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PRINCIPAL'S MESSAGE...

While congratulating the Political Science Department on the 30th Anniversary since its inception on the variety of projects it has completed, we realize how dynamic this subject is. Ever-changing and advancing, Political Science offers its pupils new vistas and scope for research and critical reflection.

Looking at and beyond the challenges that Indian Democracy is facing, the contributors to this Journal have, thinking out of the box, considered humanitarian issues offered in the Millennium Development Goals, and more.

We appreciate the effort put into the publication of this issue of Political Science Journal by Dr. S.Chowdhury, the staff and students of the Department during its Pearl Anniversary year.

**Sr.Christine Coutinho
Principal
March,2011.**

EDITOR'S NOTE...

Loreto College is celebrating its centenary year from February 2, 2011 to February 2, 2012. To commemorate the occasion the College has undertaken a number of new initiatives for enhancing the quality of higher education.

Incidentally the centenary year of the College coincides with the thirtieth year of the Department of Political Science. It is my pleasure to convey to the readers that on this occasion, the Department has taken the initiative of publishing this volume of the journal, the fifth in this series, as e-journal. It is our belief that this initiative will enable wider readership and larger circulation of the journal.

The theme of the fifth volume is "Challenges to Indian Democracy". The contributors have tried to fathom different issues that threaten the functioning of democracy in contemporary India. The views expressed are entirely theirs and the volume is an attempt to sensitize young minds and motivate them to build a new India.

**Dr. Sujata Chowdhury,
Head of the Department,
March, 2011.**

The Corruption Ulcer of India

Mallika RoyChoudhury

History (Hons.), IIIrd Year.

Dalip Singh Wasan was not wrong when he said: “We, the people of India must be sorry to note that India has been declared as highly corrupt nation in the world by The Transparency International and it has been said that high officers in the bureaucracy and the politicians holding position are corrupt. We have already proof of such indulgence when we have noted that big amounts are lying in secret bank accounts in Swiss Banks and none is daring to disclose the names of those who had been depositing these amounts from illegal collections because once names of all are disclosed, we shall have to rewrite our history. Most of the people who had been known as true sons and daughters of India and had been decorated with awards shall be in the line of these corrupt people and then we shall have to withdraw some of the prizes and awards which had been given to them for their meritorial services”.¹

One of our Prime Ministers had said that when we say that 100 paise had been spent on a development work, we must accept that only 29 paise had been spent and the remaining 71 had been bungled out by the politicians and the executors. This assessment is not wrong and when this calculation is coming from the mouth of the Prime Minister, then we must feel sorry that this is the ' Ram Rajya' which had been promised by Mahatma Gandhi. It is an old saying that people get the government they deserve and if the people who are elected by us and are governing us are corrupt, it means, whole fault lies on our shoulders and it shall be for us to decide to elect right people to run the administration.

It is sad that people declared to be corrupt and against whom there are so many cases in courts, are winning elections and they are getting chance to rule and avoid or delay further investigations and final trials. Here the fault lies on the part of the people

who elect. We have wasted six decades on these election exercises, but still we are not in a position to choose right type of people. The political parties in India are like co-operative societies and some people join together and form a political party and then divide the offices amongst themselves and they start selling seats and even party tickets in elections are sold and the higher bidders come in power. The people who are in politics have taken up this line considering this line as a profession, trade, calling and employment and they do not come in this line to serve the people as public servants, but they join this line to earn money and they had been successful in their targets. There is none here who can stop this corruption in India and therefore, the people of India have accepted this state of affairs and they too are giving bribes to get favours and even government jobs and stations are auctioned and the highest bidder is getting the station of his liking. There is none who shall bring back all the moneys in Swiss banks and confiscate the same for government exchequer and there is none who shall stop corruption in the administration and therefore, the people have learned to live in this corrupt society with corrupt living methods.

Finland remains the least-corrupt country in the world, according to the latest annual index compiled by Transparency International, a Berlin-based organisation. The index, which measures perceived levels of corruption, focuses on the misuse of public office for private gain. The United States ranks as the 18th least-corrupt country, only a little less so than Chile. Botswana is reckoned to be less corrupt than Italy.

India ranks 83 in the list of least-corrupt countries. Finland is the least corrupt and ranks first; Singapore is fifth; Botswana is ranked 30th — thus leading India by about 50 places.

In the Indian neighbourhood, there are no *clean* countries. On a scale where 10 is the cleanest, India gets a score of 2.8 (with a standard deviation of 0.4, a fairly low standard deviation.) Compared to that, China scores marginally higher at 3.5 but has a greater standard deviation of 1.0 and therefore the estimated error is larger.

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Islamic Republic of Bangladesh both score — surprise, surprise — lower than India. Pakistan gets a 2.5 with a large 0.9

standard deviation, and Bangladesh has the dubious distinction of being the least uncorrupt country of the 133 surveyed by [Transparency International](#) and has a score of 1.3 (std deviation 0.7).

Perhaps if Sri Lanka were in that list, it would get a higher score than India. And I also suppose that the northern states of India (UP, Bihar, etc.) would be more found to be more corrupt than the southern states (Kerala, AP, TN).

Corruption and Underdevelopment

It is no mystery that underdevelopment and high degrees of corruption are highly correlated. There are causal links between the two and most likely these are bi-directional. Corruption is endogenous in most systems and clearly reflects the dominant cultural traits.

In India, the web of corruption probably has a bureaucratic core. A vast bureaucracy that is instituted to control every aspect of economic life creates the incentives for individual and institutionalized corruption. Then the “democratic” political system uses that bureaucracy to extract rents that are used for fuelling the vast political machinery.

Dismantling the bureaucracy would be the first step to fixing the problem of corruption in India, followed by reduction of the public sector. This would lead to reduced rents that political parties could extract through the bureaucratic machinery and have the salutary effect of getting rent-seeking thugs out of the political system in India.

India’s development is critically dependent on reducing corruption.

It is a known fact that India is to host the Commonwealth Games; a \$2.5 billion sports extravaganza which the government hopes will showcase the country’s rise over the past decade. This ascent, while not as dramatic as China’s, is nonetheless highly impressive.

But, alas for unscrupulous administrators like Suresh Kalmadi and K.P.S. Gill,

the glare of lights may be bright enough, perhaps, to blind the spectators to the squalor and hunger that lie just outside their arc.

The accompanying glitz and colorful cultural fiesta are impressive enough to hopefully erase from memory the revelations of multimillion-dollar scams involving politicians and officials responsible for awarding lucrative contracts to businesses in the run up to the games.

Within this multi-dimensional context, the correlation with corruption in India's government institutions becomes more transparent. Corruption erodes the capacity of the state to provide the public services which would mitigate the poverty-inducing factors.

Tax evasion by offering bribes lowers governmental revenue, and further reduces its capability to offer infrastructure support to the poor. Corrupt governments at the state and central levels tend to focus spending on high-tech capital goods and equipment purchases, since bribes and illicit gains are large in such transactions. Public spending on health, education and access to law and justice consequently becomes a lower priority, impacting the poor who need these services the most. Money from existing schemes is leaked and siphoned off all the way down the line until only a trickle reaches the intended beneficiaries.

The deep-rooted corruption in India's public institutions perpetuates poverty. It most seriously affects the poor in socially marginalized ethnic, religious and caste groups, alienating them further and strengthening their perception of being left out of the progress being made by the rest of the populace. It is this feeling of isolation and helplessness that triggers support for and participation in conflict. Discontent and exclusion act as catalysts for the mass unrest and violence witnessed in many parts of the country.

This triangular connection between corruption, chronic poverty coupled with marginalization and violent uprisings is exemplified in the Maoist movement. The strong

support among the local tribes for the violence in the state of Jharkhand, for instance, is in no small measure due to a former chief minister's two-year reign.

Unchecked and massive expansion of mining operations without regard to tribal or environmental concerns was allowed, setting in motion a process that in the next five years will have tragically displaced half a million of the state's poorest and most deprived tribes, who depend on the fast disappearing forest for their livelihood.

This story is repeated, with minor variations, in the other eastern states. It is no coincidence that maps of India's richest mining territories, which have witnessed massive amounts of corruption, chronically poor forest tribal populations and militant Maoist activity would all cover the same regions and look almost identical when superimposed on each other. One need not always look at big-money scams to see the lamentable consequences of corruption in India. There is a correlation between even low-level extortion and deep human tragedy. A recent local paper carried the story of 14-year-old Aditya Dube of Allahabad, who, on his way to school at 6:30 a.m. was crushed to death by a speeding truck. Cops routinely allow trucks to enter the city and then wait on the streets to stop them and collect bribes of 50 rupees (\$1) from each driver it was business as usual on one morning too, except that this one driver decided not to pay, and, in his haste to dodge the cops, ran over a child.²

Take for instance the recent Adarsh Scam: The 31-storey Adarsh Society, originally meant for Kargil war heroes, landed in controversy after media reports said several politicians, bureaucrats and defense personnel owned flats there. The CBI had on November 15 registered a Preliminary Enquiry (PE) to probe the alleged role of former and serving Army officers, with the permission of Defense Minister A K Antony. The plush housing Society, built on prime defense land, has been constructed in alleged violation of rules. It was originally meant to be a six-storey structure to house Kargil war heroes and their kin, but was later extended to 31 floors without mandatory permission. The exposure of the scam forced the Congress party to seek the resignation of then Maharashtra Chief Minister Ashok Chavan.

Then the shocking Satyam scandal: On 7 January 2009, company Chairman Ramalinga Raju resigned after notifying board members and the [Securities and Exchange Board of India](#) (SEBI) that Satyam's accounts had been falsified. Raju confessed that Satyam's balance sheet of 30 September 2008 contained:³

- inflated figures for cash and bank balances of ₹5,040 crore ([US\\$](#) 1.14 billion) as against ₹5,361 crore ([US\\$](#) 1.22 billion) reflected in the books.
- An accrued interest of ₹376 crore ([US\\$](#) 85.35 million) which was non-existent.
- An understated liability of ₹1,230 crore ([US\\$](#) 279.21 million) on account of funds was arranged by himself.
- an overstated debtors' position of ₹490 crore ([US\\$](#) 111.23 million) (as against ₹2,651 crore ([US\\$](#) 601.78 million) in the books).

The shocking episode of A. Raja: Union IT and Communications Minister with the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG), as per reports, holding him personally responsible for the sale of 2G spectrum at ludicrously low rates. The CAG report on the alleged massive scam, which is said to have resulted in a loss of up to Rs 1.76 lakh crore to the national exchequer, has been submitted to the President and the Finance Ministry.

The real problem is lurked in the lax regulations that fed greed and unbridled debt-financed consumption at home. The consequent housing bubble, when it burst, caused the collapse of major banks and stock markets all over the world, leading to massive job losses and to high rates of unemployment which continue to persist.

Corruption in public institutions is India's Osama.⁴ It exacerbates poverty, rendering it chronic, and increases the marginalization of the most vulnerable in **society**. The resulting feelings of discontent, deprivation, lack of choice and helplessness then prepare the ground for those who would organize and mobilize these groups.

It does not hide in the mountains, but is out in the open and permeates the very

core of daily government. Its reach is phenomenal, and its consequences tragic. The people of India can continue to ignore it only at great national peril.

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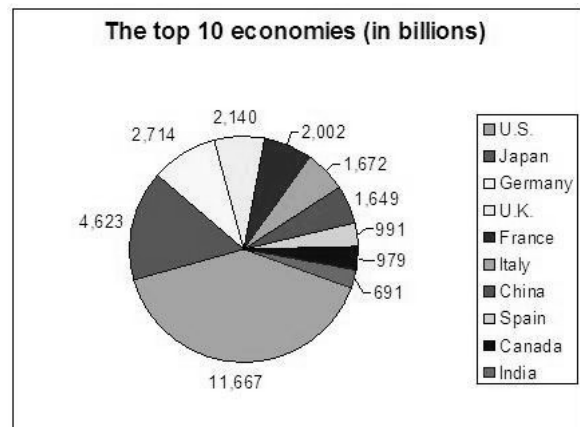
The Indian Economy: Battling the Inflation

Abriya Sultan
Political Science (Hons.), IIIrd Year.

Indian Economy

The economy of India is the [tenth largest](#) economy in the world by [nominal Gross Domestic Product\(GDP\)](#) and the [fourth largest](#) by [Purchasing Power Parity \(PPP\)](#).ⁱ

Following strong economic reforms from the socialist inspired [economy](#) of a post-independence Indian nation, the country began to develop a fast-paced [economic growth](#), as [free market](#) principles were initiated in 1990 for international competition and foreign investment. India is an emerging economic power with a very large pool of human and



natural resources, and a growing large pool of skilled professionals. India was the largest economy from the year 1 AD until the colonial period whereupon it was taken over by other countries such as China and the U.K. Economists predict that by 2020, India will be among the leading economies of the world.ⁱⁱ

India was under [social democratic](#)-based policies from 1947 to 1991. The economy was characterized by [extensive regulation](#), [protectionism](#), [public ownership](#), [pervasive corruption](#) and [slow growth](#). Since 1991, [continuing economic liberalization](#) has moved the country towards a [market-based economy](#). A revival of economic reforms and better economic policy in first decade of the 21st century accelerated India's [economic growth rate](#). In recent years, Indian cities have continued to liberalize business regulations. By 2008, India had established itself as the world's [second-fastest growing major economy](#). However, as a result of the [financial crisis of 2007–2010](#) coupled with a poor monsoon, India's GDP growth rate significantly slowed to 6.7% in

2008-09, but subsequently recovered to 7.2% in 2009-10, while the [fiscal deficit](#) rose from 5.9% to a high 6.5% during the same period.

