EDUCATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE IN 1947, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KERALA

by

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CONTENTS

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ABSTRACT

In 1947, when India became independent, she had a new Constitution which embodied hopes for a better future for all Indian citizens and a range of institutions which represented the historical heritage of India. These institutions included the ancient Hindu caste system, and village government, and a great number of administrative systems established by the British. The school system was an integral part of the British system of administration.

Chapters Two and Three of this thesis explore the problem which was brought about by the change in normative aims introduced by the Constitution and the lack of change in the institutions. They also look at the different ways in which the new norms were interpreted, particulary the different views of modernisation taken by Nehru and Gandhi.

Chapters Four and Five deal with the First and Second Five Year Plans respectively. The Five Year Plans are treated as tentative solutions to the problem set out in the early chapters. Although the first plan incorporated some of the rhetoric of Gandhi, the main thrust of both plans was in line with Nehru's vision of the development of India. The chapters not only look at the general plan frames and the provisions made in the plans, but also look at the beneficiaries of the plans. For the most part the plans benefitted the better off, and failed to provide for the basic needs, for food, housing, health, clothing and employment of the poorest sections of society, especially the rural poor.

Education, and the close coordination between the education system and government and business administration, helped to ensure that those who had access to the traditional educational system had preference in the competition for housing, health and work. Chapter Six deals with education in detail.

Kerala offers a unique opportunity to study the relationship between education and development. Education has played an important part in the development of Kerala, which on many indeces has a very highly educated population; literacy rates are high, and the state of Kerala has a very high number of newspapers. But while the high level of education is reflected in some other indicators, it has not produced economic growth, and Kerala has one of the lowest per capita incomes among the States of India. Chapter Seven examines the relationship of education and development in Kerala.

The concluding chapter of this thesis draws together the criticisms of the current system of education of India, and proposes a system of education based on problem-solving, to help supply the basic needs of all India's population.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to evaluate education policies pursued by India since Independence in 1947, particularly during the period of the first two Five Year Plans of 1950 and 1955. These policies were intended to solve some of the country's outstanding problems such as poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, and above all the great economic gap between the 20% urban, literate, elite (who experienced great economic improvement in this period) and the 80% rural, illiterate, poor (whose condition changed very little in this period.[1] It will be argued that these policies failed to solve identified problems as intended, and Professor B.Holmes' problem solving methodology will be used to analyse this failure.[2] In this analysis the introduction of a new constitution, which incorporated the goal of establishing a socialist pattern of society, was a major problem creating change.[3] As opposed to this change, the education system in fact changed very little, as can be seen from educational measures as early as the appointment of the University Commission of 1948.[4]

In 1947 India became independent. The normative statements on which the new state was to be based were incorporated in the Indian Constitution which set out the basis for post-independence government. These were not new ideas in the sense that they had been advocated by the National Congress Party prior to independence, but constituted a major break with the principles on which India had been governed for centuries.[5] The Constitution set out the framework of a modern socialist state, in contrast to the traditional and hierarchical state that the British had

governed, or which had existed prior to the colonial period.

The Constitution set out the goals of the socialist society in terms of the individual rights which were to be advanced. All individuals were to have the right to freedom, self-expression, and the pursuit of happiness.[6] In order to achieve these freedoms it was recognised that more was needed than the simple framing of a Constitution. Individuals would need the material security from which they could effectively exercise their rights. Individuals who lack food, clothing, housing, employment, or health will be unable to benefit from the less tangible benefits which a society offers.[7] Although these five basic needs were not specifically mentioned in the Constitution, the requirement that the material welfare should be improved is implicit in the Constitution, and the State governments and central government were required to provide the base for such material improvement in a number of ways.[8]

Although education is usually mentioned as one of the basic needs, in this study it is given a special role for two reasons. Like the other basic needs, the need for education could be deduced from the Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution. In addition, as will be studied in Chapter 6 on education and Chapter 2 on the Constitutuion of India, elementary or basic education is specially mentioned in Article 45 of the Constitution, and its provision is made one of the statutory obligations of all the States of the Union. Secondly, following the problem-solving methodology of Professor Brian Holmes, in the proposed system of education in Chapter 8, the curriculum

practice is geared to the problem-solving method. In this way, education has a special place in bringing about the socialist pattern of society, characterised by the norms of the Constitution, and in raising the standard of life for all, beginning with the satisfaction of basic needs.

Education and welfare were largely responsibilities of the individual states, while the central government had far reaching responsibilities for promoting agricultural and industrial development which could form the basis of universal improvement in access to the material necessities of life.[9]

In contrast with the socialist aims set out in the Constitution, many of the social institutions which remained after the period of British colonialism, or persisted from before the colonial period, presupposed a rigidly hierarchical society in which a privileged few enjoyed benefits which could not be enjoyed by the majority. The caste system was based on the idea that a man was ascribed his position in society at birth, and that his rights and responsibilities were fixed for life. Opportunities for individual social advancement were minimal, and this meant that in practice a small minority of the population enjoyed a reasonable or even oppulent lifestyle, while the majority lived in conditions of continual hardship, among whom those in the worst position were the 'untouchables'.[10]

British rule did introduce some changes. The educational system which the British established was designed to produce administrators for the colonial government. Based on the principle that those who showed merit should be educated, it did

offer a way for people to escape from a lowly position ascribed by birth and to rise to positions of comfort and power. However, it was not intended to be an egalitarian educational system. It was designed to produce an elite of administrators. The curriculum was modelled on the traditions of Britain, and as such did not address the conditions of life of the vast majority of the Indian population. The concerns of the teachers and administrators were largely urban, and the educated administrators did not understand, or need to understand, the living conditions of the rural majority of the Indian population.[11] Thus, while the educational system did produce some minor modifications of the caste system, it was no more appropriate to a socialist society than was the caste system itself.[12]

The persistence of hierarchical social institutions in which eighty per cent of the popoulation are compelled to live in poor conditions, with poor clothing and housing, undernourished and consequently poor in health, without the possibility of economic improvement through employment, in spite of the changes in aims expressed in the Constitution, make up the central problem which India has faced in the last thirty five years.[13]

The Five Year Plans can be seen as attempts to solve this particular problem. The First Five Year Plan represented an attempt on the part of the government to stimulate economic development, and hence raise the material standard of living of all people, through the development of agriculture.[14] Although other matters were dealt with in the plan and there was some

modest provision for the expansion of industry, the central part of it was devoted to the reorganisation of agriculture so that the broad mass of the population could benefit from increased production.[15]

The Second Five Year Plan was intended to achieve similar goals, but this time primarily through encouraging industry.[16] The government set out to create a 'mixed economy' in which certain industries were managed by the state, while other areas of industry and commerce were designated as areas in which individual private entreprenuers and artisans should be able to develop the economy, protected to a major extent from the competition of both factory mass production and foreign imports.[17]

In both cases, and in subsequent periods, attempts to promote the equitable social distribution of material benefits which is espoused in the Constitution have failed. One of the major reasons for this was simply the nature of government intervention. It is much easier for governments to deal with large enterprises than with individuals. For this reason help for business or farmers distributed through banks or regional organisations ~~have~~ has frequently benefited those who were in the best position to organise into cooperatives, to secure bank loans on the basis of traditional securities, or to deal with the requirements of bureaucratic organisations. Thus while the measures to stimulate an improvement in agriculture and manufacture have produced a more equitable distribution of material rewards, these have only reached the lower levels of the economic elite, but have rarely reached those who are in most

need, the landless, the illiterate or the rural.[18]

An important feature of this cycle of continuation of poverty is the educational system. As it was urban oriented and selective, tne majority of tne population did not receive an education.[19] Even where this could be overcome by extending education to take in a greater proportion of the population, the curriculum was divorced from the needs of the majority of the rural community of India. The result is that, even now, administrators and civil servants are generally educated in an atmosphere where the problems of the rural majority are not considered to be central.[20] The present education system therefore fails to serve tne interests of the rural majority by not providing them with a curriculum which is suitable to their circumstances, and by preparing administrators who are to a large extent ignorant of the problems of the majority.

Even where the traditional British education system has been most successful, because the curriculum is divorced from the problems of the majority of the people, the outcome does not result in all round improvement in the conditions in which people live. In this connection, the educational successes in the state of Kerala are extremely important. In conventional terms, the education system of Kerala has been very successful. There is a lower rate of illiteracy in Kerala than that which prevails in India as a whole. In addition, a number of social indicators show that some aspects of living have also been improved in Kerala. However, these indicators are not related to the area of economic growth. Kerala remains one of the poorest areas of India, with high

unemployment and very little in the way of industrial or agricultural development.[21]

In the light of this analysis, the author of this thesis argues that the reforms which have been intended to improve the lot of the most needy in India have generally not had the desired effects, and instead have only improved the situation of the middle levels in the social order.

In order to produce the changes in society which are outlined in the Constitution it is argued that an educational system which is more closely related to the problems of the rural community is needed. In this way the poor members of society could be better prepared to take advantage of government initiatives. But an equally important goal in the reform of the educational system is the preparation of administrators who understand, and are responsive to, the needs of the majority of the population.

In Chapter 2, the provisions of the Indian Constitution will be studied in detail, to illustrate the normative change which took place at the time of independence. The aim of constructing a new socialist state will be analysed to show that the Constitution made provision for a more just society, in which all had a right to a decent standard of living. In particular this will be related to what can be described as "the five basic needs" of health, nutrition, clothing, housing and employment.[22] In order to achieve the satisfaction of these basic needs, education was seen to be important, and the right of individuals to education was specifically secured in the Constitution.[23] However, it should also be noted that the Constitution includes ideas taken

from two distinct visions of how India should develop, the view of Gandhi and the view of Nehru. Both men wished to see modernisation and development take place along socialist lines, and could see that some of the existing institutions would inhibit that development. They disagreed fundamentally on which were the progressive institutions, and which would inhibit progress, and their specific policies were frequently diametrically opposed.[24] This inherent tension in the Constitution will also be analysed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 will set out the institutional framework of pre-Independence India, particularly the institutions of government and education, which have impeded the development of a socialist state. Not only the competitive meritocratic education system which the British established, but also certain long held atttitudes about caste and rural social organisation, have prevented effective cooperation on the part of the poorest in the country to work with the government to improve their own economic conditions. The functioning of these relatively unchanged institutions is analysed in some detail.

Chapters 4 and 5 study the First and Second Five Year Plans respectively. These are studied as providing proposed policy solutions to the problem produced by changing social aims in the form of a new Constitution in circumstances in which the major institutions of society have changed very little. The large majority of the measures included in these two plans are based on Nehru's vision of India rather than Gandhi's. Nehru's programme for development involved developing new institutions in industry

and agriculture, or strengthening existing institutions, which Gandhi thought would be inimical to the development of Indian socialism based on rural village life. In the event the partial truth presented by each man can be seen. Since independence India has made massive strides in industrial development, in modernising and in producing skilled manpower in a number of highly technological fields, exactly as Nehru wanted. At the same time this has involved an expansion of the meritocratic education system, and an expansion of a centralised bureaucracy, and an accumulation of wealth and resources in the urban areas while the rural majority remain short of resources, as Gandhi had warned that it would. In the case of both agricultural development and industrial development, the ways in which the most needy in society failed to benefit are analysed in some detail in these two chapters.

Chapter 6 looks specifically at the current educational institutions to illustrate the ways in which some of the persisting attitudes towards education, largely dating from the period of British colonial rule, have contributed to the reproduction of the divisions between rich and poor which have been noted in Chapters 4 and 5. Here again, the contrasting views of Gandhi and Nehru on education are used to highlight the aspects of educational development which were stressed and those which were overlooked.

Chapter 7 looks at some of these issues in the special case of Kerala. India is a large country with varied conditions, and averages can be very misleading. Kerala is atypical in a number of ways, not least in the high literacy rates among the

population.[25] It is because of this extraordinary success in traditional educational terms that the case of Kerala can show that the traditional education system cannot contribute to the general transformation of the economic system.

The author of this thesis puts foward his own solution to the problem in Chapter 8. This solution takes into account the changes in the normative pattern of society, and the influential and little changed institutions within that society, and the circumstances of the failure of the previously attempted reforms. It outlines a comprehensive reform of the educational system which would be aimed at developing, not merely a literate population, but an entire population which is adequately prepared to solve the major industrial and agricultural problems which India faces.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

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CHAPTER TWO

NORMATIVE CHANGE: THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

1 The Principles of the Constitution

The Constitution incorporates the central aspirations of the leaders of the new Indian state at independence. Although there were differences in emphasis among those leaders, there was generally consensus that the most important requirements were to establish a state based on the principles of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. The preamble of the Constitution embodies the substance of these ideas and reflects the aspirations of the nationalist movement.[1] The idea of justice is further elaborated to include social, economic and political justice.[2]

The Indian Constitution is, as Granville Austin states, "first and foremost a social document".[3] It is a long and complex document, but the core of its commitment to a fundamental change in the social order lies in two sections on Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of the State Policy, "the conscience of the Constitution".[4]

The Fundamental Rights Section guarantees to each citizen the following seven rights: 1) the right to equality, 2) the right to freedom, 3) the right to freedom from exploitation, 4) the right to freedom of religion, 5) cultural and educational rights 6) the right to property and 7) the right to constitutional remedies.[5] The right to equality guarantees equal protection before the law.[6] It provides for equal opportunity in public employment, abolishes untouchability, and prohibits discrimination in the use of public places on the ground of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. The rights of

minorities are specifically protected in the provisions for freedom of religion and for the right of minorities to establish and administer their own educational institutions and to conserve a distinct language, script and culture. Thus "the chapter on Fundamental Rights... remains a formidable bulwark of individual liberty, a code of public conduct and a strong and sustaining basis of Indian Democracy".[7]

The section of the Constitution on Fundamental Rights therefore secures the basic minimum conditions within which all Indians can pursue their livelihood. While it is socialist in affirming the right to freedom from exploitation, that is that one person should not be able to use ~~their~~ his economic power to the disadvantage of another, it stops short of the positive control of private property to construct a socialist state. Indeed, the right to property is secured as one of the Fundamental Rights.

While in general tone the Chapter on Fundamental Rights can be seen to address the problem of establishing a free and prosperous India in which all can improve their standard of living, it should also be noted that there is room for difference of opinion over how the Constitution should be interpreted. The right to freedom from exploitation, and the right to property, could be seen as embodying the aspiration for the equitable distribution of property between various individuals within the new state. On the other hand, the right to property and to Constitutional remedies could be seen as protecting the interests of the wealthy against precipitate action on the part of the state authorities, and hence promoting initiative and investment on the part of the wealthy few. This conflict between two different

interpretations of the Constitution, between those who wanted to promote growth in national wealth without being too concerned about its distribution, and those who wanted to distribute the wealth that existed, without being too concerned about how much of it there was, is central to understanding the development of the independent state of India after 1947. It was largely a matter of emphasis, however. From a concern to meet the needs of the majority of poor Indians on all sides arose the two views of how this could be done: the "development" view, that if India became wealthier and more profitable, all would benefit, and the "welfare" view that internal reform was more important than a general increase in wealth.

The Constitution includes Directive Principles of State Policy, which lean towards the welfare view of future policy responses, and enjoin the state to undertake, within its means, a number of measures.[8] These are intended to assure citizens an adequate means of livelihood, raise the standard of living, improve public health, provide free and compulsory education for children, and assure that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the detriment of the common good. Even here there is the implication that the concentration of wealth and the means of production may sometimes be to the common good. These principles, though not enforceable through courts of law, are regarded as fundamental in the governance of the Country.

The Directive Principles of State Policy recognise the aspirations of all Indians for the basic needs of health, housing, clothing, food and employment. The Fundamental Rights secure for each citizen the minimum means for securing these basic needs, including equality before the law, the right to constitutional remedies for wrongs committed, and

perhaps most important of all, the right to education. The Constitution extended the range of political rights to include some which had been denied before Independence by creating universal suffrage.[9] In providing a role for government in the provision of the basic needs of all citizens it also introduced new norms as to the role of the government in the creation of a socialist economy.

On the issue of how education was to be provided, the Constitution begins with an administrative issue; the division of educational responsibility between the Centre and the State. This responsibility is placed under three lists: List I, The List of Union Functions; List II, The List of State Functions; and List III, The List of Concurrent Functions. List I contains the administration of certain universities of national importance, scientific and technical education, professional and vocational training such as police officers, certain research centres, and coordination and determination of standards. The List II shows that the Constitution makes general education a state responsibility, including administration of the universities, except in certain subjects which are the co-responsibility of the State and the Centre.

Other important educational issues dealt with in the Constitution are the official language of the Union, safeguarding the educational and cultural interests of the minorities, freedom of religion, special guarantees to Anglo-Indians, safeguards for the advancement of the weaker sections, for example the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes, and finally Article 17, which abolishes 'untouchability' and forbids its practice in any form.

Realising the importance of universal primary education for the proper development of democracy, Article 45, of the Constitution states that "the State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children, until they complete the age of 14 years".[10]

Thus the Constitution set out, in broad outline, the basis of a socialist state in which all should have equality before the law, and broadly defined rights, including the right to property, freedom from exploitation and education.

2 The Development of the Constitution

In looking at interpretations of the Indian Constitution, it is possible to gain some perspective by looking at the views of the main personalities who were influential, through the Indian National Congress (I.N.C.), in its drafting. The most prominent among these were Nehru and Gandhi. Broadly speaking, Nehru took the view that India should develop into a modern industrial state, modelled on the Soviet Union or Western European nations, while Gandhi wanted to see the development of a just society through the redistribution of wealth within a more traditionally Indian society. In looking at the political processes which led to the drafting of the Constitution, and the actual text of the Constitution which includes provision for large scale state intervention in heavy industry and economic planning, it is easy to come to the conclusion that Nehru's view was the dominant one. The system of direct election to the national assembly was also one preferred by Nehru. However, it was Gandhi who had made the I.N.C. a broadly based, mass movement, and many of his ideas found expression

in the Constitution as well.

When India became independent, in 1947, the Constituent Assembly which had been elected indirectly by the Provincial Assemblies in 1946, under the British Cabinet Mission's provisions for transfer of power, became the Provisional Parliament or the Constituent Assembly. It was given the task of framing the Constitution. The Country had a workable Constitution at that time, in the 1935 Government of India Act. In fact the New Constitution took approximately 250 articles, literally verbatim, or with minor changes, from the Government of India Act, out of the 395 Articles of the Constitution. Deliberations over the Constitution lasted for three years, from 1946 to 1949.[11] The drafting committee of the Constituent Assembly was chaired by Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, an untouchable, who was later made a member of Nehru's Cabinet. It was accepted with little debate within the Congress Party that India should have a parliamentary democracy with cabinet government, a federal structure, universal adult suffrage and written guarantees of fundamental rights. The foremost task of the new government would be to restore order and unity to the nation. Only through the centralized authority of a modern nation, they believed, could India achieve the stability required for economie progress.

This is what G.Myrdal has to say about the drafting of the constitution:

> "An elaborate Constitution, perhaps the lengthiest ever recorded, was drafted in just under three years, and became operative at the beginning of 1950. While strikingly similar to the 1935 Constitution, it also incorporates ideas derived from the United States, other Commonwealth countries, Europe and even the Soviet Union (on social matters). This document was certainly not put togetner hastily or by simply applying textbook models with the help of foreign constitutional advisers, as was the case in many other South Asian Countries, but emerged after careful deliberation in the Constituent Assembly; on most matters there was substantial accord, in part because many of the principles

> had so long been advocated by the congress movement as to be seen almost axiomatic."[12]

The fact that the congress movement had been able to establish a broad consensus on the principles of the Constitution was the result of the long process of debate and preparation which had produced it.

As the Chairman of the National Planning Committee of the I.N.C., Nehru had put forward a number of the fundamental principles in 1938:

> "The ideal of the Congress is the establishment of a free and democratic state in India. Such a democratic state involves an egalitarian society in which equal opportunities are provided for every member for self expression and fulfilment, and an adequate minimum civilized standard of life is assured to all members so as to make the attainment of this equal oppportunity a reality. This should be the background or foundation of our plans."[13]

In his position as chairman of the planning committee, Nehru was able to exert considerable influence on the principles which came to be embodied in the Constitution. That these were the principles of a socialist state can be seen from the resolution which Nehru proposed to, and was accepted by, the United Provinces branch of the Independence League.

> "'The League aims at a Social Democratic State - and the state control of the means of production and distribution.' More specially, it calls for steeply graduated income and inheritance taxes; universal, free and compulsory primary education; adult suffrage; a minimum living wage; excess profit taxes; support for trade unions; un-employment insurance; an eight-hour work-day; the abolition of untouchability; equal status for sexes; and far reaching land reform - removal of intermediaries, partial annulment of debts, and creation of small holdings."[14]

Two years later some of these goals were officially endorsed by the Congress in the Karachi Resolution on fundamental rights. They are abridged as follows:

> "The more important features of the Resolution on fundamental rights were the liberal freedoms of expression, religion, thought and assembly for purposes not opposed to law or morality; equality before the law, regardless of caste, creed or sex; protection of regional languages and cultures; a living wage for industrial workers, limited by hours of labour, unemployment and

> old age insurance; the abolition of untouchability; the right to form unions; reduction of land revenue and rent; a system of progressive income taxes and graduated inheritance taxes; universal adult franchise; free primary education; severe limitations on salaries of civil servants; a secular state; state protection of Khaddar (hand-spun cloth) etc. The most important provision read: 'The state shall own or control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport'."[15]

Nehru himself was therefore personally committed to socialist principles. This did not mean, however, that the consensus on the future Constitution covered a socialism based on an Eastern European model. The National Planning Committee set up in 1938 included a broad range of interest groups, some of which felt that capitalist development was necessary to increase the wealth of the society.

It seems the largest single group in the committee was big businessmen, whose outlook on many matters, especially financial and commercial was definitely conservative. Yet the urge for rapid progress, and the conviction that only through a scheme of planning could the problem of poverty and unemployment could be solved, were so great that all of them were forced to think on new lines. The trend of that new way of thinking is expressed by Nehru:

> "Constituted as we were, not only in our committee but in the larger field of India, we could not then plan for socialism as such. Yet it became clear to me that our plan, as it developed, was inevitably leading us towards establishing some of the fundamentals of the socialist structure... And all this was to be attempted in the context of democratic freedom... Planning, though invevitably bringing about a great deal of control and co-ordination, and interfering in some measure with individual freedom, would as a matter of fact, in the context of India today, lead to a vast increase of freedom. We have very little freedom to lose... A general consent for a plan was thus of great value. It was easy enough to draw up blue-prints based on some idealistic conception. It was much more difficult to get behind them that measure of general consent and approval which was essential for the satisfactory working of any plan."[16]

In general there was, among the leaders of the Congress, a commitment

to socialist principles, linked to a sense of realism, and a sense of the urgency of improving the lot of the very poorest in society. The emphasis on the abolition of untouchability was symbolic of the importance which the National Congress Party attached to assisting the very poorest members of society. It is to be noted however, that the emphasis was placed on helping the poorest in society by stimulating the creation of new wealth, rather than simply redistributing the wealth which existed.

While many of Nehru's ideas were incorporated directly into the Constitution, the specific mention of Khaddar in the Karachi Resolution serves to emphaisise the influence of ideas which Gandhi promoted. This was carried through to the Constitution in the form of protection from industrialised competition for a number of traditional craft industries. There was a broad consensus on the ideas that all should enjoy equal rights, that all should have the right to reasonable living conditions and political rights. If this is seen as a broadly socialist commitment, then even the most conservative politicians were to that extent socialist. Nehru and Gandhi were certainly both committed to socialist development. But how socialism should find expression in an Indian context was not subject to a similar degree of consensus, as can be seen by studying the views of these two prominent leaders.

3 Gandhi's Views of Socialist Development in India

Gandhi joined the I.N.C. three years after his return to India from South Africa in 1915. The I.N.C. had been established, mainly in response to frustation felt by certain educated Indians and businessmen that the Indians were not getting their due rights in the

administration of the country. The organization was formed with a retired English Civil Servant, Alan Octavian Hume, as its first president, since he was instrumental in the setting up of the I.N.C. Until Gandhi joined it, it was an elite organization with all the proceedings carried out in English. Because of Gandhi, Nehru, along with his father Motilal, became members and eventually Gandhi made the elite organization into a mass-movement. Though both Gandhi and Nehru spoke and wrote on all topics connected with India, Nehru more than Gandhi made the I.N.C. a forum to articulate his views regarding the future of India. It is to be remembered that both of them were trained as lawyers, and not as economists or social scientists.

Gandhi, even when he was in South Africa for 20 years, had shown his interest in the welfare of workers in transport, factory, mine and plantation. It was there that he experimented successfully with his novel method of political action, satayagraha (non-violent non-cooperation), a technique which was later to revolutionize Indian politics and to galvanise millions into action against the British Raj. He also wrote a book called Hind Swaraj, or the India Home Rule. When Gokhale, one of the founding members of the I.N.C., saw this book during his visit to South Africa in 1912, he thought it so crude and hastily conceived that he prophesied that Gandhi himself would destroy it after spending a year in India. But Gokhole was proved wrong. Writing about it in Young India in 1921, Gandhi said;

> "I withdraw from it nothing except one word of it in deference to a lady friend."[17]

Everything that Gandhi had to say about independent India, including the Constitution, is contained in that book. The book is divided into 20 chapters and covers a wide range of subjects. It is best summarised

by Gandhi himself in a letter to a friend in India. The salient points are as follows:

> "There is no such thing as Western or European civilization; but there is a modern civilization, which is purely material. It is not the British who are ruling India, but it is modern civilization, through its railways, telegraph, telephone and almost every invention which has been claimed as a triumph of civilization which is ruling India. If British rule were replaced tomorrow by Indian rule based on modern methods, India would not be better."[18]

In the chapter XIII of this book, entitled "What is True Civilization?", the Reader asks, "You have denounced railways, lawyers and doctors. I can see that you will discard all machinery. What then is civilization?" The Editor, that is Gandhi, replies:

> "The answer to that question is not difficult. I believe that the civilization India has evolved is not to be beaten in the world. In the midst of all this (changing world) India remains immovable and that is her glory. It is a charge against India that her people are so uncivilized, ignorant and stolid, that it is not possible to induce them to adopt any changes. It is a charge really against our merit. What we have tested and found true on the anvil of experience, we dare not change. Many thrust their advice upon India and she remains steady. This is her beauty; it is the sheet anchor of our hope.
>
> We have managed with the same kind of plough as existed thousands of years ago. We have retained the same kind of cottages that we had in former times and our indigenous education remains the same as before. We have had no system of life corroding competition. Each followed his own occupation or trade and charged a regulation wage. It was not that we did not know how to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that, if we set our hearts after such things, we would become slaves and lose our moral fibre. They, therefore, after due deliberation, decided that we should only do what we could with our hands and feet. They further reasoned that large cities were a snare and a useless encumbrance. They were therefore satisfied with small villages. A nation with a constitution like this is fitter to teach others than to learn from them."[19]

After his return from South Africa to India, in order to raise the people from their deep rooted apathy, Gandhi, just as in South Africa, began to take up the labour problem of the indigo plantation workers, the agrarian struggle and the textile factory campaign in Gujarat. He

also took active part in the deliberations of the I.N.C., and used the opportunity to teach others his strategy of 'satyagraha'. Because of all these activities, by 1920, Gandhi became the undisputed leader of the I.N.C. Once he had established his dominant role in the country, Gandhi began to speak and write a regular column about some the ideas he had already stated in his book Hind Swaraj in two publications Young India and Harijan. This is what he wrote in Young India, dated 2-10-1926.

