i. Origin

The Anglo Indian originated in India³. They are a product of British fathers and Indian mothers born on Indian soil. Referred to variously as “country born”, (Anthony 2007) Indo Brits, Eurasians, East Indians etc. finally they were given the nomenclature of Anglo Indian by the Government of India Act 1935, whose legacy was later enshrined in the Constitution. As stated in the Encyclopedia Britannica: “The meaning of the term Anglo-Indian has to some degree been in a state of flux throughout its history. It was not until the Indian census of 1911 that the term was used as a category denoting person of mixed ethnicity. In the Government of India Act of 1935, an Anglo-Indian was formally identified as “a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is a native of India.” (Encyclopedia Britannica).

ii. Ethnicity

“The Anglo-Indians, although historically miniscule, have long been regarded as a distinct community because of their racial and cultural admixtures (Abel 1988). Thus, they are neither Indian nor British, but historically have been ignored and hostile to both communities, and are rather a synthesis or fusion of both. They can neither be lumped with Indian Christians nor with the Goans⁴, who are perceived to be “more western” as a culture. The Anglo-Indian life style, culture and even food is completely different (Brown 2000). Probably the only thing common with Christians is the religion and with Goans is the vindaloo⁵! At the most we may term them as fusion. This diversity from the “pure Indians” probably owes its origin to patriarchy. “The British husband found it easier to teach his Indian wife the English language, than himself to learn the vernacular and so the English language, English customs and English practices became predominant love of his home and children” (Stark 1936). Sometimes they were accorded privileges not available to other Indians, such as, compartment being reserved by the Railway Company for Europeans and Anglo-Indians.⁶ While at others they were

categorized with the Indians, for example, separate hospitals for the British and separate for the Indians along with Anglo Indians (James 2017). Due to their lifestyle and the fact that most of them were not highly educated, though literate and fixation with a few categories of jobs, the great depression, which in India was partly due to the exclusive growth of cash crops was felt by the Anglo-Indian community in 1923 (Matteo 2015).

“This is so confusing, your name is French, but you are Indian.” These words, best sums up the ethnicity and diversity of the Anglo Indian. (Renaux 2017)

The various Courts have also recognized the distinct claims of the Anglo-Indian community. Such as the High Court of West Bengal in *Daughters of the Cross*, “Anglo Indian community has clearly been held to be minority community by this court.”⁷ And the honorable Supreme Court in a plethora of cases including *Bombay Education Society*⁸ and *Kerala Education Bill*, it has been held:

“Anglo-Indian education institutions come within sub-category (a). An Anglo-Indian is defined in Art. 366(2). The Anglo-India community is a well-known minority community in India based on religion as well as language and has been recognized as such by this Court in *The State of Bombay v. Bombay Education Society, (P)*”⁹

Even though their individual achievement is great, as a community they tend to be under represented. Their presence in the making of the Constitution was only felt by the induction of their representatives in the Constituent Assembly, Mr. S. H. Prater, Mr. Frank Reginald Anthony, and Mr. M. V, N. Collins, (CAD 1947) and by the promise given to Mr. Anthony by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel (Anthony 2007). In fact Sardar Patel was most responsible in the drafting of the representation given to Anglo Indians in the Constitution.

iii. Need for Protection

“A minority is a group of people who because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and who, therefore, regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. Further, minority status carries with it an exclusion from full participation in the life of the society” (Wirth 1945).

The Anglo-Indian community is a well-known community in India based on religion as well as language and has been recognized as such¹⁰. Anglo Indians originated initially due to the encouragement given by the East India Company to marry local women, which led to sizeable growth in their population (Anthony 2007). Historically they found themselves alienated by both the British as well as the Indians and so formed a community of their own. “They were the flotsam of Empire, jettisoned by the very people who had brought them into existence” (Bond 2008). The British despised them as being “too black” and the Indians as not being pure Indian. At the same time the Anglo Indians despised the Indians as being “too dark” (Matteo 2015). “Community is a repository of meaning, and a referent of its constituent’s identity. Hence community plays a crucial symbolic role in generating people’s sense of belonging” (Cohen 1982). Even within the Anglo-Indian community there was discrimination and segregation on the basis of status. This status appears to be based on employment, the Anglos who were in the military and civil services considered themselves as superior to the Anglos who were employed by the railways. This led to isolation in terms of housing as well as exclusive associations or clubs. This hierarchy was almost as strict as the Indian caste system (Gantzer 2019).

“Even if the original male progenitor existed several generations back, his family would continue to be identified as Anglo-Indian, through the male line, for succeeding generations to the present time. As the community grew, marriage within the group provided another means of its perpetuation” (Williams 2002).

In the course of time many Anglo Indians were born in India and did not have any physical contact with England, yet many spoke of England as home and of returning back. “If as a little boy in the 1920s, I had been asked what I was, I would have said, ‘English’ (Stracey 2000). At the same time there were some who recognized India as their home and felt they would never be assimilated by the British if they migrated to England. However, with the dawn of independence in India, in the 1940s and 1950s many Anglo Indians migrated from India. “Immediately after independence, because of the sense of anxiety for their safety, several thousands of Anglo-Indians migrated” (Gaikwad 1967). “The exodus of British and Anglo-Indian families commenced even as the War ended. For some the choice was a hard one. They had no prospects in England, no relatives there and they had no prospects in India unless they were very qualified. For many Anglo-Indians and ‘poor whites’, assisted passages to England were the order of the day” (Bond 2017). The colossal migrations were mainly to England, America, Australia and New Zealand, and were of such a magnitude, that the afore mentioned countries legislated and devised various Migration Acts to keep them in check. As Frank Anthony says, the Anglo Indian who mainly and originally identified with the British rather than with the Indian aspect of their legacy felt justifiably betrayed when the British left India after independence making no provision for them. Yet they continued to migrate probably due to fear of repercussions falling on them as the Indians identified them with the British and also due to the uncertainty and violence which was the aftermath of partition.

III. Constitutional Presence

The Constitution of India is the fundamental law of the land. Part III of the Constitution guarantees certain fundamental rights. Some of these rights are of universal application,¹¹ others can be availed of only by citizens.¹² The peculiar situation in India, the large-scale migration, the fears and apprehensions of the community led to the introduction

of special provisions for their protection. Part XVI deals with special provisions to certain classes (Singh 2017).

i. Protection of Rights and Interests of Minorities

“One great object of the Constitution was to restrain majorities from oppressing minorities or encroaching upon their just rights” (James K. Polk)¹³.

The Constitution of India makes certain provisions to protect the rights of the minorities, including the right to conserve their distinct culture and also the right to their own educational institutions.¹⁴ Arts. 29 and 30 as follows:

These provisions spell out the different types of minorities, such as religious, linguistic and cultural. Such minorities have a fundamental right to protect their religion, language and culture as well as establish and administer educational institutions. Such institutions are not for the limited purpose of language, religion or culture but for any other purpose. Of course, the rights are not absolute but are governed by the other provisions of the constitution. It may be observed, that there are many precedents arising out of Anglo-Indian education cases.

ii. Anglo Indian Specific Provisions

In a democracy while Constitutions enshrine rights for its people, it is often unfortunately observed that these rights are availed by powerful individuals or groups for their own purposes. It is often felt that individuality and variety is often sacrificed at the altar of the masses and homogeneity. The Anglo Indians very early realized that they needed a political presence in India in order to thrive. This led to discussions between Frank Anthony, Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru. While Anthony did not desire *reservations* in the political arena, he requested for *representation*. In fact, when the Mahatma asked him why he was so insistent on representation, he answered by saying, it was important for the continuing existence of

the community. At the same time a push was made for a limited reservation for Anglo Indians in certain occupations, such as railways, posts, telegraphs, which they traditionally patronized as well as for grants to their educational institutions (Anthony 2007). It was well recognized that the Anglo Indians established and ran some of the finest educational institutions in the world. While these institutions are created and administered by the Anglo Indians, admissions to these institutions cannot be denied to those who are not from this community. In fact, in certain circumstances, other Indian citizens may have a fundamental right to admission there. These discussions led to certain special provisions for Anglo Indians in the constitution. The duration for seats in parliament, originally for ten years could be extended from time to time¹⁵, but the reservations in jobs and grants to educational institutions was for a very limited time¹⁶. The jobs and grants would be proportionately reduced and would finally cease altogether. As of now, till 2019, what remained of these special provisions was only the nomination of seats into parliament and state legislature. The duration for seats in parliament has been usually extended in ten-year blocks, from time to time.

Special provisions are made for the Anglo Indians due to the unstinted efforts of Frank Anthony. Certain unique provisions which are Anglo Indian specific are laid down in the Constitution.¹⁷

Granville Austin has said: “The Anglo-Indians on the Committee, led by the doyen of the community, Frank Anthony, at first called for a form of special representation in legislatures that amounted to weightage, but ultimately gave up this demand in favour of a provision allowing the President and provincial Governors to nominate Anglo-Indian to legislature if they were inadequately represented in a general election” (Austin 1999).

“These Constitutional provisions, on the whole, show the genuine desire of the framers of the Constitution to accommodate the special

interests of a small community like the Anglo-Indians and to infuse confidence in them. When the British left India in 1947, the Anglo-Indians were apprehensive of their future in free India. But soon, many members of the community found that not only were their interests safe but the leaders of independent India were prepared to give them special consideration so that they could continue as Indian citizens with hope and confidence” (Pylee 1960).

The Constitution originally provided for political reservation to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Anglo-Indians for a period of 10 years, which meant it would have expired in 1960. It was extended for 20 years in 1959¹⁸ and 30 years in 1969¹⁹, 40 years in 1989²⁰, fifty years in 1999²¹. In 2009, it was extended by another 10 years.

“Before Independence, Anglo-Indians were enjoying some special privileges in services in railways, customs, posts and telegraph. It was thought necessary that these concessions be continued for some time more and be withdrawn gradually. Accordingly, Article 336 (1) provided that for two years after the Constitution came into force, appointment of Anglo-Indians to these posts would continue on the same basis as it was before 14 August 1947. Thereafter, there was to be a progressive diminution in the number of posts reserved for them in these services at the rate of 10% every two years. All such reservations came to an end by 25 January 1960. However, under Article 336 (2), this reservation was not to bar the appointment of qualified Anglo-Indians on merit to other posts.

Further, before Independence, Anglo-Indian educational institutions were getting special grants. Article 337 protected these grants for the first three years after the beginning of the Constitution. Thereafter, during each succeeding year, these grants could be reduced by ten per cent as compared to the grants in the preceding three years so that ten years after the commencement of the Constitution, such grants, to the extent to which they were a special concession to the

Anglo-Indian community, were to cease. Thus, Article 337 has now exhausted itself.” (Jain 2017).

IV. Representation of Anglo Indians in Parliament

These provisions were necessary, for, otherwise, being numerically an extremely small community, and being interspersed all over India, the Anglo-Indians could not hope to get any seat in any Legislature through election. The concession was thus shown to the Anglo-Indians by way of providing for their representation in the Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Assemblies (Jain 2017).

i. The Controversy

In 2019 a Bill was introduced in parliament which extended the reservation given to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes but discontinued the provision for nomination of the Anglo Indian to parliament. No official reason was assigned for this decision. The decision was condemned by members of parliament, except the treasury branch, as well as by members of the Anglo-Indian community. A feeling of acceptance and optimism which was just being widely felt by the community in 2018 was replaced by feelings of betrayal and doom. It was a déjà vu of 1947 all over again, to be ditched by their heritage.

All-India Anglo-Indian Associations is a 142 year old organization with 63 branches in 16 states in the country. In October 2018, Barry O’Brien, President-in-chief of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association said “The goal of the Anglo-Indian community in India is now to look ahead, build leadership and involve more youths in the work of the community. Our youths are more comfortable in modern India today than any of our earlier generations ever were,” “I feel that one historic blunder that our community has made is that we didn’t look ahead. We are trying to change that now by engaging more youths in our activities. Modern India is the best time for the Anglo-Indian community in India. Today the community cherishes its own identity, while equally being Indian. Especially, the youngsters today are more comfortable,

and they have embraced this Indianness along with their heritage in a much better way. The community is also expanding its reach. While the population was limited to big cities and railway colonies earlier, now we are thinning out to many other places across the country. We recently opened a branch in Gujarat, and are soon looking towards opening one in Rajasthan as well.”²²

However, in 2019 the same Barry O’Brien, the president of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association, in a letter to the Prime Minister states. “The founding fathers of our Constitution under the leadership of Dr BR Ambedkar included this provision after a significant majority of Anglo-Indians, led by Mr. Frank Anthony, himself a member of the Constituent Assembly, chose to live in independent India and swear allegiance to the country of their birth. We, Anglo-Indians, have been fiercely loyal to our beloved India and have made a significant contribution to nation building in various fields, including the Armed Forces,”²³

This appeal was due to the Constitution (126th amendment) Bill, 2019 which does away with the provision for nomination of Anglo-Indians to the Lok Sabha and 14 state Assemblies. The Constitution (126th) Amendment Bill was passed in the Rajya Sabha on December 12, 2019. The Lok Sabha had passed the bill on December 10, 2019. Requires ratification by at least 50 per cent of the assemblies before it is brought into force.

Among others, West Bengal MLA Michael Shane Calvert, too, has written a letter to PM Modi asking him to not go ahead with the legislation.