Faster growth will create inflation – warns IMF

Indian economy had grown by 8.9% in the second quarter of 2010. Amid the celebrations over near 9% economic growth, policymakers are already worried about the prospects of high inflation accompanying high growth as capacities in several sectors were near full utilization levels.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) warned in December, 2010, that the Indian economy, like several other emerging markets, was growing at close to full potential, raising inflation fears.

At the same time, it said that high growth, and the consequent increase in revenue collections, offered India the opportunity to get back to the road of fiscal consolidation and also build a buffer to tide over future shocks. Higher economic growth is expected to translate into a 15% increase in revenue collections this year.

Rising inflation is one of the biggest stories of recent weeks and has received a great deal of attention from the media and political parties. At the same time inflation is an economic problem that the average person meets on a daily basis in terms of higher prices particularly of food products. It is sustained rise in the general level of prices of goods and services over a certain period. In simple words it means too much money chasing too few goods.

Recent data shows that the inflation crossed the double digit figure and rose to 10.16% in May 2010. Food inflation is 16.44% for the week ended Sep 18th, the 5th straight week for a steady climb!ⁱⁱⁱ

Why are the prices rising?

A number of factors, many of them are global in nature, but the chief among them, is the rise in the price of oil above \$100 per barrel. Petroleum is used to make fertilizer and also as fuel in transportation so naturally when oil prices rise it affects food and other prices as well.

Strong growth in big, developing countries like US & China also contributed to inflation by boosting demand for many commodities like cement and steel. This got transmitted to Indian economy.

Finally poor monsoons and severe drought have reduced agricultural output further putting an upward pressure on the prices.

A final push this time came from the domestic causes. Government has pumped in additional purchasing power in rural areas through schemes like NREGA and in urban areas, the 6th Pay Commission for the Centre Government employees offering a bonanza of hefty pay-packets [States too thereafter took the cue from the centre and similarly increased the salary of their employee] has given additional purchasing power in the hands of people.

Inflation basics

Inflation may be caused due to several economic factors:

- When the government of a country prints money in excess, prices increase as there is too much money in circulation chasing too few goods.
- Increase in production and labour costs have a direct impact on the price of the final product.
- High taxes on consumer products can also lead to inflation.
- Demand pull inflation is when the economy demands more goods and services than what is produced.

- Cost push inflation or supply shock inflation is when non-availability of a commodity would lead to increase in prices.

The problems due to inflation would be:

- When the balance between supply and demand goes out of control, consumers could change their buying habits, forcing manufacturers to cut down production.
- Inflation can create major problems in the economy. Price increase can worsen poverty, affecting low income households.
- Inflation creates economic uncertainty and is a dampener to the investment climate, slowing growth and finally reducing savings and thereby cutting consumption.
- Manufacturers would not have an incentive to invest in new equipment and new technology.
- Uncertainty would force people to withdraw money from the Bank and convert it into product with long lasting value like gold.

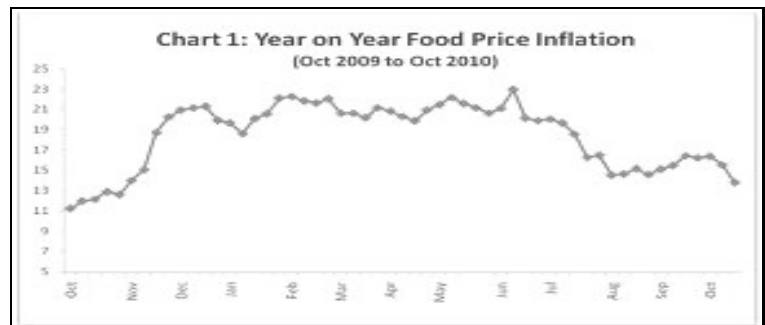
How is inflation measured?

In India there are two broad measures of inflation: the Consumer Price Index (CPI) and the Wholesale Price Index (WPI). Of the two the latter has a higher profile because it is measured more frequently. The WPI is based on the wholesale prices of 435 items ranging from agricultural commodities like wheat, rice, groundnuts etc to manufactured products like steel, cement etc. A single index number is calculated based on those prices and the inflation rate is calculated by comparing the most recent index number with that of a year ago. Its base year 1993-94 has been revised to 2004-05. The coverage in terms of number of items included in the basket for computation of the CPI is much less than that of WPI.

Mathematically, inflation or inflation rate is calculated as the **percentage rate of change of a certain price index**. The price indices widely used for this are Consumer Price Index (adopted by countries such as USA, UK, Japan and China) and Wholesale Price Index (adopted by countries such as India). Thus inflation rate, generally, is derived from CPI or WPI.

Food Inflation

India has not faced double digit inflation in food during the last several years despite serious drought and decline in the food output in some years. The sense of food inflation has turned quite different after 2008. In most of the months inflation remained close to or above 10 percent since mid 2008.



This is causing a serious concern as expenditure on food accounts for more than 50 percent of the total household expenditure in rural and 43 percent in urban areas. The reason for food inflation can be grouped into two categories: those which follow from changes in global market and those which are related to domestic economy. With the increase in liberalization of trade in agriculture since early 1990s domestic food prices have been strongly influenced by international prices. However, food prices in India and international markets have not behaved in the same way after year 2006. Global food price increased by 26 percent during the year 2007 and reached historical peak by middle of 2008. In contrast to this, food prices in India increased by less than 8 percent during 2007 and 2008 but then it crossed 17.5 percent in 2010.^{iv}

Annual food inflation eased to its lowest level in 18 months in the month, November 2010, pressed down by lower prices of potatoes, pulses and vegetables, in line with policymaker forecast. Food inflation eased for the seventh straight week under a new data series, pushed down by normal monsoon rains and new crop arrivals in the market. It rose to more than 17% in January which had helped drive headline inflation to double digits earlier in the year and prompted the central bank to raise key rates. ^v

What is the government going to do about inflation?

There will always be some amount of inflation in a growing economy and this is necessary too, as it has a multiplier effect on growth. With demand picking up, there will be inflationary pressure which can be moderated by higher production. The management of current inflation requires both supply-side and demand-side approaches.

RBI is giving full concentration on the inflation problem, which is undermining the fragile economic growth and revised the policy rates to stem the rising risk of inflation. The good amount of foreign inflows has led to sharp appreciation in the local currency and RBI has intervened in the currency market to contain the sharp rise in Rupee against the US Dollar and RBI would continue to do so whenever required. The overall aspect is that the further revision in policy rates is expected.

MONETARY POLICY MEASURES SINCE 2009 TO CONTROL INFLATION^{vi}

MONETARY POLICY INSTRUMENT	PRESENT RATE (%)	CHANGE SINCE OCTOBER 2009 (BASIC POINTS)	REMARKS
Reverse Repo Rate	4.0	+75	25 basis points (bps) each in March,

			April & July
Repo Rate	5.5	+75	25bps each in March, April & July
Cash Reserve Ratio	6.0	+100	75 bps in January 2010 & 25bps in April
Statutory Liquidity Rate (source: RBI)	25.0	+100	October 2009

The government has already taken some quick steps like trying to curb exports in sensitive commodities and reduce the cost of imports. The idea is that exports reduce domestic supply adding to the pressure on prices; therefore the government has already banned the export of cement and non-basmati rice and may ban other commodity exports later.

Similarly cheaper imports help keep prices low and the government has reduced import duties on edible oils as well.

Further action may be taken by the RBI: for example raising interest rates which will reduce liquidity - money floating in the system - and the total demand in the economy which will reduce the pressure on prices.

Another option is to allow the exchange rate to appreciate (let rupee rise in value against the US dollar). If the rupee rises in value, imports will become less expensive which will help moderate inflation further.

The question remains as to why the government is adopting policies that transfer most of the burden on to the *aam aadmi* and aggravate inflation. An ideological commitment to neoliberal policies and the belief, right of wrong, in their ability to put India on the 'world stage' may be playing a role. More importantly, the government's moves seem to favour corporate interests of various kinds.

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Food Security in India

Charlene Cooke
Political Science (Hons.), IInd Year.

Each year as we approach Independence Day, we are continuously haunted by a question i.e. are we truly independent and free? We have gained freedom from the British rule but what have we done with our Independence? It has been 63 years since we have gained independence. We are a

free nation now. But still after so many years, the question remains the same. We proudly claim that we are independent from a foreign rule, but we are still not free from jealousy, intolerance and hatred towards our fellow countrymen. If we look more closely into our social conditions, we find that we are tied in shackles of social insecurities like social backwardness, inadequate mean of livelihood for most citizens living below the poverty level etc.

Part IV of our Constitution entitles 'Directive Principles of State Policy' contains Article 38 that lays down that the state shall direct its policy towards securing:-

- i. "Adequate means of livelihood for all citizens;
- ii. Equal pay for equal work for all;
- iii. Protection of adult and child labour;
- iv. opportunities to children to develop in a healthy manner"

But considering the evidence on nutritional outcomes from the National Family Health Survey [NFHS], conducted in 2005 – 2006, it is found that, 46 per cent of children below three years are underweight; 33 per cent of women and 28 percent of men have a body mass index [BMI] below normal; 79 percent of children aged six to 35 months have anaemia, as do 56 percent of married women aged 15 – 49 years and 24percent of married men in that age group; 58 percent of pregnant women have anaemia. The national averages mask locational differences: all these indicators are much worse in Rural India.

Therefore it is not surprising that questions of food security and the right to food have become such urgent political issues in India today. The rapid growth of aggregate income over the past two decades has not addressed the basic issue of ensuring the food security of the population. Instead, nutrition indicators have stagnated and the per capita calorie consumption has actually declined, suggesting that the problem of hunger may have got worse rather than better.

Indicators have scarcely changed, or have changed very little, since the previous NFHS in 1998 – 99. In terms of calorie consumption, the picture is even worse. According to the National Sample Survey Organizations [NSSO] large survey of 2004 – 2005, the average daily intake of calories of the rural population dropped by 106 kilo calories [4.9 percent], that is from 2,153 kilo calorie to 2,047 kilo calorie and that of the urban population dropped by 51 kilo calorie [2.5 percent] that is from 2,071 to 2,020 kilo calori . The average daily intake of protein by the Indian population decreased from 60.2 to 57 grams in rural India between 1993 – 1994 and 2004 – 2005 and remained stable at around 57 grams in the urban areas during the same period.

The all India averages do not capture the wide variation across the states and even within states. For example, the Indian State Hunger Index 2008 [brought out by the International Food Policy Research Institute or IFPRI] shows very large differences across 17 major states, ranging from 13.6 for Punjab to 30.9 for Madhya Pradesh. If these states could be compared with countries in the Global Hunger Index ranking, Punjab would rank 34th and Madhya Pradesh would rank 82nd. However, few Indian states perform well in relation to the Global index. Even the best performing Indian State, Punjab, lies below 33 other developing countries ranked by the Global Hunger Index. The worst performing states in India have index scores that would be at the bottom of the Global ranking: Bihar and Jharkhand rank lower than Zimbabwe and Haiti, and Madhya Pradesh falls between Ethiopia and Chad.

What is especially significant in the IFPRI index is that the indicators of hunger do not always correspond to poverty ratios. For example, the lower incidence of income poverty in Gujarat and Karnataka is associated with worse performance in terms of hunger – and this is confirmed by the

calories consumption data. The recent rise in food prices in India is likely to have made matters much worse, and the effects of the global crisis on employment and livelihoods within the country are likely to cause further deterioration of people's access to food. Clearly, therefore, food security is currently one of the most important policy areas, and demands stressing a rights-based approach to public food strategy have gained ground. This is what underlies the current discussion around the legislation on the right to food, which has been put in the 100-day agenda of the United Progressive Alliance government. According to its most loose definition, food security prevails when the population does not live in hunger or fear of starvation. But recent definitions have been more stringent. According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation [FAO], food security in a particular society exists. "When all people, at all times, have access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life". Such a definition appears to be simple but is actually quite complex and begs many questions. What is "sufficient"? How is access to be determined and provided? To what extent must food preferences be taken into account? All these questions become even more important when food security is sought to be converted into a justiciable right.

It is evident that genuine food security among a population depends upon a wide range of factors, all or many of which are associated with the need for some public intervention. Ensuring adequate food supplies requires increases in agricultural productivity, possibly changes in cropping patterns, and certainly the sustained viability of cultivation. All these would be necessary at both local and national levels. Food can be accessed by all people only if they have the purchasing power to buy the necessary food, which means that employment, remuneration and livelihood issues are important. Social discrimination and exclusion still play unfortunately, large roles in determining both livelihood of and access to food by different social categories. This factor needs to be reckoned with.