> "The fact is that this industrial civilization is a disease because it is all evil. Let us not be deceived by catch words and phrases. Our concern is therefore to destroy industrialism at any cost."[20]

Payarelal, Gandhi's secretary, reports a conversation which Gandhi had with a Polish friend Mr.Friedman. "But is not compromise with industrialization possible" asked Mr. Friedman. Gandhi replied:

> "Oh yes, railways are there. I do not avoid them. I hate motor cars but I make use of them willy nilly all the same. Compromise comes in at every step, but one must realize that it is a compromise, and keep the final goal constantly in front of the mind's eye."[21]

On Nehru's views on industrialisation, Gandhi had this to say:

> "Pandit Nehru wants industrialisation, because he thinks that if it is socialised, it would be free from the evil of Capitalism. My own view is that the evils are inherent in industrialism and no amount of Socialism can eradicate them."[22]

With his special predilection for village life, he spelled out the idea of a model village:

> "An ideal Indian village will be so constructed as to lend itself to perfect sanitation. It will have cottages with sufficient light and ventilation, built of a material obtainable within a radius of five miles of it. The cottages will have country yards enabling house holders to plant vegetables for domestic use and to house their cattle. The village lanes and streets will be free of all avoidable dust. It will have wells according to the needs and accessible to all. It will have houses of worship for all, also a common meeting place, a village common for grazing its cattle, a cooperative dairy, primary and secondary schools in

> which industrial education will be the central fact, and it will have Panchayats for settling disputes. It will produce its own grains, vegetables and fruits, and its own khadis."[23]

From these writings, the concepts which Gandhi wanted to be the content of the Indian Constitution are clear. Gandhi sought the development of an India in which all could satisfy their basic material needs of food, clothing, shelter, health and employment, but he did not desire a major restructuring of Indian society. His reliance on certain traditional organs of village government, such as the Panchayats, his advocacy of traditional crafts, and even his use of the traditional caste concept of each person having a particular craft for which there was a just reward, all indicate that he wanted a socialist state to function within a traditional Indian social order. Certainly, in promoting further justice, and in particular in his outspoken opposition to untouchability, Gandhi advocated changes in the social order. But he was vehemently opposed to the reform of society on the basis of industrialisation and modernisation.

4 Nehru's Views of Socialist Development in India

In considering the differences between Nehru's ideas and Gandhi's, it is important to understand the different backgrounds in which Nehru and Gandhi were brought up. In The Story of My Experiments with Truth Gandhi confesses:

> "During the days of my education, I had read practically nothing outside text-books, and after I launched into active life, I had very little time left for reading."[24]

Nehru, on the other hand, had an English tutor, Mr.Brooks, from the age of ten, and through his guidance "Nehru developed a taste for serious reading which he retained throughout his life."[25]

English literature, poetry, scientific books, world history, political systems, Hindu classics, and art were some of the topics which interested him most. At Cambridge Nehru studied science, which had a fresh impact in all his thoughts and deeds. This is what he said:

> "Where I differ from socialists is that I have a scientific back ground and am more aware of the impact of science on social evolution."[26]

Nehru was a voracious reader. Books were a constant companion on his travels. In one of his travels with M.Brecher, Nehru had for reading Dr.Oppenheimer's Science and Common Understanding. Every day, before he retired to bed, he used to read for at least half an hour.[27]

Despite sharing the objectives of self reliance or employment, these concepts were interpreted differently by Gandhi and Nehru. This is how Brecher described the differences:

> "Nehru was a rationalist who felt the necessity of a clear statement of goals and the ideology from which they emerged. Gandhi by contrast, arrived at decisions intuitively, relying on his "inner voice", and was repelled by the notion of a systematic ideology. Nehru's was the western mind, thinking in terms of the long-run, a plan of action; Gandhi refused to be pressed beyond the immediate aim."[28]

Nehru became the president of I.N.C. on three occassions, in 1929, 1936 and 1937, and in his presidential addresses he showed how to analyse the problems affecting India, both internal and external, and also how to solve them from the value premises of a radical rather than a revolutionary socialist. This is what he said in his first presidential address at Lahore in 1929:

> "I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican, and am no of believer in kings and princes, or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry, who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even the kings of old, and whose methods are as predatory as those of the old feudal

> aristocracy. I recognise, however, that it may not be possible in the present circumstances of this country, to adopt a full socialist programme."[29]
>
> "We have to decide for whose benefit industry must be run and the land produce food... However golden the harvest and heavy the dividends, the mud huts and hovels and nakedness of our people testify to the glory of the British Empire and of our present social system....
>
> "Our economic programme must therefore be based on a human outlook and must not sacrifice man to money. If an industry cannot be run without starving its workers, then the industry must close down. If the workers on the land have not enough to eat, then the intermediaries who deprive them of their full share must go. The least that every worker in field or factory is entitled to is a minimum wage which will enable him to live in moderate comfort, and human hours of labour which do not break his strength and spirit."[30]

In his presidential address of Lucknow in 1936, Nehru once again brought to the notice of the members of the I.N.C., and to the country as a whole, the merits of his considered concepts, socialism and industrialization, as a solution to the problems of India, knowing full well that there were within the I.N.C. people who were opposed to his ideas. This is what he said:

> "I believe in the rapid industrialization of the country and only thus I think will the standards of the people rise substantially and poverty be combated... Though I cooperate in the village industries programme my ideological approach to it differs considerably from that of many others in the congress who are opposed to industrialization and socialism."[31]

Most of the ideas which Nehru was advocating in his presidential addresses, in other speeches and writings were codified into two resolutions: the Draft Programme of the United Provinces Branch of the Independence for India League, and the Karachi Resolution, which have already been described in some detail.

Before independence, the I.N.C. adopted procedures which were eventually to lead to the process of planning based on Five Year

Plans. Nehru was personally involved in these experiments in planning. Towards the end of 1938, a National Planning Committee (N.P.C.) was constituted at the instance of I.N.C.; the motive force behind the move was Nehru. He was elected as the chairman of the committee. The original idea behind the N.P.C. had been to further industrialization:

> "The problems of poverty and unemployment, of national defence and economic regeneration in general cannot be solved without industrialization. As a step towards such industrialization, a comprehensive scheme of national planning should be formulated. The scheme should provide for the development of heavy key industries, medium scale industries and cottage industries."[32]

No planning however could ignore agriculture and the social services. The attempt to plan and to see the various national activities - economic, social, cultural - fitting into each other, had a highly educative value for everyone concerned.

Although in these statements there are a number of phrases which are compatible with Ganhi's views, particularly where it comes to the promotion of cottage industries, the whole thrust of Nehru's thinking can be seen to be towards industrialisation, modernisation, and large scale economic plans. This position was diametrically opposed to the view put forward by Gandhi.

In summary, then, both Gandhi and Nehru wished to advance an independent, socialist state in which every member of society had a right to enjoy a minimum standard of living and comfort. They differed fundamentally in how this was best to be achieved. For Gandhi it could best be achieved by rejecting the modern and industrial institutions introduced by the British, and by establishing a just and cooperative society based on Indian traditions. While there are many features of the caste system which Gandhi rejected, a number of the underpinning

moral assumptions of the caste system remain central to his thinking, including the ideas of each person having an occupation which identifies his place in life, of duty to one's profession and community, and of village government through the Panchayats. In contrast, Nehru sought to establish the modern socialist state in India through the retention of modern institutions and industries introduced by the British. He felt that in this way the general level of wealth in the country could be raised, and that by breaking down the traditional caste system greater equality of access could be created, ensuring that everybody benefitted from India's increased prosperity.

Nehru sought to strengthen and reform the modern institutions, and to decrease the influence of the traditional social order. Gandhi sought to strengthen and reform the traditional social order and social values by removing the modern and industrial institutions. Reduced to such a simple outline of their views of a desirable future for India, the contrast between the two could hardly have been more sharp.

5 The Framing of the Constitution: Why Nehru's Alternative was chosen.

The Alternatives

As stated, two kinds of movements, political and social, were going on in India after Gandhi and Nehru began to lead the Indian National Congress towards the attaiment of independence. The political movement was completed in 1947, but the social movement was only starting. This is what Nehru said to the members of the Constituent Assembly as they gathered to frame the Constitution:

> "The first task of the Assembly is to free India through a new Constitution, to feed the starving people, and to cloth the naked masses, and to give every Indian the fullest opportunity to develop himself according to his capacity.

> "If we cannot solve this problem soon all our paper constitutions will become useless and purposeless... If India goes down, all will go down; if India thrives, all will thrive; and if India lives, all will live".[33]

This sentiment of Nehru was echoed by one of the members of the Assembly, K.Santhanam, for he wrote:-

> "The choice for India is between rapid evolution and violent revolution... because the Indian masses cannot and will not wait for a long time to obtain the satisfaction of their minimum needs".[34]

The Constituent Assembly's task was to draft a Constitution that would serve the ultimate goal of social revolution, of national transformation. In order to achieve these objectives there should be the appropriate conditions, or institutions, in the country. For, if the country were not united, if the government were not stable, if the government lacked the cooperation of the people, then there could be no social and economic change on a national scale. What political institutions, therefore, would help to accomplish these aims, and so establish the conditions in which the social changes would more easily take place? The choice was basic: to what political tradition, to European or to Indian, should the Assembly look for a constitutional pattern? By which of these routes could India best arrive at the goal of social revolution?

The Assembly members studied the village-based system of Gandhi: according to Gandhi, India lived in her self-reliant villages, but those villages were ruined by the British administration. Yet in the simplicity of village life, in its removal from the falsity of urban, industrial society's values - as he interpreted them - Gandhi envisaged the environment in which a man could live morally, where he

could tread the path of duty and follow the right mode of conduct, which to Gandhi was the true meaning of "civilisation".[35]

Gandhi submitted two plans - one in January 1946 and the other in January 1948 - to the committee charged with revising the Congress constitution.[36] The second plan, presented on the day of his murder and now called his testament, was more comprehesive. It would have disbanded the Congress as "a propaganda vehicle and parliamentaly machine" and turned it into a social service organisation based on a nation-wide network of panchayats.[37] Each village panchayat, in Gandhi's plan, would form a unit. Two such panchayats would constitute a working party with an elected leader. Fifty leaders would elect a second grade leader, who would co-ordinate their efforts and who would also be available for national service. Second grade leaders could elect a national chief to "regulate and command all the groups."[38]

The party's constitution committee, under the influence of the working committee, did not accept Gandhi's suggestions, believing that the Congress could neither abdicate its political role nor become so utterly decentralized.[39]

At the same time the Congress committee, in its new constitution, did exactly what Gandhi had proposed for the administration of the country at the lower level. "Primary Congress Panchayats were established in a village or a group of villages" as the basic organizational unit of the party.[40] To an extent, the hierarchy was to be elected indirectly, the Panchayat members elected delegates to the annual congress; within each province (now state) these delegates comprised the state congress committee, and they elected the members of the All India Congress Committee as well as the president. The working committee of the

congress was chosen by the president. However this kind of partial indirect election process and the argument that the Congress should be dissolved was firmly dismissed by the circular issued by the Congress, stating:

> "If India's destiny is to be fulfilled and is to take its proper place in the comity of nations, then its unity is essential, and there is no other organization more fitted for this difficult task than the Congress... India requires for its gradual and orderly political, social, and economic all round progress, one big political party, large enough to guarantee a stable government, and strong enough organizationally to maintain its hold and influence over the people. Such a party of course must have a programme of radical change aiming at social justice and eradication of exploitation in all its forms."[41]

Despite such a circular, Gandhi's proposal for a village and panchayat based constitution was taken up by one of his followers, Shriman Narayan Agarwal by his "Gandhian Constitution for Free India".[42]

Agarwal based his work on the well-known Gandhian principle that "violence logically leads to centralization: the essence of non-violence is decentralization".[43] In Agarwal's draft constitution the primary political unit was to be the village panchayat whose members would be elected by the adults of the village. The panchayat would control chowkidars (watchmen), patwaris (the men who kept the land and tax assessment registers), and police and schools. It would also assess and collect land revenue, supervise cooperative farming, irrigation, and interest rates, as well as Khadi and other village industries.

Above the village panchayat would come a hierarchy of indirectly elected bodies. First were taluka and district panchayats, each composed of the sarpanchs (panchayat leaders) of the next lower panchayat and having only advisory powers over them. Members from the district and municipal panchayat would make up the provincial

panchayats, which would elect a president to serve as head of provincial government. Presidents of the provincial panchayats would comprise the All-India Panchayat, whose president would be the head of the state and of the government, which would be ministerial in character. Among the responsibilities of provincial panchayats would be transport, irrigation, natural resources and a cooperative bank. The national panchayat would be responsible for such things as defence, currency, the running of the key industries of national importance and the coordination of provincial economic development plans.

And Agarwal, like other Gandhians, hoped that a "Gandhian" constitution would do away with the need for that great evil of modern societies, political parties. "The very large measure of local self-government in his constitution", he said, would give rise to no "regular and rigid political parties".[44] Equally a "Gandhian" constitution would maintain India as a primarily rural society with its base in agriculture, eschewing all but the most essential industrialization. The result of this, Gandhi and his followers believed, would be to "elevate the moral being" of Indians, whereas to follow the lead of western civilization (urban, mechanized, highly political, based on the exploitation of man by man) would be to "propagate immorality".[45]

The ideal of a revived village life with benevolent panchayats and decentralised government bringing democracy to the grass-root level appealed to Assembly members. Yet when considering the political tradition to embody in the constitution, as Austin says, they had to ask themselves several questions concerning the Gandhian alternative.

These were as follows:

"a) was the nature of man different in rural from in urban society; would man become a moral being in one and not in the other?

b) was it possible in 1947 to change India back to a primarily agricultural village nation?

c) did the state bear responsibility for the welfare of its citizens; if it did, could it fulfil the responsibility under a decentralised constitution?

d) did the villagers have - as they must have with a decentralised constitution and indirect government - the initiative to remake their way of life?"[46]

Faced with this choice assembly members had to decide whether traditional or non-traditional institutions would bring about a social revolution so profound as to alter fundamentally the structure of the Indian society. They had to decide what type of constitution would bring India the unity, stability, and economic gains prerequisite for such a change. And basic to these decisions, members of the Assembly had to choose a constitution that, while promoting these aims, would be acceptable to those they represented, the 400 million citizens of India.

In the event, the Assembly rejected Gandhi's views on the political structure for India, selecting instead a more centralised form of government controlled by a directly elected national parliament. Although most Assembly members favoured the development of village life, including greatly increased responsibility for village panchayats, few Assembly members could in the last resort bring themselves to support a fully-fledged system of indirect, decentralized government.[47] That India would have a centralised

parliamentary constitution was nearly certain from the start, and became increasingly clear during the lifetime of the Assembly. Events before and during the life of the Assembly made that choice even more certain. After the trauma of partition, no politician could easily press the case of decentralisation if this was seen in any way as reducing national unity.

It was the Congress Expert Committee that put India on the road to her present constitution. This Committee, with Nehru as its chairman, was set up by the Congress Working Committee to prepare materials for the Assembly. The committee members working within the framework the Cabinet Mission scheme, made several suggestions about autonomous areas, the powers of the provincial governments and the Centre, and about such issues as the Princely States and the amending power. The committee ignored the Gandhian approach, however, considering only the institutions of parliamentary government and recommending tentatively that the Constitution provide the institutions of a loose federation.[48]

The Constituent Assembly convened on 9 December 1946. It began to debate the Objective Resolution which Nehru had drafted and had got approved both by the expert and the working committes of the Congress. The Objective Resolution said that the new Constitution would be dedicated to the goal of social revolution, but it did not specify how these aims were to be achieved. Neither panchayat nor indirect government were mentioned and the allusions to decentralization were obviously made in deference to the Cabinet Mission plan.[49] The members spoke of democracy, socialism and the responsibilities of legislatives, but not of the necessity for an "Indian" form of

Government.

When the two committees charged with the preparation of model constitutions for the centre and the states, brought their models for the approval of the assembly members, only one noticed the absence of panchayats from the models. With the Assembly's seal of approval on parliamentary principles, the drafting of the Constitution was given to the Drafting Committee, and to the Constitutional Adviser, B.N.Rau. When the Draft Constitution prepared by the Drafting Committee came to the notice of the Assembly members, the omission of panchayats was noticed by some, and Prasad wrote to Rau as follows;

> "I like the idea of making the Constitution begin with the village and go up to the Centre; the village has been and will continue to be our unit in this country. I strongly advocate the idea of utilizing the adult franchise only for the villaage panchayat and making the village panchayats the electoral college for electing representatives to the provinces and the Centre."[50]

Prasad also called Rau's attention to the All India Congress Committies adoption of a Congress Constitution with a panchayat base.

Firmly, but kindly, Rau rejected Prasad's suggestion. However, when the assembly began its autumn session of 1948, many members of the assembly submitted amendments to the draft advocating the development of panchayats.[51] These favoured the develpment of panchayats as a form of local self-government, as schools of democracy, as instruments of village uplift; and they favoured giving the villages some financial resources and a measure of autonomy. None of them, however, attempted to make panchayats the base for an indirect system of government, nor did these amendments support the decentralization of a Gandhian Constitution.[52] By incorporating panchayats in Article 40 in the Directive Principles of the State Policy, the principle became "non-justiciable", like other clauses of the Directive Principles of the

State Policy.[53] None would have changed the centralised, parliamentary system proposed by the Draft; they only made it the duty of the State to encourage the development of panchayats and the reform of village life below the level of provincial governments.

The reasons the Gandhian model for the Constitution was rejected can be broadly grouped under four headings.[54]

1) The Congress never had been Gandhian.
2) The socialist commitment.
3) The immediate difficulties of national unity.
4) The need for universal adult suffrage.

According to Nehru, the Congress had "never considered" the Gandhian view of Society (as exemplified in Hind Swaraj) "much less adopted it".[55] However great was his influence in the country, Gandhi had never succeeded in converting either the country or his own party to his view of how Indians should live and how they should govern themselves.

The Congress documents from the twenties onwards, such as the Commonwealth of India Bill (Annie Besant Bill, drafted by a group of Indians) in 1925, the Nehru Report of 1928, and the Sapru Report of 1945, demanded a parliamentary form of government. When Gandhi came to know that his message had failed to get home to the Congress Party as a whole, he wrote in **Harijan** in July 1946 as follows;

> "Congressmen themselves are not of one mind even on the contents of independence. I do not know how many swear by non-violence or charks (the spinning wheels) or, believing in decentralization, regard the village as the nucleus. I know on the contrary that many would have India become a first-class military power and wish for India to have a strong centre and build the whole structure round it."[56]

Moreover Indians, though small in number, had associated themselves with the representative form of government since the late nineteenth century, and hence it is not surprising that they favoured a parliamentary form for the Constitution. From 1909 Government of India Act and the subsequent ones of 1919, and 1935, Indians came to play an increasing role in both the executive and legislative sides of provincial and central government. Hence K.M.Munshi said, "Why should the Assembly turn its back on a hundred year old tradition of parliamentary government in India".[57] Finally many Indians had become intellectually committed to the liberal democratic tradition through their education and travels, even if they had not been fully exposed to it in colonial India.

The intellectual and emotional attachment of the members of the Assembly to socialism also strengthened their belief in the parliamentary form of government. During its debate on the Objective Resolution, the members of the Assembly, whether Congress or non-Congress, made it clear that the Constitution must be dedicated to some form of socialism and to the social regeneration of India. In making most of the members of the Assembly favourable to the concept of socialism, the role played by Nehru for many years was very important. Though Nehru had started his advocacy of socialism with certain Marxist tendencies, he had become less doctrinaire by the time the Constitution was framed. By 1945, the real problems for Nehru were "problems of individual and social life".[58]

Knowing the allergic reaction of Patel to the word "socialism", in his debate on the Objective Resolution, Nehru did not press for the inclusion of the word socialism in the Constitution, though all his

other policies on socialism were in the Constitution in one form or other. The difference between Nehru and others was one of approach, not of basic belief; while Nehru felt an emotional and intellectual obligation to attack India's social problems, Patel and other conservative members were committed to an effective form of government. Yet even their attitude was rooted in a humanitarian outlook. If the good of the many demanded the sacrifice of the few, such as the Zamendari-abolition, it would be done. What was of the greatest important to most of the Assembly members, however, was not that the word socialism be embodied in the Constitution, but that a democratic constitution with a socialist bias be framed so as to allow the nation in the future to become as socialist as its citizens desired or as its needs demanded.[59]

Some of the pressing problems confronting India at the time of independence contributed to the support for a centralised constitution. The near famine conditions in Madras, the six million refugees as a result of the partition, killing and displacement, the "Great Calcutta Killing" and the communal upheavals in many parts of the country, the internal and external security problems, such as the communist insurrection at Telenguna near Hydrabad, the Pakistani inspired invasion of Kashmir, and the need for economic progress all through India, created support for a Constitution, with direct contact with all parts of the country, and not a village based one, to tackle these problems. The Assembly believed that the most urgent need, economic progress, could be fulfilled only with the presence of a centralised authority, by central planning, and by the development of modern agricultural methods, transport, communications, heavy and light industry, electric power and technical advancement in general. And necessary to technical, even cultural, advancement was scientific

research. "We should adopt all that the modern world has to give us to fulfil our needs", said an Assembly member.[60] "How far", Nehru asked, "will this sort of progress fit in with a purely village society".[61] And in Sardar Patel's words "...the first requirement for any progressive country is internal and external security. Therefore, I started planning on the integration of the country.. It is impossible to make progress unless you first restore order in the country."[62]

Finally if there was a single instrument which could bring about the national unity, stability, security, economic progress and so on, "a gong, a single note, whose reverberations might awaken or at leat stir sleeping India", that was direct election by adult suffrage. This is what one Assembly member, Alladi Krishnasway Ayyar said;

> "The Assembly has adopted the principle of adult suffrage with an abundant faith in the common man and the ultimate success of the democratic rule, and in the full belief that the introduction of democratic government on the basis of adult suffrage will bring enlightenment and promote the well-being, the standard of life, the comfort and the decent living of the common man."[63]

Adult suffrage gave a voice, indeed power, to millions who had previously to depend on the whim of others for representing their interests. Direct elections brought, or could bring, national life and consciousness to individuals in the village. This is what K.M.Panikkar said;

> "Adult suffrage has social implications far beyond its political significance... Many social groups previously unaware of their strength and barely touched by the political changes that had taken place, suddenly realised that they were in a position to wield power."[64]

It is argued that direct elections and the growth of political parties had abetted caste consciousness, thus promoting what the Constitution was designed to defeat. There is some truth in this argument. There is probably more truth in the argument that indirect elections through village panchayats would have had an even stronger influence on

increasing caste feeling in the political process. Here again, direct elections on a national scale served to sever the political process to some extent from the caste allegiances which were most strongly expressed in village politics. On the issue of electoral procedures, as on many others, Nehru's desire was to build modern institutions by weakening the traditional Indian institutions, while Gandhi's was to strengthen traditional institutions to weaken the undesirable influence of modern institutions.

In practice the outcome was somewhere between the two, with village and caste allegiances playing a small reduced part in national politics. The direct election however gave the government and the political parties the task of making villagers understand the national issues rather then the local ones. In the long run, the national issues and problems would outweigh the local issues and problems.

The principle of direct election, does not necessarily dispense with the role of the panchayat, since Article 40 in the Directive Principles of State Policy directs the States to encourage the Panchayat activities as much as possible. Even according to Nehru, panchayats and the ideal of reformed village life would be central to the programme for the modernization of the Indian Society. The panchayats and the parliamentary form of administration were not incompatible; the two were complimentary and must be simultaneously persued. India would do as she had done for centuries: take what she desired from other cultures and bend it to her needs. This is what Nehru said;

> "As of old, India seeks a synthesis of the past and the present; of the old and the new. She sees the new industrial civilization marching irresistibly on; she dislikes it and mistrusts it to some extent, for it is an attack against and an upheaval of so

> much that is old; yet she has accepted that industrial civilization as an inevitable development. So she seeks to synthesize it with her own fundamental conceptions, to find an harmony between the inner man and his ever changing environment."[65]

To Indians, parliamentary government seemed the route to the long demanded egalitarian society, presenting "the masses with dynamite for the destruction of social institutions based on privileges and on hereditary inequality".[66] With her social revolution under way, yet with her identity preserved, India could take her "rightful and honoured place in the world."[67]

6 The Expected Social and Economic Changes on Independence

Both Gandhi and Nehru believed that economic and social revolution would occur as soon as British dominion ended. But they were not as confident that it would come without a struggle, though they were anxious to avoid all forms of violence. Like many other intellectuals, they felt that colonial rule had suppressed the forces making for economic progress and that once the shackles of imperialism were removed rapid economic development could be expected. Yet they both expressed their firm commitment to economic and social change. Gandhi had even anticipated a violent uprising by the impoverished masses if the expected changes did not take place. In his words;

> "Economic equality is the master key to non-violent independence... A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The constrast between the palaces of New Dehli and the miserable hovels of the poor, labouring class cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land. A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for the common good."[68]

In two interviews recorded by L.Fischer during a week he spent with Gandhi in 1942, Gandhi expressed himself as an optimistic

revolutionary. The following exchange refers specifically to the land question.

> "'What would happen to a free India?' I asked. 'What is your programme for the improvement of the lot of the peasantry?'
>
> 'The peasant would take the land,' he replied, 'We would not have to tell them to take it. They would take it'.
>
> 'Should the landlords be compensated?' I asked. 'No', he said, 'that would be fiscally impossible. You see', he smiled, 'our gratitude to our millionaire friends does not prevent us from saying such things'."[69]

Asked whether the peasant seizing the land would occur with violence, Gandhi answered:

> 'There may be violence, but again the landlord may cooperate'.
>
> 'You are an optimist', I said.
>
> 'They might cooperate by fleeing', Gandhi said.
>
> 'Or', I said, 'They might organise violent resistence?'
>
> 'There may be fifteen days of chaos', Gandhi speculated, 'but I think we could soon bring that under control'."[70]

In principle Gandhi was for complete economic equality. This is what he said;

> "My ideal is equal distribution, but as far as I can see, it is not to be realised. I therefore work for equitable distribution."[71]
>
> "I have no doubt that if India is to live an exemplary life of independence which would be the envy of the world, all the bhangis (untouchables), doctors, lawyers, teachers, merchants and others would get the same wages for an honest days work."[72]

Despite these assertions on equality, property and distribution, Gandhi sponsored the idea that the rich could keep their wealth if they acted as "trustees" for the underprivileged.[73] This notion was a practical compromise motivated by his rejection of violence and his realization that the rich would not willingly give up their possessions. His view was;

> "Should the wealthy be dispossessed of their prossessions? To do this we would naturally have to resort to violence. The violent action cannot benefit society."[74]

It also reflected his awareness that the managerial skills of the wealthy would be needed if India was to progress, for he said;

> "Society will be the poorer, for it will lose the gifts of a man who knows how to accumulate wealth... The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth, of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs and will act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for society. In this argument honesty on the party the trustees is assumed."[75]

Gandhi perhaps was expecting every Hindu wealthy man to observe the norm of Dharma; not to indulge in one's own luxurious life, but to spend one's wealth for the needy around one. If one is not prepared to undertake this obligation, one should not, according to Gandhi, amass wealth. He said;

> "If all men realized the obligation of service (as an eternal moral law) they would regard it as a sin to amass wealth; and then there would be no inequalities of wealth and consequently no famine or starvation."[76]

To Nehru, however this trusteeship idea was fundamentally a concept that fitted into a paternalistic, feudal pre-democratic society. It was the vision of a society where the rich were charitable so that the poor could remain weak. Hence this is what Nehru said;

> "Again I think of the paradox that is Gandhi with all his keen intellect and passion for bettering the downtrodden and oppressed, why does he support a system, and a system which is obviously decaying, which creates this misery and waste? He seeks a way out, it is true, but is not that way to the past barred and bolted? And meanwhile he blesses all the relics of the old order which stand as obstacles in the way of advance - the feudal states, the big Zamindaris and taluquadaris, the present capitalist system. Is it reasonable to believe in the theory of trusteeship to give unchecked power and wealth to an individual and to expect him to use it entirely for the public good? Are the best of us so perfect as to be trusted in this way?"[77]

Just like Gandhi, Nehru too was optimistic about the radical changes in the social and economic order as a result of independence. He stated his view as follows;

> "I analysed that freedom and what it should mean to the hundreds of millions of our people. We wanted no change of masters from white to brown, but a real people's rule, by the people and for the people, and an ending of our poverty and misery."[78]

In the final anaylysis, the expectation that independence would result in a social and economic revolution was based on the experience of the liberal democracies of the West with adult suffrage that when people acquire the power of the ballot, they would not permit a minority to monopolize the country's wealth. That independent India should have full democracy with general adult suffrage was a foregone conclusion. This assumption about the catalytic role of universal adult suffrage was well illustrated in that famous quotation of Pierre Proudhon, "Universal suffrage means revolution."

There was very broad agreement on the problems which needed to be solved in order for the independent India to flourish. The poor were to be fed, and clothed, and housed. There was much less agreement over how this was to be achieved. Gandhi and Nehru represented opposite ends of the spectrum when it came to choosing the means towards a new, just society. Gandhi wanted to achieve an Indian democracy through the removal of all British institutions and the strengthening of villages. Nehru wanted to strengthen modern institutions, and hence by implication some of the institutions, including educational institutions, which the British had introduced. Following Gandhi's programme would have strengthened those institutions which Nehru saw as the main obstacles to progress, while following Nehru's path would mean the strengthening of those institutions in which Gandhi saw the

seeds of all evil in Indian society.