“... by discontinuing with the reservation at the State level as well, the very federal structure of our country is being brought into question. It wouldn’t be out of place to mention that ours is the only community that finds mention in the Constitution of our country. One of the many reasons why the founding fathers of our nation felt the

need to have the Anglo-Indian community represented was because we do not have a native state,” Calvert’s letter read.²⁴

ii. Need for Representation

“Constitutional morality is not a natural sentiment. It has to be cultivated. We must realize that our people have yet to learn it. Democracy in India is only a top-dressing on an Indian soil which is essentially undemocratic” (Ambedkar 2018).

The need for representation of the Anglo Indian community can be argued on the premises of their outstanding performance²⁵ their reluctance to stand for elections, their wellbeing and the benefit to the country.

However, in spite of claiming so many luminaries in the community, the life of the average Anglo Indian was most impacted by just two men: Henry Gidney and Frank Anthony. Both men were involved in the politics of the day and represented their communities before various governments bringing concessions and ameliorating lives. Sir Henry Gidney was a member of the various Round Table Conferences. He had the audience of King George V, wherein he put forward the cause of “your people and my community, your majesty”. He recognized the importance of Associations, and went on to create the first pan India, Anglo Indian associations and was president of them. He was succeeded by Frank Anthony, who was not only representative of the Anglo Indian in the Constituent Assembly, leading to the insertion of the special provisions of job reservations, educational grants, and representation in the Lok Sabha, but also represented his people in eight Lok Sabhas, except the sixth and ninth. The contribution of Frank Anthony to education was instrumental in creation of the ICSE (Indian Certificate of Secondary Education Examination) board with common all India examinations and ICSE Council, of which he was president till his untimely death in 1993.

A perusal of the nominated members of the Anglo-Indian community reveals that the same people tend to be having repeated representation in the Lok Sabha. It is also observed that some of them have political affiliation while others do not. It is therefore submitted, that while the Anglo Indian is not averse to political life, they generally prefer not to undergo the rigors of an election. It is assumed, that in all probability, they cannot afford the cost of election campaigns too. As observed, Frank Anthony was a representative in eight out of ten Lok Sabhas during his lifetime. The list of the nominated members to the Lok Sabha from the community is given below.

Nomination Year	Member's Name	Party
1951-52	Frank Anthony A. E. T. Barrow	Independent
1957	Frank Anthony A. E. T. Barrow	Independent Parliamentary Group Independent (IPG)
1962	Frank Anthony A. E. T. Barrow	Independent Parliamentary Group Independent (IPG)
1967	Frank Anthony A. E. T. Barrow	Independent Parliamentary Group Independent (IPG)
1971	Frank Anthony Marjorie Godfrey	Nominated United Independent Parliamentary Group
1977	A. E. T. Barrow	Independent
	Rudolph Rodrigues	Janata Party
1980	Frank Anthony A. E. T. Barrow	Indian National Congress

1984	Frank Anthony A. E. T. Barrow	Indian National Congress
1989	Joss Fernandez Paul Mantosh	Janata Dal
1991	Frank Anthony (until 1993) Robert E Williams Sheila F. Irani (1995-1996)	Indian National Congress
1996	Neil O'Brien Hedwig Rego	Indian National Congress
1998	Beatrix D'Souza Neville Foley	Samta Party
1999	Beatrix D'Souza	Samta Party
	Denzil B Atkinson	Bharatiya Janata Party
2004	Ingrid McLeod Francis Fanthome	Indian National Congress
2009	Ingrid McLeod Charles Dias	Indian National Congress
2014	George Baker Richard Hay	Bharatiya Janata Party
2019	Richard Hay George Baker	Bharatiya Janata Party

It is extremely rare for the Anglo Indian to venture into the field of politics. A peculiar case is of *Wilson Reade v. C.S. Booth*, Election Commission had rejected nomination papers for a Scheduled Tribe seat from a candidate whose father was English and whose mother was a Khasi. In pre-independence days he had accepted for himself and his children (his wife was a Khasi) privileges restricted to Anglo-Indian.

But he was accepted as a Khasi by the tribe's people, the group being matrilineal and anyone born of a Khasi mother being regarded as a member of the tribe; he had "followed the customs and ways of life of the tribe", was treated by them as one of themselves and had been in active Khasi politics. The Assam High Court found that though he was an Anglo-Indian within the constitutional definition (Art. 366 (2)), this did not prevent him from being a member of tribe or some other community. Whether he was in fact a Khasi depended "not on purity of blood, but by his conduct and on acceptance by the community".²⁶ Perhaps the difficulties in accessing the election process as illustrated above is a contributing factor to this reluctance.

"The Anglo-Indians are a substantially small community spread all over India and not located in any particular province hence it would be difficult for them to get seats in a general election. Therefore, if they fail in getting representation by the normal process of election in Provinces or in the Centre, provisions have been made for their being nominated" (Wadhwa 1975). 'No democracy can long survive which does not accept as fundamental to its very existence the recognition of the rights of minorities' (Sorabjee 2002).

Democracy means that all should be heard, even "the little man". Human history and psychology unfortunately prove, that man best represents himself. Who will know what I need, what I want, what my aspirations are, better than me? Who will fight for my rights, if I lose my voice?

The Anglo Indian is a numerically small community, its people are scattered throughout the length and breadth of our vast country. It will be difficult for them to organize themselves and get elected representatives to parliament. A reference may be made to the Anglo Indians Welfare Bill (2016) which was introduced in the Lok Sabha by Prof. Richard Hay. Though the Act, which enumerated various welfare measures for the Anglo Indians did not ultimately become an Act, it is obvious, that it would not even have been a Bill if not for the

Anglo Indian presence in parliament.²⁷ Similarly with reference to the introduction of the nominated seats in the Lok Sabha, obviously the seats would not exist, if there were no Anglo Indians in the Constituent Assembly.

As mentioned earlier the Anglo-Indian community has produced outstanding achievers in various fields. The purpose of nominations into parliament, not only in the case of Anglo Indian, but also with reference to the 12 members nominated in the Rajya Sabha, is to ensure that this expertise benefits the entire country. The presumption being that such luminaries need not go through the strife of the election process.

While discussing constitutional provisions, no words can be more enlightening than the words of its framers. Participating in the Constitutional Assembly Debates M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar explains the miniscule nature of the community, “Their whole population would not be even five lakhs for the whole of India. You cannot point out to any constituency where they will be in a majority. Therefore, this exception has had to be made, because they may not come in through the process of election... submit that the Anglo-Indian community stands on a special footing. The Anglo-Indians are highly advanced, but they are not numerous. They were once part rulers of this country and therefore they should be shown some partiality for some time to come... Not more than two is an insignificant figure in the Lower House...”

He further points out that the community is not backward, “The Anglo-Indian community is one of those most advanced communities in India which can hold its own against other communities. I know that their number is small, but there are many other communities who have got smaller numbers. I am glad that our leaders considered the claims of this community and dealt with them in a generous way as admitted by Mr. Anthony himself. But at the same, I believe that with regard to the House of the People this is the only community which gets a seat through nomination...” (Pal 2018).

This concession, which has been generously made by the Minorities Committee on page 35 of the Appendix to their Report, says: “In regard to the Anglo-Indians there should be no reservation of seats. But the President of the Union and the Governors of the Provinces shall have power to nominate representatives to the Centre and the Provinces respectively if they fail to secure adequate representation in the Legislature as a result of the general election” (CAD 1949)²⁸

Conclusion

A culture or civilization survives if it is tolerant and grows and adapts with the times. A “civilization” which promotes assimilation or homogeneity will not survive. Any group has a right to exist however small it is.

“Unlike a drop of water which loses its identity when it joins the ocean, man does not lose his being in the society in which he lives. Man’s life is independent. He is born not for the development of the society alone, but for the development of his self too.” - (Ambedkar 2008)

Anglo Indians need representation in parliament irrespective of the size of their population. This is their country too. No matter what their numerical size they will never outweigh the “pure” Indians, rendering their representation by election near impossible. And if their size is “too small to need representation” the need is altogether greater to prevent this illustrious community from fading out and remaining as few memories and sepia photographs

Lastly the Author would beg to state, that we Indians are known for our word or our promise, we often say “jaan jaye par vachan na jaye”, let life be lost but not word be broken. At the time of framing of our constitution we gave our word to the Anglo-Indian community that there would be nominated to give representation for them in the lower house of parliament and state legislature as long as they were not adequately represented therein. Over time, it has been observed

that the number of nominations of this community to the state legislatures has been brought down to one. There have not been any elected representations to parliament with the exception of O'Brien to the Rajya Sabha in 2019. Therefore, it is submitted, that now, more than ever, the Anglo-Indian representation should be continued by nomination of two seats in the Lok Sabha, for the benefit not only of the community but of the whole country. Let us not forget that they are our people, albeit different and unique in various aspects. They need to be protected; their heritage conserved.

As in the words of Patrick Taylor, the Anglo-Indian railway man in John Masters' *Bhowani Junction*, "[W]e couldn't go Home. We couldn't become English because we were half Indian. We couldn't become Indian, because we were half English. We could only stay where we were and be what we were"(Masters 2001).

To quote Harper Lee in *To Kill a Mockingbird* "Remember it's a sin to kill a mockingbird Mockingbirds don't do one thing but make music for us to enjoy . . . but sing their hearts out for us. That's why it's a sin to kill a mockingbird" (Lee 2006).

The Anglo Indian community has made a tremendous contribution to the country. To deprive them of their representation through nomination in parliament would be a death knell to the already dwindling community.

Notes and References

1. The State of Bombay v. Bombay Education Society 1954 AIR SC 561
2. A policy of assimilation is harmful, to give a historical illustration, in the 1840s Czarist Russia tried to assimilate the Jews, "One third will die out, one third will leave the country and one third will be completely dissolved in the surrounding population" This policy of the Czar led to the disappearance of most of the Jews from Russia

3. Similarly, in Goa, where they are usually of Portuguese - Indian descent, they are often, referred to as “mistis” (mixed) or paclo/ paclin (white) or Luso Indians.
4. Residents of Goa: culture strongly influenced by Portuguese who are as different from British as chalk from cheese
5. Spicy non veg dish
6. Vishvanath Ganesh Javdekar v. G.I.P. Railway (1921) 23 BOMLR 809
7. State of West Bengal v. Daughters of the Cross AIR 1984 Cal 384 B
8. State of Bombay v Bombay Education Society, AIR 1955 SC 561
9. Re Kerala Education Bill, AIR 1958 SC 956
10. Re Kerala Education Bill, AIR 1958 SC 956: State of Bombay v Bombay Education Society, AIR 1955 SC 561:
11. such as the right to life and the right to equality
12. such as freedom of speech and equal opportunity in public employment
13. American - President November 2, 1795 - June 15, 1849 Art 29. Protection of interests of minorities
 - (1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same
 - (2) No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them

Art 30. Right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions

(1) All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice

(1A) In making any law providing for the compulsory acquisition of any property of an educational institution established and administered by a minority, referred to in clause (1), the State shall ensure that the amount fixed by or determined under such law for the acquisition of such property is such as would not restrict or abrogate the right guaranteed under that clause

(2) The state shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language

15. Art 331, 333, 334

16. Article 336

17. Art 331 ensures representation of the Anglo-Indian community in the House of the People.

Art 333 ensures representation of the Anglo-Indian community in the Legislative Assemblies of the States.

Art 334, Art 336 and Art 338 are also Anglo Indian specific provisions.

18. Constitution (8th Amendment) Act 1959

19. Constitution (23rd Amendment) 1969

20. Constitution (62nd Amendment) Act 1989

21. Constitution (79th Amendment) Act 1999

22. ST Correspondent *Modern India is the Best Time for Anglo Indians* 17 October 2018 <https://www.sakaltimes.com/pune/%E2%80%98modern-india-best-time-anglo-indians%E2%80%99-26529> accessed on 1 May 2020

23. HT Correspondent *After 70 years, Anglo-Indians may not have reserved seats. They are disappointed* 11 Dec 2019 <<https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/after-70-years-anglo-indians-may-not-have-reserved-seats-they-are-disappointed/story-Fah9urQxG9AjZcCPUiRh9I.html>>accessed on 1 May 2020
24. *ibid*
 - ii. Henry Vivian Louis Derozio (1809–1831) poet, free thinker and patriot who rebelled against the British, also brilliant educationist. The list is endless.
25. I. James Skinner (1778–1841) was in the military, regiment Skinner's Horse was founded by him. Also built St James' Church, Delhi
26. Wilson Reade v. C.S. Booth, AIR 1958 Ass 128
27. Kanishka Singh *Post-1947, The Mixed Fortunes Of The Mixed Race Anglo-Indian* (The Indian Express 3 August 2017) <https://indianexpress.com/article/research/post-1947-the-mixed-fortunes-of-the-mixed-race-anglo-indians-4780404/> accessed on 3 May 2020
28. CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA DEBATES (PROCEEDINGS) - VOLUME IX Wednesday, the 24th August 1949 <<http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/cadebatefiles/C24081949.html> > accessed on 4 May 2020

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12. *Constitution (79th Amendment) Act 1999*
13. *Constitution (8th Amendment) Act 1959*
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Rice Cooking and Social Hierarchy in Garhwal: A Case Study of the Sarola Community

Anukta Gairola

The paper deals with the hegemonic control exercised by male Sarola Brahmins, in the region of Garhwal, over cooking of rice during community affairs like festivals, marriages and deaths. These Brahmins have created a separate and superior sub-section within the caste hierarchy in Garhwal due to their control over cooking of rice. The continuation of this practice was strengthened by narrowing their marital ties within the Sarola Brahmin community to maintain the purity of the sub-section. Furthermore, the paper also looks into the gender role of both men and women Sarola Brahmins to keep this practice alive. While trying to locate the beginning of this practice, the paper would explore the symbiotic relationship between the Parmar Rajas and the Sarola Brahmins, to create uncontested positions within the society. This monopoly over cooking of rice also gave Sarola Brahmins the right to become priests at important temples and thus gave them access to economic benefits of the temples. Through the study of this practice we would also look into contemporary times in the villages of Garhwal where women from Sarola Brahmins are married to non-Sarola Brahmins family and vice versa, as well as its effect in the caste hierarchy in the present days.