Malnourishment is closely linked to poor sanitation and unhealthy practices. So providing clean drinking water, ensuring access to sanitation facilities and other basic amenities and imparting knowledge about correct or desirable eating habits are all necessary. Child malnutrition in India tends to be the worst at the age of five to eleven months, which suggests that breast feeding and weaning behavior matter – and this highlights the needs for society to educate mothers so as to enable them to continue breast feeding and to shift to appropriate solids when required.

All these issues must be addressed if the rampant problem of under nutrition has to be dealt with. But, obviously, most of these cannot easily be translated into legal provisions. It is clear that a law, however well intentioned and carefully phrased, can only address some of the complex factors that determine food insecurity. It is important for the government to be aware of the need for a multi pronged approach to the problem that has to extend beyond a legal promise if it is to be successful. This does not mean that a food security law would be meaningless, far from it. In fact, by focusing on universal food access and assigning responsibility and culpability, a law would force the government at both central and state levels to take up the entire gamut of issues, which rebate not just to actual food distribution but also to its production and patterns of consumption, so as to eventually ensure genuine food security.

The key point here is that such a law must guarantee **universal access**. The dominant failing of drafts of the proposed legislation that have been circulating in various quarters is that they do not promise or even try to aim at universal food access. Instead, they tend to be obsessed with targeting food security at the below poverty line [BPL] population and some defined vulnerable groups. Some drafts have gone even further, suggesting that the non BPL population be excluded entirely from public distribution. There is no doubt that poor and vulnerable groups have to be the focus of all public action to ensure food security. But making this a legal provision is likely to have an affect that is exactly the opposite of what is intended and would actually reduce the access of such groups. There are many reasons why targeted schemes and this one in particular, are

unlikely to work. Most significant of all, there are the well known errors inherent in targeting unjustified exclusion of the genuinely poor and unwarranted inclusion of the non-poor. These are not simply mistakes that can occur in any administrative scheme; they are in-built into systems that try to provide scarce goods to one section of any population. In hierarchical and discriminatory societies such as India, where social and economic power is unequally distributed, making a scarce good [cheap food] supposedly available only to the poor is one of the easiest ways to reduce their access to it.

The second problem relates to the distribution between food insecurity and poverty as currently defined. It is evident from the NSSO and NFHS surveys that is nutritionally deprived is significantly larger than the “poor” population, and in many states, they are not completely overlapping categories either. To deal with food insecurity in an effective manner, it is counter productive to base public food production on a predefined group of the “poor”, which would deprive a large number of others who are also food- insecure.

Part of the reason for this relates to the third problem, the absence of any notion of dynamics in a rigid law that defines “poor” and “vulnerable” households in a static sense and changes the group only at infrequent intervals. Households- and the people within them- can fall in or out of poverty, however defined, because of changing material circumstances. Similarly, they can also go from being food-secure to food-insecure in a short time. The reasons can vary: crop failures, sharp rises in the price of food, employment collapse, health issues that divert household spending, the accumulation of debt, and so on. Monitoring each and every household on a regular basis to check whether any of these or other features has caused it to become food-insecure is not just administratively difficult but actually impossible. This is why all successful programmes of public food distribution, across societies have been those that have gone in for universal or near-universal access.

This provides economics of scale; it reduces the transaction costs and administrative hassel involved in ascertaining the target group and making sure that the food reaches it; it allows for better-off groups with more political voice have a stake in ensuring it works well; it generates greater stability in government plans for ensuring food production and procurement.

States with a better record of public food distribution have gone in for near-universal access. Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh have defined BPL in such an inclusive way that the vast majority of the population is included which makes their schemes close to universal.

So a food security law will be effective only if it is based on universal, not targeted, food provision and ensures that the nutritional requirements [both cereals and pulses] of every citizen met. This also means that the entitlement must not be household base but individual-based. Without these features, the law will not even be able to lay the grounds for genuine food security in the country.

Thus we can see that India is trapped in the shackles of social evils, injustice, poverty, famine, malnutrition, dictatorship of autocratic , corruption, pollution, violation of laws, inequality, gender bias, child labour, unemployment, dowry, scams, inflation, communal riots, terrorism etc. the list is endless, as India hails with such problems.

In respect, to food security schemes, even we find corruption flourishing everywhere from higher to lower order from education to food and health department etc. Food gets rotten in the storage, but hardly reaches the poor and the needy dying with hunger and malnutrition. Thus we find that poverty is deeply rooted in Indian soil.

We can only be free and attain freedom in the true sense of the term if we end all social evils, when torment of people residing in any part of the country will be vanished. When there could be job and employment available for everyone equally and when starving stomachs can be satiated and thirst can be quenched of the poor and hungry. Then only we can really step into that heaven of freedom which was long before brought to us by our forefathers and freedom fighters.

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Female Infanticide: The Disgrace of an Independent India

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Political Science (Hons.) IIIrd Year

“Female infanticide is a deliberate and intentional act of killing a female child within one year of its birth either directly by using poisonous organic and inorganic chemicals or indirectly by deliberate neglect to feed the infant by either one of the parents or other family members or neighbours or by the midwife.” It should be seen as a subset of the broader phenomenon of infanticide, which has also targeted the physically and mentally handicapped and infants. Infanticide has pervaded almost every society of mankind from the Golden Age of Greece to the splendour of the Persian Empire. In the Greece of 200B.C, for example, the murder of females was so common that among 6,000 families living in Delphi, no more than one percent had two daughters. Even in India, due to the Hindu beliefs and the rigid caste system, young girls were murdered as a matter of course. While there are many diverse reasons for this wanton destruction, two of the most statistically important are poverty and population. Since pre-historic times, the supply of food has been a constant check on human population growth. One way to control the lethal effects of starvation was to restrict the number of children, especially female ones, to survive to adulthood, since the male children were a source of income for the family.

In India, where women are worshipped as *shakti*, the atrocities are committed against her in all spheres of life. She is looked down upon as a commodity, a slave. She is robbed of her dignity and pride within the four walls of her house and even outside it. Women are considered as a means of male sexual enjoyment and reproduction of children. They are discriminated because of their gender and also due to grinding poverty.

The bias against females in India is related to the fact that, “Sons are called upon to provide the income; they are the ones who do most of the work in the fields. In this way sons are looked to as a type of insurance. With this perspective, it becomes clearer that the high value given to males decreases the value given to females” The problem is so intimately linked to the institution of dowry in which the family of a prospective bride must pay enormous sums of money to the family in which the woman will live after marriage. Though formally outlawed, the institution is still pervasive. Murders of women whose families are deemed to have paid insufficient dowry, have become increasingly common.

Sex-selective abortion also has its roots in female infanticide and “is the practice of terminating a pregnancy based upon the predicted sex of the foetus.” Amniocentesis was introduced in 1974 “to ascertain birth defects in a sample population”, but “was quickly appropriated by medical entrepreneurs. A spate of sex-selective abortions followed.” Those women who undergo sex determination tests and abort on knowing that the foetus is female, are actively taking a decision against equality and the right to life for girls. In many cases the women are not independent agents, but merely victims of a dominant family ideology based on preference for male children. Sex-selective abortion has been worsening the sex-ratio in India, affecting gender relations related to sex compositions of Indian households. “According to the 2001 census, the sex-ratio in India is 107.8 males per 100 females, up from 105.8 males per 100 females in 1991. The ratio is significantly higher in certain states such as Punjab (126.1) and Haryana (122.0).”

“Since 2005, test kits such as the Baby Gender Mentor have become available for purchase over the Internet. These tests have been criticized for making it easier to perform a sex-selective abortion earlier in a pregnancy. Concerns have also been raised about their accuracy.”

The methods of female infanticide vary, as is shown by a study conducted in Tamil Nadu which portrayed “Some were fed dry, unhulled rice that punctured their windpipes, or were made to swallow poisonous powdered fertilizer. Others were smothered with a wet towel, strangled or allowed to starve to death.”

Sunita Kishor reports another disturbing finding, “that, despite increased ability to command essential food and medical resources associated with development female children do not improve their survival chances relative to male children with gains in development. Relatively high levels of agricultural development decrease the life chances of females while leaving males’ life chances unaffected; urbanization increases the life chances of males more than females.” Clearly, gender based discrimination in the allocation of resources persists and even increases, even when availability of resources is not a constraint.

Incidence (I) Percentage Contribution to all India (P) of Crimes committed against Children during 2000(State and Union Territory wise)

SERIAL NO.	STATE/UT	FOETICIDE		INFANTICIDE	
		I	P	I	P

1.Andhra

Pradesh88.887.72.Assam00.043.83.Bihar11.143.84.Gujarat00.043.85.Haryana1314.311.06.Jammu and Kashmir00.011.07.Karnataka 11.121.98.Kerala00.021.99.Madhya

Pradesh1415.43129.810.Maharashtra4145.12019.211.Orissa11.100.012.Punjab00.065.813.Rajasthan99
.954.814.Sikkim00.032.915.Tamil Nadu00.087.716.West
Bengal00.021.917.Chandigarh11.100.018.Delhi22.221.9Source: Crime in India 2000, pp216

In order to ameliorate the rate of infanticide of females, the Indian legislature had enacted some acts, a few of which were as old as the colonial period: female infanticide was banned in 1870. The Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961 also tried to indirectly prevent female infanticide. "Until 1970, the provisions contained in the Indian Penal Code (IPC) governed the law on abortion. The IPC 1860 permitted "legal abortions" did without criminal intent and in good faith for the express purpose of saving the life of the mother. Liberalization of abortion laws was also advocated as one of the measures of population control. With these considerations, the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act was passed in July 1971, which came into force in April 1972. This law was conceived as a tool to let the pregnant woman decide on the number and frequency of children. It further gave them the right to decide on having or not having the child. However, this good intentioned step was being used to force women to abort the female child. In order to do away with the lacunae inherent in previous legislation, the Pre-natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act had to be passed in 1994, which came into force in 1996. The Act prohibited determination of sex of the foetus and stated punishment for the violation of the provisions. It also provided for mandatory registration of genetic counselling centres, clinics, hospitals nursing homes, etc." Thus both these laws were meant to protect the child bearing function of the woman and legitimize the purpose for which pre-natal tests and abortions could be carried out. However in practice we find that these provisions have been misused and are proving against the interests of the females.

Indian state governments have also sometimes taken measures to diminish the slaughter of infant girls and abortions of female infants. "The leaders of Tamil Nadu are holding out a tempting carrot to couples in the state with one or two daughters and no sons: if one parent undergoes sterilization, the government will give the family \$160 in aid per child. The money will be paid in installments as the girl goes through school. She will also get a small gold ring on her 20th birthday, a lump sum of \$650 to serve as her dowry or defray the expenses of higher education. Four thousand families enrolled in the first year, with 6,000 to 8,000 expected to join annually (as of 1994). By 2004 there were around 17,000 families who had joined this initiative to prevent female infanticide."

In India most of the laws are not effective as they are ahead of public opinion and willingness of the people to change society and give women the equal status in society that they lacked. Even though everybody in India has the fundamental right to life, irrespective of gender, this is not fully enjoyed by all females here. So in order to give women their respective position in society, strong public opinion

should be created through education, seminars and by taking the help of various other agents of society such as mass media.

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Environmental Challenges To The Indian Democracy.

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Introduction

One of the primary causes of environmental degradation in a country could be attributed to rapid growth of population, which adversely affects the natural resources and environment. The uprising population and the environmental deterioration face the challenge of sustainable development. The existence or the absence of favourable natural resources can facilitate or retard the process of socio-economic development. The three basic demographic factors *i.e.* birth (natality), deaths (mortality) and human migration and immigration produce changes in population size, composition, distribution and these changes raise a number of important questions of cause and effect. Population growth and economic development are contributing to many serious environmental calamities in India. These include heavy pressure on land, land degradation, forests, habitat destruction and loss of biodiversity. Changing consumption pattern has led to rising demand for energy. The final outcomes of this are air pollution, global warming, climate change, water scarcity and water pollution. Environmental issues in India include various natural hazards, particularly cyclones and annual monsoon floods, population growth which results in increasing individual consumption, industrialization, infrastructural development, poor agricultural practices and resource mal-distribution have led to substantial human transformation of India's natural environment. An estimated 60% of cultivated land suffers from soil erosion, water-logging and salinity. It is also estimated that between 4.7 and 12 billion tons of topsoil are lost annually from soil erosion. From 1947 to 2002, average annual per capita water availability declined by almost 70% to 1822 cubic meters, and overexploitation of groundwater is problematic in the states of Haryana, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. Forest area covers 18.34% of India's geographic area but due to the practice of deforestation, industrialization and infrastructural development the forest resources were exploited and mismanaged in India.

Environmental Movements in India (Role of Individual and Community)

In India several environmental movements started as a direct result of people's awareness and their participation in the environment conversation programs. Some of them are as follows -

1. Chipko Movement - The movement was launched in 1973 by Sunderlal Bahuguna and Chandi Prasad Bhatt against the cutting of trees by timber contractors in the Uttanchal hills of the Uttar Pradesh. It started at Chamoli district where they preached to the local women of villages about the ecological threat. These women revolted and succeeded in their mission which became popular in the name of Chipko movement throughout the country.