In the parliamentary, political and constitutional debates, it was Nehru who prevailed, and whose view finds most frequent explicit expression in official documents. It should be remembered, however, that it was Gandhi who made the I.N.C. a party with mass support. He achieved this by appealing to sentiments which were very widely held among the broad mass of people in India. To the extent that these sentiments were fundamentally rooted in traditional Hindu beliefs he also alienated Moslem politicians who came to believe that he wanted to establish a Hindu state.

But the fact that the sentiments to which Gandhi appealed were widespread, means that one cannot afford to overlook his views in the later interpretation of the Constitution. As the development programmes of the Five Year Plans unfolded there were many who interpreted them on Gandhian lines.

In the thirty eight years since India achieved independence, India has also achieved some of the goals she set herself in 1947. There has been economic growth on a large scale, there has been industrialisation, and there has been progress in higher education and scientific research. But these changes have not brought about the change in the lifestyle of the masses which was envisaged. This is partly because the traditional village allegiances have proved too strong to be broken as Nehru wished. But it has also been because many of the British institutions which were retained have reinforced social divisions, as Gandhi said they would. This means that in looking at the proposed solutions to India's problems neither Gandhi's nor

Nehru's interpretations can be dismissed out of hand.

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CHAPTER THREE

INSTITUTIONS OF INDIAN SOCIETY: LACK OF CHANGE

1 The Caste System, Joint Family and Traditional Village Government

In his various writings, M.Weber makes some observations about traditional behaviour. He regards traditional behaviour as action which is very close to being an automatic reaction to habitual stimuli. He states that, "traditionalism... shall refer to the psychic attitude-set for the habitual workday and to the belief in everyday routine is an inviolable norm of conduct".[1]

It was Weber's judgement, after making a special study of the Hindu religion, that the traditional social order was made sacrosanct by the two principal doctrines of Hinduism; the transmigration of the soul (sansara) and retribution (karma) in each life for the shortcomings of a previous life.[2] These doctrines mesh with and contribute to the sacredness of the norms of each caste (dharma). These norms do not allow anyone to take up an occupation except one appropriate to his own caste. Weber had perceived that these rigidities of caste occupation had to give way, if rational organization was to succeed traditionalism in India.[3]

This is what Weber had to say about it;

> "It was impossible to shatter traditionalism, based on caste ritualism anchored in Karma doctrine, by rationalizing the economy ... Anyone who wishes to emancipate himself from this world and the inescapable cycle of recurrent births and deaths had to leave it altogether - to set out for that unreal realm to which Hindu "salvation" leads ... So long as the Karma doctrine was unshaken, revolutionary ideas or

> progressivism were inconceivable ... The lowest castes ... had the most to win through ritual correctness and were least tempted to innovation. Hinduism's particularly strong traditionalism finds its explanation also in the great promises which indeed were at stake for the lowly caste whenever the members deviated from their caste".[4]

Hindu society is characterised by the three following social organisations; the caste system, the village and the joint family.

1.1 The Caste System

The Hindu Social order is controlled by the far reaching caste system, ordained by the dominant Hindu religion.[5] An individual's caste position is decided by birth.[6] There are four identifiable castes: the Brahmins or priests, the Kshtriyas or warriors, the Vaisyas or merchants, and the Sudras or peasants and workers.[7] There is a fifth distinct group called the untouchables or outcastes who are not, as the name implies, outside the pale of Hindu society, but form its bottom rank, and are rigidly bound by caste system rules. However, there are numerous of sub-castes based on occupation, which vary from region to region.[8]

It is not easy to define "caste", a name given by the Portuguese, based on the division of labour, but it can be described as follows:

> "India is a socially rigid society. The idea of one's place is firmly fixed in the minds of each individual. An idea of individual advancement that is, a rise in caste, is impossible, at least scripturally. One may have to do good deeds in this life to be born into a higher caste in the next life. Naturally this rise is predicated upon good behaviour in this life; in fact, he who does not live a righteous life, i.e., follow and uphold the dictates of the caste system, is doomed to lose status in the next life".[9]

The concept of untouchability is crucial to the caste system.[10] All those who are not born into the four castes are outcastes, and they are subjected to the regulation of untouchability. It prohibits the outcastes from approaching the high castes within a particular distance, or the use of the wells, utensils, and so on used by the high castes. Certain kinds of menial or dirty work, such as cleaning the streets, scavenging, and skinning dead animals, which according to the ritual of purity pollute the high castes, have to be done by the outcastes. In extreme cases, an untouchable, in the not very distant past, would lie down on the road to avoid having his shadow touch, and consequently pollute, a sacred Brahmin.[11]

It might be supposed that the untouchables resent their status. In fact, however, this is not always the case:

> "The Brahmins have their streets; the Harijans have the same rigid organisation: the sweepers' street, the leatherworkers' street, and the carrion-eating basket-weavers' street, the lowest of the low".[12]

The caste system, despite the constitutional provisions for the weaker sections of Hindu society, remains very strong in rural areas, as an obstacle to change and to social mobility.[13] It determines for the individual a fixed position from which neither wealth nor poverty, neither success or disaster, can dislodge him. All his actions and contacts are controlled by his caste rules. His caste controls the choice of his wife as well as of his occupation. He must marry eat, dress and workship according to his caste customs.[14] There is no scope for individual freedom, except in urban areas. This is what Y.B.Damle has to say about the present position:

> "In India by and large, the social relations are dictated by the caste system. The caste system is a hierarchical order which imposes taboos on social intercourse. Through religion the caste system was extolled. Due to the structural relationship between the caste system and the theory of karma and rebirth, greatest premium is put on the maintenance of the inequalitarian hierarchical pattern. Thus, the individual's salvation can be attained only by conforming to the social order and not by deviating from it. Inevitably a static order comes into play".[15]

The caste system is probably stronger today (in 1985) than it was at the time when India became independent. And this in turn is largely the result of the operation, in a very poor and inegalitarian society, of the political processes themselves. At election times the caste groups function as political vote banks whereby the ballots of their members are joined to the candidates of the party who are prepared to grant favours on a caste basis.[16] Even in Kerala, the communist party came to power on a caste basis, according to Myrdal.[17] This is waht T.Zinkin says about the Kerala communists:

> "I shall never forget the day I visited the leader of the communist party of Kerala... He had observed all the caste and sub-caste ritual reserved for such occasions... His explanation was lame. He did not want to shock his caste fellows whose political support he could not afford to lose".[18]

In a broacast on the eve of Independence Day in 1962, President Radhakrishan said:

> "The recent election showed that the system of caste and feeling for groups, linguistic and communal, had not loosened its hold on the masses of our people. They have impaired the health our democratic structure. Even in Panchyat raj we should be careful that the spirit of caste panchyat does not vitiate its working".[19]

The centrality of caste in the structure of Indian villages is well recognised. Occupational, ritual and hierarchical features

of caste generally structure the nature of social and ritual relationships and determine many of the forms of the economic interchange within villages. Numerous small castes have quite specific occupations with which they are associated.

The caste system is governed by certain norms, the most important ones being Dharma, Karma and Sansara, and they all have different meanings.[20] Dharma means sacred duty. For example, the dharma of fire is to burn.[21] Dharma represents a whole range of moral and ritual obligations that apply to each person according to his caste.[22] This doctrine is illustrated by the great sermon of Bhagavad Gita, by Lord Krishna to Arjuna, the warrior, at the battle front. Seeing his old friends, relatives and teachers, men whom he had known and loved all his life in the ranks of his enemy, though convinced of the justice of his cause, Arjuna had pricks of conscience. So he turned to his friend Krishna for advice, as Krishna was acting as his charioteer. Krishna first explained that the death of the body does not involve the death of the soul.

> "He who thinks this (soul) as the slayer and he who thinks this is the slain do not understand. It is neither slays nor is it slain".[23]

Krishna then developed his teaching on human activity. God himself is continually active, and man also should act. But as far as possible, he should act without attachment; without personal desire or ambition. He must fulfil his functions in the society in which he is a member, doing all things for the glory of God:

> "Your business is with the deed and not with the result".[24]

The stern ethics of Gita are clearly intended as a defence of the

old established order against the attacks of reformers and unbelievers. By discharging one's caste duties, one will obtain salvation whatever one's caste.[25] Through Dharma, one acquires the other aims of life, Artha (wealth), Kama (satisfaction of desire) and Moksha (liberation from birth and death, and eternal felicity). The norm of Dharma, more than all other norms, has great influence on the day to day life of Indians even to this day. To Gandhi, this norm was his guiding principle in life and he never tired of instilling this doctrine into his followers.[26]

It should be noted that the idea of Dharma, and the implicit acceptance of the position one finds oneself in, linked with a detatchment from the practical outcomes of one's actions, is in direct conflict with the ideals of central economic planning which the government wanted to introduce after independence. This is in line with Weber's view that the norms of caste prevented progressive reform. In more practical terms, it has been argued that it is because of the influence of the norm of Dharma (to do ones duty with out any desire for reward or success) that the execution of the Five Year Plan projects has not been a great success.[27]

The meanings of the other two norms, Karma and Samsara, are similar to that of Dharma. Karma means that every action has an inevitable result, the results of the deeds of one's life affecting one in the next life; and so it provides a satisfactory explanation to the mystery of suffering, and it also justified the inequalities in Hinduism.[28] Samsara means, the re-incarnation or the endless cycle of birth and death, to which each soul is

subject until it obtains liberation - Moksha.[29]

The precise prescriptions of Dharma in practical situations occasionally required interpretation. Traditionally, observance of caste duties was controlled by caste panchyats, or councils.[30] These councils still exercise power in many areas. They are composed of elders, sometimes from several castes, often from the highest caste in the area. The members are generally men esteemed for their wisdom and experience in life. These councils have to function as instruments of pattern maintenance. The Panchyats arbitrate quarrels to decide what is to be done about a transgression of caste or village customs, or situations of similar nature. They are never intended to be innovators and function in opposition to change.

> "The task of the council was to preserve the social equilibrium of the village, to minimize disatisfaction and dissension through compromise and arbitration".[31]

1.2 The Village

After the caste comes the village, on which India lives, as Gandhi said.[32] The present day Indian village is not much different from the ancient Indian villages. A typical village in ancient times was a cluster of huts, large and small, often grouped around a well or a pond, near which there was an open space with a few trees. In certain villages there were club rooms which served as a rest house for travellers, and as a centre of social life. Later their place was taken by a village temple.[33]

However, this is what T.Zinkin says about the present day villages:

> "There is no typical village. There are about 558,000 villages and they vary astonishingly from area to area. To an outsider the village looks formless: not so to the initiated. The street has a rigorous organisation. In one street live only the potters of the village. They may not all make pots, but they all belong to the potters' clan. The Brahmins have their street; the peasants theirs. A bit of field separates the touchable village from the untouchables, or Harijans, as Mahatma Gandhi called them. The Harijans have the same organisation; the sweepers' street, the leather workers' street, and far removed the carrion eating basket weavers' street, the lowest of the low".[34]

Every village has various councils of its own that preside over village life, and they add considerably to the stability of the village and to the happiness of the individual. In most villages there are two kinds of councils, known as Panchyats; the village Panchyat and the Caste Panchyat. The village Panchyat, a council of five elders, was once so powerful that it merited the following description from Sir Charles Metcalf in 1832:

> "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down, revolution succeeds revolution, but the village community remains the same ... This union of village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India, through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great position of freedom and independence".[35]

The purpose of the caste panchyat was to preserve the caste, sub-caste and customs in their pristine purity and rigidity. The Harijans too have their own caste panchyats. They lay down rules for marriages between distant relatives, and they arbitrate family disputes with regard to marriage and divorce. It was the panchyat of his caste that excommunicated Gandhi for crossing the ocean to study law in London.[36]

Most of the villagers were free peasants, and their land was to all intents and purposes their own, though the king claimed its ultimate ownership. Most peasant holdings were small, and were usually worked by the owner and his family, but there were farmsteads, the owners of which cultivated their farms with hired labour. Owners of land also used to let out the land to share-croppers in return for a stipulated amount of crop, usually half the crop harvested.

1.3 The Family

The basic unit of Hindu society is the family. Traditionally it was a joint family, where close links were maintained between brothers, uncles, cousins, and nephews, who often lived under the same roof and who owned the immovable property of the line in common. It might include adopted children, and, unless poor, it would also possess a varying number of servants, domestic serfs and clients; a Brahmin family might in addition find room for a number of students, who were engaged in a lengthy course of training under the head of the house and were treated as members of the family.[37]

The family rather than the individual, was looked upon as the unit of the Hindu social system. Thus the population of a region was generally estimated in families rather than in people.[38] The joint family system led, as might be expected, to nepotism and various other abuses, and it gave a measure of social security to its members. In distress, a man could rely on his numerous cousins and uncles, while adding little or nothing to the family fortunes.

Left to itself the joint family would tend to increase in size until it became so large as to be unmanageable, and hence the law made provision for its break-up.

> "Commonly partition took place on the death of the pater-familias, when the property was divided among the sons. The partition was not necessarily postponed until the father's death. It regularly occured even without his consent by agreement amongst the sons, if he was senile, incurably diseased, had performed evil or reprehensible actions, or was otherwise judged incapable of managing the family affairs. Individual sons, like the prodigal son in the gospel, might demand their share and leave the family, though this was not approved of, and was impossible under certain circumstances".[39]

Manu, the Hindu law giver, stated that the property of a son, wife or slave belonged to the head of the household; the right of the pater-familias, it would seem, tended to grow less over the course of history.[40]

Although the joint family has undergone some changes, many attitudes associated with group support and dependence within the family still persist. Even with increasing geographical mobility and urbanisation, as M.N.Srinavas makes clear,

> "Many an urban household is only the "satellite" of a dominant kin group living in a village or town several hundred miles away".[41]

1.4 Collective Attitudes

The traditional Hindu view of life emphasised the importance of groups and collectives, rather than individuals.[42] The greater well being of individuals was to be secured by each individual submitting to his or her pre-ordained position within the group, thereby securing the benefit of the group as a whole.

Such attitudes were central to the way in which Gandhi interpreted the goal of socialism.[43] He wanted to see many of the traditional institutions, including the village panchyats, strengthened in order to secure the benefit of the maximum number of people.[44] Although he deplored the social injustice which derived from the caste system, particularly the conditions suffered by the outcastes, he saw these as abberations of the caste system rather than inherent in it.[45] Properly developed, the caste system was to him not only a system in which every individual had his or her own place within the group, but also a system in which every individual had the protection and care of the whole community.[46]

Because of Gandhi's views of village and caste as caring communities, he was strongly critical of the institutions which the British introduced, and of the whole tendency towards modernisation. He saw them as contributing to the break down of traditional society in India, and he deplored the results.

However, what is important here is not that these were Gandhi's views, but that he was the spokesman for many who adhered to the traditional norms of society as advanced through Hinduism. The persistence of these attitudes contributed to the interpretation of socialism in the period after independence. In stressing community, and the communal nature of property, such traditional attitudes were closely related to some of the ideals of socialism. On the other hand, in being opposed to modernisation and individualism, and in particular in failing to stress the importance of individual equality within the community, they came

into direct conflict with other interpretations of socialism, especially that advanced by Nehru.

2 Institutions Established during the British Period

The British came to India as a trading company; the British East India company, founded in London in 1600, during the reign of Akbar in India.[47] Within a few years the company had secured limited trading privileges from the Moghuls, and by the end of the century it had established commercial enclaves in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta.[48] By the middle of the nineteenth century, the company had direct control over three fifths of India, and the remaining areas were held by more than five hundred and sixty princely states subject to British control, and intervention[49]

As successors to the Moghul Empire, the British sought to restore law and order, and as representatives of the company engage in activities which increased the revenue for the company. Until Lord Cornwallis came to India in 1785, the company operated a dual system of administration, half Indian and half English. Cornwallis created a professional cadre of company servants, all British; British judges, and established British official as revenue collectors, and magistrates in each district of Bengal. The army was made up of Indians with some 20,000 to 30,000 British Officers.[50] The higher ranks of the administration remained almost entirely British until the 1920s when the Indian civil service examinations began to be held in India as well as in London, in which Indians also could take part. After the sepoy mutinee of 1857, the East India Company was abolished and in 1858 the crown assumed direct control over British India.[51]

2.1 The Indian Civil Service

The main heritage from the period of British rule is an administrative system which is rational and bureacratic in Weber's terms. In principle, this was an administrative system in which individuals were appointed to positions in accordance with their proven ability, through passing examinations, and their expertise in administration. It depended on the view that the individual should be selected for his or her personal qualities rather than their social position as determined by birth.

The legacy of which Britain remains proud,[52] and in which Indians themselves have learnt to take some pride is the Indian civil service cadre - the 'steel frame' of the British administration.[53] It consisted of a small administrative aristocracy (fewer than 2,000), and was largely Indianised by 1947. It was 'generalist' and non-technical in character, highly educated and carefully selected by a difficult competitive examination. From being the visible master of India, the Indian Civil Service had to become its servant. Without the Indian Civil Service, orderly administration might have collapsed, and regional separatism triumphed. With it and its successor, the Indian Administrative Service, independent India had an instrument through which political decisions could be put into effect.[54]

For the British, the development of the Indian Civil Service was closely linked to the parallel development of the educational system. The emphasis was on the individual, whose position was to

be decided by their demonstrated ability. But above all the main thrust of the education system was fixed by the very small number of administrators required, and the implications of this on the selection of a small and talented elite.

2.2 The Education System

The system of education which was established by the British was largerly geared towards the production of efficient and effective administrators who would take their place in the Indian Civil Service after successfully competing in the examinations.[55] This aim had been expressed succinctly by T.B.Macaulay.[56]

Although there were some who suggested that the education system should provide broader opportunities for the mass of people of India, they were relatively few, and did not occupy powerful positions in the central British administration.[57]

Mountstuart Elphinstone, governor of Bombay from 1819 to 1827, was the first Provincial Governor to propose that the Company should try to spread education among the masses by encouraging indigenous institutions.[58] When this Minute was place before the Governor's Council, Warden, who was a member of the council, violently opposed it. He did not agree with the idea that government should accept any responsibility for education of the masses. He wrote:

> "It is better and safer to commence by giving a good deal of knowledge to a few than a little to many, to be satisfied with laying the foundation of good edifice and not desire to accomplish in a day what must the work of a century. But the object of giving a good deal of knowledge to a few can only be promoted by a better system of education; and the surest mode of diffusing a better system is by making the study of the English language the primary, and not merely the

> secondary, object of attention in the education of the natives".[59]

This view that eduction of a traditional European type should be provided for a few individuals who became privileged by virtue of the education they had received guided British policy throughout the period of British rule. In 1854 Sir Charles Wood (later Lord Halifax) laid down the foundation of English Education in India. The Wood's Education Despatch concludes with the declaration that,

> "We must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature; in short of European Knowledge".[60]

An elite educational system remained the primary British goal, even when the provision of vocational education was added to extend the educational opportunities which were offered.[61]

For their part the Indians preferred the English style of education. Success in the British educational system secured economic advantages, particularly employment in the Civil Service, with all that that implied in terms of high payment and long term security. The sale of books in English, and the readiness of Indians in rural and urban areas to pay for instruction in English, where that was available, indicated that the majority of Indians were prepared to use the British educational system to escape from their caste or village position.[62]

The British had little interest in promoting economic development

which would produce competition for industries in Britain.[63] They required the production of raw materials, which could mainly be produced by uneducated labour, and a highly educated administration. With such a view of India's development, the British were ill equipped to provide an education which was suited to the rural majority of Indians. In such circumstances, the rural majority saw the introduction of vocational education as an attempt to perpetuate their disadvantaged position.

The Report of the Indian Education Commission of 1882 gave considerable attention to the provision of vocational courses at the upper secondary stage with a view to preparing pupils for various walks of life.[64] It recommended a bifurcation of the secondary course and said,

> "We, therefore recommend that in the upper classes of high school there be two divisions; one leading to entrance examinations of the universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or non-literary pursuits".[65]

However, this bifurcation of the secondary education system did not reduce the elitism of the British system of education. On the contrary, it ensured that only a minority, even of those receiving secondary education, was prepared for the important civil service examinations. Moreover, it meant that those in the "literary" sections and schools were effectively cut off from practical concerns and problems what faced the majority of the population.

Even the reforms under Lord Curzon (1898-1905), though far reaching in many areas of education, did not affect the selective and literary nature of the educational system.[66] Curzon

established kindergartens and agricultural education, and expanded primary education. These reforms have led two eminent Indian educationists to observe that,

> "In short it may be said of Curzon that he touched almost every aspect of India education and touched nothing that he did not reform".[67]

But in higher education, both in the universities and in the secondary schools, he was for quality rather than for expansion.[68]

Although some features of the administrative and educational system have changed since independence, many of the institutions, set up by the British have been untouched. The Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service are patterned on the Indian Civil Service, and composed of people who have received a traditional European education and entered the services after success in the competitive examinations. For this reason, tertiary education still commands high status and is available only for those who are deemed to be capable of benefitting from it, generally the children of the urban middle and upper classes.[69]

2.3 Land Ownership

The British also introduced a pattern of land ownership based on individual ownership as commonly found in Britain. Traditionally the land belonged to the village community and the villagers had the privilege to cultivate the land, on condition that they paid a portion of the harvest to the head of the community, who in turn would pay a portion of it the Raja or the chieftain of the

place, as a tribute from the village.[70]

Under the Permanent Settlement Act of 1793, what was theirs for centuries, was taken away from the communities, with no kind of compensation.[71] Overnight, through no fault of their own, the villagers became the tenants of the Zamindaris. The Zamindaris had to pay an annual rent to the government, which became an additional, and substantial, source of income. The Zamindaris got a new status under the British as landowners, which they had not enjoyed under the Moghul rulers, and hence they became the trusted vassals of the British. This legislation did more direct harm to the poor than all other measures introduced by the British. When once the poor lost their claim to the land, however slender it was, they lost almost everything, the last hope of earning a living from the land in which they were born. They almost lost their birthright and the became strangers in their own land.[72]

2.4 Individualistic Attitude

The main emphasis of the institutions introduced by the British was the promotion of individualism and competition. Those who could compete successfully were to be given economic advantages to encourage their activity. In the long run it was hoped that the benefits produced by this elite would eventually filter through to all members of society, but there was no formal mechanism for ensuring this process.[73]

It was this aspect of modernisation which Nehru endorsed. He wanted to strengthen the activities of those who could most

rapidly promote the economic development of India. While he hoped that the general improvement of India's economy would benfit everybody, he could see no alternative to suffering the short term disadvantages of such a programme of development. The differences between rich and poor, between rural and urban, would be accentuated by the process of development. The role of the government was to ameliorate the worst features of this development. But in promising modernisation through the development of such industries as steel and power, and in providing the circumstances in which entrepreneurs could develop other areas of the economy, he was drawing upon attitudes of individual self improvement which had become deeply entrenched during the period of British rule.[74]

Although Nehru criticised the British educational system, it was in fact relatively well suited to a development programme which was based on the development of key areas in the economy. For such development, the immediate requirement was for a small elite of highly educated administrators.[75]

In focussing on the development of heavy industry, Nehru's view of the development of the Indian economy along socialist lines can be compared with the development of a socialist economy in the U.S.S.R.[76] However, in drawing upon the existing British traditions, Indian development was significantly different. Complete collective ownership of the means of production was never envisaged, and an element of competition persisted very strongly.[77]

3 Conclusion

In spite of the changes in norms which took place at Independence, a number of important institutions remained intact. In particular, the caste system retains considerable strength and is an impediment to any radical reorganisation of the social structure such as envisaged by the Constitution. This is because it strictly controls, through the family and caste panchyats, the duties and relationships of each individual. A new social order would necessarily involve new social arrangements which could not be accomodated within the caste system.[78]

In addition the British Civil Service examinations, and an elite educational system which is largely oriented towards those examinations, also persists.[79] This means that those who rise to important administrative positions have almost invariably been selected out at an early age and have been brought up in an atmosphere of privilege isolated from the major problems of rural India. They rarely have any incentive to prosecute the socialist reforms set out in the Constitution, and even where they intend to pursue these goals, they frequently lack an understanding and intimate knowledge of the living conditions of the majority of the population.[80]

These British institutions, which have held out the opportunity of individual mobility within society in principle, although in practice only a tiny minority have been able to take advantage of the opportunities, have operated to break down the normative values of traditional Indian society. It was primarily for this corrosive social influence that Gandhi criticised them.[81] At the

same time they have undermined some of the traditional values which would have been important in implementing a programme of socialist development in India, especially collective ownership and the dignity of manual labour.[82]

India therefore draws upon two conflicting traditions, both of which have possible contributions to make to the future socialist development of the country. Gandhi and Nehru selected different aspects from the traditions for emphasis in their programmes. While many of the elements for an equitable and modern society appear to be present in India, there can also be little doubt that there has been little success in combining the various parts to provide even modest benefits for the vast majority of Indian people.

Among all the inherited institutions, both indigenous and British, the one that has the potential to bring about an evolutionary change in society is education. Whether education promotes individual or community development, and both are required, it will embrace all the growing generations when extended to all. It is the present system of education more than any other institution, which perpetuates the division of society.[83] But it is also education which has the potential for breaking down the divisions of society, and for promoting developments which benefit the majority of people in India, and particularly in the rural areas. The aim of the study is to propose a system of education which can bring about a social change according to the spirit of the Constitution.

Education cannot do this alone. There will need to be developments in the economic field which promote the equitable distribution of resources, and socialist means of production. But in drawing upon the rich heritage of India, education could promote attitudes which would contribute to the future development of the country.

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CHAPTER FOUR

FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN

1 The Plan Outline

The Planning Commission was set up in March 1950 by a resolution of the Government of India, which defined its main objectives as being the reform of Indian society according to the norms set out in the Constitution. In July 1951 the Planning Commission presented a draft outline of development for a period of five years from April 1951 to March 1956. The Plan included a number of development projects started just before independence as well as others which had not yet begun.

The Draft Plan was divided into two parts, the first involving an expenditure of Rs 14,930 million and consisting largely of projects which had to be implemented in any event, and the second proposing an outlay of Rs 3,000 million which was to be undertaken if external assistance was available.[1] However, in order to make the document the basis of national consensus, the Draft Plan was published for general discussion, dialogue and comment by people belonging to all groups.[2]

After eighteen months, when the members of the Commission had the benefit of the views of various groups of people, including the central and state governments and certain advisory boards and panels set up by the Commission, the final form of the plan was brought out. The First Five Year Plan maintained the same period of time as the Draft Plan, but with an increased outlay of

Rs 20,690 million. The increase was in respect of minor irrigation schemes and two major new projects taken up for the final plan, the Community Development Project and the National Extension Service. Owing to the great urgency of the programmes for agriculture and irrigation, the provision made for other projects such as industry and social service was modest.[3]

The Five Year Plans can be seen as attempts to bring about the reform of Indian society in line with the norms set out in the Constitution.[4] In particular, the Five Year Plans set out the means to satisfy the basic needs of food, clothing, health, housing and employment for the Indian people. However, in the same way as Nehru and Gandhi visualised the development of a socialist society differently, there were also two ways forward which the plans could take. The basic needs could be satisfied by expanding the industrial sector, thereby enriching the whole country, and thus the rural majority indirectly. The other main possibility was the promotion of agriculture, and hence the direct improvement of rural areas. Even within this latter strategy, there were possible differences between motivating the modern, industrial farming sector, and offering support to the more traditional sector.

The First Five Year Plan begins with the problem of development. In the first chapter the Planning Commission sets out the goal of the planning process as the all round development of India, without suggesting any specific focus.[5] This lack of focus makes it difficult to pinpoint precisely which strategy for development the planners envisaged. Some indirect conclusions can be drawn from the rhetoric, and from the distribution of investment. But

such inferences are inconclusive in the sense that they do not always agree, and suggest that the Planning Commission itself was either divided or unclear on detailed planning objectives.

In the overall distribution of investment within the plan, one can see the emphasis of the Planning Commission in practical terms.

First Five Year Plan[6]

	Outlay Rs. times 10 million	%
Agricultural and Community Development	360.43	17.4
Irrigation and Power	561.41	27.2
Transport and Communications	497.10	24.0
Industry	173.04	8.4
Social Services	339.81	16.4
Rehabilitation	85.00	4.1
Miscellaneous	51.99	2.5
Total	**2,068.78**	**100.00**

The First Five Year Plan devoted only 17.4% of its total investment to agriculture. However, when one adds to this the related investment in irrigation and power, transport and communication, and the rehabilitation of displaced persons following partition, the First Five Year Plan can be seen as an attempt to bring about a more socialist and wealthy society through the encouragement of agricultural development.