Ritual Purity and Food

Rituals are an integral part of the Indian society. Mostly all Indian festivals and ceremonies follow series of rituals to be performed by designated individuals. They must be observed with utmost purity because in Brahmanic tradition purity of rituals ensures proper conclusion of the ceremonies or prayer. The ancient Brahmanic scriptures emphasize on purity of occupation, diet, marriage, and performance of sacrifices (Apte, 1988: 16). Food offered to the Gods and Goddesses plays an essential aspect of the rituals observed. Thus, great stress is placed on purity of food cooked while performing any ritual. According to Lawrence A Babb while observing rituals in Chhattisgarh society, he argues that ‘There appear to be two basic components in any ritual sequence. First is the creation of a physical zone of purity within which the Goddess may be approached. This zone is formed with considerable attention and exactitude. The second component of the ritual sequence, which constitutes the core of puja, consists of a simple transaction in food’ (Lawrence, 1970: 302). Cooking has to be carried out in the utmost purity since the food offered to Gods as part of the ritual worship has to be in a pure state, yet it is highly vulnerable to pollution (Apte, 1988: 17).¹ Therefore, who can cook and serve the food for rituals has been defined in all regions of India.

In the case of Garhwal, I have noticed that ritualistic food and people engaged with cooking for the temples have been repeatedly mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions and in Tehri Garhwal State Records.² This highlights that in the region of Garhwal also, ritualistic importance of food can be attested. Further, in the region of Garhwal the role of people engaged in cooking during the rituals is defined. In the context of Garhwal, cooking of food, specifically rice has created division in the society. The food (from 17th century onwards rice only) cooked by Sarola Brahmins, a sub-category amongst the Brahmins of Garhwal region, is considered to be of utmost purity. This paper would

help to understand the creation of the hegemonic control over cooking of rice by Sarola Brahmins that led to changes in economic, social and marital relations of this sub-category, which in turn affected the non Sarola Brahmins of the region of Garhwal.

Geographical Landscape of Garhwal

The region of Garhwal is part of the hill state of Uttarakhand, India. The word Garhwal is derived out of two words *Garh* and *Wala* or the owner of the forts. It is considered that when Ajay Pal, a Parmar ruler in the 15th century captured 52 *Garhs* or forts from the local chieftains he was called a *Garhwala* and from that the region got its name Garhwal (Rawat, 1976: 18). At the time of India's independence, the region popularly known as *Pahar*, comprised of the princely state of Tehri Garhwal, British Garhwal and Kumaon division of the United Province of Agra and Oudh (Mathur, 2016: 37). These areas were then incorporated into the north-Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. The region of Uttarakhand was carved out as a separate state from Uttar Pradesh on 9th November 2000 after the demand for a hill state started gaining momentum in the mid-1990s (Kumar, 2011). The Indian state of Uttarakhand comprises of 13 districts with its capital at Dehradun (recently Gairsain had been declared as the summer capital of the state). The region of Garhwal comprises of districts of Chamoli, Tehri, Pauri Garhwal, Rudrapur, Dehradun, Uttarkashi and Haridwar. Garhwal shares its boundary with Tibet in the North, Uttar Pradesh in South, Himachal Pradesh in West and Kumaon in the East. The region of Garhwal (except Dehradun and Rishikesh) have been considered as remote places due to its difficult terrain and poor transportation infrastructure. However, due to important Brahmanical religious places of worship of Badrinath, Kedarnath, Gangotri and Yamunotri, the region has a constant flow of people visiting the region from different parts of the subcontinent (Walton, 2016: 72).³ The presence of Hemkund Sahib Gurdwara also attracts the followers of Sikhism from all around the globe.

Society in the Garhwal Region

The people of Garhwal are basically divided into two divisions: *Bith* and *Dome* rather than four-fold varna system. *Bith* represents upper caste Brahmins and Rajputs, while *Dome* is the lower caste category. The *Bith* was further divided into the *ThulJat* and *Khasiya*. *ThulJat* comprised of the immigrants from plains who claimed superiority over the natives. While the *Khasiyas* are considered as the early migrant Aryans, who migrated to the region prior to vedic age after subduing the aboriginal inhabitants called Domes (Joshi, 1992-93: 1). *ThulJat* were divided into Brahmin and Thakur. Within the Brahmins there are three sub divisions; the Sarola Brahmin; the Gangarie Brahmins and the Khas Brahmins (Gairola, 1993-94: 235). The Sarolas and the Gangarie Brahmin sub-categories are equal in terms of their position. However, the Sarolas considers themselves to be ritualistically pure and indeed derive their supremacy from it. Tara Dutt Gairola has argued that with time the *Khasiya* Brahmin were amalgamated into Gangarie Brahmin and the term *Khasiya* was used only for a sub-category of Rajputs (Gairola, 1993-94: 240). The Rajputs are divided into two categories Asal Rajput or Thakurs or ThulJat Rajput and *Khasiya* (Raturi, 1995: 80). The domes are relegated to the position of untouchables. Domes are further divided into two categories; the Shilpkar or the artisans like Auji's (musician), Koli (weavers), Tamta (Coppersmith), Lohar (Ironsmith), Teli (Oil Presser) and the Menial workers (Joshi, 1992-93: 315).

According to S.D. Snawal the stratification of the society in Kumaun was based on amount of power enjoyed by an individual or group and lead to gradation of caste (Sanwal, 1976:20). Thus, he considers that the position of an individual at the court of Chand ruler could provide a better social position for him and his family. Further he adds that political privilege and not birth alone could ensure high status in Kumaun (Sanwal, 1976:24). This led to each caste group trying to maintain their superiority over the other to always remain in good books of the king. Furthermore, this act would not only ensure higher social position but had an added benefit of more resources at the disposal of

individual or group. Similar trend could be seen in the region of Garhwal as well and Sarola brahmins could be seen as an example of it.

Who are Sarola Brahmins?

The Sarolas claim themselves to be superior to other Brahmins (Gangarie Brahmins) on manifesting their monopoly over cooking of food for the Garhwal Rajas and other high-ranking Rajput nobles from the time of the Parmar dynasty. These Brahmins were responsible for cooking at community affairs from the time of the Parmar Rajas. Later, their power was restricted to only cooking of rice in community functions. However, they always maintained the superior status as the rice cooked by the Sarola Brahmins can be served as food to the Gods and Goddesses in mostly all Brahmanical temples of Garhwal. Further, the Sarola Brahmins can only consume rice cooked by another Sarola Brahmin. Rice cooked by the Sarola Brahmins can be consumed by entire population of Garhwal irrespective of their caste or social status.

According to Harikrishan Raturi, Sarolas were the early Brahmins that migrated to the region of Garhwal in the eighth and the ninth century and established their villages near the old Parmar capital, Chandpur Garhi (Raturi, 1995: 69). When the capital of the Parmar Rajas moved to Srinagar during the reign of Ajay Pal, these Brahmins were given an important position to be the cooks of the Garhwal Rajas. During the early days of the Parmar Rajas the Brahmins from twelve villages were considered as Sarolas. These were Nautiyal of Nauti, Maithani of Maithana, Khanduri of Khandura, Raturi of Ratura, Thapliyal of Thapli, Chamola of Chamoli, Lakhera of Lakheri⁴, Semalti of Semalta, Siliguro of Shriguro, Kotiyal of Koti and Dimri of Dimmar. Some people have argued that instead of Semaltis, Gairolas of Gairola were the original Sarola Brahmins (Raturi, 1995:73)⁵. During the Gurkha occupation of Garhwal, through the letters of Sudarshan Shah it has been found that the Sarola Brahmins of Dyond village were the official cooks of the Parmar Rajas, while according to a folklore the 'Gairolas' were the food taster (*Chakhwan*)⁶ of the Parmar Rajas. Other high ranking

Rajputs houses also kept Sarola Brahmins as their cooks. However, these Sarola Brahmins would only cook food for their patron Rajputs during any communal affair like marriage or death. Since only during these occasions, the entire village and extended family of the patron Rajputs were invited. For example, the Katthait Rajputs who were high ranking officers under the Parmar Rajas and specially rose to prominence under the early reign of Mahipati Shah (1622-31) had Khanduri Brahmins as their cook. Khanduri Brahmins were also officials of the Parmar Rajas and thus would possibly visit their patron Rajput house during special occasions only.

Sarolas' Control Over Cooking of Rice

During the time of Mahipati Shah in the 17th century, an expedition was undertaken to capture the region of Daaba or Dwapa in Tibet. The army which was comprised mainly of Rajputs and Brahmins were to eat food cooked only by a Sarola Brahmin. The army of the Garhwal Raja got stuck in the valley of Tibet due to heavy snowfall. According to the customs, before cooking the meal, the cook was supposed to take bath to cleanse himself and wear a new unstitched loincloth and recite food mantra. Due to extreme weather conditions the Sarola Brahmins in the retinue were unable to provide food for the entire army. Mahipati Shah first increased the number of Sarola Brahmins from 12 to 21 and then to 33 (Raturi, 1995: 74). However, even after increasing the number of Brahmins in the purview of the Sarola sub caste, the army was still starving as the Sarola Brahmins were unable to cook in the extreme weather conditions. It was then decided by Mahipati Shah that only rice would be considered pure if cooked by a Sarola following the complete procedure of cooking ritual. Rest all food cooked by anyone without even following the rituals should be considered as pure and can be eaten by entire population of Garhwal (Dabral, 1972: 70-71). This tradition has continued and the Sarola Brahmins dominate the cooking of rice in Garhwal. The importance of rice can be considered by it being the staple food of the Central Himalayan region. Though the need of hour was to secure the life of

soldiers who were dying due to hunger, yet the Sarola Brahmins were allowed the monopoly over cooking of the staple food of the region which in turn maintained their superior status.

Role Played by Sarola Brahmins in the Garhwal Society

The Sarola Brahmins continue to play a vital role in the Garhwal society even in contemporary days. The Sarola Brahmins were made officiating priests by the Parmar Rajas in some important temples in Garhwal like in Thapliyal at Adi Badri temple, Dimri at Badrinath temple and Bhatt at Chandravadni temple. They were appointed as *karbari* or agents of the temple which helped them gaining access to the lands attached to the temple and the donation made by the people as customary dues to the deity. In one of the Sanad, the Raja of Garhwal has stated that till the time an able Sarola is available only he would be appointed as the priest of the temple. Only when no Sarola Brahmin is available to take the position, the Raja will place a Gangarie Brahmin as the priest of the temple (Katoch, 1981:39).⁷ It was also found that in number of Sanads the Garhwal Rajas are asking the priest of the temple to cooperate with the royal auditor while collecting the accounts of the temple but the priests were reluctant to do so (Katoch, 1981: 38).⁸ These priests especially at Badrinath and Chandrabadni were Sarola Brahmins who on the account of their hegemonic control were trying to do away with the authority of the Parmar Rajas. In contemporary times Dimri are the cooks and priest of Badrinath temple (Lal, 2013: 69-70)⁹, Hatwals are the priest of Brahmakapal of Badrinath temple (Bhatt, 1943: 127), Thapliyal are the priest of Adi Badri temple and Maithani are the priest of Tungnath temple under the administrative control of Kedarnath temple (Lal, 2013: 67).

The Sarolas were also the royal cooks and would accompany the Raja for all expeditions and travel across their own territory and to other kingdoms. Thus, the Sarola Brahmins were part of the royal retinue and maintained a status where they were directly linked with the authority of the ruler. The Parmar Rajas were dependent on Sarolas

for ritual purity. Thus, both the Garhwal Rajas and the Sarola Brahmins were in a symbiotic relation to maintain their superior social status. The Gairola Brahmins do not even consume food/prasad of Badrinath temple and consider themselves to be true Vaishnavites.¹⁰ As it has been mentioned earlier that Mahipati Shah increased the number of Sarola Brahmins during Tibet expedition, this indicates that the entry into the category of Sarola Brahmin could be achieved through royal permission. Indeed, it highlights that Sarola sub category was not a fixed form during the Parmar Rajas.¹¹ It was only after the fall of the Parmar Rajas that this sub category got crystallized.