2. Appiko Movement - This movement started in September 1983 in Belegadde of Karnataka, where the youth protested against the cutting of teak trees. They did not allow the loggers to perform their job in Kalase Forest by clinging to the trees. This movement also became popular in the forest of Western

Ghats from Coorg to Goa spreading the message of saving trees.

3. Narmada Bachao Andolan - Narmada is the largest river of Peninsula India, rising in Amarkantaka Plateau of Madhya Pradesh and has densely forested area. Narmada Bachao Andolan was a non-governmental organization which protested against the building of dam in this area because it was believed that it could displace several lakh of people and submerge several hectares of agricultural land and 1000 villages. The leading spokesperson of Narmada Bachao Andolan was Medha Patekar.

Thus, these are some of the initiatives that the individual and the community took to protect the environment.

Environmental Regulations and Legal Framework in India

India is equipped with a solid brigade of legal provisions and policy documents designed to protect and improve the natural environment. In the Constitution of India it is clearly stated that it is the duty of the State to 'protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forests and wildlife of the country. It imposes a duty on every citizen 'to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers, and wildlife'. Reference to the environment has also been made in the Directive Principles of State Policy as well as the Fundamental Rights. The Department of Environment was established in India in 1980 to ensure a healthy environment for the country. This later became the Ministry of Environment and Forests in 1985.

Environment Protection – From Indian Constitution Perspective

a) The State's responsibility with regard to environmental protection has been laid down under Article 48-A of our Constitution, which reads as follows:

"The State shall endeavour to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forests and wildlife of the country".

b) Environmental protection is a fundamental duty of every citizen of this country under Article 51-A(g) of our Constitution which reads as follows:

"It shall be the duty of every citizen of India to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wildlife and to have compassion for living creatures."

c) Article 48-A of the Constitution comes under Directive Principles of State Policy and Article 51 A(g) of the Constitution comes under Fundamental Duties.

d) The State's responsibility with regard to raising the level of nutrition and the standard of living and to improve public health has been laid down under Article 47 of the Constitution which

reads as follows: "The State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties and, in particular, the State shall endeavor to bring about prohibition of the consumption except for medicinal purposes of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health."

e) The 42nd amendment to the Constitution which was brought about in the year 1976 makes it the responsibility of the State Government to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forests and wildlife of the country. The latter, under Fundamental Duties, makes it the fundamental duty of every citizen to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wildlife and to have compassion for living creatures.

The constitutional provisions are backed by a number of laws – acts, rules, and notifications. The EPA (Environment Protection Act), 1986 came into force soon after the Bhopal Gas Tragedy and is considered an umbrella legislation as it fills many gaps in the existing laws. Thereafter a large number of laws came into existence as the problems began arising, for example, Handling and Management of Hazardous Waste Rules in 1989.

Following is a list of the environmental legislations that have come into effect:

1. [General](#)
2. [Forest and wildlife](#)
3. [Water](#)
4. [Air](#)

General

1986 - The Environment (Protection) Act authorizes the Central Government to protect and improve environmental quality, control and reduce pollution from all sources, and prohibit or restrict the setting and /or operation of any industrial facility on environmental grounds.

1986 - The Environment (Protection) Rules lay down procedures for setting standards of emission or discharge of environmental pollutants.

1989 - The objective of Hazardous Waste (Management and Handling) Rules is to control the generation, collection, treatment, import, storage, and handling of hazardous waste.

1989 - The Manufacture, Storage, and Import of Hazardous Rules define the terms used in this context, and sets up an authority to inspect, once a year, the industrial activity connected with

hazardous chemicals and isolated storage facilities.

1989 - The Manufacture, Use, Import, Export, and Storage of hazardous Micro-organisms/ Genetically Engineered Organisms or Cells Rules were introduced with a view to protect the environment, nature, and health, in connection with the application of gene technology and micro-organisms.

1991 - The Public Liability Insurance Act and Rules and Amendment 1992 was drawn up to provide for public liability insurance for the purpose of providing immediate relief to the persons affected by accident while handling any hazardous substance.

1995 - The National Environmental Tribunal Act has been created to award compensation for damages to persons, property, and the environment arising from any activity involving hazardous substances.

1997 - The National Environment Appellate Authority Act has been created to hear appeals with respect to restrictions of areas in which classes of industries etc. are carried out or prescribed subject to certain safeguards under the EPA.

1998 - The Biomedical Waste (Management and Handling) Rules is a legal binding on the health care institutions to streamline the process of proper handling of hospital waste such as segregation, disposal, collection, and treatment.

1999 - The Environment (Siting for Industrial Projects) Rules, 1999 lay down detailed provisions relating to areas to be avoided for siting of industries, precautionary measures to be taken for site selecting as also the aspects of environmental protection which should have been incorporated during the implementation of the industrial development projects.

2000 - The Municipal Solid Wastes (Management and Handling) Rules, 2000 apply to every municipal authority responsible for the collection, segregation, storage, transportation, processing, and disposal of municipal solid wastes.

2000 - The Ozone Depleting Substances (Regulation and Control) Rules have been laid down for the regulation of production and consumption of ozone depleting substances.

2001 - The Batteries (Management and Handling) Rules, 2001 rules shall apply to every manufacturer, importer, re-conditioner, assembler, dealer, auctioneer, consumer, and bulk consumer involved in the manufacture, processing, sale, purchase, and use of batteries or components so as to regulate and ensure the environmentally safe disposal of used batteries.

2002 - The Noise Pollution (Regulation and Control) (Amendment) Rules lay down such terms and conditions as are necessary to reduce noise pollution, permit use of loud speakers or public address systems during night hours (between 10:00 p.m. to 12:00 midnight) on or during any cultural or religious festive occasion

2002 - The Biological Diversity Act is an act to provide for the conservation of biological diversity, sustainable use of its components, and fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising out of the use of biological resources and knowledge associated with it

Forest and wildlife

1927 - The Indian Forest Act and Amendment, 1984, is one of the many surviving colonial statutes. It was enacted to 'consolidate the law related to forest, the transit of forest produce, and the duty leviable on timber and other forest produce'.

1972 - The Wildlife Protection Act, Rules 1973 and Amendment 1991 provides for the protection of birds and animals and for all matters that are connected to it whether it be their habitat or the waterhole or the forests that sustain them.

1980 - The Forest (Conservation) Act and Rules, 1981, provides for the protection of and the conservation of the forests.

Water

1882 - The Easement Act allows private rights to use a resource, that is, groundwater, by viewing it as an attachment to the land. It also states that all surface water belongs to the state and is a state property.

1897 - The Indian Fisheries Act establishes two sets of penal offences whereby the Government can sue any person who uses dynamite or other explosive substance in any way (whether coastal or inland) with intent to catch or destroy any fish or poisonous fish in order to kill.

1956 - The River Boards Act enables the states to enroll the central government in setting up an Advisory River Board to resolve issues in inter-state cooperation.

1970 - The Merchant Shipping Act aims to deal with waste arising from ships along the coastal areas within a specified radius.

1974 - The Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act establishes an institutional structure for preventing and abating water pollution. It establishes standards for water quality and effluent. Polluting industries must seek permission to discharge waste into effluent bodies. The CPCB (Central Pollution Control Board) was constituted under this act.

1977 - The Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Cess Act provides for the levy and collection of cess or fees on water consuming industries and local authorities.

1978 - The Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Cess Rules contains the standard definitions and indicate the kind of and location of meters that every consumer of water is required to affix.

1991 - The Coastal Regulation Zone Notification puts regulations on various activities, including construction, are regulated. It gives some protection to the backwaters and estuaries.

Air

1948 – The Factories Act and Amendment in 1987 was the first to express concern for the working environment of the workers. The amendment of 1987 has sharpened its environmental focus and expanded its application to hazardous processes.

1981 - The Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act provides for the control and abatement of air pollution. It entrusts the power of enforcing this act to the CPCB.

1982 - The Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Rules defines the procedures of the meetings of the Boards and the powers entrusted to them.

1982 - The Atomic Energy Act deals with the radioactive waste.

1987 - The Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Amendment Act empowers the central and state pollution control boards to meet with grave emergencies of air pollution.

1988 - The Motor Vehicles Act states that all hazardous waste is to be properly packaged, labeled, and transported.

Beside these Acts and Laws, the Government of India is also trying to protect the endangered species, example - the Tiger Projects in order to save the Tigers in India. Moreover the Government is trying to protect the Mangrove trees and is also promoting the use of eco-friendly products in order to control the degradation of environment in India.

Conclusion

In our country, environment has been accorded a very high place in the scheme of things. Our poets, philosophers and saints have always emphasized that human beings can find happiness only by living in harmony with nature. But, with the leaps that science has taken in the modern times and coupled with man's greed for power, prosperity and prestige, man has caused untold damage to the environment. For example in India even after the presence of environmental laws and regulations there are certain issues taking place which highlights the inefficiency of the Government to implement the environment laws and regulations in India. Some of them are stated as follows –

1.(23rd April 2009) Panipat power plant pollutes with impunity which has been happening for several years under the nose of the Haryana administration. The nation's top government auditor has issued multiple indictments. And yet they have polluted recklessly. ³

2. (6th May 2008) Inaction on panel findings against beverage major - A Pepsi bottling plant in Kerala is extracting excess groundwater and may be subjecting it to contamination risks, a state Government study had reported several months ago. Despite meeting five times, a state assembly committee has not acted. ⁴

3.(16th January 2008) Diesel threat in cities continues to rise - The sulphur content of diesel in India is 350 particles per million, twenty times that of the United States. Diesel exhaust is far more hazardous than petrol exhaust. Yet, diesel cars in Indian cities are rising with the association of automobile manufacturers pushing hard for it. ⁵

4.A hazardous smokescreen of words - Last year, the Ministry of Environment and Forests attempted to dilute the hazardous waste management regulations. Earlier this year, the Supreme Court intervened and the tacky attempt appears to have stalled. ⁶

Such nature based conflicts, the false environmental policies of the Government and the environmental degradation are the root causes of emergence of environmental movements in India. The lopsided, inequitable and environmentally destructive processes of development have propelled the people to go against the state in many cases and this leads to the emergence of environmental movements in the country. The damage that has been done to the ecosystem and biological diversity is impossible to assess and to reverse. Today, our world is on the brink of destruction and if we don't

ACT NOW then we would be committing global suicide. Environmental problems need to be taken seriously and we should try to overcome these problems. Emphasis should also be laid on rational consumption so that we can live a healthy and joyful today and even in the future. The Government of India should implement the environment laws and regulations and should deal fast and effectively with these environmental problems in order to overcome them. They should realize that progress in science and technology should be in tune with sustainable development.

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Urbanization in India

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Urbanization is often perceived as a by-product of economic development, rather than as an agent of socio-economic change. As a result, urbanization is treated at best as a peripheral issue by economists and planners. The urbanization process relates to concentration of people engaged in non-agricultural occupations and concentration of non-agricultural land-uses in a specialized area, a 'place', as a consequence of population, occupational and land-use shifts.¹

Urbanization is an index of transformation from traditional rural economies to modern industrial one. It is progressive concentration of population in urban unit. Quantification of urbanization is very difficult. It is a long term process. Kingsley Davis² has explained urbanization as process of switch from spread out pattern of human Settlements to one of concentration in urban centers. It is a finite process--- a cycle through which a nation pass as they evolve from agrarian to industrial society. The Indian goal, obviously, is to work towards dropping the label of a "developing nation" and become a 'developed 'one. To accomplish this, the top priority is required to be accorded to our efforts to ensure a far more equitable distribution of wealth than was done over the last couple of

decades; India has earned and accumulated a substantial volume of wealth. Globalization and the lifting of economic barriers have certainly helped the economy and opened up new horizons; but it does not take much effort to know that the wealth has not percolated to the bottom the way it should have. Have we been a bit too urban-oriented in our planning? Sixty-three years after independence, our metropolitan cities have put on a lot of razzle-dazzle like glittering shopping malls, slick automobiles, arrogant-looking skyscrapers, et al. But how far have the other parts of the country advanced? The small towns and rural areas look almost as miserable as they were three or four decades ago. There is too much talk about poverty line. There is more enthusiasm to juggle statistics and less concern for real poverty which is not to be found even in the slums of the cities any more. The slums may appear dark and dismal, but stark poverty explains exists in the villages.

India shares most characteristic features of urbanization in the developing countries. Number of urban agglomeration /town has grown from 1827 in 1901 to 5161 in 2001. Number of total population has increased from 23.84 crores in 1901 to 102.7 crores in 2001 whereas number of population residing in urban areas has increased from 2.58 crores in 1901 to 28.53 crore in 2001.³

Urbanization in India has been relatively slow compared to many developing countries. The percentage of annual exponential growth rate of urban population reveals that in India it grew at faster pace from the decade 1921-31 to until 1951. Thereafter it registered a sharp drop during the decade 1951-61. The decades 1961-71 and 1971-81 showed a significant improvement in the growth, which has thereafter steadily dropped to the present level 2.7. The sharp drop in urban rate during 1951-61 was mainly due to declassification of a very large number of towns during that period. Rural growth has been fluctuating since 1901. The decline in rural population growth was within small range during 1981-91 and 1991-2001. During the process of urbanization it is natural that $rg_{up} > rg_{tp} > rg_{rp}$, where rg_{up} = rate of growth of urban population, rg_{tp} = rate of growth of total population, rg_{rp} = rate of growth of rural population. This fact is supported in case of Indian urbanization also since 1911.⁴

Basic feature of urbanization in India can be highlighted as:

- Lopsided urbanization induces growth of class I cities
- Urbanization occurs without industrialization and strong economic base
- Urbanization is mainly a product of demographic explosion and poverty induced rural - urban migration.