Such an emphasis on agricultural improvement could be seen as an

implementation of Gandhi's views of appropriate development. It is clear, however, that a major element in the investment programme is devoted to the building up of an industrial infrastructure, i.e. roads and other systems of communication, and electrification. This is remeniscent of the Soviet view of socialist development under the leadership of Lenin, and hence probably comes closer to Nehru's views of economie development.[7]

At the level of rhetoric, however, the emphasis on agricultural development is much more marked. This emphasis on agricultural development was partly justified in terms of the importance of agriculture to the welfare of the vast majority of Indian citizens. But here again, if one looks at the implicit message of much of this rhetoric, it is clear that the modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture was seen as a major goal, sometimes related to the additional benefits to industrial expansion of releasing labour from agriculture. Again, this comes closer to Nehru's view of agricultural development than to Gandhi's.[8]

In describing the occupational structure, the Planning Commission put agriculture first. The First Five Year Plan expressed this in the following terms:

> "The backwardness of the Indian economy is reflected in its unbalanced occupational structure. About 68% of the working population is engaged in agriculture; about 14% in industry, (large and small), some 8% in trade and transport and the remaining 10% in professions and services including domestic service. Even with this large proportion of population engaged in agriculture, the country is not self sufficient in food and raw materials for industry".[9]

This link between agricultural development and the creation of a just and socialist society which could cater for the basic needs

of the population was clearly indicated by the authors of the Five Year Plan.

> "What is needed is a transformation of the system so as to secure greater efficency as well as equality and justice. The central objective of the planning is to create conditions in which living standards are reasonably high and all citizens, men women have full and equal opportunity for growth and service. ... We have at the same time to improve health, sanitation and education and create social conditions for vigorous cultural advances. Planning must mean coordinated development in all these fields".[10]

In addition, there were pressing economic problems of an immediate nature which agricultural development was supposed to overcome. There was an acute scarcity of food in different parts of the country and the government was spending huge amounts of foreign exchange for food import.[11] In those years, the agricultural production was barely keeping pace with the population increase of about 4.5 million per annum. On an average, the agricultural yield in India was very poor, one of the lowest in the world.[12]

There was, however, considerable optimism that almost unbounded potential for agricultural development could be harnessed to hasten the transformation of the society. Education in agricultural techniques was to play an important part in this development.

> "Paradoxically, for the rate of growth, the very backwardness of agriculture is a favourable factor. There is so much scope for the wider application of known techniques, involving hardly any additional capital investment, that in the initial period at any rate, progress can be rapid".[13]

Further the big difference in agricultural producity within the country also point to the same direction. This is what S.R.Sen,

said:

> "Such differences are noticeable not merely between different areas but also between different groups of farmers. In the same area, the best farmers are known to have produced yields per acre several times higher than those produced by average farmers... In fact while the best in Indian agriculture does not compare unfavourabaly with the best elsewhere, the difference between the best and the average is much wider in India than in the technically advanced countries. This is both an index of the backward character of Indian agriculture and a measure of its potentiality for development".[14]

Under these conditions, Sen added, Agriculture should provide an especially fertile ground for planning:

> "Until the entire field of agriculture in such a society is saturated with application of such known techniques, the development of agriculture can provide, as it were a **bargain sector** - a sector with a large unexploited potential which can produce the requisite surplus with relatively low investment and in a comparatively short time".[15]

2 Agricultural Development

A central strategy of the first Five Year Plan was to redistribute the ownership of land. Unlike the nationalisation of the land carried out in the Soviet Union and China as part of their planning, one of the main objectives of the Indian planning was to redistribute the ownership of land to as many farming families as possible in order to create a more egalitarian society. In addition it was hoped that through owning their own land, not only would the poorest sectors of society benefit from less exploitation, but they would also be encouraged to make the land more productive. It was also intended that the newly created land owners would be given material, financial and educational help through Community Development programmes. However, at the centre of the reforms was the issue of the reform of land tenure, in the form of (1) The Abolition of the Zamandari Act, (2) The

Land Distribution and Ceiling Legislation and (3) The Protective Tenancy Legislation.[16]

The land reform introduced by the British had been seen by the rural people affected by it as the first stage on weakening their economy and social structure. As a result of that legislation, the village community was deprived of all the control over the land and its produce; what had always been considered as the chief interest and concern of that community now become private property of the newly created landowners.[17]

The implementation of the Zamandari Abolition Act took some time, because of the legal and financial complications. The people who benefitted from this Act were the farmer tenants of the Zamandaris, who now became peasant land-lords and paid the tax direct to the govenment. However, the reform was not as radical in effect as in spirit. "For one thing, legal loopholes permitted wholesale eviction of tenants and a resumption of the land for 'personal cultivation'".[18] Nevertheless, it brought about a structural change in the status of the Zamandaris, the absentee landlords, and also the status of the tenants who became peasant landlords.

2.1 The Land Distribution and Ceiling Legislation

The authors of the First Five Year Plan recognised that the amount of land which would be freed or redistributed as a result of introducing a land ceiling would be relatively small. However, they stressed the importance of such a measure in producing a high morale, and of transforming attitudes towards the proposed

socialist society that was aimed for.

> "Large holdings being so few in our country, the economic value of breaking them up with a view to redistribute the land cannot be great. The imposition of ceilings on holdings is, however, fully justified from the standpoint of social justice. Moreover, as this step is symbolic of new social ideas, its psychological value is great. The commission has, therefore, recommended the imposition of a ceiling on the amount of land that one individual may hold".[19]

With these goals in mind, the First Five Year Plan placed an obligation on individual states to introduce land ceiling legislation during the period of the plan. Within the states themselves there was strong pressure to resist such legislation, or to introduce it only in a form which would have the minimum impact on wealthy landlords. A good number of the upper strata in the political structures in the states was landlords who attempted to postpone the implementation of the legislation.

In addition, many landlords attempted to avoid the effects of the legislation by finding various loopholes.

> "All kinds of bogus land transactions all over the country were carried out, transferring land to certain distant family members, without their knowledge. Some large holding were mechanised or transformed into sugar plantations, or cooperative farms as it was expected that such farming arrangements would be exempt from the ceilings. It was therefore generally agreed that the ceiling legislation would release very little land for redistribution".[20]

As a result of the decentralised nature of the final legislative process, the eventual land ceiling introduced varied from state to state, generally being between 25 to 30 acres for the best land, and occasionally even lower for double cropped paddy land.[21]

2.2 Tenancy Protection Legislation

The land cultivated by the tenant could not be taken aways from him by the landlord within the period of tenancy right, which varied from 5 to 10 years. The landlord could take away his property given for cultivation, when he himself wanted to cultivate it personally. If ever the landlord wanted to sell it, he was to give first refusal of it to the tenant at a rate normal for such a land. For the landless workers, the only policy government had was to give to them the land reclaimed from waste land by the government for cooperative farming.

In line with the spirit of the First Five Year Plan, there were also a number of private initiatives to ensure the equitable redistribution of farming land.

Despite the land reform laws which enabled many tenant families to own land, as there was a considerable number of landless families, attempts were made to revive villages. A co-worker of Gandhi, Acharya Vinoba Bhave established a unique system of land distribution on a voluntary basis known as Bhoodan and Gramdan movements. The Bhoodan arrangement solicited voluntary transfers of land from landowners to the village authorities for the purpose of resetting the landless, while Grandan called upon all landowners in the village to transfer their titles to the panchayat or village council, which was then expected to make land available to all villagers, including the landless labourers. The main purpose of these movements was to back up the teachings of Gandhi in village revival and this is what Bhave had to say about his movement:

> "There is no real freedom in the modern world anywhere. That is why it is a thrilling adventure to work for a gramraj, where every individual has the initiative and grows its own food, produces its own cloth, looks after the education of its own children, settles the quarrels and keeps the peace. Each lives in happy cooperation with another and all work for the well-being of the village. Questions like, 'What after Nehru?', can never arise in such community".[22]

2.3 Community Development

Besides legislating for land reform, the First Five Year Plan also made provision for support to be given to farmers in order to raise their genral level of productivity. A major instrument for providing this support was the Community Development Programme. The Community Development strategy had major implications for all aspects of life in rural areas, not least for education which was to be closely linked to Community Development. However, the main thrust of the programme was towards the modernisation of agricultural techniques, and it was therefore most closely connected with agricultural policy.

The First Five Year Plan set up the organisation of Community Development at four levels. The Planning Commission with an administration for the whole of India, which was to be responsible for planning, directing and coordinating the Projects. At the state level there were to be similar arrangements, with an officer to be known as Development Commissioner in the place of the administrator. At the District level, the Collector was to be responsible for all projects. And finally it was envisaged that the worth of the projects would be tested at the village level. There was the intention that projects should have some input from the people, so that all the projects should really become peoples' projects.[23]

The initial expenses of the Community Development Projects were to be borne by both the centre and the state, with the central government paying 75%. Recurrent expenses were to be divided equally between the centre and the state. Each project was supposed to become self-reliant after a period not exceding five years.[24]

The Community Development Administration which was thus set up, was to undertake projects in the following areas:

1) Agricultural and related matters,
2) Communications,
3) Education,
4) Health,
5) Supplementary employment,
6) Housing,
7) Training,
8) Social welfare.

For each Community Development project there were to be approximately 300 villages with a total area of about 450 to 500 square miles, a cultivated area of about 150,000 acres and a population of about 200,000. The project area was to be divided into three Development Blocks, each consisting of about 100 villages and a population of about 60,000 to 70,000. The Development Block was, in turn, divided into groups containing five villages, each group being the field of operation for a village level worker. The locations for starting the first 55 programmes were selected, based on the following criteria: 1) In

Punjab and West Bengal, where there were great concentration of displaced persons as a result of the partition, 2) where there was adequate water mainly through irrigation, and 3) areas inhabited predominantly by the scheduled tribes, the untouchables.[25]

2.4 The Beneficiaries of Agricultural Policy

The beneficiaries of the food policy could be grouped into four; the big landlords, the medium farmers, the small farmers, and the land less workers. Those designations were the result of government legislations and regulations, with a view to render to each group the kind of benefits they needed from the officials and the institutions established for the development of agricultural production. Though the main explicit purpose of government institutions was to modernise the traditional agricultural practice and thus augment the income of all people connected with it, in practice, as has been stated, the big land owning groups benefitted more than others. Ultimately the food production depended upon the decisions made by millions of people engaged in agriculture, based upon the advantage they could derive from the institutional and environmental factors, in particular the regular supply of water or the onset of monsoon. The monsoon played a major role to make this agricultural production, a success in the First Five Year Plan.[26]

In Gandhi's view of agricultural development, the revival of traditional villages had been seen as an end in itself. It was to provide subsistence and security for the very poorest members of Indian society, and would have been instrumental in strengthening

certain traditional and indigenous attitudes. For Nehru, however, agricultural development was to be seen as instrumental in a broader modernisation and industrialisation of India. Bigger crops would provide a better base for building up an urban workforce, and production targets were therefore of more importance than they were to Gandhi. While much of the rhetoric in the Five Year Plan drew upon Gandhi's interpretation, many of the specific measures described in the plan came closer to Nehru's views.

In practical terms, too, the administration of the programme favoured development along Nehru's lines. Faced with production targets and a strongly competitive atmosphere, Community Development workers could achieve the quickest results by directing investment into projects which were more secure. In practice this meant funding the technical improvement of landowners with larger holdings, better education and understanding of the modern processes, and financial resources of their own to supplement aid from the government. In short, production could be raised most rapidly by directing aid to the wealthier farmers.

Thus the programmes introduced under the Five Year Plan helped the larger landowners, as might have been expected on Nehru's interpretation. The poorest, who would have been the direct beneficiaries of Gandhi's schemes, were affected least.

2.4.1 The Big Land Lords

The Zamandaris were allowed to retain a certain amount of land.

The land reforms were to be implemented by the states, where the Zamandaris had great influence. They became big landlords. Their land was cultivated using either landless labour or given a portion of it on rent to the share-croppers. In their relation with the share-croppers, they demanded the rent, "not with the net return, but with gross output".[27] This meant that the share-croppers could not discount their investment against profits and recover their investment. For share-croppers this effectively reduced the rate of return on their investment, and acted as a deterrent to intensified cultivation.

Being big landlords they could manipulate the grain market considerably. As a group, they formed one of the vested interest groups, capable of putting great pressure on the government on all matters affecting their interests. That is also why, even now, in certain states, the land ceiling legislation is not fully implemented.[28]

2.4.2 The Medium Farmers

This group of medium farmers was the tenants of the Zamandaris, and as a result of the land reform laws, those tenants were given the option to purchase a certain amount of land which they had cultivated as tenants. Just like the big landlords, these medium farmers cultivated their lands, either through the landless workers or given on rent to the share-croppers. They too benefitted from the subsidised inputs and some of them were absentee landlords. As their number was bigger than the big landlords, they formed a pressure group which exercised considerable influence upon the government.[29] Members of this

group, more than the members of the big landlords, took advantage of the formal system of education, and hence their family numbers could be seen all position of power, in politics, civil service, industry and so on.

2.4.3 The Small Farmers

This group of peasants, owning small patches of land, could be seen, cultivating their lands, using implements of the Vedic age. As tney were reluctant to change their traditional form or farming, because of their fear of risk-taking, or the lack of financial resources to invest in modern inputs, or with no assets to pledge to get loan from the Credit Cooperatives, and with their mistrust of the officials who were more helpful to the big farmers than to them, these small farmers led a hand to mouth subsistence existence. This is what K.Nair had to say about their inherited system of farming:

> "'After all, we have been growing our crops like this with only rain water for thousands of years', is the normal reply, accompanied by a shrug of the shoulder. And then the rain is free, while for the canal water they will have to pay, once they agree to take it, irrespective of whether they use it or not. The peasant here is obviously not interested in increasing his productivity, which irrigation makes possible, but looks upon the latter as insurance against drought. For irrigation by itself will not give the maximum increase in crop yields, but only a more scientific technique of cultivation combined with the use of fertilizer and irrigation.
> By the present method, on the other hand, the jowar grows almost by itself. The farmer simply broadcasts the seed after superficial ploughing and then returns only to harvest it. It involves no investment such as the new method requires of using fertilizers, doing inter-culture and letting in water at regular intervals. And since there is plenty of land here, even at the rate of one or two bags an acre, the yield is sufficient to feed the family, and often to enable it to tide over an intervening year of drought as well".[30]

As this study by Nair was made in 1960, eight years after

Community Devlopment was in operation, it is evident that the small peasants were not benefitting from the Community Development and the other institutions established to provide the financial and physical imputs by the government.

2.4.4 The Land-less Labour

It has to be admitted that the land reform policies completely bypassed the landless labour, who till the land. Though the land reforms were enacted in the spirit of socialist ideology, as Myrdal said, the scale of values determining social rank in South Asia continues to be a pre-capitalist one. He observed;

> "To own land is the highest mark of social esteem; to perform manual labour, the lowest. Considerable social status is attached to supervisory work, but the prestige enjoyed by people who abstain from work altogether is greater. The status of hired workers is substantially below that of person who performs manual work on their own account, while landlords and those peasants who possess land but do not themselves till it enjoy the highest prestige, not only among their fellows but also with officials".[31]

3 Housing

The First Five Year Plan made proposals to the central government to give loans and grants to the states for housing. Such a policy would enable the states to give loans and grants at a very low interest to the approved housing cooperatives and other private organisations established according to the government regulations to construct houses to be given to the deserving people. For example, noting the housing schemes for the employees of some of the public sector enterprises, especially those known as the essential services including communication (Post Office and Telegraph), and transport (Railways), the Commission recommended

that such schemes should be expanded, and copied by other public and private sector employers. The Ministry of Defence, the fertilizer factory at Sindri, the locomotive factory at Chittarnjan, and the aircraft factory at Bangalore were some other public sector factories providing houses for their employees.[32]

Early in 1952, in response to the policy proposal of the Planning Commission, a new policy was announced whereby the central government was prepared to pay a subsidy up to 20% of the cost of construction, including the cost of the land to the employers, provided the balance was met by the employers who would let out the houses to employees at a rate suggested by the government.[33]

Another housing scheme, in which the prompt and efficient work done by the central government to build thousands of houses for the displaced persons from East and West Pakistan at the time of the partition, was greatly commended by the members of the Commission.

The Commission made the following proposal to the central government regarding the financial arrangements for housing with the state governments;

> "We recommend that subsidy should be paid to the state governments up to 50% of the total cost of construction including the cost of the land".[34]

In addition to the subsidy, loans were also to be given to the state governments for the balance of the cost of construction at concessional interest rates. Such loans were to be repayable in 25 years. The state governments in their turn were expected to make funds available to statutory housing boards out of the

central loan.

On cooperative societies engaged in house construction, the Commission proposed that loans should be given to them either directly or through the states, with different rates of interest, depending upon whether the houses were for middle-income groups or low-income groups. Some of the advantages the cooperative housing societies had, according to the Commission were that they could mobilize private capital which would otherwise remain dormant and also because they opened the way for aided self-help in the construction of houses, which should be encouraged for reducing the cost as much as possible. The excellent work done by certain cooperative societies in Bombay, Madras and Ahamedbad was highly commended by the Commission. The Textile Labour Association at Ahamedbad constructed 200 tenements and organized workers into cooperative housing societies to provide suitable accomodation for them on a hire purchase system. The Commission found that the major difficulty experienced by those associations was the paucity of funds.[35]

According to the Planning Commission, the Community Development Programme had a major role to play with regard to certain aspects of housing in the rural areas, where nearly 80% of the population lived. Construction and demonstration of model houses built from the indigenous materials at a very cheap rate were intended to assist the rural people to get all kinds of approved aids; financial, material and technical skills. The preparation of these model houses was to be the responsibility of the Community Development Programme.[36]

Community Development could discharge its obligations on account of the two kinds of help it received; one from the Indo-American Technical Aid Programme, and the other, a sum of Rs 100.19 million, alloted by the state governments for rural housing, to grant interest free loans to appropriate house construction organisations.[37] After building 55 model houses in different parts of the country using the local materials, the officials of the Community Development began to help the villagers to build their own houses on a self-help basis. Even in the construction of model houses, since India was so big with various indigenous materials for house construction, there was a sort of competition among the officials of the Community Development to build quality houses at a cheap rate. For example in the State of Hydrabad, a new type of house, at a lower cost than in other places, was built by the local Community Development officials.[38]

3.1 The Beneficiaries of Housing Policy

The very large majority of schemes were handled through the activities of employers. That is to say they benefitted those who were already in jobs, and were therefore not among the poorest in society. In addition, the examples of schemes built by employers which the Commission picked out for commendation were those made by large scale employers, usually belonging to the government, who were running entreprises of an intrinsically urban nature. Moreover, the majority of houses provided under the resettlement programmes for refugees from West and East Pakistan were also in urban areas.

Those who lacked resources, education or employment could only be helped through cooperatives. However, those with the education and skill to organise effective cooperatives were rarely in the same caste or class as those who were most in need. Although there were cooperatives which operated in spite of these caste divisions, there were very few of them. This meant that a very large percentage of the efforts at improving housing was not directed to those most in need, the rural village communities, at all.

The one exception to this general trend to direct the housing aid towards urban areas was the initiative undertaken within the Community Development Programme. However, the 55 model houses clearly made no significant contribution to the total housing stock of rural India. The demonstration houses had some effect in stimulating house building, but even in this respect, 55 was so small a number that the majority of rural people could have no opportunity to see the demonstration houses. The number of houses produced as a consequence of this initiative was insufficient to meet the needs of the large numbers of rural poor.

In practice, therefore, the impact of the housing policies was to improve the quality of technological input into the property of those who could best afford it. In improving the quality of private property, these measures cannot be regarded as successful socialist developments. And as a means of securing better housing for the majority of Indian people living in rural areas they were completely inadequate.

4 Health

Under the First Five Year Plan, the provision for the medical and public health plans of the central and state governments amounted to Rs 990.55 million, of which the centre's contribution was about Rs 170.87 million.[39] Medical and public health measures being primarily the concern of the states, central government activities were limited to higher education and research, and aiding the state governments in specific schemes, such as the control of malaria on a national scale.[40] In order to develop the closest cooperation between the centre and the states, a Central Health Council was established, with the central Minister of Health as chairman and ministers of health from the states as members.

In the matter of medical expenditure, besides the amounts spent by the central and the state governments, the local authorities and international agencies like the World Health Organisation and UNICEF were also taking part in the development of medical and public health schemes in various parts of the country.

4.1 Medical Education

An expansion of medical education was proposed by the Planning Commission, to increase the number of university colleges specialising in medicine, and to increase the number of admissions to medical studies. The Commission also wanted to see greater uniformity in the courses and registration requirements, and to promote the introduction of studies in public health followed by a period of internship.

The reorganisation of medical studies, as proposed by the Commission, was to start new colleges wherever there were good and well equipped hospitals.[41] At that time there were two kinds of medical qualifications, degrees and licentiates, and the proposal was to abolish the licentiate course, so that throughout the country, there should be one uniform minimum standard of training and qualifications as prescribed by the Indian Medical School.[42] The number of admissions to the degree course was to be increased from the then existing number of 2,500 to 4,000 by the end of the plan.[43] As there was an acute dearth of dentists, the Commission proposed to upgrade the quality of dental education and to increase the number of admissions.

Another proposal regarding the post-graduate studies in medicine was to set up two institutions, an All India Medical Institute, for post-graduate studies and research, and an All India Council of Post-graduate Medical Education, to standardize and to coordinate post graduate medical training.

As well as increasing the number of places for nursing in all medical colleges, the Comission made proposals for two degree awarding colleges which should offer a B.Sc. for nursing, one at New Delhi and the other at Vellore. It was also proposed that the number of auxiliary and public health nurses should be increased, with short term courses at the All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health at Calcutta, and also at the medical college of Vellore.[44]

Other personnel needed in this health service were health

visitors, midwives, medical-social-workers and public health engineers. Proposals were made for the training of all these personnel. Regarding the courses in public health, the Commission proposed the strengthening of the preventive and social medicene departments in the medical colleges, and the provision of urban and rural health units to give the students experience of those aspects. It was also suggested that the existing programme in public health engineering offered in Calcutta should be extended to other parts of the country. As norms to aim at, the policy stated that there should be one hospital bed for 1,000 population; one nurse and one midwife for every 5,000 population.[45]

4.2 Medical Research

The main recommendations regarding medical research were to recruit and train young and promising medical graduates to take up research as a vocation, to increase grants, to establish units for continued research, and to establish a special fund in each institute to enable young research workers to try out their ideas in a preliminary way.[46]

The Commission proposed a number of research initiatives to take the greatest possible advantage of indigenous methods of treatment. These included the establishment of a Central Institute for Ayurvedic Research, the establishment a Central Drug Research Institute to look into the matter of proper educational courses and the preparation of the drugs by approved organisations, and efforts to bring homeopathy and nature cure under some control.[47]

In formulating policy proposals, the Planning Commission made use of such statistical evidence as was available. However, they noted that reliable statistics were rare, and recommended the foundation of a Bureau of Health Statistics in the Directorate of the Health Services. In this way they hoped that in future policies could be formulated based on data of different diseases and their relationship with the social and natural environment, and also the different kinds of treatment available in different parts of the country. The government allotted a sum of Rs 90.25 million for the bureau during the Plan period.[48]

4.3 Public Health

With regard to public health, the Planning Commission found the suggestions of the Health Survey and Development Committee of 1946 still relevant. The proposal was for the establishment of an integrated hospital service on regional basis, which would include four distinct elements, namely the teaching hospital, the district hospital, the tehsil hospital and the rural medical centre.[49] Each element in such a system would be linked administratively with the others, and all those regional centres becoming part of the State Public Health System. The Planning Commission approved the scheme, with slight administrative modifications, to take account of the role of the newly established Community Development Project in providing public health services.

The Planning Commission also proposed specific programmes to focus on eight areas of immediate concern; 1) maternity and child

welfare, 2) malaria, 3) filariasis, 4) tuberculosis, 5) venereal diseases, 6) leprosy, 7) cancer and 8) mental diseases.

For example, as there were not enough public health centres in the villages, infant mortality and mortality rates among mothers during childbirth were very great. Similarly malaria was one of the serious health problem of India, killing about a million people per annum out of the 120 million who suffered form it. Vast fertile areas remained fallow and natural resources remained unexploited largly due to the ravages of malaria. The economic loss was estimated to be several million rupees very year.[50]

Next in importance only to malaria as a killer disease was tuberculosis. It was estimated to kill about 500,000 per year out of the 2.5 million people affected by it. The other diseases were specific to certain regions, and for some of them there were no data about the number of people suffering from them. For example, although the exact number of people suffering from venereal diseases was not known, the approximate number of people afflicted by syphilis in large cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras was estimated to be 5% to 7% of the population. There were no statistics available on the scale of the problem in rural areas, but the hill tracts extending from Kashmir to Assam appeared to have an alarmingly high prevalence of syphilis.[51]

The Community Development Project had responsibility for improving five aspects of the community environment which the Commission saw as being directly relevant to health. They were 1) environmental hygiene, 2) water supply, 3) nutrition,

4) health education and 5) family planning.

4.4 Beneficiaries of Health Policies

No significant institutional change was evident, except in the increase in the number of medical colleges, doctors and hospitals, most of which were confined to the urban areas. This naturally meant that the main beneficiaries of the health policies were those who lived in urban areas.

The policies on health did bring about remedies for certain diseases, for which there was no systematic treatment till that time, especially for malaria, smallpox and tuberculosis, which were more common in rural areas than in urban areas.

Some indication of the imbalance between the rural and urban areas in the provision of health services can be gained from the distribution of hospitals in the rural areas. However, it should also be noted that the plight of the rural people was aggravated by the lack of proper transport as well. Comments in a number of national reports on the state of medical services in rural areas included the following;

> "According to the three rounds of the National Sample Survey in India, only 1.2 percent of the villages investigated had a hospital of any sort nearby; the average distance from a village to the nearest hospital varied from 7 to 10 miles".[52]

> "In some rural areas it is known that there is only one qualified doctor for 50,000 or 100,000 persons.[53]

The above remarks were made at the time of the Second Five Year Plan, and therefore indicate, not only the low level of provision which the rural areas started from, but also that there was

little improvement in medical care in rural areas during the First Five Year Plan period.

The First Five Year Plan perpetuated a situation in which health was a class property rather than a common property. The emphasis on modern techniques, centred on hospitals in urban areas, meant that the wealthier people in urban areas continued to derive the most benefit from health service provision. Those parts of the health programme which moved away from this traditional pattern were too small to have a major impact in the rural areas. In a poor country, health becomes an "investment in man", because without health, the policies on agriculture could not be implemented. Malaria alone, as noted above, was estimated to be responsible for an economic loss of millions of rupees. Because of the distribution of malaria, and of the health services, it was the rural people who suffered the greater part of of that loss.

5 Clothing

In its policy on clothing the Five Year Plan could kill two birds with one stone; the increased supply of clothing and increased employment in the rural sector. When the policies on clothing were formulated, the rural sector, where 80% of the people lived, was experiencing great unemployment in the handloom industries on account of the inroads of cheap and better machine made textiles. The policy on clothing had to tackle two urgent problems; one was how to check the abundant supply of cheap and quality cloths made in mills, and the second, the lack of supply of cotton, of which the domestic production was barely sufficient.

Apart from those technical production problems, the Planning Commission had to take into consideration the special position which clothing related policies had occupied in the thinking of Gandhi. During the freedom struggle, he had started two movements, the swadeshi (native made) and khadi (hand spun cloth). The popular and public nature of Gandhi's efforts during the pre-independence period would make it difficult for the Planning Commission to adopt any other policies than Gandhi's. It therefore concurred with the Indian National Congress policy of obliging all the members of the Congress Party, including the members of the cabinet, to wear khadi at all times.[54]

At the same time, many of the prominent textile mill owners were great benefactors of the Congress Party during the freedom struggle, and in the cabinet itself the textile mill owners had a patron in the person of Sardar Patel, the deputy Prime Minister of India.[55]

5.1 All India and Village Industry Board and Handloom Board

As the conflict between the coexistence of the textile mills and the handlooms had been anticipated in the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948, the Planning Commission could propose certain compromise policies based on that resolution. The Resolution, while promising cottage industries "safeguards against intensive competition by large scale manufacture", had stated that the question of "how the textile mill industry can be made complimentary to, rather than competitive with, the handloom industry" would be examined. Examining the pros and cons of cloth

production both by the textile mills and the handlooms, the Commission arrived at a compromise policy known as the "common production programme".[56] Among other things, this compromise policy involved the reservation of production of cetain kinds of cloth to cottage industries and the placing of limits through a licensing policy on the expansion of competitive large scale (i.e. factory) mills. To give some subsidy to the handloom workers, a small levy was also imposed on every yard of mill produced cloth. As executive agencies for these programmes two boards were established; The All India Khadi and Village Industry Board, and The Handloom Board.[57]

One of the main roles played by the two Boards was to revive the spinning of cotton yarns, which was a traditional cottage industry, but using a new kind of spinning wheel charka called an "amber charka". Yarn production by the traditional charka had become a limiting factor in the production of khadi. With the improvements in production, combined with the beneficial effects of government financial support, partly raised through the levy on mill cloth, khadi could compete with the mill cloth in certain categories. To make the handloom workers self reliant and to increase their bargain power with the government and the market, the boards helped them to organise themselves into cooperatives to deal with all aspects of production and marketing.