In contemporary times amongst the Rajputs in Garhwal, Sarola Brahmin's presence in their community affairs like weddings represents higher social status in front of their extended family and relatives. Further, the presence of the Sarola Brahmins from the old twelve villages is considered highly desirable and the Rajput family that have their Sarolas from those villages consider themselves as above the rest of the Rajput class. It is seen that in many Rajput villages Sarola Brahmins of specific villages from distant lands are called rather than Sarola Brahmins living closer to their villages to cook rice in ceremonies like wedding.¹²

Matrimonial Alliances and Domination of the Sarola Brahmins

As mentioned above, entry into the Sarola sub category till the 18th century depended on the Parmar Rajas decision. However, the removal from this sub category was based on matrimonial alliances with non-Sarola groups. In Garhwal Jati Prakash, Balakrishna Bhatt has written about the paradigm of *roti* and *beti* (Bhatt, 1943: 27).¹³ This is the underlining factor defining Sarola status. The Sarolas' marry within their sub denomination to maintain purity of their category. If a Sarola Brahmin marries a girl from Gangarie Brahmin category and consumes rice cooked by her then he is no more a part of the "pure" Sarola sub category.¹⁴ The children borne out of such weddings are also not considered Sarolas. However, if a Sarola Brahmin even after marrying

a girl from Gangarie Brahmin category does not consume rice cooked by her, then he maintains his ritualistic purity and is considered as Sarola Brahmin (Gairola, 1972: 238).

Thus, it is very essential for a Sarola Brahmin to marry within the sub category to maintain their ritualistic control, though, marriages between Sarola and Gangarie Brahmins are quite common. Yet marriages amongst Sarola Brahmins are more desired as it maintains the superior status of both the families. Further, it has been noted that the children of a Sarola Brahmin having more than one wife, though part of the same kinder group would be differentiated on the basis of their mother's status. The children born out of Sarola wife/wives would be placed at a higher pedestal than that of the Gangarie wife/wives.

The distinct identity of the Sarola Brahmins intensified during the British era. In 1904, Tara Dutt Gairola established Sarola Mahasabha which was bitterly criticized by the other Brahmin leaders of Garhwal. The main aim of this association appeared to improve ritual purity of behavior in the daily routine, in order to preserve and safeguard the traditional-social-status-superiority of Sarola Brahmins (Saklani, 1987: 148). The resolutions passed by the Sarola Mahasabha ensured that the old ideas to maintain the Sarola hegemony should be continued. Few of these resolutions were (Saklani, 1987: 148):

- (a) Sanskrit schools to be established for young Sarola Brahmins.
- (b) Prohibition of all types of intoxicants among members of Sarola Sabha.
- (c) Sarolas should not accept bride-price.
- (d) Sarolas should discourage hypogamic marriages with women of other Brahmin sub-castes. Such marriages were considered undesirable and improper according to the norm.
- (e) Sarolas should detest from menial jobs like ploughing the fields.

All the resolutions were intended to create higher and pure status

of the Sarola Brahmins in the 20th century. Further, the 1931 Census Report of Tehri undertaken by Umadutt Dangwal had Sarola and Gangaries as separate entities under the Brahmin castes of Garhwal.¹⁵ The practices not only led to crystallization in marital alliance of Sarola Brahmins, but affected the Gangarie Brahmins too. The top *Chauthoki* Brahmins or four Gangarie Brahmins who were politically dominant during the Parmar Rajas and later under the Tehri Rajas married within themselves. These Brahmins were Bahuguna, Uniyal, Dobhal and Dangwal. To maintain their political supremacy, they married within these four castes. Uniyals and Bahugunas till very recent times preferred matrimonial alliance with each other.¹⁶ If these *Chauthoki* Brahmins marries a girl from other Gangarie Brahmin family, then after the marriage the girl cannot inter-dine with her natal family (Gairola, 1993-94: 235). The Brahmins of Devprayag also marry within their own region and have started the practice of not eating rice cooked by anyone else apart from the Brahmins of their own region (Gairola, 1993-94: 235). Thus, the hegemonic control over cooking of rice by Sarola Brahmins created various levels of divisions within the caste of Brahmins of the region of Garhwal.

Conclusion

The study on the Sarola Brahmins has proved to be of immense help to understand the social hierarchy in the region of Garhwal. It is important to understand that the Sarola Brahmins manifest their hegemony through not eating rice cooked by anyone else but themselves. This makes them over and above the other Brahmins who are though equal according to varna system, yet are inferior. In contemporary times, it has been observed that Gangarie Brahmins are appointed as priests in the temples. But the rice distributed as Prasad during community affairs of the temple are still cooked by a Sarola Brahmin. Further studies are required to understand the special geo-social domination of this sub-category.

Notes

1. The pollution can be through touching of the vessel in which the food is cooked by people who are considered to be lower in caste hierarchy. Also menstruating women touching food which is meant for puja is considered to be polluted.
2. I would like to thank Purana Darbar House of Archaeological and Archival Document Collection Trust, Dehradun. I extend my gratitude towards the trustee duo of Rao Kirti Pratap Singh Panwar and Thakur Bhawani Pratap Singh for providing me important sources for this paper. Tehri Garhwal State Records covers a variety of aspects on the history of the region of Garhwal. A detailed research on these records can be undertaken which would indeed help in developing the history of the region of Garhwal.
3. Traill in his *Statistical Sketch of Kumaon* has argued that in the year 1820, 27,000 pilgrims had visited the temple of Badrinath. Walton has argued that each year around 50 to 60 thousand people visit the region for pilgrimage.
4. He has argued that instead of Lakhera of village Lakheri, Semwals of Sema were the original Sarola Brahmins.
5. While Pandit Balkrishana Bhatt in *Garhwal Jati Prakash* has mentioned that 12 Sarola Brahmins were, Nautiyal, Dimri, Gairola, Khanduri, Semalti, Maithani, Raturi, Thapliyal, Semwal, Chamoli, Hatwal and Lakhera. Now they have been increased to 39.
6. They would eat food before the Raja does.
7. Sanad of Pradeep Shah (1716-1772) on 15 February 1754. Courtesy the collection of B.P. Lakhera, Mumbai.
8. Sanad of Pradeep Shah on 13 January 1771, Sanad of Sudarshan Shah (1816-1859) on 14 January 1841 and Sanad of Sudarshan Shah on 19 April 1858.

9. Jajmani out of 6 places in Badrinath goes to Dimris.
10. Dairy entry of Captain Shoor Beer Singh Parmar, Purana Darbar Trust (Not Dated).
11. Chandravadni's Bhatt were entered into Sarola purview in 1665-66, Bhairaoke Joshi became Sarola in 1755-56 and Kula Purohit Pandey from Kumaon were made Sarola in 1787.
12. RikholaNegis have Thapliyals of Simtoli and Srikot in Khatsyunpatta as their Sarola.
13. He states that to keep the prestige of a family intact food and daughter's relation should be kept according to the law.
14. If a Sarola woman marries a Gangarie man, then if she follows to eat rice cooked only by her then she retains her Sarola status and can cook rice for her natal family. But if she has consumed rice cooked in her husband's house then she is not supposed to cook rice for her natal family members.
15. Census Report of British India: Tehri Garhwal, 1931, Allahabad.
16. My maternal family is Uniyal from Uniyal Gaon in Saklana Patti. My mother's Uncle who still lives in the village have married both his daughters in Bahuguna families and have married 2 out of 3 sons into Bahuguna families. Similar trends can be seen between Dangwal and Dobhals.

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Technology and Labour Market: Insights from Indian Industrial Sector

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Modern information technologies and the advent of machines powered by Artificial Intelligence (AI) have strongly influenced the world of work in the 21st century. Computers, Algorithms and software simplify everyday tasks, and it is impossible to imagine how most of our life could manage without them. However it is also impossible to imagine how most process steps could be managed without human force? The knowledge economy characterized by exponential growth replaces the mass production industry based on economies of scale. It is certain that new technical developments will have a fundamental impact on the global labour market within the next few years, not just on industrial jobs but on the core of human task, in the service sector that are considered untouchable. Economic structures, working relationship, job profiles and well established working time and remuneration model will undergo major changes. New developments in production technology taking away jobs or the idea of machines replacing human, is a new source of anxiety in both developed and developing countries. Besides Skill mismatches are now a common feature in all economies. In these circumstances this paper aims to look “how technological advancement is affecting the employment, skill and wages in Indian manufacturing and service industries”?

Introduction

Labour markets are complex and multifaceted system shaped by demographic, economic, social and institutional factors. Two important transformations in the sectoral and occupational structure of employment have occurred in large number of economies over the past two decades. First, developed countries and an increasing number of developing countries have experienced a substantial shift of employment from agriculture and manufacturing towards services. Second, the labour market of many developed countries and several developing countries have been polarized with the relative decline in the number of middle-skill/ middle – pay jobs (ILO 2017). These important structural changes, which have changed and continue to change the labour market, may relatively disrupt workers, who face higher risk of job losses and if having to switch to a job in a different type of occupation or sector.

Economists have long been interested in the effect of technological change on the labour market. Technological progress expands economic output and increase welfare by improving productivity – allowing more output to be produced with the same resources and by enabling further investments and development. Any change in technology basically changes the capital labour ratio in the production process and therefore changes the magnitude, scale and composition of employment. The impact on labour market therefore depends on the type of technological changes and its effect on the process- both in terms of expands and intensity. The first industrial revolution of 19th century is an example where development of technologies enabled mass production and mass employment of factory workers. Skilled artisans protested development of such technologies as they replaced these skilled artisans with unskilled workers to run the machines (the ‘Luddite riots’ of 1811). However, technological change may also lead to handing over many of the repetitive jobs to machines and thereby decreasing demand for low skilled workers. At the same time it may be accompanied by an increase in demand for high skilled workers to manufacture, programme and control these machines. These changes will alter the

skill composition of the workers and may worsen wage- gap between skilled and unskilled workers (Viverelli 2002).

The association between technology, skill and productivity has long been discussed and empirically tested (OECD -2013, World Bank Report -2016). The famous productivity paradox also links labour productivity and employment growth to surge in technology (ICT). Global Competitiveness Report (2016) points out the significance of skill (talent) in an economy to reap the benefits of the technological revolution and achieve higher productivity and growth in employment. It is argued that the new technology opens many windows for investment and increase in productivity, a key sustainable economic development but simultaneously requires new skills for growth of employment. The updated skill not only become a necessary but also helps in employment and income. Since better skills are likely to lead to quick employment and higher income for existing labour acquiring and updating skills would be the best insurance against job losses. However, the positive effect of new technology may be present only for skilled labour and where forward and backward linkages between different firms and industries are strong and the effect may be negative for unskilled labours (Ugur and Mitra, Aziz 2017). Thus, the overall macro effect may be uncertain and depend on many macro effects, and forward and backward linkages, besides growth in investment and total factor productivity.

Brief Review

Considerable debate has taken place in academic as well as policy level on the role of technology in the labour market. On the one hand are those who argue that technology can create unemployment in the short run but expands employment in the long run (Mincer and Danninger- 200, Coad and Rao2011 among others). The other view is that there is a negative association between technological innovation and employment expansion, at least in the long run. Frey and Osborne (2013) argues that close to half job categories are at risk of being automated in the next decade or so. Similar views are expressed by

Bresnahan (1999), Brynjolfson and Mc Afee (2011). This impact is strongly felt first in the manufacturing sector where production process consist of several well defined, repetitive, routine jobs and which there fore can be easily automated. The jobless growth in several parts of the world in recent times has been explained by scholars through this process of declining routine jobs in manufacturing shop- floors (Jaimovich and Siu, 2002). The second standard of argument that looks at technological achievements critically speak of relative wages and return to education. Goods and Manning (2007), Atkinson (2008), Goldar and Katz (2009), Autor and Dorn (2013) and several others speaks of such polarization in the labour market since the late 20th century. Further a growing consensus suggests that absorption of new technology has bias towards skilled labour. For instance Machine and Von Reenan (1998), Berman et al (1998), Viverelli (2002) found evidence for industry substitution towards skilled labour in manufacturing sector of OECD economies.

It is therefore important to examine and consider alternative scenario regarding the possible impact of technological achievement on the labour market, especially in a large developing country like India.

Objectives and Methodology

The impact of technological change on employment probably serves as a reason behind the skill development programmes of the Ministry of Labour and Employment of Government of India. The main hurdle in the inclusive growth is the difference between labour skills and technology. This might not allow the positive externalities generated through technological achievement, to reach every sector and every persons in the economy. Thus this paper tries to examine ‘how technological advancement is affecting the employment, skill and Wages in Indian Manufacturing and Service industries’.

The main data source for this paper is updated version of India KLEMS Data Base, December, 2017, RBI which provides time series data for the 26 industries (out of which seven are identified as service

oriented industries) and the total economy, which is consistent with official National Account Statistics (NAS), published annually by the Central Statistical Organisation (CSO). In order to construct detailed industry data, consistent employment series, National Account Data is supplemented by Input- Output tables of Annual Survey of Industries (ASI) on Organised manufacturing sectors and various rounds of National Sample Survey Organisations (NSSO) surveys on employment and unemployment.