- Rapid urbanization leads to massive growth of slum followed by misery, poverty, unemployment, exploitation, inequalities, degradation in the quality of urban life.
- Urbanization occurs not due to urban pull but due to rural push.
- Poor quality of rural-urban migration leads to poor quality of urbanization
- Distress migration initiates urban decay

The pattern of urbanization in India is characterized by continuous concentration of population and activities in large cities. Kingsley Davis⁵ used the term "over-urbanization" where in urban misery and rural poverty exists side by side with the result that city can hardly be called dynamic" and where inefficient, unproductive informal sector becomes increasingly apparent". Another scholar depicts urbanization in India as pseudo urbanization where in people arrives in cities not due to urban pull but due to rural push. Raza and Kundu (1978)⁶ talked of dysfunctional urbanization and urban accretion which results in a concentration of population in a few large cities without a corresponding increase in their economic base. Urbanisation process is not mainly "migration lead" but a product of demographic explosion due to natural increase. Besides rural out migration is directed towards class I cities. The big cities attained inordinately large population size leading to virtual collapse in the urban services and quality of life. Large cities are structurally weak and formal instead of being functional entities because of inadequate economic base.

Under globalization survival and existence of the poor are affected adversely. Liberalization permits cheap import of goods which ultimately negatively affects rural economy, handicrafts, household industry on which rural poor survives. The benefits of liberalization generally accrue to only those who acquire new skills. It is unlikely that common man and the poor will benefit from the liberalization. Privatization causes retrenchment of workers. All these negative syndrome forces poverty induced migration of rural poor to urban informal sectors. Hence migration which is one of the components of urban growth occurs not due to urban pull but due to rural push.

Problem of urbanization is manifestation of lopsided urbanization, faulty urban planning, and a poor economic base without functional categories.

Hence India's urbanization is followed by some basic problems in the field of:

- 1) Housing,
- 2) Slums,

- 3) Transport,
- 4) Water supply and sanitation,
- 5) Water pollution and air pollution,
- 6) Inadequate provision for social infrastructure (school, hospital, etc).

Class I cities such as Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras etc have reached saturation level of employment generating capacity. Since these cities are suffering from of urban poverty, unemployment, housing shortage, crisis in urban infra-structural services these large cities cannot absorb these distressed rural migrants i.e. poor landless illiterate and unskilled agricultural labourers. Hence this migration to urban class I cities causes' urban crisis more acute. Most of these cities using capital intensive technologies can not generate employment for these distress rural poor. So there is transfer of rural poverty to urban poverty. Poverty induced migration of illiterate and unskilled labourer occurs in class I cities addressing urban involution and urban decay. Indian urbanization is involuted not evolved. Poverty induced migration occurs due to rural push. Mega cities grow in urban population not in urban prosperity, and culture. Hence it is urbanization without urban functional characteristics. These mega cities are subject to extreme filthy slum and very cruel mega city denying shelter, drinking water, electricity, sanitation to the extreme poor and rural migrants. Urbanization is a degenerating social and economic inequality which warrants social conflicts, crimes and anti-social activities.³ Lopsided and uncontrolled urbanization leads to environmental degradation and degradation in the quality of urban life---- pollution in sound, air, water, created by disposal of hazardous waste. Illiterate, low- skill or no-skill migrants from rural areas are absorbed in poor low grade urban informal sector at a very low wage rate and urban informal sector becomes in-efficient and unproductive.

Redirection of investment is recommended to develop strong economic base for small and medium city has been neglected so far. Redirection of migration flows is required. Since the mega cities have reached saturation level for employment generation and to avoid over-crowding into the over congested slums of mega cities i.e. Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras etc it is required to build strong economic sector in the urban economy, growth efforts and investments should be directed towards small cities which have been neglected so far so that functional base of urban economy is strengthened. Then redirection of migration to these desirable destinations will be possible.

Policy should also relate to proper urban planning where city planning will consist of operational, developmental and restorative planning. Operational planning should take care of improvement of urban infrastructure, e.g. roads, traffic, transport etc. Developmental planning should

emphasize on development of newly annexed urban areas. Various urban renewal processes can be used. Restorative planning should aim to restore original status of old building monuments which have historic value.

In general urban planning must aim at:

- a) Balanced regional and urban planning
- b) Development of strong economic base for urban economy
- c) Integration of rural and urban economy-- emphasis on agro-based industry. Raw material should be processed in rural economy and then transferred to urban economy.
- d) Urban planning and housing for slum people with human face.

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Separatism: Disintegration of Democracy

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Separatism refers to the desire of a certain group of people to politically separate from their larger group or nation. Separatist movements may also be called secession movements.

Separatist groups practice a form of 'identity politics-political activity and theorizing founded in the shared experience of injustice of members of certain social groups. Such groups believe that attempts at integration with dominant groups compromise their identity and ability to pursue greater self-determination. However, economic and political factors usually are critical in creating strong separatist movements as opposed to less ambitious identity movements. There are many kinds of separatist groups: religious, ethnic, racial and gender based groups.

Throughout Indian history, there have been many separatist movements in India, mainly in the north-east and the north-west of the country. The most high profile separatist movements in the country since independence have been those in Kashmir, the Muslim majority in Kashmir Valley wanting to join Pakistan or become independent, while the Hindu and Buddhist majority in Jammu and Ladakh wanting to stay in India. These separatist movements have caused a lot of violence and chaos in the state with the common man having to suffer and bear the brunt of all the violence.

The Khalistan movement was a movement in Indian Punjab to create 'The Land of the Pure' as an independent Sikh state in all Punjabi speaking areas, which included Indian Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, and Punjabi speaking areas of Rajasthan and Gujarat.

Since the mid 20th century, people from present day Bangladesh have been migrating to Assam. The post 1970s experienced the growth of armed separatist groups like United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) and National Democratic Front of Bodoland. The ULFA seeks to establish a sovereign Assam via an armed struggle. The government of India banned the organisation in 1990 and classified it as a terrorist group.

In Orissa, similar demands have been put forward for the creation of not one, but three more states. A division of a small state like Orissa into four parts has certainly raised a lot of eyebrows in the public's mind. A section of people in the western regions of the state have been pressing for a new Kosala state consisting of the western Orissa districts. Getting a fresh lease of life after the demands for division in Andhra Pradesh, local outfits like the Kosala Kranti Dal had organised agitational programmes for the acceptance of their demands for Kosala state. A demand was for the creation of a separate Kalinga state. Another demand was for the creation of a state consisting of the northern districts of Orissa. If all these demands are accepted, perhaps Orissa will become the smallest state in the country.

The Telangana rebellion was a peasant revolt that started in the princely state of Hyderabad, between 1946 and 1951, which was later supported by the Communist Party. Peasant farmers and labourers revolted against the local feudal lords and later against the Nizam. Proponents of a separate Telangana state feel all the agreements, accords, formulas, plans and assurances on the floor of legislature and Lok Sabha, in last 50+ years, could not be honoured and Telangana was forced to remain neglected, exploited and backward. They allege that the experiment to remain as one state proved to be a futile exercise and therefore, separation is found to be the best solution.

The Gorkha Jan Mukti Morcha (GJM) claims for separation from Bengal and the creation of a separate state-Gorkhaland. Darjeeling being a northern border area has always posed the threats of foreign aggression. This threat of secession will manifold if Sikkim joins the movement because Sikkim is close to China and China has already claimed a part of Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh. The GJM claims a bigger state with the inclusion of the Terai region. Whether the centre will bow down to the demands of the GJM, considering the demand on ethnic issues is still a question. However if such demands are approved will give rise to serious political trouble and ethnic issues not only in the state but also in other parts of the country and communal clashes will be uncontrollable.

India is thus 'like a garden with lush green grass but beneath this grass is a volcano which can erupt at anytime.'

What is needed is a strong rejection of these absurd and unrealistic demands of state succession not only by the common people but also by the political parties who seldom take a united stand on such volatile and sensitive issues of dividing and creating new states.

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Terrorism: One of the Major Threats to Indian Democracy

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One of the major threats to the present democracy is “Terrorism”. Terrorism is a weapon of revolutionary change. It has been present in different parts of the world and has taken different forms of struggle, new weapons of attack, new goals and new forms of ideological justification. Recently it has increasingly begun to take religious form. Terrorism has pushed the world into a perilous new age of insecurity. It is partly faceless but a fully focused enemy of humanity. Terrorism has created multi faceted and profound changes in the world. Terrorism can be understood as a special form of political violence. It is not a philosophy or a political movement. It is the use of intimidation, coercion, threats and violent attacks to achieve the objective of an individual or of a group. Terrorist acts physically harm individuals and destroy property.

Terrorist activities related to India can be traced to events like the Godhra riots in the Gujarat which endangered the stability of the nation. After the Godhra incident, the creation of aggressive Hinduism and the Muslim minority turned into targets for ruthless attacks in the name of religion. 59 Hindus in the Godhra train incident died and the massacre of Muslims by the Hindu zealots took place. Islamic extremists from Pakistan took advantage of this situation. Thus Gujarat became the theatre and victim of communal disharmony with the minds being instilled with ideas of fundamentalism and Hindutva.

Mumbai has been the most preferred target for most [terrorist organizations](#), primarily the separatist forces from Pakistan. Over the past few years a series of attacks including explosions in local trains in July 2006, to the most recent and unprecedented attacks of 26 November 2008, where two of the prime hotels, a landmark train station and a Jewish Chabad house, in south Mumbai, were attacked and sieged.

The 1993 Bombay bombings were a series of 13 bomb explosions. The single-day attacks resulted in up to 250 civilian fatalities and 700 injuries. The attacks were coordinated by Dawood Ibrahim, don of the Bombay-based international organized crime syndicate named D-Company, which had also operated as a terrorist organization. It is believed that the attacks were carried out in retaliation for the enormous Muslim casualties and widespread damage to the Muslim owned businesses and properties which occurred during the Hindu-Muslim riots in Bombay on December 1992 and January 1993, in the fall-out of the demolition of the Babri Mosque.

The 11 July 2006 Mumbai train bombings were a series of seven bomb blasts that took place over a period of 11 minutes on the Suburban Railway in Mumbai, capital city of the Indian state of Maharashtra and the nation's financial capital. The bombs were set off in pressure cookers on trains plying on the western of the Suburban Railway network. 209 people lost their lives and over 700 were injured. According to Mumbai Police, the bombings were carried out by Lashkar-e-

Toiba and Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI). Three explosions went off in the Indian capital of New Delhi on 29 October 2005 which killed more than 60 people and injured at least 200 others. The high number of casualties made the bombings the deadliest attack in India of 2005. It was followed by 5 bomb blasts on 13 September 2008.

Terrorists on 13 December 2001 attacked the Parliament of India resulting in a 45-minute gun battle in which 9 policemen and parliament staffer were killed. All the five terrorists were also killed by the security forces and were identified as Pakistani nationals. The attack took place around 11:40 am (IST), minutes after both Houses of Parliament had adjourned for the day. The 2008 Mumbai attacks (often referred to as November 26th or 26/11) were more than 10 coordinated shooting and bombing attacks across Mumbai, India's largest city, by Islamic terrorists from Pakistan. The attacks, which drew widespread global condemnation, began on 26 November 2008 and lasted until 29 November, killing at least 175 people and wounding at least 308.

Eight of the attacks occurred in South Mumbai: at Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus, the Oberoi Trident the Tower, Leopold, Cama Hospital, Nariman House, the Metro Cinema, and a lane behind the *Times of India* building and College. Ajmal Kasab the only attacker who was captured alive, disclosed that the attackers were members of Lashkar-e-Taiba, the Pakistan-based militant organization, considered a terrorist organization by India, Pakistan, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the United Nations, among others. The Indian government said that the attackers came from Pakistan, and their controllers were in Pakistan.

The attacks are commonly referred to in India as "26/11", after the date in 2008 that they began. A commission of inquiry appointed by the Maharashtra state government produced a report that was tabled before the assembly over one year after the events. The report said the "war-like" attack was beyond the capacity of any police force, but it also found fault with the city Police Commissioner's lack of leadership during the crisis.

The Maharashtra state government has planned to buy 36 speed boats to patrol the coastal areas and several helicopters for the same purpose. The government strengthened anti-terror laws with UAPA 2008, and the federal National Investigating Agency was formed. This malice of terrorism needs to be soon rooted out of the system. Strict steps should be taken to combat it.

The tragic killings in Jaipur bring into focus on the needs to explore on the methods of combating the menace. Those who pursue the philosophy of striking terror in others to achieve their objectives are continuously coming up against a blank wall. Anti terrorist squads all over the world keep trying to foil

their attempts. The airlines have introduced several measures to reduce the risk of high jacking and ensure safety of passengers and crew, closed CCTV's in public places like railway stations, metal detectors at the entrance of cinema halls and sensitive places are deterrent no doubt, but it is difficult to contain incidents one witnesses at the place of worship. Given the number of such places it is nearly impossible to maintain a continuous vigil on all the people who visit it or come near its vicinity.