The revival of the khadi industry was to pave the way for the revival of other cottage industries, and thus the handicraft industry as a whole became integrated with khadi. Though the remuneration of khadi craft workers was not high in comparison

with
that of industrial workers, it still went a great way towards alleviating the conditions of surplus workers from agricultural areas.

5.2 Benficiaries of Clothing Policies

The policies on clothing stand out among the provisions of the Five Year Plan for two reasons. In the first place, they are the policies which most clearly follow Gandhi's intentions. And in the second place, while they served to maintain a traditional village institution, the policies gave more to the poor than to the rich. Such policies could not make much difference in the structure of the society, as they were confined to a particular sector in the rural society. However it cannot be denied that in the absence of such policies, the number of people under the poverty line would have increased.

Besides the monetary advantages, there were other possible benefits which could be brought about through the changed attitudes of people involved in an effective exercise in self reliance. Although the khadi movement revived a traditional village institution, in its expansion, particularly if carried out on a cooperative basis, it could cut across caste barriers associated with weaving. The attitudinal or mental changes which people would undergo in this process could have been a great asset, on which future ventures of self reliance could be built, even if the remuneration for spinning and weaving was not always enough to maintain the standard of life to which they were aspiring.

6 Conclusion

Although the main objective of the Five Year Plan was to bring about a socialist or an egalitarian society, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1) Most (all except the policy on clothing) policies of the Five Year Plan benefitted most those who through education and wealth were in a better position to adjust to government policy.

2) The very poor had their aspirations raised, while their material circumstances remained the same or deteriorated. For example, many poor people moved in search of work into urban areas, and this movement increased the demand for houses. Linked with the natural growth in population, the growth in the demand for houses was more rapid than the building of new new houses. It thus became more difficult for poor people to satisfy their basic needs.

While much of the rhetoric of the Five Year Plan stressed the need for socialist development and the plight of the very poorest in society, the bulk of central government funding for publicly owned enterprises was concentrated a small number of industries, particularly power, transport, and iron and steel. In this area socialist development was similar in many respects to the pattern of socialist development followed in the Soviet Union, and broadly followed Nehru's views.

In other areas, including agriculture and housing, the effect of the First Five Year Plan was to redistribute private property

more widely, but the effect was to improve the position only of those who were moderately well off already. This was hardly socialist development at all, and almost completely ignored Gandhi's views, which would have involved the large scale revival of community owned property in the villages and programmes to help the very poorest.

In the attempts to improve the public services of health and education, the major improvements were concentrated in urban areas, and the poor rural people still lacked the resources to take advantage of them. Even where rural services were improved, the majority of people were still too far from the nearest points of distribution to benefit fully. Education, which could have played a major part in making the other services more accessible, was still too divorced from the practical concerns of the mass of the people to provide any practical assistance to the rural majority of the population.

Only in clothing policy was a consistent attempt made to implement policies of the kind that had been advocated by Gandhi. In this area the measures were at least partially successful in improving conditions for the poorest members of society. However, even here some of the dilemmas of implementing Gandhi's proposals can be seen. The policies could only be successful if taxes and restrictions were placed on the modern sector of the industry, and, had these measures been applied in all sectors of the economy, this would have inhibitted the modernisation and development of scoialism which Nehru desired.

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52. Government of India, Report of the Health Survey and Planning Committee, New Delhi: Government of India, 1961, p.75.

53. P.C.Mahalanobis, "Next Step in Planning", in The Indian Journal of Statistics, Calcutta: Sankhya, 1960, p.148.

54. G.Myrdal, op.cit., p.1209.

55. Brecher, op.cit., p.391.

56. Government of India, Planning Commission, First Five Year Plan, op.cit., p.81.

57. Ibid, p.82.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN

1 Introduction

From the following statements contained in the introduction of the Second Five Year Plan it is possible to understand the main proposals and objective of the plan:

> "The First Five Year Plan ended in March 1956. Its approach and outlook are part of our common thinking. It has laid the foundation for achieving the socialist pattern of society and economic order based upon the values of freedom and democracy, without caste, class and privilege, in which there will be a substantial rise in employment and production and the largest measure of social justice attainable".
> "Our Second Five Year Plan seeks to rebuild rural India, to lay the foundation of industrial progress, and to secure to the greatest extent feasible opportunities for weaker and under-privileged sections of our people and the balanced development of all parts of the country. For a country whose economic development was long retarded these are difficult tasks but, given the effort and the sacrifice, they are well within our capacity to achieve".[1]

At the level of rhetoric, the Second Five Year Plan was a continuation of the First Five Year Plan, placing emphasis on the dual goals of rebuiling rural India and laying the foundation of industrial progress. The ultimate objective remained the same, and this was the satisfaction of the basic needs of the people. Like the First Five Year Plan, its inspiration was derived from the Directive Principles of the State Policy of the Constitution, which embodied the social and the economic philosophy of the government. Broadly it aimed at the creation of a welfare state, or in Indian terms, a "socialist pattern of society".[2]

However, between these two goals, the practical proposals of the

Plan placed even more emphasis on the development of an urban industrial base than had the First Five Year Plan. The socialist pattern of society was to be built on an industrial foundation. Soon after the adoption of the socialist pattern of society as an objective of the government of India by the parliament of 1954,[3] and the formulation of the Second Five Year Plan in that framework, giving increased expansion in publicly controlled industry, the parliament passed the Second Industrial Policy Resolution,[4] ratifying the policy of industrialisation adopted by the Second Five Year Plan. Retaining the three categories of industry as in the First Industrial Policy Resolution,[5] the public, concurrent and private, the Second Industrial Policy Resolution increased substantially the scope of public enterprise. Accordingly the list of reserved industries, the future development of which would be the exclusive responsibility of the state, was increased from six to seventeen industries, and included

> "All industries of basic and strategic importance, or in the nature of public utility services... and the other industries which are essential and require investment on a scale which only the state, in present circumstances, could provide...".[6]

The most noteworthy additions were heavy plant and machinery, and heavy electrical plant. Moreover, in the concurrent list of twelve industries, the state's dominant responsibility was clearly enunciated. And even in the private category, industries whose development would normally be undertaken by private enterprise, the state was not excluded. The only concessions to the private sector were that the existing private industrial concerns would not be nationalised and that the division into categories was not intended to be rigid; the door was left open

for private entry into the list of industries reserved to the state, and for joint state-private undertakings.[7]

The authors of the Second Five Year Plan, taking into account the socialist pattern of society as an objective of the government shifted the priorities in their approach to the industrial development in the Second Five Year Plan as follows:

> "The Second Five Year Plan is in one sense a contiuation of the development effort commenced in the first plan, but there is inevitably a shift in priorities with a larger accent on industrialisation, especially the development of heavy industry, and the necessary ancillaries like transport. The acceptance of the goal of a socialist pattern of society reflects itself not only in the relative proportions of investment proposed in the public and private sectors but also in the approaches to institutional change both in the rural and in the urban sector. The fulfilment of the tasks outlined in the plan requires coordinated effort in both the public and private sectors, but the role of the public sector, as mentioned earlier, is the crucial one".[8]

The full impact of this increasing emphasis on industrial development can be seen in the distribution of funds between different sectors in the overall Plan budget.[9]

The Final Plan Frame

	Allotment in Rs million	Percentage of Total
Agriculture, Community Development, Irrigation and Flood Control	10,540	21.9
Power	4,270	8.9
Industry and Mining	8,900	18.5
Transport and Communication	13,850	28.9
Social Service, Housing and Rehabilitation (including Education)	9,450	19.7
Miscellaneous	990	2.1
Total	48,000	100.0

The main features of the second plan were as follows:
The total planned expenditure of public funds was Rs 48,000 million, more than double the outlay in the First Five Year Plan. Private enterprise was expected to invest an additional Rs 24,000 million. The national income target was an increase of 25% in the five years, compared with a target of 11% in the First Five Year Plan. The goal for percapita income was an increase of 18%. To meet the challenge of rising unemployment the plan aimed at 10 million more jobs, with special programmes for absorbing the educated unemployed and for producing the necessary skilled manpower.[10]

In agriculture, the principal targets were an overall increase of 28% in production, including 25% for food grains, 31% for cotton and 25% for jute; and increase of 21 million acres under irrigation; and the extension of the Community Development Programme to all areas of rural India, covering 325 million people, compared with one quarter of the rural people at the end of the First Five Year Plan.[11] While these targets were high, an assessment of their absolute importance can be gained from the relatively small allocations of money to agriculture in the Plan's budget.

The targets for industry and mining were even more impressive: a 64% increase in net industrial production; a 150% increase in capital goods production alone; a 63% increase in coal production; iron ore from 4.3 to 12.9 million tons; aluminium by 233%; cement by 108%; electricity by 100%; and steel by 231% from

1.3 to 4.3 million tons. Railways were to be modernised and extended to carry 35% more freight and 15% more passengers at the end of the five year period. Enlarged transport and communications included the modernisation of the four principal ports, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Vizagapatam, and the construction of 19,000 more miles of surfaced road.[12]

Among the social services, primary school facilites were to be provided for 8 million more children, an increase of 23%. The number of doctors was to be raised by 12,500 and there were to be some 3,000 new rural clinics. To achieve these goals, the authors of the Second Five Year Plan anticipated an investment of 11% of national income in the final year, compared with 7% in the last year of the First Five Year Plan.[13]

In order to implement all those projects, the Planning Commission made the following proposal:

> "An important pre-requisite for fostering the production of heavy industrial machinery is the establishment of organisations which can undertake the task of preparing designs for plant and equipment required by heavy industries. Preliminary steps are being taken for setting up such an organisation for the fertilizer industry. Apart from the other steps that may be taken to secure these facilities in a general way, it is important that the Indian personnel should be intimately associated with all aspects of development work on projects in the public sector, so that designing and fabrication can be undertaken within the country as early as possible".[14]

Thus from the very beginning of the Five Year Plan, especially when it was decided that India should have heavy industries and that the Indian personnel should be trained to design and fabricate them, the Planning Commission proposed appropriate policies in that matter, starting with the fertilizer plants. As

agriculture was given great emphasis in the First Five Year Plan, and as its development depended greatly on the use of fertilizer, the erection and manning of the fertilizer plants got the priority among the heavy industrial projects.

Further, according to the authors of the Second Five Year Plan,

> "development involves a transfer of part of the working force from agriculture to secondary and tertiary activities."...
> "The objective of policy from the long term point of view should clearly be to keep to the minimum further increase in the working force in agriculture... In fact, after a period, there should be a fall even in absolute numbers on the land. Similarly, there is little scope for increasing the working force in traditional small-scale industries, which are already burdenned with excessive numbers; the problem here is to prevent too rapid technological unemployment and to maintain and raise incomes through improvements in equipment, techniques and organisation. The bulk of the new employment opportunities have therefore to be found in mining and modern industry, large-scale as well as small-scale, in construction and in tertiary occupations. With the best effort that can be made, some increases in the working force in agriculture may be unavoidable for some years to come".[15]

In fact, the authors of the Second Five Year Plan were almost repeating in the above statement what the authors of the First Five Year Plan had already stated. That is,

> "Improvement in agriculture cannot proceed beyond a point unless the surplus working force on the land is progressively diverted to industries and services".[16]

What they meant was that with an employment target of 10 million people during the plan period, and with a limited land/man ratio, the only possible way to increase employment and prosperity was through industrialisation in which there was no limiting factor analogous to the agricultural land.[17]

Thus, even the development of agriculture which was envisaged,

was a development of mechanised production, based heavily on the fertiliser and machinery industries. It was to provide surplus food and manpower for the developing urban industrial areas. With such development in agriculture all of Gandhi's ideas for the development of villages and village industries were discarded. While small allocations remained in the plan for the development of village industries, these were almost negligible, and in any case directed towards the mechanisation and modernisation of village industry.

Nehru's view of development was that which was almost completely incorporated in the Second Five Year Plan. Nehru saw industrial development in terms of a hierarchy of productive industries, in which it was necessary to develop basic industries first, while developments in light industry and production of consumer goods would follow. This is what he said:

> "Unless we start from the base, we cannot build the third or fourth storey. We can advance in minor sectors of the economy, but if we do not build the basic structure, it will not make any difference to the hundreds of millions of our people. The strategy governing planning in India is to industrialize, and that means the basic industries being given the first place".[18]

For the disorganised and diversified village industries, the policies made provision for incentives and subsidies in all aspects of their production and marketing, often through cooperative organisations.[19]

The overall strategy of industrial development in the Second Five Year Plan was in many ways similar to the socialist pattern of industrial development followed by the Soviet Union after 1917.

However, two important differences, in which India was not fully socialist, should be noted. In the first place, there was no nationalisation of private capital which was already invested in productive industry. Indeed, some aspects of the plan were designed to encourage the input of private capital into industry. And secondly, although the emphasis was on the industries which Nehru described as basic, there was a greater provision for the production of consumer goods than had been the case in the Soviet Union.[20]

2 Policies in the Public Sector

Public sector industries were under the direct control of the central government and the state governments. Most of the public sector projects involving huge investments, great technological inputs and advanced technical skill were directly under the control of central government, while there were also a few under the control of state governments. Some of the projects taken up by the central government during the first two Five Year Plans were iron and steel plants, fertilizer plants, machine tool manufacturing plants, construction of ships and railway locomotives, and paper and newsprint factories under the state governments.[21]

The choice of industries, their products and techniques of production were based on pragmatic and ideological considerations. The presence of large deposits of iron and coal, and the need for iron and steel for other industries were the main reasons for starting steel plants.[22] As for fertilizer plants, though India had no phosphates, it was cheaper to import

phosphates and process them rather than import fertilizer, so badly needed for agriculture.[23]

2.1 Iron and Steel

The expansion of the iron and steel industry according to the Commission had obviously the highest priority, since, more than any other industrial project, the level of production of these materials determined the tempo of progress of the economy as a whole. Conditions in India were favourable for securing the production of iron and steel at costs which were low in comparison with those of most other countries. As the preparatory works connected with the erection of these plants had taken place during the First Five Year Plan period, the government decided to construct three steel plants of one million tons ingot capacity each and the provision of facilities in one of these for the production of 350,000 tons of foundary grade pig iron.[24] The sites on which they were to be constructed had to be in the close vicinity of iron-ore and coal fields, and they were at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur.[25]

The steel plant at Roureka was expected to entail an outlay of about Rs 1,280 million during the period 1956-1961 and to produce 720,000 tons of flat products of steel, hot and cold rolled. It was being designed to operate the L.D. process (oxygen blowing in steel production) and was to be equipped for the recovery of crude benzol, coaltar and ammonia. It was proposed that the hydrogen from the coke oven gases and the nitrogen from the liquid air plant should be harnessed for the manufacture of nitrolimestone fetilizer at Rourkela taking advantage of the

surplus coke oven gas expected to be available as a result of adopting the L.D. process.[26]

The second plant to be located at Bhilai and estimated to cost about Rs 1,100 million was expected to provide 770,000 tons of saleable steel, heavy and medium products, including 140,000 tons of billets for the re-rolling industry.[27]

The third plant, to be established at Durgapur was expected to cost Rs 1,150 million. It was to be equipped to produce light and medium sections of steel and billets amounting to 790,000 tons per annum.[28]

The capacities of the different sections of the steel plants are indicated below:[29]

Steel Works at	Coal Carbonisation		Pig Iron	Steel in Ingots	Finished Steel	Surplus Pig Iron for Sale	Power Plants kW
	Coal Carbonised	Coke Produced					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Rourkela	1.600	1.045	0.945	1.0	0.720	0.030	7,500
Bhilai	1.650	1.145	1.110	1.0	0.770	0.300	24,000
Durgapur	1.825	1.314	1.275	1.0	0.790	0.350	15,000

Figures in Columns 2 to 7 in millions of tons.

With regard to coal supply for the steel plants, since most of the coal in India is with heavy ash content, it had to be washed to bring down this ash content to 15 percent. Hence coal washeries were established at all the steel plants.

After studying the methods of steel production in Germany, Canada

and the U.S.A., India opted for the L.D. production process (oxygen blowing in steel production) and the blast furnaces of each of the steel plants had a daily capacity for 1,000 tons of pig iron, and similarly for steel production the Rourkela steel works with a capacity of 750,000 tons per annum to start with. In their layout, all the three plants had provisions for their future expansion. The programmes for steel production had provided the needs of raw material for the secondary producers and re-rollers by including the production of about 140,000 tons of billets and semis in the Bhalai and Durgapur steel plants.[31]

The annual requirements of raw materials for capacity production were estimated to be as follow:[32]

	Rourkela	Bhilai	Durgapur
Coal	1.600	1.790	1.830
Iron Ore	1.700	1.940	1.940
Manganese Ore	0.112	0.033	0.064
Limestone	0.523	0.551	0.617
Dolmite	0.028	0.309	0.042

All figures in millions of tons

Provision had also been made for the expansion of the existing Mysore Iron and Steel Works to 100,000 tons by 1960-61. With the completion of all the steel plant projects, it was estimated that the annual value of the output of steel in the public sector would amount to Rs 1,200 million, as against the then figure of about Rs 10 million. Since the per capita consumption of steel was very low in India, an exportable surplus of about 300,000 tons of steel might be available. As for their finances, apart from the amount of foreign assistance by way of participation in capital, deferred payments for plant and machinery and other forms of credit of about Rs 750 million, the central government

had made provision of Rs 3,500 million for the three steel plants, and Rs 60 million for the expansion of the Mysore Iron and Steel Works. A combined production of about 2 million tons of finished steel was expected in 1960-61 from the plants in the public sector.[33]

2.2 Heavy Foundaries, Forges and Structural Shops and Facilities for Fabrication of Industrial Machinery

After the erection of the steel plants, the next stage in industrialisation was the use of the iron and steel by means of heavy foundaries and forges in the manufacture of heavy machines and machine tools needed for the production of locomotives, heavy electrical plant and other light consumer durables. Hence the Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory in Bengal increased its production capacity of locomotives from 120 to 300. By establishing a heavy steel foundary for the manufacture of heavy castings for railways, which until then were imported, they could be secured entirely within the country. Other foundaries and forge shops were started by the National Industrial Development Corporation (N.I.D.C.) at a cost of Rs 150 million.[34]

The heavy machinery industries provided in the public sector of the Second Five Year Plan were:[35]

	Provision for 1956-1961
Manufacture of Electrical Equipment	Rs 200 million Rs 250 million for completion
Expansion of Hindustan Machine Tools	Rs 20 million
Manufacture of Industrial Machinery and Machine Tools	Rs 100 million

In addition to these, provision was made for other industries in

this group, such as an aero-engine project, and government Electric Factory at Bangalore at a cost of Rs 10.2 million.

Another big project for which an agreement had been reached with the Associated Electrical Industries Ltd. of the U.K. was the establishment of a factory at Bhopal for the manufacture of heavy electrical equipment. The total investment for this project, which was expected to take 7 to 8 years for completion, was about Rs 250 million. Though certain plants were expected to go into production by 1960, some of the important items such as heavy transformers, industrial motors, traction motors and switch gear were likely to be produced before the end of the Second Five Year Plan, and some other basic items of equipment like hydraulic turbines and generators, and generators for diesel sets would be produced in the early years of the Third Five Year Plan.[36]

For the development and the expansion of the Hindustan Machine Tools, started in 1953, a sum of Rs 20 million was alloted. Some of the production lines in the plan were high speed lathes, stepping up the number to 400, and the manufacture of machine tools like milling machines and drilling machines.

Another project for development and expansion was the Hindustan Ship Yard at Visakhapatan. As a result of these expansions, the number of ships built was to be increased, both of the old type and of the modern type. An additional development was the construction of a dry dock, for which a sum of Rs 750,000 was alloted.[37]

The Integral Coach Factory at Perambur in Madras started during the First Five Year Plan, would be completed by 1956, and the manufacture of the annual target of 350 coaches per annum would be commenced. Two allotments of Rs 80.5 million for a one metre gauge coach factory and Rs 70 million for two engineering shops to manufacture spare parts were made.

Two other manufacturing projects under this group were the Lignite Project at South Arcot and the Fertilizer Project at Sindri. The Lignite Project for which a provision of Rs 680.8 million was made, envisaged the mining of 3.5 million tons of lignite per annum which was to be used for,

a) generation of power in a station of 211,000 kW capacity,

b) production of carbonised briquettes in a carbonisation plant of about 700,000 tons annual capacity for raw briquettes (capacity for carbonised briquettes was to be 380,000 tons per annum), and

c) production of 70,000 tons of fixed nitrogen in the form of urea and sulphate/nitrate.[38]

Though the consumption of nitrogonous fertilizers was estimated to be at 370,000 tons by 1960-61, the annual capacity was only 85,000 tons. Hence apart from the expansion of Sindri fertilizer, the erection of two other fertilizer plants, one attached to the Lignite Project, and the other at Nangal in the Punjab was taken up. One more fertilizer factory, to be built later on, at Rourkela for the production of nitro-limestone equivalent to 80,000 tons of fixed nitrogen per annum, was also tentatively considered, by fixing Rs 80 million for its erection in the first instance.

Among the light and medium industries in the public sector, the Second Five Year Plan envisaged the expansion of the existing D.D.T. plants, Hindustan Antibiotics Ltd., the production of other antibiotics like streptomycin, and penecillin. Others in this group were, Hindustan Cables Ltd., the National Instruments Factory and Indian Telephone Industries. Two other projects were the establishment of a security paper mill and a silver refinery.[39]

The production of various articles by state governments, such as the foundry coke and by-products of coal carbonisation, and the generation of power based on waste gases were started by West Bengal, the manufacture of electric porcelein insulators in Mysore and Bihar states, a tool factory in Hydrabad, manufacture of air compressors and the expansion of paper mills in Andhra, and cement and superphosphate in Bihar, were other projects.[40]

2.3 Heavy Chemical and By-product Processing Projects

Since the two steel plants, at Durgapur and Bhilai, would require considerable quantities of sulphuric acid for the recovery of by-product ammonia from the coke oven gases in the form of ammonium sulphate, about 35,000 tons per annum, two contact sulphuric acid plants were proposed to be set up at both those places.

The development of pharmaceutical, plastics and dye-stuffs was impeded in the First Five Year Plan by high prices and short supplies of primary organic chemicals like benzene, toluene, xylene, naphthalene, phenol and anthracene. The manufacture of

all these products was taken up as a result of the extraction of the by-product processes of the Lignite Project and the Bhilai and Durgapur coke oven projects. Similar developments were under consideration at Rourkela also. According to the projects finalised in the Second Five Year Plan, coal tar distillation capacity in the public sector would reach 62,500 tons per annum. The annual capacity for phenol, and naphthalene of 1,800 tons and 3,400 tons respectively would similarly be achieved, in addition to overall production facilities for about 5 million gallons of benzene and 1.4 million gallons of toluene. Investment for those plants was included in the provision made for the principal projects to which they were attached.[41]

2.4 National Industrial Development Corporation Ltd.

The National Industrial Development Corporation Ltd. was set up in 1954 by the government, and was conceived mainly as an instrument of the government for promoting, establishing and executing industries, and to aid, assist and finance industrial undertakings. In 1960, the corporation set up its Technical Consultative Bureau, which rendered services to the various government and public sector projects. The Corporation had an authorised capital of Rs 10 million.[42]

In the Second Five Year Plan a sum of Rs 550 million was given to the National Industries Development Corporation by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry for its operations. A part of these resources (tentatively set at Rs 200-250 million) was expected to be utilised for assisting the modernisation of the cotton and jute textile industries. The rest would be available for

pioneering new basic and heavy industries. As stated, some of the projects taken up by the Corporation for investigation included foundry and forge shops, structural fabrication, refractories, chemical pulp for rayon, newsprint, intermediates for dye stuffs and drugs, carbon black, etc. Some other projects studied by the Corporation were a new unit in the aluminium industry and the manufacture of heavy equipment for earth moving, mining, etc., and rolls and rolling mill equipment required in the ferrous and non-ferrous metal industries.

Since the amount alloted to the Corporation to carry out all the projects was not sufficient, priority was to be given to schemes connected with the manufacture of heavy machinery, as they would be required in the next plan.[43]

Although the corporation was given only a sum of Rs 550 million, the outlay demanded by it for various projects investigated amounted to Rs 7,200 million. As against this amount the resources expected from all quarters were only Rs 6,200 millions. They were as follows:[44]

		Rs millions 1956-61
1	Loans from Industrial Finance Corporation and State Finance Corporations and Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation	400
2	Direct loans, indirect loans from equalisation fund, and state participation by the Central Government, and participation-cum-loans by state governments in the share capital of private undertakings	200
3	Foreign capital including suppliers' credit	1,000
4	New issues	800
5	Internal resources available for investment (in new units and for replacement)	3,000

		Rs millions 1956-61
1	Loans from Industrial Finance Corporation and State Finance Corporations and Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation	400
2	Direct loans, indirect loans from equalisation fund, and state participation by the Central Government, and participation-cum-loans by state governments in the share capital of private undertakings	200
3	Foreign capital including suppliers' credit	1,000
4	New issues	800
5	Internal resources available for investment (in new units and for replacement)	3,000
6	Other sources such as advances from managing agents, E.P.T. refunds, etc.	800
7	Total	6,200

Even about this total, it was stated that no high degree of accuracy could be claimed for the above forecast, since its fulfilment depended upon a number of factors which were not easy to assess at that stage.

3 Policies in the Private Sector

Although the Industrial Policy Resolutions of 1948 and 1956 had stated the kind of industries in which the private sector could enter, the industries in the private sector, already in existence, were excluded from the control of those policies. Among them there were three iron and steel factories; Tata Iron and Steel Works (1907), Indian Iron and Steel Company (1918), and Mysore Iron and Steel Ltd. (1923). The first two companies were given facilities to draw loans from the international banks as well as from the central government, with arrangements for the representative of the government on the companies' boards of

directors.[45]

Among the metallurgical industries, as there was great demand for aluminium for the manufacture of cables for electric power transmission, and also for ferro-manganese, both for domestic consumption and for export, great expansion was made in both of them. The target set for aluminium was 30,000 tons, and for ferro-manganese 160,000 tons.

Similarly the demand for cement and refractories was great. It was proposed to expand the cement production to 16 million tons, including 500,000 tons in the public sector. The expansion programme of the refractories industry was chiefly linked with the development of the iron and steel industry, with a production target of 800,000 tons by 1960-61, the manufacture of silica, fireclay, magnesite and chromite refractories in the proportions needed.

With the availability of enough indigenous raw materials, especially iron and steel, required for the manufacture of medium and light industries, the private sector either began new industries or expanded existing ones. Structural fabrication, automobiles, raiway rolling stock, castings and forgings, industrial machinery, bicycles, sewing machines, motors and transformers were some of the items for which high levels of production were envisaged. In some of those industries, it was planned to achieve near self sufficiency within a decade, in others over a short period. For example, in the development programme for the automobile industry, which aimed at stepping up

the Indian content of automobiles to 80 percent, the main emphasis was placed on the production of trucks. The programme consisted of:[46]

		Target for 1960-61
1	Cars	12,000
2	Trucks	40,000
3	Jeeps and Station Wagons	5,000
4	Total	57,000

Another industry in which the private sector entered with great hope was the manufacture of industrial machinery, since most of these were, till then, imported. The investment anticipated during the period of the Second Five Year Plan and the level of output expected to be realised in certain lines during the plan period were as follows:[47]

		Investment 1956-61 Rs millions	Value of Output Rs millions	
			1955-56	1960-61
1	Cotton Textile Machinery	4.5	4.0	17.0
2	Jute Textile Machinery	1.3	0.06*	2.5
3	Sugar Machinery	2.0	0.28*	2.5
4	Paper Machinery	1.3	negligible	4.0
5	Cement Machinery	1.0	0.56*	2.0
6	Electric Motors (200 hp. and below)	-	240+	600+
7	Electric Transformers (below 33 kV)	-	540†	1360†

Notes * Figures for 1954
+ Output in thousands of horsepower
† Output in thousands of kVA

Other lines in which progress would be made were the manufactures of tea machinery, dairying equipment, agricultural machinery like trailers, tractors, etc., and road making machinery, including diesel propelled road rollers.