Macro Economic Aggregates

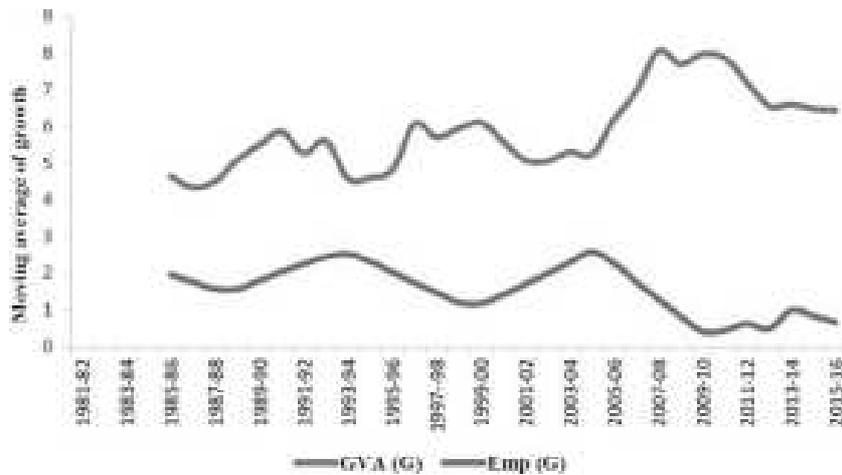
Before examining the specific trends in the industrial sector, let us explore the long run macro economic trends in India. By analyzing the KLEMS data it is observed that the capital output ratio (ratio of net capital stock to GDP) has shown a secular declining trend over the three decades between 1993 to 2015 coming down from 1.54% to 1.33% during this period. The manufacturing sector did not follow this trend during the first two decades and increased from 0.80% in 1993-94 to 1.33% in 2005-06 with periodic fluctuations. After 2006 this sector too followed the declining trend experienced at the aggregate level and came down to 0.4% in 2014-15 back to the level it was three decades earlier. It is natural that the labour share in gross output and value added mirrored the trends in capital output ratio, falling when k-o ratio falls. However, labour share both at aggregate level and for the manufacturing sector witnessed a secular decline over the three decades under study. The rate of decline has been faster for the manufacturing sector than the aggregate economy. This could have been caused by several factors operating either single or together as mentioned below.

- (i) A fall in employment size relative to output (or rising labour productivity).
- (ii) Wages rising slower than price of output
- (iii) The growth in employment is skewed towards higher skills.

All these points to a worsening of labour market situation in the

country where employment is not expanding as fast as it should and workers are short changed. The results of the recent National Sample survey (NSS) on employment and unemployment 2017-18 states that not only there has been an unprecedented increase in the unemployment but it has been accompanied by a fall in the absolute number of workers compared to the previous survey 2011-12(Kannan & Raveendran). The analysis of data from official source (Employment and Unemployment Survey – Labour Bureau- Govt. of India) also warned about the signs of employment decline during 2013-14 to 2015-16 (Abraham-2017).The figure -1 shows the average growth of Employment and GDP in India since 1981-82 to 2015-16

Figure: 1 - Moving Average of Employment Growth and GDP Growth in India



Source: India KLEMS 2017

Figure: 1 plots index of manufacturing employment (as a share of total employment) and output (GDP) between 1981- 82 and 2015-16 for Indian economy. During the four and half decades covered by data, manufacturing employment fell substantially.

Signs of Job Polarization and Declining of intermediate Skills

Employment and labour issues continue to be high on the agenda of policy makers across countries. A broad range of indicators have been developed in the literature to measure the multifaceted nature of labour market. Important dimensions of the labour market include unemployment, wage inequality, the quality of jobs (skill biased nature), informal sector and gender inequality etc. One common measure developed to track the evolution of total amount of labour employed across the economy is the total number of hours worked. Over the past 20 years the overall number of hours worked has, on an average, increased in both developed and developing countries (World Bank 2013). The growth rate of total hours worked has been however, much higher in low- income and middle income countries. Conversely, since great recession (2008) and financial crisis, total hours worked seems to have grown at a slower pace in the high income countries.

A study by ILO's Asia-Pacific Employment and Social Outlook 2018 showed that average work hours in South Asia and East Asia were the highest in the world in 2017, at 46.4 and 46.3 hours respectively per week. In Nepal, the average weekly hours per employee was 54, in Maldives it was 48, in Bangladesh it was 47 and and, for Malaysia and China it stood at 46. The global mean of hours worked per week was 43, and the numbers were significantly low in developed countries. Nearly 52-55 percent of the rural workers and 68-70 percent of urban workers were engaged for more than 48 hours a week in India, according to the NSSO's annual survey. Average working hours of employees in India are among the longest compared to global peers, according to a report by the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO). Workers in Indian cities worked for 53-54 hours and those in villages worked for 46-47 hours in a week during the July- June 2018 period (Business Standard Report). This report, however, is said to have been withheld by the government. The survey also indicated that rural women were under employed, as nearly 50 percent of them worked less than

36 hours of a week. Men in cities worked for comparatively longer hours - often in the range of 60-84 hours per week.

In order to better understand technology induced changes in skill demand, we can analyze the structure of manufacturing Industrial employment by occupation by using the NSSO data of two rounds. The results are shown in Table. 1. It is evident from the table that the occupation structure of manufacturing employment has changed significantly over the last two decades. The share of high skilled occupation such as managers, professionals and associates in total manufacturing employment has increased by more than 3 percentage points. However, their share in total wage bill has increased by 11.8 percentage points. This clearly shows that the demand for high skilled workers has indeed increased over the last two decades and increase in demand has also been higher than the increase in supply, which has resulted in substantial increase in the wage share of high skilled professionals. Interestingly, the share of high skilled professionals in total employment has not increased at the cost of unskilled workers as the share of the elementary occupations in total employment has also increased by 3.4 percentage points. Rather, the share of both skilled and unskilled - intensive occupations has increased at the cost of middle- level skill intensive occupation such as machine operators, clerks and craft related workers. The share of machine operated workers, clerks and craft related occupations, which are generally concentrated at the middle of the skill distribution, has come down from 76.5 percent in 1994-95 to 70.2 in 2014-15. The wage share, too, has come down from 70 percent in 1994-95 to 59.4 percent in 2014-15. Given the fact that machine operators , clerks and craft occupations are routine task intensive, a drastic decline in the share of these occupations in total employment suggest that the routine task content of manufacturing industrial jobs in India has declined, which underlines an increase in automation.

Table: 1 - Changing Occupation Structure of Industrial Employment.

	% share in Total Employment			% share in Wage Bill		
	1994 - 95	2014 - 15	change	1994 - 95	2014 - 15	change
High skilled occupations	5.3	8.4	3.1	15.3	27.1	- 11.8
Intermediate Skill Occupation	76.5	70.2	-6.3	70.8	59.4	11.4
Unskilled Occupation	18.1	21.5	3.4	13.9	13.5	-0.4

Source: compiled from NSSO data.

Service Employment Growth and Share Have Increased in Many Countries

The service sector encompasses a broad range of activities ranging from professional services, healthcare and banking to retail and whole sale trade, tourism, information and communication technology and transport. According to ILO estimates, the service sector has been the world's largest provider of jobs since early 2000. The global number of service sector jobs increased steadily by an average 3% annually between 2000 and 2017. Service accounted for more than half of the total global employment in 2016. In parallel, the world share of service employment in total employment increased from 40.9% in 2000 to 51.4% in 2016 (World Bank 2016). An increasing number of service jobs are also created to support manufacturing production or sales, a phenomenon referred to as "servicification of manufacturing". Another important factor is the share of women in service tend to be higher and in many cases is growing faster than that of men in both developed and emerging economies (ILO, WTO – 2017).

Technological Change and Women

A different point in this paper has referred to the impact of some

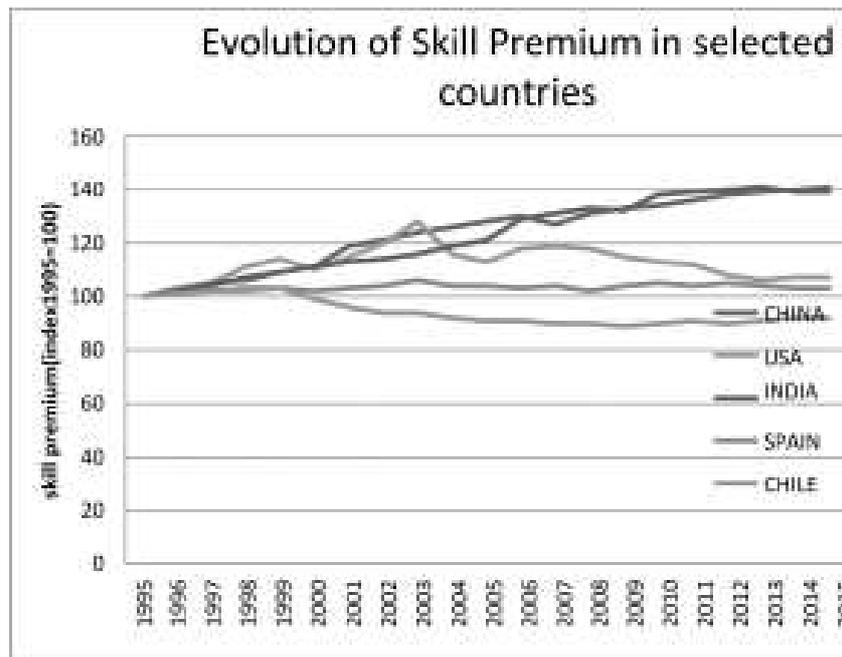
technological change on women. The development of IT infrastructure makes it possible for the work to be performed from different locations in a flexible manner. This would help increase the employment of women in sectors that allow both remote and flexible functioning, as IT service sector (Dev Nadhan -2016). However, the same flexibility also results in the creation of a secondary and subordinate professional tract for women. The reduction of the need for heavy labour through forms of mechanization also made it possible to employ more women on the shop floor in industries other than so called ‘ traditional’ women’s manufacturing sector. There are now increasing number of women engaged in Engineering, Medical, IT, Retail shops and other services. While technological changes have enabled many women to not just enter in to factory and office work and use of the benefits of those jobs to redefine traditional gender roles in the house hold and community , at the same time, it seems that gender prejudices continue to restrict women’s opportunities in such jobs.

While the trends of automation and digitalization continue to develop in high income countries, the question arises as to whether it is also happening to the same extent in low or middle income-countries. According to World Bank (2016) study Switzerland, Singapore, Qatar and the US are considered to be particularly fit for the fourth industrial revolution. What is relevant for each country in this respect is the degree of its technological development and technological skills of young people who will shape the future of labour market. Young people in developing countries are optimistic with regard to their professional future. They have more confidence in their own ability than young people in developed countries. Many middle income countries however face the problem that only those employees who have already gained substantial IT knowledge show an interest in and willingness to improve their technological skills. A great advantage in a number of developing countries is that more women are having access to education. In the UAE (Gulf Countries) for example most of the University graduates are females. In economic systems that were originally dominated by

men, the opening up of labour market was a great opportunity for highly qualified female professionals. Women are more likely to have better developed soft skills which make them an important talent pool especially in developing countries.

Most countries have been experiencing substantial changes in their sectoral structure of employment, important changes in terms of skill requirements at the occupation level also been occurring in many countries. Skill refers to job-relevant knowledge, expertise and personal attributes as well as specific competencies required to perform a job's specific tasks. A distinction is made between manual, cognitive and social skill to perform respectively physical, mental and personal interactive tasks (World Bank -2013). Skill plays a critical role in the labour market, including in relation to wages. Different levels and combinations of skills can imply different wage levels. Although different measures of the return to skills are used in the literature, one common indicator is the 'skill premium' defined as the ratio or percentage difference between wages of skilled and unskilled workers. Economists frequently use the rate of return to investment in tertiary education, often measured by the earnings gap between university and high school education as a measure of the skill premium. Empirical evidence confirms that high-skilled workers receive relatively higher wages than middle or low skilled workers. Rates of return to investment in education are the highest for tertiary education across both developed and developing countries (ILO 2016). The skill premium for the tertiary education tends to be relatively larger in developing countries than in developed countries. Infact, the skill premium tends to be relatively large supply of high skilled workers. A large body of empirical work has shown that the skill premium rose, albeit at a different pace, in many industrialized and developing countries in the 1990s and 2000s such as Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, India and United States (Pavnik 2011). China, India and U S have continued the experience showing an increase in skill premium over the last 20 years. (see figure. 2)

Figure 2



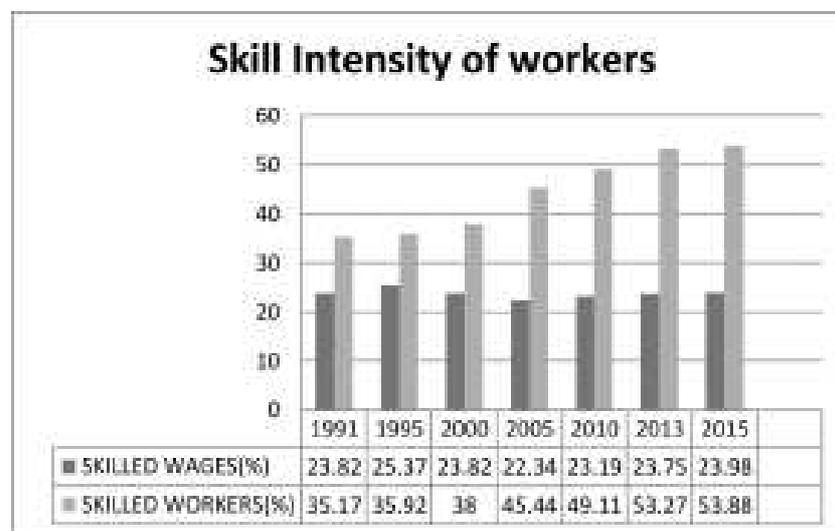
Source: ILO-WTO-2017

Changes in Skill Intensity of Workers in India

The Indian economy has experienced an expansion in the general education level and the overall literacy level has increased. The average literacy level of the employed persons has gone up. Since majority of the Indian workers do not have much technical or any professional qualifications, we can take education as a proxy for ‘skills’ and have defined the corresponding skills as low skills; medium skills; and high skills. The figure.3 shows the changes in skill intensity of workers in India over the period 1991 to 2015. It further explains that during the last two decades the composition of employment in manufacturing industries in India, has changed significantly (Berman and Swaminadhan-2013, Pankaj Vashist-2017 and others). There was an increase in the share of managerial and supervisory staff in both manufacturing and

service employment. During these years the real wage rate of these workers increase at an annual rate of 4 percent, consequently the skill premium in Indian industrial sector increased sharply.