Some steps to check terrorism could be:

1. There should be no extradition proceedings and the wanted terrorists may be quietly eliminated by the RAW or the proposed federal investigating agency as extradition proceedings are not very fruitful and waste a lot of time.

2. The officers of the proposed federal investigating agency should be cyber-trained and able to monitor what goes on with the help of the Internet.

3. Mercy petitions of terrorists sentenced to death should be speedily dealt with. In this connection, it may be mentioned that the mercy petition of Afzal Guru who has been sentenced to death by the Supreme Court, has not been disposed of even after a number of years

4. There should be proper co-ordination between the various investigating agencies so that there is no let up in regard to combating terrorism.

5. At the diplomatic level, an all-out effort should be made to see to it that the designs of Pakistan are fully exposed. All the evidence should be provided in this regard to friendly countries like USA and UK, to expose the wicked actions of Pakistan.

6. The governmental setup should contain a wing for extermination of terrorists as it is hard to try them in a court of law given that no witness will be forthcoming to testify against them.

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India under the Communal Scanner

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With the whole Indian subcontinent burning with the issue of the recently delivered verdict on the Babri Masjid, communalism has been and continues to pose a major challenge to the nation. In a democratic system, it is quite common that people use different methods for expressing solidarity and achieving political power--- in a country like India, politics has been dominated by promoting communalism and casteism. Various social diversities and disparities fuel tensions that have long existed due to suspicion, economic deprivation and social dissemination. These trends have vitiated not only the democratic process at the time of elections, but have become major hurdles to good governance, economic development and social harmony.

The spectre of growing communalism haunts India today. Yet communalism remains a complex phenomenon to define. The term 'communalism' was first used by British colonists to describe colonies like India or Malaysia, where substantial religious minorities existed alongside a religious majority. The colonial use of the term gave it a negative connotation of bigotry, divisiveness and parochialism, thus helping to justify it as a civilizing mission, according to Achin Vanaik.

Indian nationalists adopted the term, accepted its negative significance, but saw it as a colonial, post -British phenomenon, not a pre-colonial circumstance that the British inherited. As contrary to earlier hopes, communalism did not disappear after the Partition and Independence. The most sustained theoretical discussion on this issue has been within the Indian Left, the most influential argument being that communalism is essentially an ideology. Vanaik opines that religion itself is the key resource in the struggle against religion. State-centric theories of how to engineer social good are the main stimulus behind communalism.

India being a land of multiple faiths and religions, has often led to violence and hatred among the people. Those who fan this religious violence do not consider religion as a moral order but use it as a means and weapons to pursue their political ambitions. Communalism essentially leads to violence, as it is based on mutual religious hatred. Thus, communalism in a religiously plural society like India is

a highly complex phenomenon, which involves the process of desecularization, whereby greater importance is given to religious forces, religious identity, religious competition and religious ideologies.

Though religion has been very carefully isolated from the purview of politics within the framework of a liberal democracy, which upholds the principle of secularism, this has, in the course of time become inevitable with the use of religion as a popular means of mass mobilization. Thus, communal politics was but its natural corollary and the situation has been appropriately envisaged by Amartya Sen (1998) when he stated that Indian secularism was a 'rather unattractive subject' to secular-minded political and social theorists. In fact, contemporary theoretical debate on Indian secularism focuses on Hindutva v/s '*sarva dharma sambhava*'.

Instances of communal politics in post-independent India can be classified into three categories, for the convenience of study: a) Muslim communalism b) Sikh militancy c) Hindu communalism.

To begin with Muslim communalism, post independence, the Muslim League had been disbanded; other Muslim communal organizations chose to maintain a low profile which stemmed from their initial support for the Congress, though communal leadership continued to stress on the importance of safeguarding the Shariyat. However, early 1960s saw the revival of Muslim communal organizations (Jamaat-i-Islam in North India; Muslim League in Kerala) due to the failure of the Congress Party in preventing organized communal violence. The Congress, further, distanced itself from the Muslims through a series of radical steps, such as forced sterilization, police firing and a ban on the Jamaat-i-Islam. According to many, the Shah Bano Case was Muslim Orthodoxy's finest hour; the discord over the Babri Masjid only provided a further rallying point. In fact, with the Babri Masjid Demolition, Muslim alienation from the Congress grew more than ever. The enormous pressure political Hindutva exerted on Muslims heightened communal tensions and internal frustrations. There was the emergence of a sizeable Muslim middle class, substantially making up for the vacuum created in North India, by the earlier migration of this stratum to Pakistan after the Partition. This Muslim middle class began to flex its muscles in the society in the early seventies, pressing for secular reforms, which would help their social, educational and economic advancement. They were not concerned to promote measures which symbolically or otherwise, led not only to a politics of self-conscious separateness, but towards greater integration in the secular institutions of market, polity and higher education. Two factors which, however, emerge as the prime obstacle to any such secular trends, are: i) the defensive self-consciousness and fear among Muslims, created by the growth of Hindu communalism; ii) the 'unifying' issue of Muslim Personal Law, precisely because Hindutva demands a

replacement of the Shariyat by a Uniform Civil Code, which makes the issue of gender equality and social justice into one of 'Muslim identity'.

As far as Sikh militancy is concerned, politics in Punjab had a communal side, even prior to independence, which was manifest in the demand for a Sikh Suba state, which came to be recognized in 1966 with the creation of the states of Haryana and Punjab.

After Mrs. Gandhi returned to power in 1980, she began to use religion as an effective tool of mass mobilization, aiming at the urban and lower middle class to convey the idea of India's territorial integrity being under threat due to Sikh terrorism and Pakistani activities from across the border. Bhindranwale, a political fanatic was placed in Punjab, who having directed his onslaught against Hindus in general, had two major impacts: i) a counter communalism took place among Punjabi Hindus, with the BJP consolidating its base among the latter. ii) The moderate Akalis, under attack from Bhindranwale, intensified their communal pitch. Thus, Punjab was thrown amidst civil war, which found full manifestation when Central Governmental Forces stormed the Golden Temple in 1984 and assassination of Mrs. Gandhi in 1984 by her Sikh bodyguards.

The history of Hindu communal mobilization can also be traced back to the pre- independence days. After independence, the RSS was banned, following the assassination of M.K. Gandhi. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) emerged as the leading political party of Hinduism in India and increased its popular vote and share of seats in successive elections. Rakhahari Chatterji opines that Hindus have been undergoing a militant transformation over the last two decades, whereby Hindu orthodoxy seems to have acquired respectability. The militant Hindu revivalism has two dimensions: an unprecedented effort to bring different sections of Hindu society together and construction of an exclusive Hindu identity vis-à-vis Muslims. Though initially, Hindu resurgence was projected as defensive, it gradually became aggressive. The Hindu right asserted that Indian culture was synonymous with Hindu culture and non- Hindus could live in India only if they accepted this. A frenzied Hindu opinion was systematically built up in late '80s and early '90s, which found full manifestation in the Demolition of the Babri Masjid in 1992 and the country was caught up in the worst communal riot since independence.

Focusing on the specific problem of communal politics brings two primary questions to the forefront: firstly, what lies behind the communal appeal? The importance of religious identity is historically and socially variable. Where substantial secularization of state and civil society has taken place, religious identity in social--- and psychic--- life is less important and communal appeal correspondingly less attractive. Since the formation and expansion of religious identity 'from below'

takes place largely in civil society; secular emphasis concerning state and civil society needs to be inverted.

Outside of the advanced West, in much of the South and Southeast Asia, there have been far more complex patterns of desecularization. In India, a no-denominational state within substantially secularized laws, resting on a secular Constitution, coexists with a civil society, where religious influence is pervasive. It is a situation that gives rise to profound tension. Even the flawed secularity of the Indian state makes it a crucial bulwark against the growing tide of communalism. The crucial challenge for India lies elsewhere, in civil society itself.

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Central Asia as a Developing Economic Zone

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The collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 gave the world 15 new states, five of which lie at the heart of the Eurasian landmass, in Central Asia. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan could all claim to be the bearers of noble traditions from the ancient past. But none was prepared for independence. Their very borders, the result of Soviet divide and conquer policies, all but assured a difficult transition to sovereignty. The economic system, laws, and political institutions they inherited from Soviet times proved equally incapable of meeting the new needs. In the years that followed, the region endured a ruinous economic slide, a rapid rise in poverty and unemployment, and varying degrees of internal conflict, which, in one nation, descended into bloody civil war. But their first years of independence were painful indeed. Each turned inward, scrambling desperately to build new institutions and to address threats to its sovereignty and viability. These states seemed anything but pivotal. The decade of disorientation ended with each country having charted a course for the future. More secure in their nationhood, the new states of Central Asia are moving beyond nation building to focus on the social, institutional, and economic development that will enable the region to make the most of its strategic position, its wealth of natural and human resources, and its deeply ingrained entrepreneurial roots.

Many commentators equate Central Asian economies with weak economic performance characterized by declining Gross Domestic Product (GDP), stunted private sectors, high levels of poverty, and severe environmental degradation. Others go further, branding them as authoritarian states with weak civil societies, human rights abuses, and increasing lawlessness. But, such assertions are either overstated or distorted. They originated as snapshots taken in the early and mid-1990s, before renewal took hold. Instead of returning to their subject with a fresh eye, many analysts reprint the old pictures with a few touch-ups and ignore important new indicators that reveal greater dynamism; these outdated assessments do not proceed from an adequate recognition of Central Asia's assets. With a well-educated population of about 60 million people and a combined annual GDP topping \$43 billion, the Central Asian states, along with Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, and the Xinjiang region, reflect market economies still in embryo, with few of the efficiencies created by competition and trade. With the exception of oil, gas, and gold, few investment decisions affecting the region have been taken with an eye to meeting world demand. The region's assets and opportunities are significant and complementary so as to suggest that the region, under the right policies, is a strong candidate for outstanding economic and social development in the coming years.

The region faces three central challenges: First, can it neutralize the negative effects of distance by developing globally competitive transportation networks? Second, can Central Asians identify and exploit the complementary strengths that exist among regional states and thereby reach beyond limited local markets? Third and most crucially, can Central Asian leaders develop mutual trust and marshal the necessary political will to respond positively to the first two challenges?

It is now generally understood that the most serious threats to Central Asia's security are regional in character and can therefore only be addressed regionally. To varying degrees, necessity is forcing the new states to cooperate. Central Asian leaders can take pride in having successfully guided their countries through their first steps as sovereign states. Broadly, they have shown resourcefulness and tenacity in balancing and containing competing interests. As a result, the survival of these governments is no longer an issue. It is now time for them to move the process forward.

The Caspian region contains about 4 percent of the world's known oil reserves and possibly a greater amount of global gas reserves. Kazakhstan and nearby Azerbaijan already benefit from these resources and have set up trust funds based on the Norwegian model to channel profits in these areas into the social sector and rural development.

Less known are the region's other mineral resources such as gold, zinc, uranium and molybdenum, which abound in the petro-poor mountain states. Glaciers atop, these mountain ranges release water, which turn downstream deserts into blossoming oases and offer vast hydroelectric potential. Central Asia is the world's second largest producer of cotton and one of the most fertile zones anywhere for high-quality fruits and vegetables. Though often a source of conflict, water resources can foster cooperation, as has occurred earlier. Despite their tremendous potential, Central Asian economies remain among the poorest in the developing world. The region's average per capita gross national product {(GNP)—\$726 in 2002} places it among the ranks of low-income developing economies. But the average masks a significant variation in GNP per capita within Central Asia (with Kazakhstan at \$1,510, Turkmenistan at \$1,200, Uzbekistan at \$450, Kyrgyzstan at \$290, and Tajikistan at \$180). Unemployment is relatively high, and the worst poverty is concentrated in remote mountain zones and border areas. Another important change is the increasing role of the private sector which would result in increased economic efficiency, rising exports, more rapid growth, and poverty reduction. However, the challenges remain in areas of unemployment, banking and market reforms, privatization, taxes, securities markets, infrastructure

A fair enumeration of the region's assets must give pride of place to its human resources. In no area are Central Asia's human resources more strikingly in advance of countries with comparable GDP levels than in education. Soviet policies assured that literacy is nearly universal. Whatever their resources; governments across Central Asia, continue to invest in education. Uzbekistan, for example, devotes a large portion of its budget to education. Remarkably, adult literacy rates are in excess of 97 percent in all five Central Asian economies. The population is also numerate. Both enrollment and completion rates at all levels of education remain among the highest in Asia. Female participation in education at all levels places Central Asia at the forefront of the developing world and well in advance of nearly all other Muslim societies. Access to education among people of all incomes is far higher in Central Asia than in China, India, Thailand, and the Philippines.

It is generally recognized by economists in the area that regional cooperation would be a favorable factor in the regeneration of Central Asian industry and ultimate growth renewal but that would depend on local manufacturing for local needs. In view of accumulated technical skills in all these countries, the potential for development is considerable, if trade outlets can be assured. A Central Asia united by a working free trade area, or even an economic union allowing free movement of factors of production as well as goods, would constitute a much larger market than any of them constitute alone. Newly built capacity with economies of scale would mean lower costs and prices, hence greater domestic demand for indigenous production. Foreign investors would be attracted by the possibility of selling to this larger market.