In the development of the chemical industry, soda ash, caustic soda, phosphate fertilisers, industrial explosives, dye stuffs and intermediates were some of the items taken up by the private sector. The dye stuffs intermediates included the production of chlorobenzene group, nitrobenzene group, toluene group, naphthalene group and anthraquinone group. The expansion of sulphuric acid production was primarily related to the demands of the iron and steel, fertiliser, rayon and staple fibre industries. The manufacture of carbon black, a vital raw material of the rubber goods industry, was to be developed by the National Industrial Development Corporation. The Second Five Year Plan envisaged the establishment of a capacity of about 9,000 tons per year for this material.[48]

In the mineral oil industry the construction of the Caltex Refinery at Visakapatan was expected to be completed during 1957. Of the total investment of Rs 120.5 million, construction work amounting to Rs 20.5 million had taken place during the First Five Year Plan. As the processes and crudes selected by the three petroleum refineries did not provide for the production of lubricating oils and petroleum coke, which have considerable importance to the industrial economy, their production would be taken up at the earliest opportunity.

As the demand for power and industrial alcohol-molasses was on the increase, the sugar plantation also was expanding. Hence, it was proposed to produce 36 gallons as against 27 gallons in 1955-56.[49]

Another item of industrial expansion was the production of plastics and synthetic moulding powders. During the First Five Year Plan some progress had been made in the manufacture of phenolformaldehyde moulding powder to meet the expanding requirements of manufacture of finished plastic goods, and considerable expansion of its production was expected in the Second Five Year Plan. Schemes had already been approved for the manufacture of cellulose acetate, polythene, polyvinyl chloride and urea-formaldehyde and an annual installed capacity for moulding powders of 11,400 tons was expected to be achieved by the end of the Second Five Year Plan as against 1,150 tons in 1955-56.

Among the consumer goods, expansion of output by about 100 percent was stipulated in the case of paper and paper board. The production of sugar was expected to be increased from 1.67 million tons in 1955-56 to 2.25 million tons by 1960-61. Of this increase in output the share of cooperative sugar mills was estimated to be about 350,000 tons per annum. The production of vegetable oils was expected to increase from 1.8 to 2.1 million tons. Overall targets for cloth and yarn production had been envisaged at 8,500 million yards and 1950 million pounds respectively in 1960-61.[50]

With regard to the production of pharmaceuticals, considerable benefit was expected from the steps taken to develop the manufacture of dye stuff intermediates, which would provide several of its raw materials. So far as synthetic pharmaceuticals like sacharin, chloramin-T, acetylsalicylic acid and sulpha drugs were concerned, progress would be in the direction of increased

production. In respect of vitamins, the scope for the production of vitamin A from indigenous raw material, lemon grass oil, was under examination. As regards antibiotics, apart from the development planned in the public sector, efforts initiated by the private enterprise to establish the production of penicillin were expected to bear fruit. It was expected that the investment in the private sector of the pharmaceutical industry would be in the order of Rs 30 million.[51]

4 Village and Small Industries

In formulating the policies on village and small industries in the Second Five Year Plan, the members of the Planning Commission had obtained the proposals made by a committee known as the Karve Committee, appointed in 1955 by the Commission to study the needs and problems of the villages with regard to small industries. In making its proposals the committee kept three principal aims in view, namely:[52]

1 to avoid as far as possible, during the period of the Second Five Year Plan further technological unemployment such as occurs specially in the traditional village industries,

2 to provide for as large a measure of increased employment as possible during the plan period through different village and small industries, and

3 to provide the basis for the structure of an essentially decentralised society and also for progressive economic development at a fairly rapid rate.

The committee, however, insisted that even in the traditional village industries, there should be a regular programme of

gradual transition to better techniques. To achieve that objective, whatever the village could undertake, by way of improved industry in their own village, should be organised on a village basis. If a pattern of industry composed of a group of villages with appropriate connection to an urban centre was followed, then that would result, in the words of the committee, in "a pyramid of industry broad-based on a progressive rural economy". Economies of scale and organisation could also be secured for small units through organised cooperative working, as in rural community workshops.[53]

While preventing the large scale industries from undertaking the production of a specified number of consumer goods, usually produced by village artisans, the Second Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 stated that the states had the obligation to come to the aid of their village artisans to improve their competitive strength in industrial production by providing them all the needed facilities, such as financial, organisational and technical, by establishing industrial estates, rural community workshops, industrial cooperatives and the supply of electric power at concessionary rates.

Another obligation of the state was to continue the Common Production Programme started during the First Five Year Plan, in which there was reciprocal participation between the large scale and small scale industries in the production of certain goods. To further that scheme, the states were asked to start two organisations of the following nature:[54]

1 those intended to provide a degree of preference or

assurance of a market for small units, and

2 those intended to provide positive assistance through the supply of raw materials, technical guidance, financial assistance, training, organisation of marketing etc.

In its proposals to make the village industries progress in quality and quantity, a committee known as the Village and Small-Scale Industries Committee made the following recommendations to the government. The first was to impose an excise duty or a cess on the production of large industry when its production could in some way affect adversely the production in village industries, as in the case of cloth. From the amount collected as cess, the government could grant some subsidy for the purchase of improved equipment. The second was to give a sum of Rs 80 million as a production subsidy and Rs 220 million and Rs 70 million as rebates on the sale of handloom and traditional khadi cloths.[55]

As in the First Five Year Plan, the role of the Handloom Board to help in the formation of weavers' cooperatives was maintained in the Second Plan. The number of handlooms included in the cooperative fold increased from 626,119 in 1950-51 to 878,984 in 1954-55, and was expected to reach a million by the end of the First Plan in 1956. For the formation of the cooperatives, the Handloom Board had provided assistance to weavers in share capital and in working capital. From 75 to 87.5 percent of the share value was contributed as loans by the government, and the balance was provided by the weavers. If weavers' cooperative organisations at the different levels were federated with a central agency, then it could supply the raw materials, offer technical advice, arrange for credit from cooperative sources and

provide better marketing facilities. A small beginning in this direction could be made in 25 pilot areas selected under the national and community development programmes. For the success of the village cooperatives, one important condition was the construction of houses for the villagers under the rural housing programme.[56]

4.1 Outlay on Village and Small Industries

The Second five Year Plan, taking into consideration the grants and subsidies given by numerous boards and state governments for the development of the rural industries, requested the service of the village and small scale industries committee to make proposals for their distribution. The committee recommended programmes and allocations involving a total outlay of about Rs 2,600 million, which also included the provision for working capital which was estimated to be about Rs 650 million. The allocation included most of the major village industries, such as weaving, handicrafts, sericulture, coir manufacture, etc. As explained below, the plan provided an outlay of Rs 2,000 million, the distribution of which during the plan period is given below:[57]

	Industry	Rs million outlay
1	Handloom	
	Cotton weaving	560
	Silk weaving	15
	Wool weaving	20
		595
2	Khadi	
	Wool spinning and weaving	19
	Decentralised cotton spinning and khadi	148
		167
3	Village Industries	
	Hand pounding of rice	50
	Vegetable oil (ghani)	67

	Industry	Rs million outlay
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		167
3	Village Industries	
	Hand pounding of rice	50
	Vegetable oil (ghani)	67
	Leather footwear and tanning (village)	50
	Gur and khandsari (sugar)	70
	Cottage match	11
	Other village industries	140
		388
4	Handicrafts	90
5	Small Scale Industries	550
6	Other Industries	
	Sericulture	50
	Coir spinning and weaving	10
7	General Scheme (Administration, Research, etc.)	150
	Total	2,000

This outlay of Rs 2,000 million provided in the plan would cover the cost of schemes to be implemented directly by the central government, central government assistance to the state schemes, states contribution for centrally assisted schemes and any expenditure which states might incur from their own resources on schemes which were not centrally assisted. It amounted to less than 5 percent of the total Plan budget. Part of the programme for village and small industries would be implemented directly by the central ministries or by all-India boards functioning under their aegis. The remaining programmes would be implemented by states on the advice of the ministries and the boards. The following allocation represented the tentative cost of the

schemes to be implemented centrally and by the states:[58]

Industry	Rs million outlay	
	Centre	States
Handloom	10.5	580.0
Khadi and Village Industries	40.0	510.5
Handicrafts	30.0	60.0
Small Scale Industries	100.0	450.0
Sericulture	2.0	40.8
Coir Spinning and Weaving	3.0	7.0
General Schemes	60.0	90.0
Total	250.0	1750.0

4.2 Small Industries Service Institute

Besides the national extension service and the Community Development Programmes intended to help the villagers, some other institutions established by the government to aid the village and small industries were the Small Inustries Service Institutes, and the establishment of an Industrial Extension Service, a scheme for hire-purchase of machinery, establishment of marketing service and the undertaking of pilot projects in selected centres and industries. By granting a sum of Rs 100 million for this project it was proposed to increase the numbers of Small Industries Service Institutes from 4 to 20, so that each state should have at least one institute. The institute would not merely provide technical advice in response to inquiries from small units regarding improving types of machines, equipment and processes, use of raw materials and methods of reducing cost, but their technical staff would contact small units and advise on

their problems, thus providing a useful extension service. Apart from giving demonstrations in the use of improved technical services and machines through their own workshops, the institutes would operate on behalf of the National Small Industries Corporation in regard to the supply of machinery and equipment to small industries on a hire-purchase system. Another service they would provide would be advice on markets and on the adoption of production to suit such markets.[59]

4.3 Industrial Estates

A provision of Rs 100 million had been alloted in the Second Five Year Plan to set up industrial estates with a view to providing conditions favourable to working efficiency, maintaining uniform standard in production and economic utilisation of materials and equipments. The principal objective was to enable a number of small scale units to have the advantage of common services and other facilities, such as a good site, electricity, water, gas, steam, compressed air, railway sidings, watch and ward, etc.

Two types of industrial estates, large and costing from Rs 400,000 to Rs 500,000 and small costing from Rs 200,000 to Rs 250,000, were expected to be established. Though their construction would be carried out by the states, the central government would meet all the expenditure in the form of loans. The state governments would run the estates through corporations or some such other agencies. Sites in the estates would be sold outright to industrial units, or given to them on hire purchase terms.[60]

5 Education

Problems of Technical Manpower

The pace of development in both the public and private sectors in the Second Five Year Plan, with its emphasis on the manufacture of heavy industries and chemicals, depended on the supply of trained technical personnel at different levels, for which there was a great shortage in the country. An assessment of the requirement for the steel plants showed that about 15,000 skilled workers below foreman category and 2,199 technicians above the rank of foreman would be needed when production was commenced. To meet this situation the two steps taken were, the training of selected personnel trained in foreign countries, and the establishment of a committee by the Ministry of Iron and Steel to assess the existing facilities and to recommend suitable measures.[61]

Anotner set of industries in need of trained technical personnel of all grades in large numbers was the heavy electrical plants. In tne report of the technical consultants, the personnel requirements estimated in the different categories were: administrative, 735; supervisory or trained technical, 715; skilled technical, 4,550; and semi-skilled and unskilled, 6,200. Hence a scheme was prepared for the creation of centres to train those technical personnel not sent to foreign countries.[62]

The fertilizer factories were the other industrial centres in need of such personnel, and the facilities at the Sindri fertilizer factory were of great help to get the needed personnel trained for these projects.

However, as this issue of the training of technical personnel was so important, an Engineering Personnel Committee was constituted to enter into agreements with foreign collaborators in their erection of turn-key factories in India, for the training of Indian personnel in their respective training centres and factories.[63]

6 Beneficiaries of the Second Five Year Plan

By the time the policies of the Second Five Year Plan were formulated, there had been a number of changes in the explicit rhetoric of the Congress Party.

> "In December 1954, parliament was persuaded to adopt a resolution accepting the goal of a socialist pattern of society, and in 1955, the Avadi session of the Congress Party endorsed the idea of a large scale public sector".[64]

This was the first time that the government had accepted explicitly that the socialist pattern of society was a primary goal. At the same time, the emphasis on the large public industrial sector indicated that it was Nehru's vision of the socialist state rather than Gandhi's which was to be implemented.

From this massive growth in the heavy industrial sector and in the administrative services of government, the major beneficiaries were the professional classes and the civil servants. Between 1947 and 1968 their number increased from 3 million to 9.9 million.[65] Within the administrative bureaucracy the standard of life enjoyed was closely related to the position in the administration. For example, the hierarchy of housing

reflected closely the hierarchy of work, with government officials in New Delhi living in spacious bungalows, while lower grade officials lived in houses which were graded from type A to type G. As a foreign observer states,

> "Not only are the houses different in character, but they are generaly located in different areas, whose very names often signify gradations of status".[66]

The professional groups composed of doctors, lawyers, engineers, scientists, teachers, journalists and other intellectuals also benefited from the increasing involvement of government, and hence the increasing availability of funds, in the areas of work in which they were involved. While their training was largely subsidised in state institutions of higher education, their professional services could command a high fee. Although they were supposed to render their professional services to all in need, in fact many of their services were available only to those who could afford them.

Entry to these bureaucratic and professional positions was theoretically open to all classes and castes within society, but since entry to these groups more than any others was controlled by education, those who had the best access to educational provision could, in fact, use the educational system to perpetuate their positions of privilege.

A similar pattern of expansion linked with hierarchical organisation was to be found in the armed forces. These increased from 230,000 at Independence to more than a million after the conflict with China in 1962.[67] Again, entry into the officer grades, which secured a high standard of living, was largely the

prerogative of those who had educational qualifications.

A further group who benefited from the Second Five Year Plan were those industrialists with concerns in areas which the government wished to stimulate. In spite of an intention of restricting the power of monopolies, the big industrial groups had no difficulty in expanding their enterprises. In fact, controls enabled them to expand without competition to their products in some areas, however poor in quality or exorbitant the price. Linked with the higher availability of raw materials because of government activity, the large industrial groups were well placed to increase their control over industry.

> "It has been estimated that the twenty biggest groups controlled about 32 percent of the share capital of the private industrial sector in 1958. This share had risen from 29 percent in 1951... It seems that these big companies have been favoured by the operation of the economic control system and their relative importance is probably bigger now than in 1958".[68]

All of these beneficiaries benefitted from the increased activities of government which were based on urban areas. This meant that the majority of benefits simply by-passed the rural majority.

In one respect it should be noted, however, that Nehru's strategy for development was not a failure. He had suggested that industrial led development would produce an increased level of wealth which would, in turn, filter through to the poorer sectors of the community. The focus on the development of agro-chemicals did help to raise the general level of crops. While there is still a large number of people under the poverty line, the kind

of large scale famine which occured during the period of British rule has not taken place since independence.[69] A general improvement in general levels of wealth has done something to improve the conditions of the rural poor, but very little in comparison to what has been done for the urban community.

7 Conclusion

The policies of government created a large public sector of industry. They also provided for a bureacracy which would encourage private economic activity. The overall plan was to provide for the basic needs of individuals by raising the average level of income for the nation as a whole.

Within that overall plan, the increase in large scale organisation, both industrial and administrative, meant that many people were required in public administration. It was precisely this kind of personnel that the colonial education system was designed to produce. The education system inherited from the British therefore played an important part in selecting people for jobs in administration, in preparing them for their role, and hence distributing income and status.

Because the education system was elitist in nature, only a selected few derived substantial benefit either from the schools, or later from the expansion of heavy industry. Heavy industries such as steel plants or electrical generation or fertiliser manufacture are, by their nature, heavily capital intensive, highly productive, and employ relatively few people of a high level of skills. The development of these industries could therefore affect directly the working lives of only a few people,

who were to be selected on the basis of traditional educational requirements.

The provisions of the Second Five Year Plan which could affect many more people directly were those which concerned the support to be given to craftsmen and artisans. Here again, the educational system did not support the proposed changes. Within the schools, very little skills training was provided for artisans. Those successful in the educational system were more likely to find places in the bureaucracy administering the system. And by their education these administrators would have been isolated from the problems of the artisans, and not have a clear understanding of them.

As with earlier agricultural reforms, it was difficult for state support to be given directly to very small productive units, and the support went to the larger units of small concerns. Again, this helped the traders rather than the artisans and craftsmen themselves, and may even have placed individual artisans in a worse position.

Introducing economic reforms for the benefit of the poorest in society does not help those it is intended to help in the absence of an educational system which prepares the poorer to take maximum advantage ot those reforms. The educational system inherited from the British was formal, academic and cut off from the everyday activity of the poorest people. As a result it could neither prepare the poor to improve their lot, nor prepare administrators who really understood what was required to make

the reforms work as intended.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

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CHAPTER SIX

EDUCATION

1. The Views of Gandhi and Nehru

Gandhi and Nehru, the outstanding leaders of the Indian National Congress, though they held different and at times even contradictory views about the means to achieve the objectives considered relevant to independent India, such as industrialisation or trusteeship, were in agreement about the objectives of the liquidation of poverty, illiteracy and unemployment.[1] Above all they agreed that the system of education was central to development. However, because of their backgrounds and their divergent views as to how education was to be used as an instrument for personal and national development, they advocated entirely different systems of education.[2] While the system of education proposed by Gandhi was entirely different from the system of education introduced by the British, Nehru could find no indigenous alternative to the existing system of education to industrialise the country through modern science and technology. On becoming the Prime Minister, Nehru adopted the existing system of education, with modifications as proposed by the Education Commissions appointed by the government.[3]

The background of Gandhi was typically Indian, Hindu and rural. He belonged to the Vaishya Caste, under its sub-caste Baina, whose main occupation was money lending and commerce. Yet both his grandfather and father served with distinction as chief ministers of Porbander, a tiny princely state in Gujaret.[4] At school, when he began to study the English language and most

other subjects in English, a language of which his parents had no knowledge, he began to feel a kind of cultural and communicational alienation from his home and village.

The enunciation of the scheme of Basic Education by Gandhi was an epoch-making event in the history of primary education in India.[5] When the Congress Ministries assumed ministerial powers in 1937, under the system of provincial autonomy, they had to face the problem of introducing universal, free and compulsory primary education in the shortest time possible, without adequate resources for it, because with the introduction of prohibition a substantial revenue from the auction of liquor was terminated. Gandhi put forward his proposal of self-supporting free primary education of seven years through the help of useful and productive craft, as a solution to the problem.[6]

2 Basic Education of Gandhi

Gandhi's own experiences of the educational system made him impatient of an education for literacy for its own sake. In his opinion, the reduction of illiteracy was pursued only for the sake of literacy statistics, while there was little application for literacy in the everyday life of the majority, especially in rural areas, once they had left school.[7] Gandhi also disapproved of the way in which education was financed from the excise duty on alcohol. He described this as the "cruellest of ironies".[8]

Gandhi proposed a system of education which was based on village life, and which would make the villages as self-reliant as possible. The aim was to make the education relevant to the

future employment of the pupils in agricultural crafts, so that the subjects which were normally imparted over a ten year period should be taught in a seven year period. In this way the costs of education might be reduced at the same time as overcoming some of the criticisms, such as irrelevance, which Gandhi made of the traditional system.

Some idea of the scheme can be gained from the topics which Gandhi proposed should be included in the first grade.

Practical

1. Sowing seeds in the nursery.
2. Watering the nursery.
3. Use of seedlings and plants (garden), (a) watering, (b) weeding, (c) mulching, (d) picking insects, and (e) manuring the nursery and small garden plants with fertilizers.
4. Collection of seeds of flowers, plants and vegetables in the garden.
5. Animal husbandry, feeding domestic birds and animals, and taking care of pets.

Theoretical

1. Recognition of a plant and its different parts: roots, stem, leaves, flowers and fruit.
2. How a plant develops from a seed.
3. What a plant needs for growth: soil, water, food, light and air.
4. Uses of birds and animals.

Together with this in the first grade the child would learn

Hindustani and his mother tongue by familiarising him with the culture of his country through myths, legends, poetry, song, reading, writing, social study, general science, drawing and matnematics. All of these subjects would be allied to the teaching of a basic craft.[9]

In tne higher grades students were to be encouraged to take up fine arts such as drawing, painting and music. Thus, in the final grade, that is when the child was 14, he would have mastered the matriculation standard in all subjects, as well as having a fund of theoretical and practical knowledge in his basic craft.

For the students in the cities, one of the crafts would be used to create a link with the concerns of rural areas. For example the production of cotton, and the ginning, cleaning and spinning of cotton would be used for this purpose. In this way the education given would also serve as "a kind of insurance against unemployment for them".[10]

Gandhi described the aims of this educational system:

> "Taken as a whole a vocation or vocations are the best medium for the all round development of the boy or a girl, and therefore all syllabus should be woven round vocational training... Primary education thus conceived as a whole is bound to be self-supporting even though for the first or even second year's course it may not be wholly so. Primary education here means as prescribed above".[11]

3. Implementation of Basic Education

An important conference on Gandhi's scheme of basic education was held at Wardha in 1937 and was attended by Ministers of Education and other educationists. There were many criticisms of the

scheme, the principal one being that it represented the introduction of child labour to compensate the revenue loss incurred by prohibition.[12] Gandhi himself came forward to clarify the position. He asserted that the scheme of Basic Education was put into operation while he was in South Africa with no reference to prohibition. In India, the problem of Basic Education was "unfortunately mixed up with the disappearance of drink revenues"[13] He also pointed out that what he discovered in 1937 was not the scheme, but its special application to the situation then prevaling in India, He wrote:

> I am not surprised at the caution with which he (Dr. Arundale) approaches the idea of self-supporting education. For me it is the crux. My one regret is that what I have seen through the glass darkly for the last 40 years, I have begun to see now quite clearly under the stress of circumstances. Having spoken strongly in 1920 against the present system of education and having now got the opportunity of influencing however little it may be, ministers in seven provinces, who have been fellow workers and fellow sufferers in the glorious struggle for freedom of the Country, I have felt an irresistible call to make good the charge that the present mode of education is radically wrong from bottom to top. And what I have been struggling to express in these columns very inadequately has come upon me like a flash, and the truth of it is daily growing upon me.[14]

The Wardha conference, in the light of this clarification from Gandhi, passed the following four resolutions on Basic Education:

1) That in the opinion of this conference free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation wide scale.

2) That the medium of instruction be the mother tongue.

3) That the conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education through this period should centre round some form of manual productive work, and

that all the other abilities to be development or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handidraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

4) That the conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers.

The conference then appointed a committee under the presidency of Dr. Zakir Hussain to prepare a detailed syllabus on the lines of the above resolutions.

What was the writing of a "layman for a lay reader", Gandhi's ideas on Basic Education, when taken up by the committee for its report, became a systematic explanation about the principles and objectives of the scheme in terms of recognised doctrines of education, psychology, sociology and economics.[15] It worked out detailed syllabuses for a number of crafts, and made valuable suggestions regarding such important aspects of the scheme in connection with the training of teachers, supervision and examination and administration.

The report stated that craft in primary schools could be used as a suitable means of productive work and as an effective approach to the problem of providing an integral all sided education. Psychologically education through a craft is envigorating because in the place of the three R's acquired by repetition like a parrot, without understanding their real sense or application, the children are given an opportunity to use the body and mind in a coordinated manner to produce what is known as "the literacy of

the whole personality". Socially the craft centered education, by making all the students of a village or an area to work together as a team, destroys at one stroke the existing social and caste distinctions and the dichotomy between the manual and the intellectual work. Economic considerations come as a bye-product, when the craft work is carried out intelligently and efficiently geared to the market forces and the basic needs of the community, with the active support of the government and the community.[16]

It is worth noting that the Report emphasised not so much the self supporting aspect of the scheme, as its educational aspects. This was a radical and significant departure from the view of Gandhi himself, who always regarded self-sufficency as the acid test of this proposals.[17]

In the decade from 1937, when this Report was submitted, to the time of Independence in 1947, Basic Education, was not only undergoing a period of experimentation, but was also facing chequered political repercussions, since the Congress Ministries resigned on account of problems connected with the World War II. Nevertheless, until the resignation of the Congress Ministries, the governments, according to their resources, gave to Basic Education as much encouragement as was possible. Among the native states, Kashmir, where K.G.Saiyidain, a great enthusiast of Basic Education, was the director of Education, Basic Education, received the maxim support from the government.[18] As one who had studied about the various aspects of Basic Education during this decade better than any one else, Saiyidain wrote about it as follows:

> "This fresh approach to the educational problem opens a new chapter in Indian educational history. ... the Report shows the relationship of educational reorganisation to the wider problem of social reconstruction. Thus the success of the scheme is bound up with a far reaching social, political, and economic reconstruction of the country. That is so, not only because an educational venture of this magnitude cannot possibly be put through without increasing enormously the wealth of the country through industrialisation and a more effective use of its natural resources, but also because once education of this kind has been provided for the great mass of people they cannot be kept in poverty and ill health or exploited by vested interests. They will demand and get, their legitimate economic, social and cultural rights, and thus education will prove a long-range investment, paying its dividends in the shape of happier, healthier, and more enlightened men and women.
>
> It is inspired in its ideology as well as its methods and contents by a certain vision of society based on cooperation, truth, non-violence and social equality. Mahatma Gandhi was emphatic in his view that this Basic Education not to be regarded as just a new technique of teaching, but as a way of life which tried to realise certain values held as supreme".[19]

During the same decade from 1937 to 1947, the two Committees appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) in 1938 and 1940 to study Basic Education, known as "Wardha Scheme" submitted their reports to the CABE. The CABE, in its post-war Education Development Report, known also as the Sargent Report, had a section on the Wardha Scheme in its chapter on primary education. The first two reports, while endorsing the pedagogical principles of the Wardha Scheme, expressed certain reservations regarding the finance, the training of teachers, the examinations, and the lack of clear cut division within the seven year course.

In the light of all that had been stated by the two committee reports on the Wardha Scheme, the Sargent Report made specific proposals on finance, teacher-training, the division of the seven year course into two, one of four years and the other of three

years, and the carrying out of a final examination by the school itself. There were enormous other problems connected with the training of large numbers of teachers, and the establishment of schools throughout the country, because of the existing state of primary education. The minimum time needed, according to the report, to provide all the children of six to fourteen years, free, universal and compulsory education, was forty years. The independent government, however, while accepting all the proposals regarding the Wardha Schame, laid down in the Constitution that free, universal and compulsory education for all the children from six to fourteen should be accomplished within a period of ten years from the promulgation of the Constitution.[20]

At the end of the first decade of independence, in 1957, a statement on the concept of basic education, prepared by the Basic Education Standing Cimmittee of the Central Advisory Board of Education, was issued. A few extracts from that statement are as follows:

1. "Basic education, as conceived and explained by Mahatma Gandhi, is essentially an education for life, and what is more, an education through life... That is why productive, creative and socially useful work in which all boys and girls may participate, irrespective of any distinction of caste or creed or class, is placed at the very centre of basic education."

2. "In the choice of the basic crafts which are to be integrated into school work, we should adopt a liberal approach and make use of such crafts as have significance from the point of view of intellectual content; provide scope for progressive development

of knowledge and practical efficiency. The basic craft must be such as will fit into the natural and social environment of the school and hold within it the maximum of educational possibilities."

3. "In basic education, as indeed in any good scheme of education, knowledge must be related to activity, practical experience and observation. To ensure this, basic education rightly postulates that the study of the curricular content should be intelligently related to three main centres of correlation, viz, craft work, the natural environment and the social environment."

4. "The basic scheme envisages a close integration between the schools and the community so as to make education as well as the children more social-minded and cooperative."

5. "Basic education should no longer be regarded as meant exclusively for the rural areas. It should be introduced in urban areas as well, both because of its intrinsic suitability and also to remove the impression that it is some inferior kind of education designed only for village children".[21]

The government meanwhile did set up an Assessment Committee on Basic Education in 1955, and as recommended by it, the National Programme for the Orientation of Elementary Schools towards the Basic Pattern was initiated.