Figure: 3 - Changes in Skill Intensity Over the Period 1991-2015 – All Industries

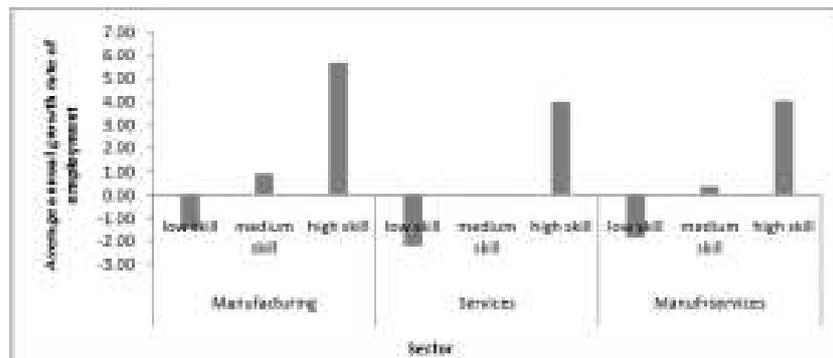


Note: Figures are calculated by finding the percentage share of skilled wages to total emoluments, and by finding the percentage share of skilled workers to total persons engaged for the particular year.

One may argue that with the advent of new technology, it is essential that the persons must acquire higher skills to cope up with the emerging demand for these skills. The growth rates of employment by skills level for manufacturing sector, services sector and both sectors combined are presented in Fig: 4 for the period 1999-00 to 2014-15. In the combined manufacturing and service sectors, the proportion of high skill employed persons has increased from 13 percent in 1999 to 21 percent in 2015 at a compound annual average growth rate of 4 percent. On the other hand the share of medium skills remained stagnant around 39-41 percent with a marginal growth rate of just 0.4 percent, but the

share of low skills declined by ten percentage points from 48 percent to 38 percent during the same period with the deceleration at the rate of 1.9 percent. Thus, one may argue that the growth in employment is skewed towards higher skills. However, the change in the skills composition is not same for both the manufacturing and the services sector. It is evident from Fig 4 that the average annual growth rate of high-skills employment in manufacturing is higher than that of the services sector. There has been a simultaneous growth in medium skill employment in the manufacturing sector, which is missing in the services sector. However, both the sectors experienced a job contraction in the low-skill employment.

Figure: 4 - Average Annual Growth Rate of Employment by Skill in Manufacturing and Service sector of the Indian Economy-1999-2000 to 2014-15.



Conclusion

As technological breakthrough rapidly shift the frontier between the work tasks performed by humans and those performed by machines and algorithms, global labour markets are undergoing major transformations. These transformations, if managed wisely, could lead to a new age of good work, good jobs and improved quality of life for all, but if managed poorly, pose the risk of widening skills gaps, greater inequality and broader polarization. Since technology has helped in the accelerated growth in demand, employment and wages in the Indian

manufacturing and service industries, it is evident that Indian industry must pay more attention to the new technology and substantially increase their investment expenditure on R&D and firms should increase their readiness to adopt new technology to harness its potential economic and social benefits. A shift in skill demand along with rapidly rising workforce in India can be a cause for concern as employment opportunities seem to be limited for the unskilled workers. One of the most problematic factors for doing business in India as per the Global Competitiveness Report (2017) is the presence of inadequately educated workforce. It is important that India spends adequate amount to spread and improve education especially female education. The Indian industry should also realize the gains of producing and of adopting the new technology.

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Housing Affordability Among the Middle Class in Thiruvananthapuram City : A Case Study

Johnson T.T.

Housing affordability is a critical factor in determining the well-being of the people and hence it is a widely discussed topic. It is a concern for the public policymakers to develop strategies which make housing more affordable. Housing affordability mainly depends on housing cost and income of the households. The policymakers should focus on these two factors to make housing more affordable. In the urban centres of Kerala, the existing housing culture worsens the affordability issue. As households prefer to live in independent own houses, housing cost remains high and affect housing affordability. 'Demonstration effect' also increases housing cost and affect affordability conditions. The main objective of the study is to evaluate the extent of housing affordability among the middle-class families in the study area and to analyse the socio-economic determinants of housing affordability. The findings will be useful to the policymakers while framing strategies to improve housing affordability in society.

Introduction

The term housing includes everything to a person such as comfort, safety and identity. Better housing leads to increased working efficiency,

productivity, social development and well being of a person (Mahalik 2008). According to Borne (1981) 'Housing must be defined as a multidimensional entity or bundle. It is clearly an economic or merit good and social necessity, which delivers a wide range of benefits or services to occupants'. It is rightly observed, "Man builds houses but houses mould man". Hence everyone aspires to have a decent house to live which is the key to have a peaceful and happy life.

In the economy's point of view housing is a major contributor to the GDP and an employment generator. Construction of a house has a large number of forward and backward linkages, which boost up economic activities. Another advantage of housing is that the housing sector reacts quickly to interest rate changes, and hence it acts as a tool of monetary policy. The modern concept of housing does not confine a house to the four walls of the building. It touches all aspects of the life of an individual that is physical, social, psychological, moral and economical. In spite of all these benefits and priorities, housing is an unresolved problem. As Cherunilam and Heggade (1987) remark, for the millions, sky is the roof under which they sleep and billions live in unsafe and insanitary settlements where basic facilities are not available.

The problem of housing can be seen in its severest form in urban areas. This is because of the very high demand for housing in urban areas compared to villages. According to UN-HABITAT (2016), cities have emerged as economic powerhouses driving the global economy and they are the engines of economic growth. Fifty-four per cent of the world's urban population contributes more than 80 per cent of global GDP. This shows that the volume of production as well as employment opportunities are high in cities. This attracts labour from villages to the cities and it creates overcrowding and congestion in cities. Scarcity of land in cities aggravate the housing problem. The UN-HABITAT (2016) observes 'there is not a single city in the world without having the problem of housing in one way or the other'.

Housing in Urban Kerala

Cities in Kerala are not an exception to this. But unlike other

cities, in the urban centres of Kerala people prefer to have independent houses of their own. According to the NSSO reports (2018), in urban Kerala 84.6 per cent of the households live in their own houses, but the corresponding percentage at the all India level was only 63.8. Similarly, in the urban Kerala 90.3 per cent of the households were living in independent houses, but at the all India level this was only 56.4 per cent. People purchase residential plots at exorbitant prices and construct their houses. Therefore, to acquire a house a household has to spend a huge amount. As Mohammad (2008) and Plouin (2019) remark housing is the single largest household expenditure. As the expenditure on housing is high it creates the problem of affordability among the households. A household can acquire an asset only when it is affordable to him even though it is an essential item. Since, in urban Kerala people prefer to live in their own houses (NSSO, 2018), in the present study housing affordability means ownership affordability and not rental affordability.

As housing in the urban area is an expensive affair, the government of Kerala has come up with various programmes to support the economically weaker sections (EWS) in their struggle to have a house of their own. Currently, the Kerala government has integrated all housing programmes for economically weaker sections under various agencies as well as Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) and announced a single programme under LIFE Mission. Livelihood Inclusion and Financial Empowerment (LIFE) is a comprehensive housing scheme for all homeless with land and landless homeless in the state. When EWSs in the state are getting assistance from the government, for the wealthy, construction of a house does not pose a problem. As they are rich enough, issues related to affordability seldom affects them. But the case of middle-class families is different. They have mediocre income and at the same time, they are not eligible to get any assistance from the government. Thus, for the middle-class, the issues related to constructing and owning a house has to be mended by themselves. Though the problems that middle-class face in their pursuit of owning

a house are many, studies related to this area are rare. A quick survey of the existing literature on housing affordability will make this clear.

Review of Literature

Hulchanski (1995) discussed the pros and cons of the usage of housing expense to income ratio as a measure of affordability. Litman (2020) defined affordability and discussed the methods to measure affordability. He discussed issues and strategies in providing affordable housing to the low-income groups in the society. The World Economic Forum (2019) also defined affordability and explained the methods to measure affordability. According to the World Economic Forum (2019), long term strategies with the involvement of public and private sector are needed to mitigate the affordable housing issue. Mohammad (2008) investigated changes in the Australian housing market during the period 2000-01 to 2005-06 and analysed its effects on affordability. This study revealed that in Australia at least 14 per cent of the lower-income households are suffering from the housing crisis. Schwartz (2016) discussed the importance of affordable housing to economic competitiveness. He stated that incomes have not risen with the general cost of living. Zainal (2010) analysed the changes in house price in Malaysia and the problem of affordability. He suggested various measures for the affordability and sustainability of housing for low-income households.

Yousuf (2016) explained urban housing problems and planning in Srinagar city. His study revealed that 3 out of 5 households in the city were experiencing the problem of housing affordability. Kundu and Kumar (2017) analysed the changes in credit-linked subsidy scheme for providing housing for the urban poor. Patel (2016) reviewed various schemes under the mission 'Housing for all by 2022'. RBI (2018) investigated the problem of affordable housing in India. They have cited three methodologies for measuring housing affordability. They made a review of Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana-Urban and stated that the credit-linked subsidy scheme has made housing more affordable to the economically weaker sections.

The review of available literature reveals that none of the existing studies gave any attention to the housing affordability issue of the middle-class families. Mostly the researchers were addressing the problems of affordability among the poor and weaker sections in the society. Since there is a serious dearth in research in this regard it would be worthwhile to analyse the problem of affordability among the middle class in the society. Further, when the existing studies on affordability are mostly based on secondary data of selling prices of houses, the present study is based on the data of actual housing cost collected from the people who constructed their houses in the study area. In short, the present study is an attempt to study the problem of affordability as well as its socio-economic determinants among the middle-class families in the society with the help of data regarding actual housing cost of the households who purchased land and constructed houses in the study area.

Methodology and Data Source

In this study housing affordability among the middle-class families is analysed with the help of the affordability ratio and in the present context housing affordability means ownership affordability and not rental affordability. The study is based on Thiruvananthapuram Municipal Corporation which is the capital city of Kerala. The city of Thiruvananthapuram offers a multicultural urban centre for the research where people mostly constitute salaried income group who comes under the category of middle-income group. The study is mainly based on primary data collected from 200 households who purchased land and constructed their houses during the year 2019-20. As it is a study of housing affordability of middle-class families, only those houses constructed with a plinth area of 1000 sq.ft to 2000 sq.ft alone were taken as samples. Even though it is a subjective assumption that middle-class families construct houses with the area as mentioned above, this is a common practice in the study area. Only independent houses which were constructed under self-construction mode (owner-builder) alone were taken as samples. Self-construction means owner himself arrange

everything and take the responsibility of house construction. Flats and houses purchased outrightly were excluded from the study. When a house is purchased exclusively from a builder, a huge amount is included in the price of the house in the form of profit of the builder and hence the exact cost of the residential unit cannot be understood from it. Besides, households who reported their monthly income below Rs.25000 and above Rs.1,50,000 were also excluded from the study, as they belong to economically weaker sections or higher income group. In other words, households having monthly income between Rs.25000 and Rs.150000 alone are included in the study. A primary survey was conducted in the study area with the help of a structured interview schedule.

The sample was selected randomly from the list of households who have completed their house construction and tax assessed, and allotted house numbers from TMC during the research period. This information regarding the households who satisfies the conditions to include in the population of the study is available at the TMC main office and Zonal offices. Statue junction in the MG road, where the core administrative offices of the government of Kerala function, was taken as the city centre for the study purpose and houses located within a radius of 15 km from the city centre or up to the boundary of TMC, whichever was the farthest were included in the sample. To get a representation for the entire regions under TMC, the research area was divided into 5 sectors and each sector has a gap of 3 kilometres. While collecting the data from 200 samples, it has been ensured that a minimum of 30 samples each were taken from every sector as 30 constitutes a larger sample size. Housing cost is taken as the sum of construction cost and land cost and land cost is estimated as the cost of minimum land area required to construct the house following the building rules of Municipal Corporation.

Meaning and Measurement of Affordability: Affordability means the ability of the people to purchase essential goods and services such as food, healthcare and shelter. Housing affordability means the

capacity of a household to meet housing cost without affecting their ability to meet other basic costs of living. According to HABITAT (2016), housing affordability means “housing which is adequate in quality and location and does not cost so much that it prohibits its occupants from meeting basic living costs or threatens their employment or basic human rights”

Housing affordability is assessed with the help of the affordability ratio. RBI (2018) in its article presents three important internationally accepted methods for the estimation of housing affordability.

(i) Expenditure method or Housing cost burden - According to this method affordability is measured through the ratio of housing expenditure to household income. Housing expenditure includes rentals, mortgage repayments, utilities and maintenance cost. The method suggests 30 per cent as the cut-off ratio for classifying housing units as affordable.

(ii) Median multiple indicator - Under this method, the ratio median house price divided by median household annual income is used as a measure of affordability. The ratio up to '3' is considered as affordable housing.

(iii) Housing and Transport - In this method, transport cost is added to housing cost to measure affordability. This is based on the idea that when people choose a location away from the city centre to avoid congestion, their transport cost increases and hence it has to be added to the housing cost. It should not be more than 45 per cent of the household's income (Litman, 2020).