Much of present intraregional trade in the area is based on different factor endowments. Central Asian states have natural complementarities. Kyrgyzstan supplies electricity, hides and wool, and non-ferrous ores to its neighbors. Kazakhstan is a supplier of coal, chemicals and fertilizers, and other non-ferrous minerals. Uzbekistan supplies natural gas and cotton. All these rely on specific factor endowments. Furthermore, the complementarities which exist could be enhanced by regional cooperation in manufacturing investment. After all, intra-industry trade is the fastest growing type of trade among advanced countries around the world. Besides increasing competition, regional integration across political borders also has the function of reducing petty government interference in the market, an endemic problem in the region. To counter such petty interferences without a vigorous parliamentary opposition and court system is quite difficult.

The history of the pre-Communist Russian empire indicates further advantages from regional integration. Transfer of capital becomes easier, and there is a tendency towards equalization of incomes and conditions. Furthermore, a large economic area, if it is united politically for foreign policy purposes, can negotiate better prices on certain imports and preferential loan rates. To gain access to the regional market, foreign equipment suppliers would be forced to lower prices and improve terms. All these advantages would seem to apply to Central Asia, were it to move towards economic union in the future. Medium-sized businesses would most benefit from a free regional market. If regional cooperation is to increase, with all its benefits, it will require leadership from the inside or determined and patient assistance from the outside. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) which works with Central

Asian governments to help reduce poverty and serve as an integral link between large and dynamic markets in Europe and Asia believes that “regional cooperation is not an option but a necessity for Central Asia”.

INDIA’S INTEREST IN CENTRAL ASIA

Central Asia is of great importance to India in terms of both geo-political and economics perspective. The outlook on the region seems to suggest that there is enormous scope and potential to engage in meaningful and fruitful politico-economic relationship with Central Asia. The level of trade and investment has been very low in the past, the entire Indian exports to central Asia is less than 2 percent of its total exports and stands at under US\$ 900 million per annum. The imports also follow a similar picture and account for only 1.5 percent of the Indian imports on an average basis. The issue of stagnating trade and investment relations between India and Central Asia has been a cause of concern for policymakers, analysts, academicians, media and the businesspersons. Several key areas and sectors have been identified, such as drugs and pharmaceuticals, machinery and instruments, leather, cotton yarn, fabrics, and other textile items, agriculture products. The future prospects for cooperation between Central Asia and India in the field of energy security seem to be very important.

India should focus on trade and investment opportunities especially exploiting the energy resources. ONGC estimates that Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are the main producers of oil and gas at about 2.4 million barrels of oil per year and 8 trillion cubic feet of gas per year by 2012 – this supply, along with the supplies around the Caspian Sea region, is expected to constitute 20-25 percent of world reserves in ten years time. Thus, there is a need to bring in both public and private sectors in the region to extract the maximum gains. However, exportation, capital and most importantly transportation seems to be the most important problem in this region. In 2005, Mr. S.N. Jha, Advisor of Indian Petrocom said that since India is self-sufficient in designing, laying and constructing pipelines, the focus should be on petroleum management and not petroleum exportation. In 2005, a transport agreement was signed between India, Iran and Afghanistan which also gave access to Central Asian economies.

Estimates suggest that India has already overtaken United Kingdom as the sixth largest consumer of energy. To sustain this economic growth, India will need a vast amount of energy.

In this respect suggestion of creating an Asian Energy Community has been increasingly felt to bring together the main producers and consumers of oil, gas and other energy sources.

Since India has had a long experience both with planning and the market its experience could prove to be beneficial for the Central Asian countries. Similarly, India's experience in terms of dealing with multilateral institutions and specifically with the negotiations processes in the WTO could also add to the prospects of cooperation besides the rich experience India has had in terms of developing its agricultural, industrial and services sectors. India is known for its scientific and technological human resources as much as for its natural and mineral resources.

On the other hand, India is import dependent in the oil and natural gas sector whereas Central Asian countries have yet to make strides in the information technology sector. Similarly, in the banking sector the Central Asian countries could benefit from the Indian experience while the Indian business sector could benefit from the ongoing modernization efforts in these countries visible in various sectors including infrastructure. If Central Asia does not stabilize then potentially it may have negative ramifications for security, political domains etc. and could spread throughout the region.

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Religion in the Erstwhile Soviet Union

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It is a true fact that religion is one of the oldest social institutions in the world and has a number of important functions. It is actually as old as man himself and has two dimensions –social and spiritual. It is an integrating force and a source of homogeneity. However, it also shapes the domestic economic and political institutions. This is the reason why Karl Marx, the founder of Socialism-Communism, stated that ‘Religion is the opium of man,’ which became the corner stone of Communism. He opined that religion is harmful to society, as it keeps people in subjugation and defends exploitation. Christian ethics for example, teach man to be submissive which deadens the sensibility of the masses. This, according to Marx, creates class divisions in society, makes man timid and not his real natural self and is the breeding ground for the rise of Capitalistic regimes. This is the reason why the Communists were against the idea of religion and declared the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) as an atheist state. The Soviet officials, however, had different policies and practices towards the varied religions over the years, and it differed from one nationality to another as for them, the question of nationality and religion were always closely linked. There were always active anti-religious propaganda through organizations like the League of the Militant Godless, the Young Pioneer Organization, and the media and of course, schools.

The Soviet Constitution stated that every citizen of the Union is also a member of a particular nationality and every passport, therefore, carried two entries. It granted a large degree of local autonomy and the right to secede to only fifteen republics, thus proving that all nationalities were not treated equally (contrary to what the Constitution stated).

The attitude of the Bolsheviks towards the Orthodox Church was conditioned not only by the materialist basis upon which Marxism stands but also by the special role played by this Church in Tsarist Russia. It had been not only one of the greatest landowners - it owned 7.5 million acres and had an annual income of 150,000,000 rubles. It was also a tool, and a willing tool, of Tsarism. With the growth of the revolutionary movement towards the end of the 19th Century the Russian clergy asked to be allowed to cooperate with the Tsarist Secret Service in tracking down revolutionaries and many played no small role in this respect.

After the massacre of the St. Petersburg workers by the Tsar's troops on Bloody Sunday (January 1905) the Holy Synod (the governing body of the Church) issued a proclamation denouncing certain "evil-minded persons" who "lead others into useless death without repentance, with bitterness in their hearts and curses on their lips". "Our enemies," stated the Synod, "wish to shake the foundations of our orthodox faith and the autocratic power of the Tsars... Fear God, honour the Tsar...submit to

every power ordained of God... Toil according to God's ordinance in the sweat of the brow."

After the October Revolution, in January 1918, the Patriarch of the Orthodox Church, Tikhon, issued a message to the faithful, in which he denounced the Bolsheviks as "monsters of the human race" and excommunicated all who should support the Revolution.

However, the Bolsheviks agreed that religion would not disappear immediately. The people could only free themselves from bondage when they would take control of the means of production owned by the bourgeoisie. Only in a fully socialist society can religion be expected to disappear completely for only then will the social basis of religion - the *fear* of the masses caused by their helplessness before the blind forces of production - cease to exist. They believed that this could be achieved by organizing the most extensive propaganda of scientific enlightenment and anti-religious conceptions as well as carefully avoiding anything that could strengthen religious fanaticism.

With this objective in view, the Soviet State separated the Church from the State and freed the educational system from all Church influence in the early 1920s. All citizens were given the right to carry on both religious and anti-religious propaganda. The property of the Church was confiscated but the church buildings were returned for the use of the clergy. The Church retained freedom of worship, association, meeting and propaganda. On the other hand vigorous anti-religious propaganda was carried on by the CPSU which set up the "Society of Militant Atheists" with its journal, *The Atheist*.

Such was the situation before the rise of the Stalinist Bureaucracy and its victory over the Bolshevik-Leninist Left Opposition. The Church continued to function in the Soviet Union, but the masses had turned from it, especially in the towns. Its support amongst the youth was very small, and its main basis lay amongst the more backward masses, especially the older generation of peasants. The clergy lived upon donations from their supporters and were entirely cut off from Soviet life. Priests had no right to vote in Soviet elections or to be elected to Soviet organizations. For the class-conscious Soviet worker the Church was a relic of the past which was destined gradually to wither away under the influence of the rising material and cultural standards of the masses.

The actual course of events under Stalinist rule has been almost diametrically opposite - a conclusive proof of the nature of the Stalinist regime and of the extent to which it has "finally and irrevocably" established Socialism!

The attitude of the Bureaucracy towards the Church has passed through the usual zigzags of Stalinist policy. During the ultra-left period of forcible collectivization and in the Five Year Plans an attempt was made to liquidate the Church and its influence by government decree. Starting in 1929 churches were forcibly closed and priests arrested and exiled all over the Soviet Union. The celebrated Shrine of the Iberian Virgin in Moscow - esteemed by believers to be the "holiest" in all Russia was demolished - Stalin and his Government were not afraid of strengthening religious fanaticism by wounding the feelings of believers as Lenin and Trotsky had been! Religion, they believed, could be liquidated, like the kulak, by a stroke of the pen. The Society of Militant Atheists, under Stalin's orders, issued on May 15th 1932, the "Five Year Plan of Atheism" - by May 1st 1937, such as the "Plan", "not a single house of prayer shall remain in the territory of the USSR, and the very concept of God must be banished from the Soviet Union as a survival of the Middle Ages and an instrument for the oppression of the working masses."!

Unfortunately for the Stalinist "Plan", during the very period when it was proclaimed, the Bureaucracy was actually strengthening the social basis of religion in the Soviet Union - by the ever increasing miseries which its disastrous economic policy was imposing upon the masses. The Great Famine of 1932-1933 in which millions died in the Soviet Union did more for the strengthening of the hold of the Church over the masses that could have been done by any amount of religious propaganda. Like so many other Stalinist "Plans" of this period, the "Five Year Plan of Atheism" was officially forgotten long before the time for its fulfillment was due.

The Left zigzag of the bureaucracy was inevitably followed by a turn to the right. The anti-religious processions which had been organized during the Church festivals of Christmas and Easter were abolished; the sale of Christmas trees was allowed once more; exiled priests were allowed to return to their parishes. But Stalin hastened to go even further than relaxing the pressure against the Church - he gave it rights that it had never previously enjoyed since the Revolution. In the New Constitution of the U.S.S.R. of 1936 priests were given the right to vote and to be elected in Soviet elections.

However, these mood swings of the Stalinist regime continued. In the 1937 the attack upon the Church was for a short time resumed. Once again priests were arrested and banished and in January 1938 the "Society of Militant Atheists" accused the Clergy of being in the service of the military staffs of Fascist States, of disorganizing the Army, of trying to wreck railways, etc., etc. But, there was

another shift of policies to the right wing and the relations between the Church and the Government warmed up once again. School textbooks were revised and anti-religious passages removed. Anti-religious tests for the Army and Civil Service were abolished.

In return the Church entered enthusiastically into the service of the Stalinist Bureaucracy. The following message sent by Sergius, the Acting Patriarch, to Stalin, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the October Revolution (November 1942) gives eloquent proof of this:

"On this 25th anniversary of the Republic of the Soviets, in the name of our Clergy and of all the believers of the Russian Orthodox Church, faithful children of our Fatherland, I salute with cordiality and piety, in your person, the leader chosen by God, the leader of our military and cultural forces, who is guiding us to triumph over the barbarous invasion, to the prosperity of our country in peace, towards a radiant future for its peoples. May God bless by success and glory your valorous exploits for our Fatherland."

However, the [evolutionary biologist](#) and outspoken advocate of atheism, [Richard Dawkins](#) argues that Stalin's atrocities were influenced not by atheism but by his dogmatic Marxism, saying that while Stalin was an atheist and antitheist, he did not do his deeds in the name of atheism. In response to this, Christian Evangelical author and noted critic of atheism [Dinesh D'Souza](#) argued that communism was an explicitly atheist ideology.

By 1941, only 500 Russian Orthodox Churches remained open out of about 54,000 in existence prior to the World War I. However, the Orthodox Churches were not the only religions to be oppressed by the regime. Catholicism and Protestantism were treated even more harshly as the Soviet heads could not tolerate the fact that the Churches would be strongly influenced by outside forces. Large numbers of clergy were imprisoned, many seminaries were closed and police agents infiltrated the remainder. After the Red Army occupied Western Ukraine in 1941, the Soviet authorities arrested large numbers of Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests, who were either killed or deported to Siberia. The remaining clergy were forced to abrogate the union with Rome and subordinate themselves to the Russian Orthodox Church.

As it has been already pointed out, national cultures, religions and languages were not tolerated, however, in areas with Muslim populations they were actually encouraged to some extent, especially in the Central Asian republics and Azerbaijan. Nevertheless, the number of mosques decreased from

25,000 in 1917 to 500 in the 1970s. Under Stalinist rule, many mosques were turned into warehouses, but in 1989, as part of the general relaxation of restrictions on religions, some associations were registered and some mosques – reopened. The government also permitted the training of limited numbers of Muslim religious leaders in Ufa and Baku.