As a result of the government's decision, a seminar was held, under the auspices of the Union Minister of Education, K.L.Shrimali, in 1959, to consider the role of basic education in bringing about the establishment of a socialist pattern of society. Some of the major recommendations of the seminar were as

followes:

1. To draw up a minimum programme, which should make a definite impact in all the schools within a specific time.
2. To arrange suitable orientation training courses for the inspectors at different levels and the headteachers in addition to the school teachers.
3. To produce suitable literature for this programme intended to give the necessary guidance to teachers, headteachers, inspectors and others connected with the programme.
4. The target date for the completion of this programme was accepted as 1960-61.[22]

Despite this target-setting and all the encouragement from the government for basic education, the problem of converting the existing primary schools into basic or to start new ones, ~~were~~ was enormous. One main problem was the training of teachers, because according to Gandhi, since the correlation of as many subjects as possible with a basic craft would demand a high standard of training, the minimum period prescribed for it was two years. In practice, however, for the sake of showing the large number of basic schools in different states, very few of the teachers in the converted schools had more than six months training, and in some cases only three months or less. To make matters worse, the majority of the teachers, who were already in service, found it extremely difficult to master the new techniques. In addition to trained teachers, basic schools needed better premises and more expensive equipment than the old type of school, which had only had the most rudimentary equipment, such as blackboards and chalks. For all these it has not been possible to find enough

money. Nevertheless, ~~with~~ the government committed to make all primary schools basic as rapidly as possible, stated the goal in the following manner in 1965:

> "It (the basic school) has an activity centred curriculum, wherein the process of learning is correlated with the physical and social environment of the children. Education is imparted through socially useful productive activities, like spinning and weaving, gardenning, carpentry, leather work, book craft, domestic crafts, pottery, elementary engineering, etc."[23]

In an attempt to make primary schools basic, several modifications in Gandhi's original proposal became necessary. Basic schools were no longer expected to be financially self-supporting. Nor was it assumed that all, or even the greater part, of education could be acquired through craft; in addition to teaching the "basic crafts", regular school hours for other studies had been introduced and these took an increasing part of the school day. Although some schools were specifically classified as basic schools, there was a tendency to be satisfied with an "orientation" of schools to the pattern of basic schools. The Third Five Year Plan had this to say about such schools:

> "The aim was the adoption of a common syllabus in all basic and non-basic schools and the introduction of simple crafts and activities like social service, community living and cultural and recreational programmes which do not involve much expenditure or require teachers fully trained in basic education."[24]

Even after all these modifications in the curriculum, the percentage of basic schools in the total number at the elementary stage since independence had risen from 15.1 in 1951 to 26.5 in 1967, and according to a memorandum by the education division of the Planning Commission, "the majority of these differ little from the ordinary or older type".[25]

While the government was finding it difficult to establish the pure type of basic education schools in areas where they were badly needed, the people for whom they were intended, the rural people, were trying to turn away from the pure type of basic education schools. To the rural people, to force their children to undergo education in basic education schools, with a particular craft as the main subject of the curriculum, was tantamount to discriminate their children from the urban children. But by studying at the non-basic education schools, they could qualify themselves for non-manual occupations like the Civil Service, while if their education was in basic education schools, then they were condemned to low-paying manual work. In their longing to provide better status in life to their children than the one they had, the rural craftsmen manifested a cultural transformation associated with the non-basic education schools. This change in attitude of some of the rural people is described by Myrdal as follows:

> "Apparently, parents in the upper and middle classes do not want to send their children to basic or 'basic-oriented' schools, with their emphasis on manual work; even the rural elite are interested above all in giving their children, and particularly their sons, an education that will enable them to escape the toil and the hardship of life in a village".[26]

However, in the states where the basic education schools had made some headway, there were other problems. The supply of competent teachers, with certificates of training, the lack of needed equipment and raw materials, the absence of adjacent gardens or agricultural environments were among these problems. Another problem was the number of students; when either more or less, in each class and in each school, and this did affect adversely the

quality of teaching.

When the Education Commission was set up in 1964, to evaluate the whole educational system and to propose appropriate alternatives, the problems of basic education were brought to the notice of its members. Finding great similarity between the concept of "work experience" and the craft centred basic education, the Commission said:

> "What is now needed is a reorientation of the basic education programmes to the needs of a society that has to be transformed with the help of science and technology. In other words, work experience must be forward-looking in keeping with the character of the new social order".[27]

It is important to note that after this statement from the Commission, the concept of work experience was replacing the concept of "craft centred" education. The "Resolution on the National Policy on Education, 1968" of the government did not make any reference to basic education. It does, however, declare that work experience should become an integral part of education.[28]

One of the inferences that could be drawn with regard to the basic education experiment, as a consequence of the reaction of the parents to it, was the extent of their cultural transformation and the correlation they entertained towards education and social mobility. By cultural transformation, it is menat that when confronted with the two types of education, basic and non-basic, the parents chose non-basic, on the assumption that their children had a better chance for a non-manual occupation, rather than for manual work. However remote might be the chances of their children getting a non-manual job, like the

Civil Service, the rural people always putting great hope in the performance of their children in education, were anxious to avail themselves of an educational opportunity for their children, and thus achieve social mobility, which they would not get with an education centred on a village craft. It was parental motivation, despite the massive evidence against it, that created the problems of the educated unemployed.[29]

However, with the introduction of computers and automation in offices and factories, the principle behind basic education, by whatever name it is called, craft centred or work experience, is becoming inevitable in all kinds of education. In fact, the employment opportunities that could be taken up by individuals, families and small scale industrial units through the advancement of micro-electronics, information and bio-technology are so great that after a thorough shake-up in the mechanical mass-production, an education, centred on some skills would become the normal form of education, vindicating the philosophy of Gandhi in one form or anotner.

4. Nehru and Education

Just like Gandhi, Nehru too was opposed to the kind of education introduced by the British, but unlike Gandhi, Nehru never tried to propose an education strategy of his own. However, his views on the existing system of education were expressed for the first time in an official manner in a language appropriate to the occasion, not in India but in Brussels, as a representative of the Indian National Congress at the Anti-Imperialist Congress in 1927. He spoke as follows in his long speech to the congress:

> "After having... disarmed us, the British now say... we are not fit to protect our country. After extinguishing our system of education. they have set up in its place something which is ridiculously meagre... teaches us false history. and tries to educate us in the hatred of our country and in the glorification of England. After all this, they tell us... that we have not sufficient culture to be a free nation".[30]

From this quotation it is clear that there were differnces between the views of Nehru and the views of Gandhi. Nehru was looking at it from a cultural and ideological point of view. How education could make India truly independent. economically, culturally and politically, and practice would ensue from this ideology of independence. For Gandhi however, it was just the opposite; education should help to make one, first to make a living independently. and from that practical aspect of life would follow the ideology of self-reliance. Thus for both. the ultimate objective was more or less the same. independence or self-reliance, but once again the means to achieve this objective could be used differently Hence for Nehru machinery as such was not an anathema, as long as it could serve India in becoming independent according to the norms laid down by the Indians in their Constitution. whereas for Gandhi machinery should be used as a last resort, so long as there was no exploitation of any kind, as is exemplified in Gandhi's attitude towards the trains and the sewing machine. which he found to be very helpful to the common people.[31]

In his three importan books, An Autobiography. The Discovery of India. and Glimpses of World History. mention is made by Nehru of the destructive role played by the British system of education, in particular its contribution to the problem of the unemployment of the educated and the class division engendered by the educated

people. One main drawback with the education was its failure to create an entrepreneurial spirit among the students. This is what he said:

> "The new education did not fit anyone for trade and industry; its chief aim was government service. Education was so limited as to offer few openings for a professional career; other social services were almost non-existent. So government service remained and, as the colleges poured out their graduates, even the growing government services could not absorb them all, and a fierce competition arose... Thus the British government in India became, not only the biggest employer, but, for all practical purposes, the sole big employer (including railways)... This enormous patronage was exercised to strengthen the British hold on the country, to crush discordant and disagreeable elements, and to promote rivalry and discord amongst the various groups anxiously looking forward to employment in government service".[32]

Further, English education did create, as Nehru said, an new caste or class.

> "The British had created a new caste or class in India, the English-educated class, which lived in a world of its own, cut off from the mass of the population, and looked always, even when protesting, towards its rulers".[33]

As stated, though he did not propose an educational strategy of his own, Nehru, as the chairman of the National Planning Committee, could exert his influence to have his views on education expressed through two of its sub-committees on education. This is what he said:

> "Two intersting decisions were made in connection with education. We suggested that definite norms of physical fitness for boys and girls be laid down for every stage of education. We also suggested establishment of a system of compulsory social or labour service, so as to make every young man and woman contribute one year of his or her life, between the ages of eighteen and twenty two, to national utility, including agriculture, industry, public utilities, and public works of all kinds. No exemption was to be allowed except for physical or mental disability".[34]

After independence, when the question of the reform of the

existing system of education was taken up, this was what Nehru said in 1948 at an educational conference:

> "Whenever conferences were called in the past to form a plan for education in India, the tendency as a rule was to maintain the existing system with slight modifications. This must not happen now. Great changes have taken place in the country and the educational system must keep pace with them. The entire basis of education must be revolutionised".[35]

5. Educational Reforms After Independence

During the period of the first two Five Year Plans the education system was substantially the same as it had been under British rule. One of the first actions of the independent government of India was to appoint a University Commission in 1948 to review the state of the tertiary education system. In 1952 this was followed by a commission on secondary education. These two commissions give a detailed picture of how the education system was, or was not, assisting the general programmes of the Five Year Plans to promote the development of India. The commissions made a number of recommendations for reform of the system of education. Very few of these reforms have been implemented, and fewer have had the effect hoped for by the authors of the reports, so that many of the criticisms of the education system made by the commissions are still relevant.[36]

When he became the Prime Minister of independent India, Nehru had certain definite views about the policies to be implemented for national development. To him, one of the best courses of action for the solution of the problems of India was the policy of industrialisation. Hence a policy appropriate to the achievement of that objective was announced by Nehru; the appointment of an

University Commission under Dr.Radha Krishnan, as the first policy of the independent government of India in 1948.[37]

The rationale behind this University Commission was the promotion of industrialisation of the country and the consequent changes in the attitude of the people. Western economic history was interpreted by all the members as illustrating that a high level of productivity and the concommitants of economic well-being were the results of the changes set in motion by the industrial revolution. How this policy has attracted the attention of the leaders of Third World countries was described by Myrdal as follows:

> "Historically, in western countries, agriculture's claim on manpower has diminished; at first the decline was relative but it very soon became absolute. Progress towards rationality, equality of opportunity, democracy and national consolidation has proceeded pari passu with industrialisation and the other higher levels of productivity and income made possible by it, or coming in the wake of it. More recently, an Asian country, Japan, has followed a similar course with striking success".[38]

Since India possessed some of the basic raw materials needed for industry in large quantities, such as iron ore and coal, Nehru believed that the exploitation of such national resouces should form the foundation of the industrialisation of the country.[39] To make India self reliant as early as possible in setting up and in managing heavy industries which are basic to industrialisation, there must be qualified Indian personnel, for which there was need of universities. Thus it was this rationale of basic industries which prompted Nehru to start with the universities in the educational sector. This is what Nehru had to say:

> "We say that we require education for the purpose of achieving the national and social objectives of free India, and, in particular, to train the right type of personnel for

the speedy execution of our development plans.[40]

In order to utilise the existing and the future scientific and technical personnel for the development of the basic industries, the government, in 1947, established a natioanl register of scientific and technological personnel, on the recommendation of the Scientific Manpower Committee.[41] Because of this national register, the supply and demand position could be improved, by providing the guidelines and incentives to the schools and the universities about thier courses in science and engineering. Thus universities became the foundation on which the policy of industrialisation was built, the only other choice being to be content to be swept aside by the strong currents of history.[42]

The University Commission Report paid serious attention to

> "...the role of the universities in professional education and covered, in detail, the fields of agriculture, commerce, education, engineering and technology, law, medicine, and certain new professional studies as business administration, public administration and industrial relations. It is suggested that, in all these fields, close contact should be maintained with practical work, a broad grounding should be provided in the basic sciences or arts subjects, new branches should be developed within each professional study, bearing in mind how the new needs of the country and the latest development in other countries, and that teachers should be obtained by means of suitable salary and other inducements".[43]

This emphasis on professional training showed a commitment to developing an intellectual elite that would provide the necessary impetus for economic expansion. In turn this would mean an initial increase in disparity between the rich and the poor, with the university educated elite benefitting first from economic improvement.

This reasonning, that an improvement in the economic position of the elite would precede a general expansion of the economy which would benefit all people and eventually produce a more egalitarian society, continued to be a major assumption of the planning process. This idea was expressed in the Second Five Year Plan as follows:

> "Economic development has in the past been associated with growing inequalities of income and wealth. The gains of development accrue in early stages to a small class of businessmen and manufacturers, whereas the immediate impact of the application of new technologies in agriculture and in traditional industry has often meant growing unemployment or under-employment among large numbers of people".[44]

Even Nehru, who was strongly attached to the goal of producing an egalitarian and socialist state appears to have accepted the promotion of an elite as a necessary evil. However, he was not entirely happy to see such a development, and thought that the worst excesses of elite development should be curbed by government action.

> "To some extent that is inevitable in a growing economy. But in order to prevent it one has to take measures. Namely, if you leave things to themselves, wealth grows more into wealth".[45]

However, being accepted as a major instrument in promoting economic development, the universities largely avoided far reaching reforms. Apart from calls that they should pay more attention to practical aspects of agriculture, industry and commerce, little was done to make them more responsive to the goals of economic growth, or to the production of a more equal distribution of knowledge and skills.

The fundamental premise of the development of the tertiary sector

in this period was that eventual economic expansion would lead to a reduction of the gap between the rich and poor. That this was an over optimistic expectation can be seen from the role the universities had played in helping Brahmins in Madras to maintain their social dominance over a considerable period. Betaille stated that,

> "in Madras between 1892 and 1904, out of 16 successful candidates for the ICS (Indian Civil Service) 15 were Brahmins; in 1913, 93 out of 128 permanent district munsifs (judges) were Brahmins; and in 1914, 452 out of the 650 registered graduates of the university were Brahmins.
>
> In 1918 the Brahmins in the Madras presidency numbered 1.5 million, out of a total of 42 millions, but 70% of arts graduates, 74% of law graduates, 71% of engineering graduates, and 74% of graduates in teaching were Brahmins. Out of 390 higher appointments in the Education Department 310 were held by Brahmins, in the Judicial Department 116 out of 171, and in the Revenue Department 394 out of 679".[46]

As Srinivas has pointed out, "it was not only in the context of English education and the fruits that yielded that the Brahmins enjoyed an overwhelming advantage over all others. Brahmin dominance extended also to the nationalist movement".[47] C.Rajagopalachari, a Brahmin, became the chief minister of Madras, and later the first Indian Governor General of India, before India became a republic.[48]

Thus the high castes were able to use the university system to perpetuate their social position, and the universities did little to promote a more socialist society. This may have been partly due to the fact that university enrolments were low in comparison with the Brahmin population, and hence the competition, even between Brahmins, for university places was fierce. The high castes consequently formed a major section of the university population. Their dominance would be felt less directly in the

levels of education which were more open and where a larger percentage of the population was enrolled, as was the case in primary or secondary education.

One of the important recommendations of the University Commission was that the reorganisation of secondary education was a necessary condition for the proper development of university education.[49]

6. Secondary Education

The report of the secondary education commission under Dr.A.L.Mudaliar was submitted in 1953. The report was largely concerned with education in urban areas, and made recommendations which related to that context. The main conclusions were that the existing secondary education system, as inherited from the British, was too narrow, and exclusively academic. While it provided adequate education for those seeking entry to university, it failed to provide a more general education which would allow the students to use not only their heads but also their hands to express their creative aptitudes and capabilities, and develop a broader understanding of their social environment.

To overcome these shortcomings in the educational system, the commission recommended that,

1) instruction in Hindi and the pupil's mother tongue be introduced along with the instruction in English which had previously been usual in secondary schools. (Where the mother tongue was Hindi, the pupil was to study some other Indian language.)

2) there should be compulsory courses in social studies and general science. General science was to include mathematics.
3) each pupil was to study a craft, which could be selected from a range of prescribed crafts, and
4) three further subjects were to be selected from a prescribed list of humanities, science, technology, commerce, agriculture, fine arts and home science.[50]

This can be seen as an attempt to broaden the education system to cater for the needs of a larger cross-section of the community than simply those who aspired to attend the universities. However, it should be noted that this was interpreted as a broader cross section of the urban community, and the requirements of rural areas were not stressed. Agriculture was to be optional, the crafts were not necessarily related to rural lifestyles, and there was no attempt to link education to community development.

This philosophy of broadening the education offered found its most concrete expression in the recommedation from the commission that multi-purpose schools should be instituted.[51]

Multipurpose schools would provide a diversified curriculum with terminal courses in technology, commerce, agriculture, fine arts and home science. As well as enabling the non-academic stream of students to take up an occupation after their study is over, the purpose of the multipurpose schools was to reduce the pressure upon university entrance. The commission therefore suggested the starting of an experiment in some selected schools before the

scheme was introduced in the secondary school system as a whole.

These schools were set up in a number of areas, but they were not successful, and within ten years had all been closed. There were two major reasons for that failure. Firstly the vocational courses did not necessarily lead to jobs, and secondly, the reforms left the traditional academic courses virtually untouched, and vocational courses were seen as second rate or low status.[52]

The commission also recommended that the traditional system of examinations, "which was restricted in scope, mechanical in techniques and unreliable in conclusions",[53] should be replaced by modern methods of evaluation.[54] The new methods of evaluation should provide a realistic progress of the students in all their curricular and non-curricular activities in the school, and not merely a test of the memory power of the students. There should be regular tests, besides the terminal examinations and the final assessment had to be based on both. The commission also recommended the transfer of control of secondary school leaving examinations from the universities to specially constituted Boards of secondary Education.[55]

This criticism of the school examination system highlights the role the universities played in directing the activities in all parts of the educational system. As the Commission recommended, reforms were made of the school leaving examinations, and they were controlled by Boards of Secondary Education. However the reforms did little to change the style of examinations or to reduce the influence of academics.

While the Commission was critical of details of the secondary education system, it never questioned the assumption that secondary education was beneficial for the development of the country. This may have been one of the reasons why there were no effective major reforms of the system. The commission argued that there was a connection between the quality and quantity of the secondary school system and the educational potential of the country, because the secondary level provided both teachers for the primary level and students for the tertiary level. It was argued that most secondary school graduates could be trained to perform all kinds of productive work, whether in agriculture industry or the civil service. While it was true that in many cases a secondary school certificate was a necessary qualification for entry into further training for productive work in these sectors, it was by no means clear that traditional academic education was a suitable preparation for it. Indeed, the commission's criticism of the educational system as too narrow and academic implies that it was not simply secondary school qualifications which were important.[56]

There has been no similar commission on elementary education, although elementary education has received considerable attention from the politicians and is specifically mentioned in the Constitution, where the goal of universal primary education with ten years was set. There has been considerable provision for building primary schools. The level of provision is not yet satisfactory, and the level of funding has been inadequate to achieve the goal of universal primary education even after thirty

five years.

A continuing obstacle to the achievement of high educational standards has been the high drop-out rates. Even in 1983 an evaluation established that the drop out rate at the primary level on an average was 63.1% for the lower primary and 77.1% for the upper primary. However in Kerala, it was only 6.2 at the lower primary, and in Delhi 17.4%. The nine states with poor enrolment and retention were Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Utter Pradesh and West Bengal.[57]

There are a number of reasons for high drop-out rates particularly among the children of the poor. The costs of attending school (for books, uniform etc.) are high, even though tuition in the school is free. There is an addition, the cost of lost income which could be earned if the child were not in school. However, one of the main reasons for drop-out is that, particularly at the lower level, the benefits of attending school are not secure.

The schools are orientated towards providing specific skills, such as literacy, and an attitude towards work, which makes school graduates at all levels inclined to seek employment in an administrative bureaucracy or corporate enterprise, rather than look for opportunities for self-employment. With limited opportunities for employment in large concerns, whether publicly or private run, competition for such positions is high, with university graduates frequently taking jobs which would be more appropriate for secondary school graduates. This process means

that graduates from lower levels of education are rarely rewarded adequately for their investment in education.

This problem is compounded by traditional caste attitudes, where many jobs which might be appropriate for self-employment are seen as caste related jobs connected with a low caste position. Failure to secure a position in the "modern" sector of the economy will mean that the young person will be restrained within the lower levels of the caste system, where remuneration will be poor. The combined effect of traditional caste attitude and an academic schooling system is to reinforce the inferior economic position of the those who start with least. The formal education system was therefore positively undermining any attempts to promote a more equal and socialist development of society.

Social Education:

The Central Advisory Board of Education in its fifteenth meeting on 9th January 1949, under the Chairmenship of Manlana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister of Education, designated Adult Education as Social Education in the following words:

> "In a Democracy the provision of Basic Education of 8 years for children between the ages of 6-14 is all the more necessary as, without an educated electorate democracy cannot perform the functions expected of it. For this, we want not merely literacy, but mental development of the adults so that they can take an intelligent interest in the affairs of their country and the world. The scope of adult education has, therefore, been extended and to mark this change it is proposed to call it social education in future".[58]

When the Community Development (C.D.) Programme was incorporated in the First Five Years Plan on 2nd October 1952, on the

anniversary of Gandhi's birthday, among the many functions the C.D. was trying to implement in the rural areas, one was social education. Social Education was defined in the Plan as follows:

> "Social education.... comprises literacy, healthy recreation, and home life of adults, citizenship training and guidance in improving economic efficency".[59]

In spite of these early hopes, W.S.Woytinsky noted that the programmes of social education failed to stimulate the interest among the mass of the people that had been intended.

> "What struck me most was the lack of interest in adult education among the Indian educators. Here and there classes are held for small groups of men and women. There is much talk about hunger for knowledge among the villagers, but one notices no serious concentrated effort to put on end to illiteracy in the village".[60]

Because of the poor response for the C.D. projects both from the rich who feared that the ultimate aim of C.D. was to make them equal to the poor, and the poor who found that the C.D. officials were favouring the rich rather the poor, the government appointed a committee to study it. The Report, known as Metha Report (1957) proposed the merging of the C.D. with a new democratic institution to be called "Panchyat Raj".[61] In this new set up, social education did not get the kind of special consideration it had in the C.D. projects.

The government therefore reverted to the old Adult Education Scheme, for which a second phase was inaugurated during the Janatha Government in 1978, with the idea of getting rid of illiteracy starting with the age group of 15-35 within a period of ten years.[62]

The non-formal system of education, therefore, fared no better than the formal system. It proved impossible to provide a service which would simultaneously encourage economic activity and appeal to the poorest social groups.

Overall, the educational system was too academic and rigid, and directed towards employment in large concerns. The lower levels of education served largely as a preparation to the more selective higher levels, and this dominated the curriculum, examinations and teaching style. For those who failed to pass on to the next higher level, the preparation provided by the schools was inadequate.

7. Technical Education

A similar pattern, as has been found in general education also prevailed in technical education. As stated, the industrial projects of the proposed Five Years Plans required a large number of technical personnel at all levels. This is what the university Commission Report had to say about it:

> "Our leaders have drawn up ambitious plans for the industrialisation of our Country. If these schemes are to be realized, we have to increase the number of professional colleges, agricultural, medical and engineering to produce the requisite numbers of graduates and set up throughout the country technical schools, which will supply the much larger number of technicians needed for the purpose".[63]

Here again, the government started its reform with the tertiary level, the level assumed to be of most direct relevance to economic development.

A report on higher technical education prepared by N.Sarkar, the chairman of the All Indian Council of Technical Education, had proposed the establishment of four technical institutes of the highest grade similar to the M.I.T. (Massachuset Institute of Technology) known as Indian Institute of Technology (IIT's), at four places, Bengal, Bombay, Madras, and the fourth place to be determined later on.[64]

The first IIT was set up at Kharagpur (Bengal) in 1951. At that time, as foreign aid had not entered into the Indian strategy of economic development, the government decided to "go it alone" in the establishment and development of the institute. A few foreign specialists, for senior faculty positions had to be appointed as there were no qualified Indians for those positions. However for most of the faculty position at all levels, competent Indian were available, particularly from universities.[65]

Further, a large number of Indian technicians who had been sent abroad by the government soon after the war for advance training under the overseas scholarship scheme returned, and the Institute was able to recruit them to its faculty within seven or eight years of its establishment. The Institute made a deep impression on high level engineering education and research in India and became a model for four other institutes which were to follow.[66]

When the government wanted to build the second IIT at Bombay, India was already getting some foreign aid to purchase the machinery for the Five Year Plan, and hence, India was interested

to explore the possibilities of getting foreign aid for the purchase of the equipment needed for the institute. By a strange coincidence, though India had no bilateral economic relations with the Soviet Union, through the mediation of Unesco (an amount of money deposited by the USSR with Unesco for the development of technical studies in a developing country) India was chosen as the most appropriate country for that aid. Thus for the first time foreign aid figured in the establishment of the institute.[67]

For the next three institutes, at Madras, Kanpur and Delhi, the three countries which came forward with help were the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States and Britain. From the beginning it was visualised that the foreign experts for each institute would come strictly in an academic capacity and that they would have no responsibility for the administration and the management of the institute. The number of foreign experts for each institute was limited to those specialities for which Indian senior faculty members were not readily available. These institutes provide now the means of technological self-reliance for Indian industrial development.[68]

The second level in technical education was carried out in engineering colleges attached to various universities, leading to a bachelor's degree in engineering and technology. There were more than 150 engineering colleges in 1976, with a total admission of 25,000 students per year. Among them there were 76 colleges offering post-graduate courses with an annual intake of 5,500 students. Facilities also existed at those centres for part time courses for those who were already in service. There were also 15 regional engineering colleges and a number of other

technological institutes providing facilities for education in various branches of engineering and technology.

The third level in technical education was polytechnics awarding diplomas. They provided the qualified manpower at the middle level for a wide range of professional duties; for application of technical knowledge on field operation in production and construction, and finally in testing and development. There were 320 polytechnics with an intake of 50,000 students. The courses on a variety of engineering and technical subjects normally lasted for three years, and if carried out as part-time or 'sandwich' courses would then take four years.[69]

The fourth level in technical education was carried out in Industrial Training Institutes (ITI's) awarding certificates. These institutes provided basic technical knowledge and training under controlled conditions with related instruction in trade theory, mathematics and science. The graduates of the ITI could be employed as semi-skilled workers or apprenticed and trained to be fully fledged craftsmen. Training was imparted in 32 engineering and 21 non-engineering trades approved by the National Council for Training in Vocational Trades to young people from the age group of fifteen to twenty five years. For this purpose 356 (in 1980) Industrial Training Institutes with an overall admission of 15,000 students had been established in various parts of the country. Besides, 65 more government and 244 private Industrial Training Institutes had been given affiliation. The period of training ranged from one to two years. Those institutes were also used as basic training centres for the

apprentice skill training programmes.[70]

The technical education system was structured as a hierarchy which reflected the hierarchy of the general education system. It also had many of the same failings. While the Industrial Training Institutes prepared students with skills and attitudes appropriate to factory work, the number of positions for such employement is very small. In this area, as in others, the educational system was too successful in preparing students for a niche in the economic order which was overfilled, but was unable to prepare students in a way which would enable them to take part in a broadly based economic expansion. Like other types of education, technical education encouraged an attitude which was appropriate to employment in a large industrial organisation, but did not promote entrepreneurial skills and self-reliance in the economic field which would assist graduates to become self employed.

7. Conclusion

Education has been largely oriented towards the requirements of higher education. Reforms were initiated in the university sector, and have followed in other sectors subsequently.[71]

Technical education was greatly expanded in the hope of supplying the projected manpower needs of the Five Year Plans. This expansion of technical education envisaged an expansion of the industrial sector in which newly trained personnel would fit into large industrial corporations. When the industrial expansion failed to materialise, those who had been prepared for a new role

in the economy were unemployed. As some features of their general education had been neglected they were also unable to act as initiators of economic development and to apply their skills in a self-employed capacity. This failure of the education system to promote self-reliance on the individual level as an aim, was quite compatible with Nehru's view of development, but is in marked contrast with the views of Gandhi.

Even the modest success in expanding higher education has not affected the mass of the population. Primary and secondary education have largely been neglected, in spite of the fact that it receives special mention in the Constitution. Education remains an instrument for reinforcing the separation between the rich and the poor, the urban and the rural.[72]

At the level of aims the four documents, the two Commission Reports and the two Five Year Plans, show considerable agreement over the desirable ends of education, although there are differences in emphasis. All regard the intrinsic value of education for the development of the individual as important. The fourth document alone stresses the development of the individual for a socialist pattern of society, while the earlier documents mention only a democratic pattern of society. This does not mean that the government has abandoned the goal of democracy, but had extended it to include a more equal division of wealth.