The present study is using median multiple (the ratio of median housing cost to median annual income of the households) as a measure of housing affordability, which shows the multiple of annual income needed to acquire a house. When this ratio is high, it means that housing affordability is less. According to the international standards, if this ratio is less than 3 affordability is better and affordability is severely lacking

if the ratio is anything greater than 4 (Hawtrey, 2009). In other words, affordable housing should cost between 3 and 4 years' household income (Patel 2015). For India, this affordability ratio was 22 in 1995-96 and it has come down to 4 in 2016 (HDFC 2016).

The asset price monitoring survey of the RBI gives an insight into the affordability situation in India. Affordability ratio estimated by RBI for the period from 2009-10 to 2018-19 for the country is given below.

Table No. 1 - Affordability Ratio for India - Median House Price to Annual Income Ratio

Year & Quarter	Affordability Ratio						
2009-10 q1	4.75	2011-12q3	4.83	2014-15q1	4.83	2016-17q3	5.02
2009-10q2	4.83	2011-12q4	4.83	2014-15q2	4.92	2016-17q4	5.05
2009-10q3	5	2012-13q1	4.75	2014-15q3	5	2017-18q1	5.16
2009-10q4	5	2012-13q2	4.67	2014-15q4	4.68	2017-18q2	5.2
2010-11q1	4.83	2012-13q3	4.67	2015-16q1	4.94	2017-18q3	5.22
2010-11q2	4.92	2012-13q4	4.75	2015-16q2	4.7	2017-18q4	5.23
2010-11q3	5.08	2013-14q1	4.58	2015-16q3	4.76	2018-19q1	5.09
2010-11q4	4.67	2013-14q2	4.75	2015-16q4	5.11	2018-19q2	5.15
2011-12q1	4.75	2013-14q3	4.92	2016-17q1	5.13	2018-19q3	5.17
2011-12q2	4.83	2013-14q4	4.83	2016-17q2	5.04	2018-19q4	5.13

Source: RBI Residential Asset Price Monitoring Survey 2015 & 2019 (Estimated from actual figures given according to monthly income)

The asset price monitoring survey of the RBI (2019) reveals that for the last 10 year period from 2009-10 to 2018-19, the overall housing affordability in the country worsened a little. The median house price to income ratio increased from 4.75 in the first quarter of 2009-10 to 5.13 in the last quarter of 2018-19. According to the survey Mumbai was the least affordable city in India and this ratio was 6.1 for Mumbai.

Socio-Economic Determinants of Housing Affordability

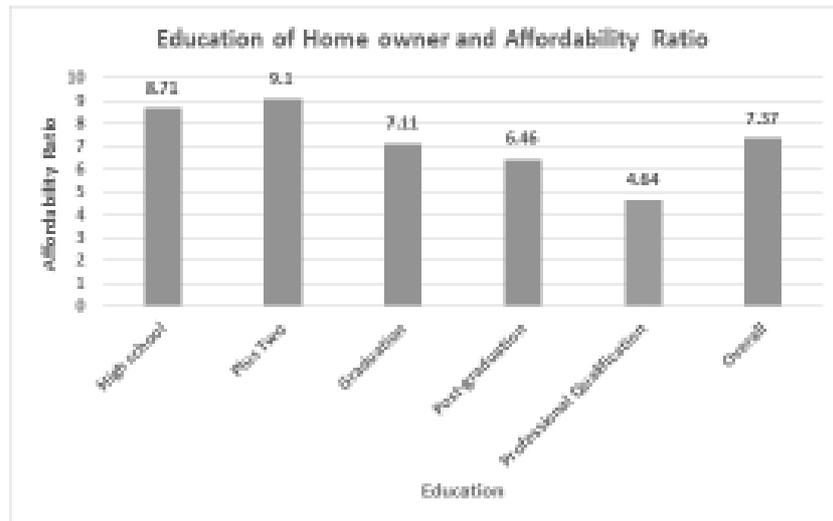
Housing affordability is mostly determined by the socio-economic background of households. The median multiple based on the educational, occupational and income status of the sample population is estimated and presented in the following Tables. To make the analysis more realistic, the ratios are estimated group wise. It is estimated as the ratio of median housing cost of a group to the median income of that particular group.

(i) Education of the house owner and housing affordability: Educational status is an important factor which determines housing affordability. Higher educational qualifications enable households to get well-paid jobs. As Rameli and Salleh (2016) observe ‘the high level of education reflects a high level of income’. The following Table presents the affordability ratio of the households in the study area according to the educational status of the house owners.

**Table II - Affordability Ratio According to the
Educational Qualification of the House Owner**

Educational Qualification	Median Income of the Group (Rs.)	Median Housing Cost of the Group (Rs.)	Affordability Ratio (Median Housing Cost to Annual Income Ratio)
High school	480000	4179478	8.71
Plus Two	540000	4916457	9.1
Graduation	840000	5968550	7.11
Post-graduation	1080000	6972094	6.46
Professional Qualification	1620000	7518845	4.64
Overall	840000	6194728	7.37

Source: Estimation based on primary survey



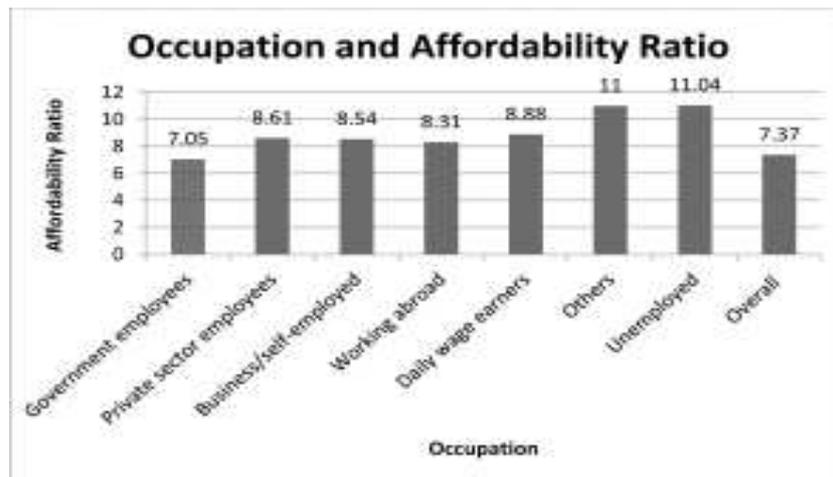
The figure shows that the affordability ratio is high for households with low educational qualifications and decreases with the higher qualification of the owner. When a house owner with high school education spend 8.71 times of his annual income to acquire a house, a professionally qualified house owner has to spend only 4.64 times of his income. Hence, it can be inferred that housing affordability improves as educational qualification increases. The overall affordability ratio for the study area is 7.37 which is very high when compared to the international norms followed by the UN and other agencies. According to the latest estimate of RBI (Asset Price Monitoring Survey, 2019) affordability ratio is only 5.13 for the country. This shows that affordability ratio for the study area is high when compared to the all India level or housing affordability is poor among the middle-class families in the study area.

(ii) Occupation of house owner and affordability: Another important factor which determines the affordability of housing is the occupation of the owner as occupation determines the income of a person. The Table given below shows affordability ratio according to the occupational status of the homeowners.

**Table III - Affordability Ratio According to the
Occupation of the House owner**

Occupation	Median Income (Rs.)	Median Housing Cost (Rs.)	Median Housing Cost to Annual Income Ratio
Government employee	900000	6349319	7.05
Private sector employee	780000	6714845	8.61
Business/self-employed	720000	6148706	8.54
Working abroad	600000	4983375	8.31
Daily wage earner	330000	2931281	8.88
Others	480000	5281281	11
Unemployed	600000	6628603	11.04
Overall	840000	6194728	7.37

Source: Primary survey



The figure given above shows that affordability ratio was the best among the government employees and worst among the category others and unemployed. However, these two groups are exceptional cases where others are the group mainly formed by pensioners and unemployed are the category earning income from their wealth. Therefore in the real sense, among the occupational classes, wage earner is the group with least affordability and they spend 8.88 times of their annual income to own a house.

(iii) Occupational position of homeowner and spouse and affordability: Since the actual income of a household depends on the occupation of the owner as well as spouse affordability also depends on the occupation of the owner and spouse. Affordability ratio according to the occupational status of the house owner and spouse is presented below.

Table IV - Occupational Position of the Homeowner and Spouse and Affordability Ratio

Category	Occupational Position	Median Income (Rs.)	Median Housing cost (Rs.)	Median Housing Cost to Income (Annual) Ratio
General	Homeowner only employed	720000	5751638	7.99
	Homeowner and spouse, both are employed	900000	6279236	6.97
Government Employee	Homeowner only	840000	6387453	7.05
	Homeowner and Spouse	1110000	6772660	6.10
	Gazetted (Homeowner)	1320000	7490041	5.67
	Gazetted (Homeowner & Spouse)	1800000	7794478	4.33

Private Sector Employee	Homeowner (Managerial Position)	900000	7973742	8.85
	Homeowner and Spouse (Managerial Position)	1800000	8477856	4.71
Overall		840000	6194728	7.37

Source: Primary survey

The Table shows that housing affordability improves when both owner and spouse are employed compared to those households where the owner only is employed. Another notable point is that in the study area the affordability of government employees is better than the private sector employees especially when owner and spouse both are government employees. Affordability is the best among those households where owner and spouse both are gazetted government employees. Similar improvement in affordability can also be seen in the case of those private-sector employees where owner and spouse both are in a managerial position. Only for these two groups affordability ratio is less than the affordability ratio estimated for the whole country (5.13) by the RBI.

(iv) Income of households and affordability ratio: Income is the most important factor which determines the affordability. Affordability ratio varies between different income groups and it is shown in the following Table.

Table V - Affordability Ratio among Various Income Groups

Income	Median Annual Income (Rs.)	Median Housing Cost (Rs.)	Affordability Ratio
3 - 6 Lakhs	420000	4494657	10.70
6 - 12 Lakhs	870000	6475467	7.44
12 - 18 Lakhs	1680000	7794478	4.64
Overall	840000	6194728	7.37

Source: Primary survey

From the Table given above it can be understood that affordability ratio is the highest among the lowest income group. Even though their median housing cost is low, their affordability ratio is high because of their low income. They have to spend 10.7 times of their annual income to own the median house in their group. In other words, housing is unaffordable to the low-income group. The Table clearly shows that affordability ratio decreases with increase in income in spite of an increase in housing cost. When the second category spends only 7.44 times of their annual income to acquire a house, the third category which is the high income earners spend only 4.64 times. Thus, between the different income groups housing affordability is poor among the low-income groups and better among the high-income groups.

The above discussion reveals that in the study area among the middle-class the overall housing affordability is poor. The affordability ratio estimated by the present study is 7.37 which is higher than the affordability ratio estimated by RBI for the most expensive city of Mumbai in the country. This may be due to the housing culture of the people in the state as a whole. In spite of their mediocre income households prefer to construct independent houses with a larger area when compared to other cities in India. In the urban areas, they purchase residential plots at exorbitant prices and construct houses which are considered as a symbol of their social status and prestige. This also affects their housing affordability. Obviously, a question arises like how these people were able to construct their houses? Table given below shed light on the answer to this question. It shows the percentage share of housing finance according to the occupation of the home owner.

**Table VI - Distribution of the Percentage share of the
Housing Finance According to the Occupation of the Owner**

Occupation of owner	Mortgage loan	Past savings	Retirement benefits	Disposal of property	Contribution from relatives	Foreign remittance	Other sources
Government employees	60.89	27.82	.00	5.54	4.29	0.45	1.02
Private sector employees	48.92	30.62	.00	7.16	12.63	.00	0.88
Business/ self-employed	38.29	38.38	.00	18.08	4.88	.00	0.38
working abroad	34.39	12.11	.00	2.63	2.19	48.68	.00
Daily wage earners	35.20	35.20	.00	.00	18.00	.00	11.60
Others	25.00	15.00	45.71	14.29	.00	.00	.00
Unemployed	.00	100.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
Overall	51.21	29.16	.91	7.62	5.75	4.21	1.16

Source: Primary survey

The Table given above shows that, households depended on multiple sources of finance to construct their houses. For all the different categories past saving was an important source along with mortgage loan. Disposal of property, contribution from relatives etc. were some other major sources of finance. Thus the poor affordability is met by diversified sources of housing finance. Another aspect of house construction which is to be discussed along with affordability is the age of house owner at the time of house construction. The average age of the house owner at the time of their house construction according to the occupation is given below.

Table VII - Distribution of Households According to the Occupation of the Homeowner and the Average Age at the Time of House Construction

Occupation	Government employees	Private sector employees	Business/self-employed	working abroad	Daily wage earners	Others	Un-employed
Average Age	40.45	44	48	45.35	49.7	53	52

Source: Primary survey

It has already been seen that government employees are people with better housing affordability. According to the above Table government employees are in a position to construct their houses at an early age (40.5 years) when compared to others. Their steady income enables them with the easy availability of housing finance. Other categories have to wait a longer period to gather enough funds in the form of past savings or from other sources.

Conclusion

The above discussion reveals that housing affordability is better among the people with better educational, occupational and income status. Besides affordability is better among those households where owner and spouse are working. Another notable thing is that housing affordability is better among government employees and it is the best when the owner and spouse are gazetted government employees. Similarly, when the owner and spouse are in a managerial position in the private sector, their affordability becomes better. But an important point to be noted is that the overall housing affordability in the study area (affordability ratio-7.37) is poor when compared to the affordability estimated for all India (affordability ratio-5.13) by RBI (2019).