Although Lenin found ethnic anti-Semitism repugnant, the regime was very hostile towards Jews. Their religious rights were strictly curtailed and they were even deported to some other part of the country (Russian Far East). The Jewish Autonomous Oblast was created by Stalin in 1928 and it became a ‘Soviet Zion’. Yiddish, rather than reactionary Hebrew was to be the national language and proletarian socialist literature and arts were to replace Judaism as the embodiment of culture. Most of the 5000 synagogues were closed by Stalin and Khrushchev. The practice of Judaism and training of rabbis became so difficult that the desire to leave the Soviet Union intensified among the Jews.

However, by the time of the celebrations of the 26th Anniversary of the October Revolution, Stalin had received the backing of not only of Christ but also of Allah and Jehovah too, as all the Religious heads did not hesitate to write congratulating letters to him.

All accounts from the Soviet Union during 1940s agree that never since the Revolution has religion had such a hold over the mass of the population. We read of church services being attended by thousands, including young workers and soldiers of the Red Army. According to "Soviet War News" of August 22nd 1941, there existed, at that time, 30,000 religious associations of all kinds in the Soviet Union. An English clergyman, Canon Widdrington, has estimated the number of supporters of the Orthodox Church alone to be some 60,000,000 persons. And, religions other than Christians and Muslims were coexisting in the biggest socialist state of the world.

The state of religion and its tolerance in the USSR did not change much even under the successors of Stalin. The end of the Stalin era brought immediate liberalization in several aspects of Soviet life. Party leader Nikita S. Khrushchev denounced Stalin's tyrannical reign in 1956, signaling a sharp break with the past. Khrushchev attempted reforms in both domestic and foreign policy, with mixed results. De-Stalinization encouraged many in artistic and intellectual circles to speak out against the abuses of the former regime. Although Khrushchev's tolerance for critical creative works varied during his tenure, the new cultural period--known as the "thaw"--represented a clear break with the repression of the arts under Stalin. However, religion was not

one of these aspects. Anti-religious propaganda continued during Khrushchev's era too and the believers were treated harshly as before. The clergy were imprisoned in large numbers and replaced by docile priests who remained loyal to the state and tried to be helpful to the KGB.

Later, when Leonid Brezhnev came to power, they had cultivated some hope, which was never fully met by the leader. However, the number of anti-religious press articles began to decrease and their tone was now less offensive. Socialist legality was followed and believers were not prosecuted for being mere believers. Prisoners were even released! Yet religion remained the major opponent of a scientific world view that was to exist in a Socialist state. Soon after, brutalities followed – monasteries were attacked, people imprisoned, and the creeping conservativisms were an ominous sign.

In the 1970s as the dissent movement gathered pace, the growing link between religion and nationalism was noticed, especially in Lithuania, Central Asian Republics, Georgia, Ukraine, Russia and elsewhere. Another factor was that the political authorities had to come to terms with the gradual coming together of religious and secular dissent. Christian convictions to speak out on human rights issues in the 1960s and cooperation between religious and secular dissenters became a feature of the human rights movement during the 1970s, particularly in the wake of the Helsinki Agreements on detente in Europe signed in 1975. And finally, the Soviet youth were exhibiting increasing interest in religion. These developments forced Brezhnev to withdraw his false claim made in the Twenty-Fourth Party Congress in 1971 that the process of creating a unified Soviet people was complete. He had thus commented, because the demographic changes in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan showed that the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz were minorities in their own republics.

Allen D. Hertzke further asserts that, while many intellectuals in the West mistakenly believed religion would lose strength as a result of adopting modern technology and rational forms of social organization, [communism](#) attempted to "accelerate the secularization process by force."

In legislative terms the Brezhnev period has witnessed few changes in the *de facto* situation of believers, though the 1975 amendments to the Law on Religious Associations made public many of the unwritten regulations that had been applied in practice since the early 1960s. Since about 1975 the Council for Religious Affairs has been registering individual Baptist and Pentecostal congregations without requiring that they affiliate to the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian-Baptists. For those who refuse to register, however, repression has become increasingly harsh and the number of Baptist prisoners has risen from about 40 in 1975 to over 150 in 1982. Similarly, harsh persecution has

been the fate of the numerous Pentecostals who have sought to emigrate and the reformers amongst the Seventh-Day Adventists.

The Gorbachev era was the last for the Soviet Union. He was baptized in the Russian Orthodox Church as a child; campaigned for establishment of freedom of religion laws in the USSR. Through his ‘Glasnost’ and ‘Perestroika’ he brought the end of the Soviet Union and with it the end to anti-religious propaganda. The 15 Soviet Republics became independent in the early 1990s and they all established their religions.

In fact, most of the states have continued to have Christianity as their state religion, while some of the Republics in Russia, for instance Dagestan and Northern Ossetia remain predominantly Muslim. It is noteworthy to mention that the Kalmyks are the only Buddhist tribe residing in the Northern Caucasus Mountains, Kalmykia in the Republic of Russia. They are the descendents of several Oirat tribes that migrated from Mongolia to Europe in the early part of the 17th century and consider the Dalai Lama as their spiritual leader.

What is important to note here is that religion withstood the harsh ‘winters’ of the Soviet leaders due to the strong faith and belief of the people. Thus, the plan to eradicate religion and eventually create one nationality, remove federal structure and replace it with a unitary one failed completely, thanks to the perseverance of the youth and their bright dreams for the future! However, it is interesting to note that there still are some religious practices in the erstwhile Soviet republics that exhibit Soviet-like elements, for instance New Year’s Eve is given more importance than Christmas, and the Christmas tree is decked with a Red Star at the top, a clear Soviet symbol!

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Political Communication through Indian cinema.

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The dominance of the visual, or the visible in all aspects of contemporary social and political life, is a recognized aspect of communication research. In a developing country like India, which boasts as world's largest democracy, yet carries the multiple burdens of poverty, under development and illiteracy, the particular role played by the visual and the visible in political communication is doubly significant.

The films reflect the social, cultural and artistic traditions of India and also represent unique traditions of political development. The interlocking relationship of a film and society, directors use their film or work as a "means" to transform society. When a film fulfils a political function, it becomes a sort of ritual and is endowed with magic power. The film used as propaganda or education builds a society, and its magic keeps an existing society together. This magic power of a film can be put to the use of politics.

In the words of Amartya Sen, "Indians like to debate." If that were true, then it would be safe to say that along with cricket, cinema and corruption, we love talking about politics.

Film-makers, who desire to make politics, related films usually, have the theme of politics-business-gangster. The reality of Indian politics, especially after the Mandal Commission is that politics is all about caste and religion; these are the two criteria that determine a citizen's vote, other than money power and development issue in some pockets.

Some of the films having a political background in the contemporary age are as follows:

Films with social message:-

Hazaron Khwahishen Aisi (2009): The identification of the protagonist's dream with that of a contemporary ordinary man leaves a touching social message for the audience. It is a Sudhir Mishra film about the politics in 70's, this movie was basically about rich young men with idealistic vision, few of which turn into reality. It was more known for liberated women played by Chitrangada Singh than anything else.

Aghaat (1985): This film communicates the pros and cons of national politics, a Govind Ninalini film, starring Naseeruddin Shah.

Satta (2003): This film brings into notice to all of us, the clear nexus between the underworld, businessman, corrupt policeman, and politicians. It is directed by Madhur Bhandarkar, where Raveena Tandon stars as female politician, who rises to the top.

Nayak (1999): This film tells us about the actual working of some politicians in the present era. This is another enjoyable Anil Kapoor film, where a journalist becomes Chief Minister for a day. Same ideas portrayed in the film about how to make a government work and in addition to this the inner realities revealed by politicians themselves is very interesting.

Gangajal (2003): This is a movie which leaves a very positive social message for all the citizens highlighting on the effective and highly powerful police force that we have today. A movie set in Bihar but was shot in Maharashtra about the fight between a police force led by Ajay Devgan and corrupt, criminal politicians, where the cops use brutal methods to pit in criminals. This film was inspired by the Bhagpur Acid Building case.

Apharan (2005): Directed by Prakash Jha is another movie about criminal-political nexus in Bihar, especially the thriving kidnapping industry.

No One Killed Jessica (2010): It is another political movie based on the very hyped Jessica Lal's murder case, directed by Raj Kumar Gupta.

Political Films by Ram Gopal Verma:-

People know Ram Gopal Verma for the realistic crime dramas but there has always been politics in the background of his best movies.

Satya (2003): This gives us a message of not to get influenced by any unfair means in order to get a job in their bad times. To be precise this movie talks about an immigrant who comes to Mumbai to seek his fortune but instead gets sucked into the Mumbai underworld.

Sarkar and Sarkar Raj (2009): These two movies tell the story of the Thackeray clan- type family in Mumbai and are inspired by the Godfather movies. *Sarkar Raj* is more about the intersection of politics and businessmen.

While we are with Ram Gopal Verma's film, it is worth nothing that most gangster movies have a politics angle, where a gangster is getting into politics or is flourishing under political patronage. In addition to these some more films which deserve mention are *Company* (2002) and *Once upon a time in Mumbai* (2010). These films especially the latter focuses on the incompetence of the government to combat terrorism. These mapped a decaying public sphere and audaciously represented on screen the actual infiltration of the off-screen film world by underworld "black money" financing and extortion. Good films of this type are: Vishal Bhardwaj's *Maqbool* and *Omkara*- Both inspired by Shakespeare's plays. Some more films that deserve mention are Mahesh Manjrekar's *Vastaav* and *Kurushetra*, both starring Sanjay Dutt.

Films about student/youth politics:-

Gulaal (2008): This movie tries to cover a lot of ground -student's politics, separatist politics, kings of Rajasthan, love triangles directed by Anurag Kashyap. *Gulaal* is more known for the acting of K.K.Menon and Piyush Mishra than the story.

Guru (2008): Another very popular Hindi movie focuses on how every individual is engaged in a race to become successful. It can be said that *Guru* is an exact blue-print of politics existing even today.

Rajneeti (2010): is a peculiar movie which very importantly deserves a mention in this domain. It is a film by Prakash Jha, which tries to trace the real picture of Indian politics today. The main protagonist Ranbir Kapoor playing the role of a politician behind the scene creates a sensation in youth politics today, unveiling the authentic picture of the politicians in the contemporary age.

Barring all the aforesaid categories some more films which deserves a mention because of its storyline or its impact on today's era are many, for example: be it *My name is Khan* (2010), which eventually tries to battle the existing ethnic problems. This movie actually creates a big sensation among the audience just by its tag line "my name is khan and I am not a terrorist". It very significantly communicates the ongoing problems growing among countries in the contemporary age. *Akroash*

(2010), is another film by Priyadarshan that emphasizes on honour killings.

Another peculiar genre of films related to political communication would be movies like Bombay (1995), directed by Mani Ratnam, based on Bombay riots, or A Wednesday, which focused on the 26\11 attack on Mumbai, and lastly Peepli Live (2010) directed by Anusha Rizvi portrays very well the political turmoil of Andhra. Thus through these films, the film directors have tried to make an ordinary man politically aware of the growing disputes in the world. These films in reality acquaints an individual with all aspects of politics.

The Indian Cinema over the years have been a great entertainer, recreation medium, motivator, magician and a medium who draws a dream world on an empty canvas in front of our eyes. In the wake of globalization, Indian film industry has also undergone many changes. They are as follows-

The globalization effect on the industry has resulted in western production standards, usage of English in the script or incorporation of some elements of western style plots. Bollywood has produced hits like *Dilwale Dhulania le Jayenge* and *Kal ho Na Ho* both dealing with overseas Indian culture. In addition to this we also find filmmakers like Gurinder Chadha (Bride and Prejudice) and Mira Nair (Monsoon wedding). Chada and Nair both are of Indian origin and made their names in Western Independent Films. A similar filmmaker is Deepa Mehta of Canada, whose films include *Fire, Water, and Earth*. Indian festivals, traditions, culture have also been acknowledged worldwide through Indian cinema in the wake of globalization.

Along the same lines, a lot of other efforts were also done to give a global look to Indian movies, so that it can develop its own market in west nations. The scripts started to use more English words in them and many came with English sub-titles like *Daag*- the fire, *Tarzan*- the wonder car, *Waqt*- the race against time. Many of the Indian movies were also dubbed in foreign languages for the audience's convenience, the movie *Incredibles* falls under this domain as it was dubbed by Shahrukh Khan.

Many of the films are also shot on abroad locales to get the western look in order to popularize the movie through its promotional campaign.

In the wake of globalization, the technical aspects of the movies have also progressed. This is evident in a very recent movie i.e. *Robot* (2010) starring Rajnikant and Aishwarya Rai Bachchan. The movies like *Love Story 2050*, *Wah! life ho to aisi* also falls under the domain. The varieties of technique used and the sophisticated look that these movies have given to Indian cinema are undoubtedly commendable. Also the blockbuster movie *3Idiots* (2009) directed by Raju Hirani, and *Taare Zamein Par* (2007), directed by Amol Gupte, Amir Khan, and Ram Madhvani not exactly in terms of technique but his perception towards a change in our education is very unique. The tag line of the film "every child is special" says all about it on its own.

Thus political communication and development through movies in the era of globalization has also become very pronounced these days.

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