Since housing affordability is poor in the study area people depended on multiple sources of finance for their house construction. They depended on past savings, mortgage loans, the contribution from relatives, disposal of property etc. However, in the case of those middle-

class families where house owner or spouse either of them is employed, with less savings from their current income after meeting their domestic expenses like rent of their house, educational expenses of their children, food and health expenses etc., and without having any inherited property or financial support from their relatives, it may not be possible for them to construct a house without any external assistance. Hence, policymakers and planners should consider the case of such middle-class families also while framing housing policies.

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Introducing New Book

Gandhi in the Gallery: The Art of Disobedience

Saurav Kumar Rai

Gandhi, the Mahatma - as we know him, had little time to engage with creative art and artists. Political activities and spiritual thinking occupied most part of his life and time. Yet it were these artists who made the Mahatma hyper-visible in Indian public sphere. They not only embraced Gandhi, but also played a huge role in popularizing his ideas and ideals. It is true for cinema, radio as well as visual artists. In fact, as the eminent art critic G. Venkatachalam observes, Gandhi was 'the most written about and caricatured man in the world'. The present volume by Sumathi Ramaswamy explores the role played by the visual artists behind this hyper-visibility of Gandhi across the Indian landscape from tea stalls and government offices to museums and art galleries.

Weaving through the reminiscences of some of the prominent visual artists such as Mukul Dey, Nandalal Bose, Margaret Bourke-White, Haku Shah and a few others, Ramaswamy delineates fascinating artistic encounters where the Mahatma appeared as muse. As Ramaswamy argues, Gandhi seized the imagination of many artists who then found themselves compelled to capture him on paper or canvas, in stone or bronze, even whilst he sought to resist their attempts with a seeming disdain for their practice (p. 15).

Subsequently, Ramaswami analyses some of the major ways in which Gandhi has been depicted by the artists. As for instance, Gandhi

is the only man among the great public figures and fathers of the nation, argues Ramaswamy, who has been portrayed half-naked or partly clad. According to Ramaswamy, the Mahatma was undoubtedly practicing a form of sartorial disobedience against a Victorian cultural formation in which bare flesh was denigrated as savage and uncivilized, a sign of lack of respectability and virtue (p. 38). This went into the making of the Mahatma's image of, to quote Churchill's words, 'half-naked fakir'. The artists time and again captured the aesthetics of the Mahatma's bare and brown body which featured prominently in mass-produced calendar art.

Another major way in which Mahatma Gandhi has often been depicted in popular art is in walking mode. This depiction of 'artful walking' of the Mahatma constitutes the subject matter of one of the chapters of present volume. Among various marches which Gandhi spearheaded, the 'Dandi Yatra' or the 'Salt March' predominantly attracted the attention of the artists which Ramaswamy has discussed in detail linking it with Gandhian pedestrian politics. Nevertheless, the most iconic commemoration of Gandhian pedestrian politics remains the *Martyrs Column* in New Delhi, an impressive sculptural ensemble designed by Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury.

Last but not the least, Ramaswamy discusses the ways in which martyrdom or assassination of Mahatma Gandhi on 30 January 1948 has been depicted by various artists. As Ramaswamy shows Gandhi's assassination invoked a multitude of artistic imaginations thereby turning it into 'a perfect death'. Even the artists imagined a life after death in the context of Gandhi establishing an equivalence between him and the immortal gods (pp. 152-53). Incidentally, in artistic depiction the bloody unnatural ending of Gandhi often turns into as perfect and peaceful as *ichcha mrityu* (desired death).

Thus, this recent book by Sumathi Ramaswamy is a phenomenal

work juxtaposing artistic depiction of Gandhi with in-depth understanding of Gandhian ideas and philosophy along with historical understanding of the key events of modern Indian history. Roli Books deserves equal appreciation for reproducing more than 100 examples of paintings, sculptures, installations and multimedia works on Gandhi making it a real visual treat for the readers.

(Sumathi Ramaswamy, Roli Books, New Delhi, 2020, Pp.216, ₹ 1495).

Book Review

Migratory Diaspora and Medical Encounters

Saurav Kumar Rai

**Henk Menke, Jane Buckingham, et.al. (3eds.)
(2020), *Social Aspects of Health, Medicine and Disease
in the Colonial and Post-Colonial Era*, Manohar,
New Delhi, pp. 261, ₹ 1395.**

Diaspora studies and history of health and medicine are undoubtedly the two most fashionable topics at present among the academics across the globe. The present volume brings these two themes together exploring the aspects of medical history through the experiences of enslaved labourers from Africa and indentured labourers from India, China and Java. In some sense the articles contained in this volume stand outside the conventional sphere of history of medicine as well as history of diaspora, yet they enrich our understanding of both of these topics. This volume has grown out of an international conference on 'Slavery, Indentured Labour, Migration, Diaspora and Identity Formation, in Historical and Contemporary Context', held in Paramaribo, Suriname in June 2018. It brings together the authors from diverse academic background and nationality (including India, New Zealand, Suriname and Netherlands).

The essays collected in this volume have been thematically divided into three distinctive parts by the editors. The common thread which runs across all the three parts is the medical encounter between the

colonizers and the colonized and the consequent phenomenon of 'medical pluralism'. It is noticeable that despite preference for biomedicine the colonial rule seldom used brute force for its propagation. Instead an element of negotiation governed medical interactions between the colonizers and the colonized when it came to enslaved and indentured labourers. This element of negotiation has been exquisitely explored in Part 1 of this volume titled 'Cultural Encounters, Pluralism and Health Care'. As Ashutosh Kumar shows in his essay (pp. 27-54) negotiation started right from the *jahaji* journey itself across the 'dark waters'. According to Kumar, ships carrying indentured labourers from India acted as a 'space' where Indian indigenous as well as Western medical practices were accommodated on the habitual and moral basis of emigrants which shaped the colonial health regimes (p. 30). This, in turn, created the possibility of 'medical pluralism' in the sugar colonies. Kumar, in his essay, has interestingly analysed in detail the provisions carried on the ship for indentured labourers thereby arguing in favour of negotiation between modern biomedical concepts of nutrition and moral and religious dietary sensibilities of the workers.

In a similar vein, Edward van Eer in his essay (pp. 35-74) explores the issue of conversion of Maroons (former African slaves in Suriname) and continued existence of their traditional medical beliefs and practices along with the Western one. Eer shows that Christianization did not mean that all African traditional elements were driven out. Instead what eventually came out of this interaction was a 'plural system' where people had more than one health care system to choose from.

Part 2 of the volume titled 'Pluralism and Ethno-Health Practices' which contains respective essays by Sahiensa Ramdas, Dennis Mans and Marlyn Aaron-Denz, all focusing invariably on Suriname, looks at the post-colonial contemporaneous presence of African ethno-health practices among the Surinamese despite skeptical attitude of the erstwhile elitist elements in colonial society such as

planters, government officials and the church about the knowledge and skills of enslaved people. Here Aaron-Denz particularly makes a powerful argument that slaves living in darkness never forgot their medical traditions and kept them alive during the voyage and in the centuries of bondage and marronage and during the period after abolition of slavery until present. In fact, Aaron-Denz argues that this traditional medical knowledge which the enslaved African preserved over the centuries played a crucial role in their own protection during their journey to Suriname and thereafter (p. 173).

In the aforesaid regard, Sahiensa Ramdas in his essay (pp. 101-28) has also pointed out the continuing legacy of slavery in medical traditions that are practiced today in Suriname. Similarly, Dennis Mans has located the continuation of plant-based traditional medical knowledge for treating myriad conditions among the descendants of Africans, Indians and Javanese in Suriname. In fact, according to Mans, Suriname's multiculturalism with regard to many forms of traditional medicine is perhaps its most distinctive legacy.

Part 3 'Leprosy in Plural Contexts' deals with leprosy in Suriname and Fiji and the ways in which it was perceived and dealt by the planters and the labourers. It includes three essays by Stephen Snelders, Jane Buckingham and Henk Menke et.al. As Michel Foucault remarks in his landmark work *Madness and Civilisation* (1961) that one of the essential features of so-called 'modern' states was to invisibilise the lepers, paupers, lunatics and all those living at the margins of the community through forced confinements. The colonial regimes throughout embodied this invisibilising zeal of 'modern' states perfectly. In fact, it often acquired racial and sexual overtones in the colonial context. As Stephen Snelders argues in his essay in Suriname, leprosy came to be seen especially as a symbol of the 'African threat' to Europeans (p. 179). Race emerged as an essential category in understanding the aetiology and epidemiology of the disease and was important in determining the measures that needed to be taken (p. 180).

This sanctified compulsory segregation of the Europeans and the enslaved population which was introduced as early as 1790 and continued to exist in Suriname during the whole period of direct Dutch colonial rule. Both the enslaved Africans as well as the indentured labour from British India later on were subjected to this colonial regime of segregation in the name of restricting the spread of leprosy.

Similarly, Jane Buckingham in the context of Fiji argues that those indentured labour identified as carrying physical marks of the disease or who had family history of the disease were refused allotment by deeming them 'unfit' (p. 208). For this a screening mechanism was set up even at the point of embarkation in India. Further, according to Buckingham, once allocated to a plantation, those indentured labourers who later showed symptoms of leprosy were doubly disabled firstly by their stigmatization and secondly by their economic and social displacement. Significant here is Buckingham's micro study of Beqa Leper Asylum (pp. 210-15) of Fiji where indentured Indian labours were isolated after being detected with leprosy. Interestingly, Beqa Leper Asylum often housed convicts from the jails alongside leprosy patients. This reveals a unique aspect of colonial medical discourse and policy wherein the worlds of criminals and lunatics were often blurred, confining both in the same premises and using similar vocabulary for criminals and lunatics.

In a nutshell, this volume is a welcome addition for both diaspora studies as well as history of health and medicine. However, the title of the book appears bit vague and out of focus as it nowhere gives an impression that it deals with the specific context of slavery, indentured labour, migrations and diaspora. Instead it resorts to a generic title 'Social Aspects of Health, Medicine and Disease in the Colonial and Post-Colonial Era'. A more focused title might have been better. Nevertheless, this book is an important step forward in understanding the medical ideas and clinical interactions in the erstwhile plantation colonies.



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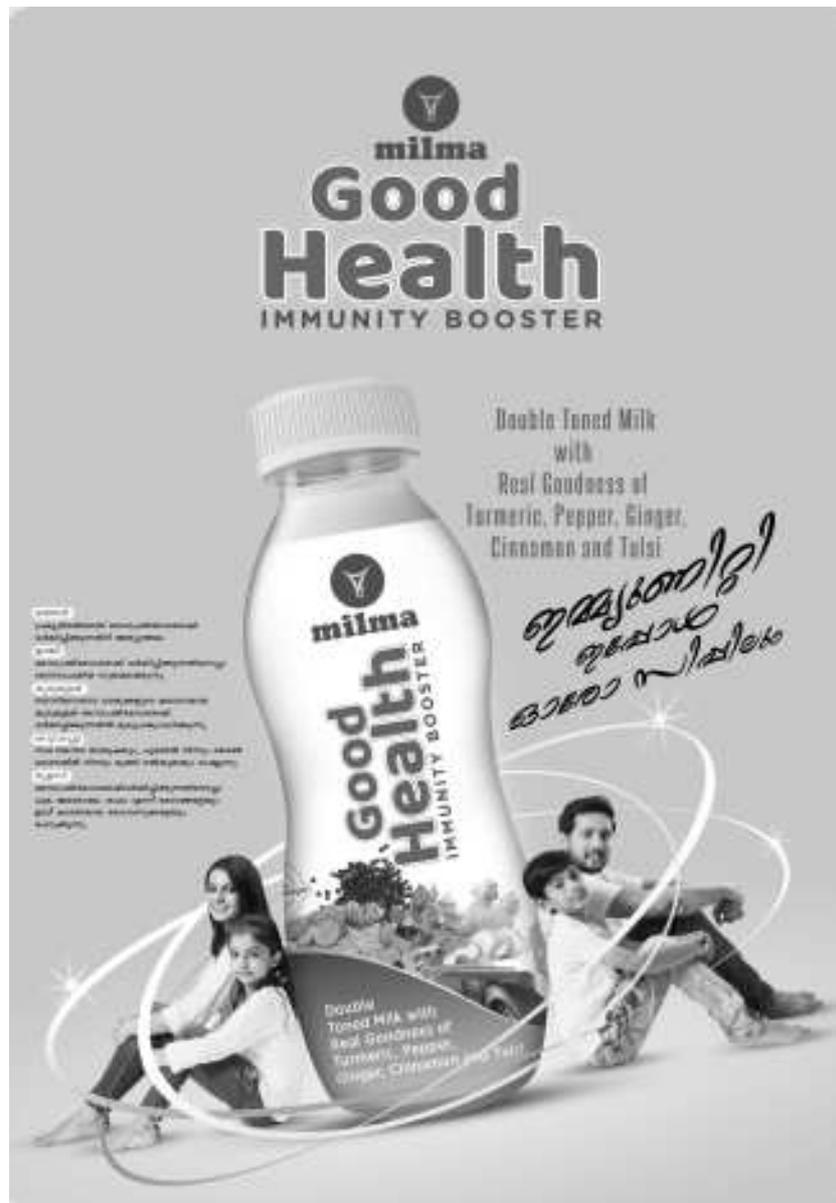


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