The detailed study of the aims of the four documents show a greater consensus on the importance of preparing people for citizenship and economic life, advocating similar developments whether for democracy or for a socialist pattern of society. The

failure of these aims to be put into practice has been studied in the next chapter on Kerala, and in the light of that failure, a system of education based on a problem solving approach is advocated in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

A CASE STUDY OF KERALA

1. Introduction

There are great regional differences within India. Average figures for income, literacy or educational enrolment can therefore be misleading. With great linguistic diversity, and considerable variation in administration from state to state, it is difficult to assemble a composite picture of what constitutes the typical Indian condition. With this in mind, it should be noted that a case study of Kerala is not intended to give a picture of India as a whole. Even within the diverse background of India, Kerala stands out as being "unique" in a number of ways.[1] Kerala shares in many of the problems which face all parts of India. At the same time, it is different enough from the average to throw a new light on some aspects of the relationship between education and economic development.

As has already been mentioned, looking at the whole of India, Gandhi advocated a system of education which would promote self reliance by promoting indigenous industries and crafts. Nehru advocated the improvement of a modern and secular education system primarily orientated towards the satisfaction of manpower requirements and the promotion of a modern industrial sector of the economy.[2] Kerala's history, which separated it from the main development of the Indian nation, and from the influences of the planning process until 1956, meant that it's development was different from the majority of India.[3] However, the conjunction of a number of historical elements meant that Kerala had a long

tradition of state organised welfare, and of education organised by missionary societies.[4] In Kerala one can see an education system which roughly conforms to Nehru's ideas operating with greater success than in any other part of India.[5] In studying the state of Kerala one can see the shortcomings of such a system of education, and can see that the improvement of education throughout India along similar lines would not necessarily lead to greater economic development.

P.R.G.Nair has identified a number of influences which have led to the pre-eminent success of the modern educational system of Kerala:

1) the early response of the rulers of the two native states, Travencore and Cochin, to the advice given by the British Resident, Colonel Munro, in 1817 and 1818,
2) the pioneer work done by the protestant missionaries,
3) the active role played by the indigenous churches, particularly the Catholics, in education, when they began to receive incentives from the government,
4) the emulative spirit shown by the leaders of the main indigenous communities on observing the progress of the christians through education, and
5) the absence of opportunities for child labour, which meant that the poor were only too glad to keep their children at school, especially as noon-time meals were provided at school.[6]

In addition, the compact geographical nature of Kerala, and the early interest of its rulers, meant that a centralised programme

of welfare and public health based on village health centres, hospitals, roads and waterways, had long been established. In 1865 one of the rulers of Travencore had stated that,

> "One of the main objects of my ambition is to see that good medical aid is placed within the reach of all classes of my subjects. It is a blessing which it is not at present in the power of individuals generally to secure howmuchsoever they may desire it. It is hence the obvious duty of the state to render its assistance in this direction".[7]

This success in the area of the social services, and particularly in education, has not been matched in the economic sphere. By ignoring those features of the Gandhian model of education which stress self reliance and the initiative of the individual artisan or craftsman, and by stressing the needs of industry and bureacracy, the education system has produced an attitude to work which favours employment in large enterprises, and which demeans manual work and self employment.[8] The study of Kerala indicates very clearly the benefits which can derive from education based on Nehru's model, but also underlines the limitations of such an educational system, and points to the need to introduce to the educational system some ideas which are closer to Gandhi's view of self reliance.

There are natural resources in Kerala, including plenty of water, a plentiful supply of electricity, areas of land suitable for the growing many cash crops, and reserves of some rare minerals including what is thought to be the largest reserve of thorium in the world.[9] On the other hand it is a very poor state, with an average per capita income which is ten percent lower than the average for India as a whole.[10] It would be easy to suppose that the abundance of natural resources coupled with such poverty

could be traced to shortcomings in the educational system, and the lack of trained manpower. Indeed the rationale of many development programmes used in the Five Year Plans was precisely that; if people could be made literate and given opportunity then the cycle of economic benefit would take off. But it is in the area of education that Kerala has its greatest claim to being unique. Literacy rates are substantially higher than in any other state in India, the proportion of professionally trained people in the population is well above the national average, and the percentage of each age cohort enrolling in education is also high.[11]

It is through this unique combination of circumstances that Kerala is particularly suitable for studying the ways in which the present education system stimulates, or fails to stimulate, economic growth. In terms of natural resources and general level of education, Kerala is much better off than the Punjab.[12] But it is the Punjab which has become the growth point of the Indian economy, in the areas of light industry and private enterprise, as well as in agriculture. The Punjab's success in mechanised agriculture has led to its being called "the Granary of India".[13] The case study of Kerala is designed to explore the intricacies of the link between education and development, both economic development and development in a broader social sense.

Kerala has attracted the attention of a number of scholars and international organisations because of its differences from the Indian national averages in a number of fields.[14] There is consequently a considerable amount of data available on various aspects of the life of the people there.[15] In his book on Kerala,

G.Woodcock pointed to many special features of Kerala, and among those he selected three which in his view made Kerala unique.

> "Two sights impressed me whenever we set out on a morning journey in Kerala, and increased my sense of the state's uniqueness in India. We would drive past great columns of children crowding the roads on their way to school, dressed with that almost fanatical cleanliness which characterises the Malayalees... the boys in their shirts and shorts, and the girls in long blue skirts with flowers in their hair, all barefooted, and all carrying books and slates under their arms. I had seen nothing like it anywhere else in Asia south of Japan. Nor had I seen anything at all like the bleak little tea-shops of Keralan villages in the early morning, crowded with coolies scanning the newspapers or listening while others read them aloud. More than 40 [now, in 1985, 96] newspapers in the Malayalan language are published daily in Kerala; they are read and discussed by people of all classes and castes. Here again, the missionaries deserve much of the credit; in 1821 the Anglicans in Kottayan set up the first printing press on the Malabar Coast, and in 1846 a German missionary started the first Malayalan newspaper. ... Kerala - and this is another way in which it is unique - not merely in India but also in the world - is the only state in which a communist government has gained power through a fairly conducted democratic election - it happened in 1957."[16]

R.McNamara, ex-president of the World Bank also noted the oddity of Kerala.

> "In terms of average per capita income Kerala is one of the poorest Indian states. But its distribution of income is more equal; its literacy rate, particularly for women, is the highest in the country; and its infant mortality rate is the lowest. In 1974, its crude birth-rate was 28 live births per thousand per year, lower than any other Indian state."[17]

Here the high level of education in Kerala is being linked with other social indicators including a more equal distribution of wealth and a lower birth rate.[18] The implication is that education has stimulated some forms of social development, even though it has not helped economic growth. McNamara is not alone in pointing to some of the supposed benefits of education which the people of Kerala enjoy. S.Bhagavathem, President of the Committee of Science and Technology in Developing Countries

(COSTED), also suggested that Kerala had advantages over other states.

> "Kerala is rated as one of the better developed states, although its per capita income is lower than the Indian average. The life expectancy in the state is the highest in the country, its infant mortality is the lowest. The number of children per woman is also among the lowest, despite a very Catholic population; the age of marriage is the highest - so is its percentage of literacy more than double the average of all India. Its stock of professionals (doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc.) per thousand of population is 53, which is more than three times the national average of 16".[19]

2. The Physical Quality of Life

The simple fact that Kerala has a low per capita income throws little light on the relationship between education and the kind of social developments which are to be found in Kerala. Other indicators have been suggested which take into account other aspects of development. A study by staff of the Overseas Development Council of the U.S.A. used a complex index, the Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI), to study the relationship of education and development in a number of countries.[20] The study included a specific reference to Kerala.

The PQLI is based on measurements of life expectancy, infant mortality and literacy.[21] This measure has some advantages over the use of per capita income, because it measures the quality of life of the mass of the population. A state can achieve high per capita income with very great diversity between the richest and the poorest. To achieve a high score on the PQLI, however, the majority of the population must be affected by measures which extend life and raise the general quality of life. The PQLI therefore gives a more comprehensive picture of some of the

benefits which may derive from education.

The table below gives the results of the survey.[22]

COUNTRY	AVERAGE PER CAPITA INCOME	PQLI
Lower Income Countries	152	39
India	140	41
Kerala	110	69
Sri Lanka	130	83
Lower-Middle Income Countries	338	59
Malaysia	680	59
Republic of Korea	480	80
Cuba	640	86
Upper-Middle Income Countries	1,091	67
Gabon	1,960	21
Iran	1,250	38
Algeria	710	42
Taiwan	810	88
High Income Countries	4361	95
Kuwait	11,770	76
USA	6,670	96
Netherlands	5,250	99

While a general relationship between high income per capita and the PQLI can be seen in the above data, a number of instances stand out as showing that the two indicators of development are not directly linked. Cuba, Korea, Taiwan, Sri Lanka and Kerala all have PQLI above the average for upper-middle income countries, although in terms of per capita income they are well below the average for that group. This is most noticeable in the case of Kerala and Sri Lanka, which have per capita incomes of around one eighth of the average for upper-middle income countries.

Since literacy is included in the measure of PQLI, there is some circularity in arguing that education is responsible for raising the quality of life in Kerala above the expected level. However, the study conducted by K.T.Achaya found strong correlations between the level of literacy in different social groups and awareness of basic elements of nutrition, such as the importance of vitamins or the need give pregnant or nursing mothers a special diet.[23] Although higher income groups scored better on all measures than lower income groups, the profiles of poor families in Kerala were similar to the profiles of high income groups in the other state included in the study, Maharashtra.

The PQLI is open to a number of criticisms. Among these it should be noted that the scale is based on the ranking of countries ratner than an absolute measure of either infant mortality rates or life expectancy. It follows that the scale is not uniform, and it would be incorrect to assume that the difference between the Netherlands and the USA was the same as the gap between Sri Lanka and Cuba simply because both differences were represented by three points on the PQLI.

The PQLI has been more extensively criticised by E.Martin.[24] Firstly he criticised it for what was and was not included. In particular, he criticises the inclusion of a measure of literacy, as this is not a measure of the physical quality of life, but a measure of the intellectual quality of life. Secondly, and rather oddly, he criticised the PQLI for focussing attention on the physical quality of life rather than the intellectual, spiritual or cultural quality of life.

> "No government of any self respecting developing country could ever accept that this must be the over-riding priority. I feel sure that the vast majority of their citizens would endorse such a rejection. A lower rate of infant mortality is, of course, an essential goal in all countries. But then what? Health and longevity are desirable but what is really important to all of us, I believe, is what we can do with our lives, not how long they last. What good is it to be healthy, young or old, without interesting and/or useful ways of using one's time and energy? It is what we do that makes us human beings, and not just another species of animal; that is what makes us civilized and not barbarians."[25]

Martin doubts whether the two examples of lower per capita income and high PQLI, Sri Lanka and Kerala, given by the advocates of the index, demonstrate that the people of these two places are satisfied with their quality of life. The cost has been high, especially in terms of unemployment. Sri Lanka has been racked by student riots and social upheaval, and the Kerala people, dissatisfied with their lot, elected the first communist state government in India. Both have shown that it is possible to achieve a reasonably good PQLI with scant resources given the political will, but that is also a path which does not lead to any further development.[26]

It would be ridiculous to claim that the improvement in literacy in Kerala has had no influence on the standard of health care, and hence on life expectancy. Particularly where health care depends on the application of modern medical techniques and on the removal of superstition, literacy can contribute to the general standard of living.[27] The two major causes of child-death in India are dehydration due to severe diarrhoea (often the result of treatable intestinal infection), and fits due to high fever (usually brought on by respiratory infections that can easily be treated with antibiotics).[28] A U.N.O. report shows that

deaths which result from one of these two groups of diseases are much less common in Kerala than in India as a whole.[29]

Even allowing for the positive results which education has produced in Kerala, it should be noted that some outcomes which were set as desirable goals in the Constitution of India have not been achieved through education. Importantly, the studies of Kerala indicate that a high level of education does not necessarily lead to economic development, an argument which was so frequently put forward in the 1960's that it came to be more or less an act of faith among development theorists.[30] But to become involved in debates over which particular index of development should be used is beside the point. Having noted that any index can mask differences within a country, it is also the case that averages mask differences within the state of Kerala. In one respect, at least, Kerala is typical of India as a whole. Even with the considerable success of education in producing improved literacy rates, and the possible benefits of that in improving health care, the success of the educational system has done nothing to redistribute wealth within the population. Relative poverty, and particularly the poverty of the 80% of the rural population, is still prevalent in the state of Kerala.[31] In this context there is an important lesson to be learnt from the very success of education in Kerala, and which may be applicable to India as a whole. Theodore Schultz suggests that there is a real danger that schools in the colonial style may continue to educate for poverty.

> "While the economic value of effective literacy is high in an economy where growth is being achieved by modernizing industry and agriculture, literacy is by no means all of the story. Elementary schooling can and should constitute much

> more, but whether it does depends on the content of what is taught. Yet what is taught in most poor countries is far from optimum for a society that wants to increase real income by modernizing the economy. There are some serious cultural obstacles. The prevailing cultural values as a rule not only exclude the scientific and technological component of modern culture but they debase this important component in what students are taught. Farm people even more than the farmers in non-farm jobs must acquire skills and knowledge drawn from science if they are to be effective in using modern agricultural factors of production. The vocational influence of the parents of farm children on what is taught arises when school administration is decentralized so that the local community has a hand in determining the curriculum. There are many advantages in such a decentralised approach, but one disadvantage is that immediately useful or narrowly vocational content is over-emphasized. Much of what is learned that is vocationally relevant at the time will be wholly obsolete as agriculture in the community adopts and uses ever more modern agricultural factors."[32]

This underlines the difficulties which arise from attempting to improve economic growth through education. On the one hand the traditional colonial-style education, favoured by Nehru, undervalues vocational education, and on the other, vocational education, favoured by Gandhi, promotes the learning of skills which may rapidly become obsolete. An appropriate balance of educational aims is not easily identified, but the study of educational development in Kerala illustrates the importance of this dilemma in practical terms.

3. Communities and Development

Rather than looking at general indices, more can be learned from looking at the different groups within society in Kerala, and the ways in which education has been used, either by poor groups to secure improvement in their lot, or by the privileged groups to make sure that they keep their advantages.

Although there was a traditional caste system of education with Sanskrit academies for Brahmins, and Kalaris, or gymnasia, where the youths of the Nair caste were taught military arts and given a general education,[33] it was the activities of Christian missionaries which led to the rapid extension of literacy to the majority of people in Kerala.[34]

In the native states of Cochin and Travancore, which came to be incorporated in the state of Kerala in 1956,[35] Portuguese missionaries had been active for a long time in providing an education for an elite few.[36] Protestant missionaries were eager to extend instruction to a much wider group. In this effort they received encouragement, both from the local rulers and particularly from Rani (Queen) Gouri Lakshmi Bai of Travancore, and also from the British in the person of the British Resident at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Colonel Munro. Munro was also Dewan (Prime Minister) of both Cochin and Travancore. At his suggestion the native rulers gave support to the missionaries in the form of land grants and grants-in-aid.[37]

The first missionary to set up an elementary school for the poor, irrespective of caste or creed, was a German called W.T.Ringletaube. He was followed by the CMS and LMS, and by the Lutherans of the Basel Mission who began their work on the coast of Malabar.[38] These schools offered a largely Western style education, and had considerable influence on the development of the state system of education which was established in the middle of the century. In 1817 the Rani of Travancore established a state system of elementary vernacular schools, with compulsory attendance for children between the ages of five and ten.[39] The

rulers of Cochin introduced similar regulations soon after.[40] However, in 1830 the government of Travancore announced that preference would be given in government employment to those who had received an education in English. In this way the missionary schools came to be linked with the need of the government to recruit administrative civil servants who were literate in English. Some, although not all, of the missionary schools were open to non-Christians, but the Christians clearly had privileged access to these schools which gave access to high status jobs. Non-Christians, even when not specifically excluded, might not wish to send their children to the missionary schools for fear that they might be open to undesirable influences.[41]

The indigenous Christian communities were prepared to make considerable sacrifices in order to support their schools. Priests used all the influence at their command over the laity to raise monthly subscriptions from households, both in cash and kind. Among the many methods used to raise funds was one in which housewives were instructed by the church to save one fistful of rice per day from the rice they used to take for the cooking of meals, and to hand this rice once a month to the church collector. The value of such contributions was calculated to be 5% of the consumption of a family, and the method came to be known as "5%".[42]

In return for this investment in education, the Christians secured a considerable advantage in the competition for jobs in the administration. As there was a great demand for people with English education the members of the Christian community could be

seen in positions of power all over India, and in all walks of life; one of them, Dr.J.Mathai, first became a Director of the famous Tata Company, and later, a cabinet minister in the first cabinet formed by Nehru in independent India.[43]

The Ezhavas, one of the lowest castes in the Hindu society, treated as untouchable by the high castes, and comprising little more than 20% of the population of Kerala, were the first Hindu communal group to imitate the Christians in starting their own educational institutions. Some of them had received education at the Christian schools, and it had made them conscious of the importance of education for social, political and economic mobility. This consciousness was given direction by a leader who rose within the Ezhava caste itself and became at once a religious and social reformer known as Sri Nayarana Guru.

His proposal for social mobility was through "sanskritisation", or the imitation of the observances of the high caste Hindus. As the Ezhavas were considered low caste in the name of religion, and were not allowed to enter the temples of the high castes, he established his own temples and the priests to administer them. Attached to those temples, he started cooperative societies, or mutual aid societies known as Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (SNDP), in 1905, and he was elected as life president of SNDP. As the name indicates the main purpose of those associations was to protect the welfare of the Ezhava community. Among the means used to achieve that welfare the main proposal was to set up educational institutions, including schools, colleges and other professional and technical institutions under the auspices of the SNDP. Later they began to establish hospitals

and other welfare organisations.[44]

The social and political mobility which the members of the community were able to achieve within three decades was quite dramatic. In this case the Ezhavas were able to secure an improvement of the position of their community through education. The power of the communist party in Kerala is based largely on the support which it derives from the Ezhava Community.[45] In this way education was used, along with a traditional Hindu practice of sanskritisation, to raise the status of the community and to increase political consciousness.[46] However, it should be noted that the Ezhavas did not manage to secure comparable economic advantages. The education was largely based on an academic, and hence a European, pattern, and did not prepare the community for economic growth.

In contrast with this use of education by a lower social group to secure social mobility, the Nairs used education in order to maintain their traditionally better position in society.[47] Next to the Brahmins (who are known in Kerala as Nambudiris) the Nair caste was the most important Hindu group, comprising less than 20% of the population of Kerala. By profession they were the soldiers and administrators to the rulers of Kerala.[48] However, when the states came under the British Protectorate and the need to know English became one of the conditions of becoming a civil servant, the Nair community found themselves redundant in their traditional profession. Hence to protect the welfare of the community the Nair community too began to imitate the Christians and the Ezhavas.

To achieve a social cohesion among the sub-castes of the community and to work for the social, economic and political mobility of the community as a whole, the Nairs started their own organisation known as the Nair Service Society (NSS) in 1914.[49] Knowing the importance of English education in obtaining government jobs and in succeeding in other professions, the NSS started their own educational institutions. Some of the devices used by the NSS to raise funds were the New Year Subscription (Vishnu Pirivu) and Produce Subscription (Utpanna Pirivu), besides regular expeditions of open begging conducted by the leaders of the society.[50]

Because of the comparatively high status the community had enjoyed in Kerala in social, political and economic areas, linked with the added strength obtained through the caste mobilisation and the acquisition of English educational qualifications, the Nair community has once again become one of the most prominent communal organisations in Kerala, especially in politics. This is in spite of the fact that the Nairs, in terms of numbers, constitute no larger a section of the population than the Christians or the Ezhavas. Through the judicious promotion of education the Nairs were able to secure all the advantages which the Ezhavas had been able to. However, since the Nairs started from a much better position both economically and politically, the end result has been to stabilise some of the traditional caste relationships, rather than to promote mobility.[51]

The Moslems also sought to improve their position through education. There were Arab traders settled along the Malabar

coast long before recorded history. The descendents of the Arabs claim that Islam was brought to Malabar before the end of the seventh century. The Moslems in Kerala can trace their origin to either the Arab settlers in Kerala or to the indigenous converts to Islam.[52]

With the arrival of the Portuguese in 1498, and their political alliance with the native rulers, the Moslems lost the monopoly in trade and navigation they had enjoyed till then.[53] Their number was increased by forced conversions during the invasion of Malabar by Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan in the late eighteenth century.[54] They make up a little more than 20% of the population of Kerala.

The Moslem community began to realize the importance of education and the need for communal organisations to work for the welfare of the community in the early part of this century. Accordingly, an organisation called Moslem Aikya Sangham was started in 1923, and its first contribution to the education of the community was the establishment of the Farook College in 1948. A new organisation, exclusively to attend to the needs of educational institutions, to raise funds and to start schools and colleges, called the Moslem Educational Society (MES) was formed in 1964. Like the Ezhavas, the Moslems started from a position of educational disadvantage. The schools, colleges and technical institutes started through the MES did help them to take advantage of education, and thus to assert their place in the society of Kerala as a power to be reckoned with in all respects.[55]

From the study of the educational activities of various groups in Kerala it can be concluded that education has been seen as a way of improving the condition of a number of sections of society. It can also be seen that it has been relatively effective in securing improvements in social position and in raising political consciousness.[56] Linked with the evidence of the PQLI, there seem to be good grounds for concluding that education can make a considerable contribution to improving the standard of life of all people. However, there are also grounds to doubt whether a traditional system of education can promote economic growth, or whether the provision of education under present circumstances can do anything to political stability.[57]

The community provision of education hardened traditional divisions in the society, and the state has suffered a disturbing level of political unrest.[58] Education based on the English pattern promoted competition rather than cooperation, and in particular competition for administrative posts which were in short supply.[59] Furthermore, this education system did little to enable people to create new opportunities. In this way both the content of the education system and the way in which it has been provided through private subscription have increased social competition rather than reduced it. The political instability which has resulted from inter-community conflict and the influence of the trade unions under the control of the communist party has also served to discourage private investors from investing capital in Kerala.[60]

4. Social Division and Political Stability

Education as it is presently provided thus serves to perpetuate social divisions, and indirectly damages the economic develoment of Kerala.[61] While education has served to distribute some of the benefits of development more widely, it has had little effect on the distribution of wealth between families or groups of society. Those who occupy the upper positions in the economic hierarchy have better access to the educational system, and increasingly so at higher levels, and as a consequence have improved chances of high status jobs. The table below shows the proportion of different social groups in each level of the educational system.

Percentage Distribution of Pupils in School Education According to the Occupation of Parents (1946-47)

Occupation / Level of Education	Government servants, Teachers, Lawyers, Physicians, Priests	Landlords, Owner-cultivators, Tenant-cultivators	Traders	Day Labourers	Others	Total
Pre-University	43.8	37.6	3.7	0	14.8	100.0
High School	24.4	46.0	15.5	3.6	10.4	100.0
Middle School	16.4	49.1	17.1	7.2	10.1	100.0
Primary School	6.0	44.3	11.6	22.6	15.5	100.0

Source: Administration Report of Travancore [62]

As can be seen from the table, the bulk of educational opportunities, especially above primary level, seem to have been appropriated by the more privileged sections of society. More recent studies have shown that such inequalities in the

distribution of education opportunities continue to exist unchanged. However it can be seen that the provision of free primary education from the beginning of the twentieth century has resulted in a high rate of participation at the primary level from among even the lower strata of society.[63]

The reasons why Kerala is poor are, of course, complex. Kerala, as a political entity is of recent origin, having been founded in 1956. Before 1956 the states of Travancore and Cochin, which were combined with parts of Madras and the Malabar Coast to form the new state, enjoyed a level of autonomy. Only with the foundation of Kerala did these states become an integral part of independent India. As a consequence of this, Kerala did not benefit much from the first cycle of central government investment which formed the basis of the First Five Year Plan.[64] In 1957 a communist government which was perpetually in dispute with the central government was elected, and this did not improve the prospects of the state in securing more investment in the Second Five Year Plan.[65]

5. Conclusion

At a general level, a number of conclusions can be drawn from this case study. Firstly, it is clear that if education is to make a major impact on the social organisation of India it must be provided on a universal basis, adequately funded by state and central government agencies, so that it does not serve to reinforce the present divisions in society. This is one of the positive lessons of Kerala, where a long period of involvement of government and private agencies in education has produced a wide

dissemination of education. Secondly, it is clear that education can play a major part in securing a more egalitarian distribution of some social benefits among different strata in societies. Kerala shows that even in economically poor communities, some benfits of education can be equitably distributed.[66] This indicates that education may be an excellent instrument in achieving a socialist state, a goal to which India is, through its Constitution, comitted to. Finally, the evidence of Kerala indicates that the area in which the present system of education has the least impact is in the acceleration of economic development,[67] and in securing the more equal distribution of economic benefits.[68] The expansion of education along the lines advocated by Nehru has led to the undervaluing of vocational courses, and of educational content likely to lead to economic self-reliance on the part of individuals. These failures of the present educational system can only be redressed by finding ways of increasing the vocational and scientific components of education, and of reducing the direct link between the goals of education and the modern sector of the economy.

At the same time it is to be noted in the case of Kerala that the advance of education, even of an education which is not entirely in accord with the values of traditional Indian society, has raised consciousness of certain caste divisions.[69] There is reason to suppose that an educational system based primarily on traditional vocationalism, as advocated by Gandhi, would also increase this effect of education. Thus, while recognising that the exclusion of Gandhian principles of self reliance from education has led to a failure of the educational system to reinforce small scale enterprise, it is not to be concluded that

an acceptance of Gandhian basic education would necessarily promote social equality or economic growth. Rather, the implication is that the curriculum of Indian education requires close scrutiny, and an attempt should be made to introduce aspects of Gandhi's vision, while at the same time trying to preserve that which has produced most good from Nehru's vision.

Taken with the evidence of the studies of the operation of the Five Year Plans, there are good grounds for supposing that the present system of education serves to maintain the economic position of those who are in the upper strata of society at the expense of those who are in the worst position to benefit from other measures.[70] At the same time, the positive results of education encourage the author of this thesis to suggest that through a reformed system of education it may be possible to resolve the problems of Indian society which arise from the change in aspirations brought about by the Constitutional aim of producing a socialist society.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. G.Woodcock, Kerala, A Portrait of the Malabar Coast, London: Faber and Faber, 1967, pp.35-37.

2. Cf. Chapter 3 in this thesis.

3. G.Woodcock, op.cit., pp.289 & 303.

4. P.R.G.Nair, Primary Education, Population Growth and Socio-Economic Change, New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1981, pp.37-49.

5. P.S.Sundram and A.B.Shah (Eds.), Education or Catastrophe?, New Delhi: 1971, p.40.

6. P.R.G.Nair, op.cit., pp.39-67. Cf.J.P.Mencher, "The Lessons and Non-Lessons of Kerala", Economic and Political Weekly, Bombay: Special Issue, October 1980, p.1799.

7. V.N.Aiyah, The Travancore State Manual: Vols. I to III, Trivandrum: Government Press, 1906, p.537.

8. Census of India 1931: Vol.XXVIII: Travancore: Part 1: Report, New Delhi: Registrar General and Census Commission, 1934, p.259.

9. "Kerala has a unique cropping pattern. It acounts for 90% of India's rubber, 60% of cardomon, 70% of coconut, 70% of pepper, 80% of tapioca and almost 100% of lemon grass oil. Kerala is the single largest producer of a lot of other crops like bannas, ginger, turmeric, besides tea and cofee in abundance". Commerce, Bombay: (Special Issue of Kerala), 6 November 1976, p.3.
"Next to Bihar, Kerala possesses the widest variety of economic mineral products among the Indian states. The beach sands of Kerala contain several highly valued and strategic minerals like thorium, ilmenite, monozite, rutile, zircon and silbimanite. The extensive white clay deposits in the midlands contribute to the flourishing tile and brick making industries and the abundant resources of mica, limestone, quartz, sand, lignite and a host of otner minerals mark out this region as a rich field of commercial importance". Hindustan Year Book: Part II, Calcutta: M.C.Sarkar & Sons, 1973, p.29.

10. G.Woodcock, op.cit., p.281.

11. P.R.G.Nair, op.cit., p.49.

12. Cf. note No.9.

13. G.Myrdal, Asian Drama, op.cit., p.435. The Overseas Hindustani Times, New Delhi: 2 March 1985, p.8, "Producing bumper crops has a drug effect. Once a farmer gets 'addicted' to harvesting bumber crops, he doesn't stop, whatever the hinderences".

14. C.A.Mayer, Land and Society in Malabar, London: 1952.
H.M.Pannikar, A History of Kerala: 1498-1801, Annamalainagar, 1961.
T.Whitenouse, Some Historical Notices of Cochin on the Malabar Coast, Kottaym, 1859, cited in G.Woodcock, op.cit., p.315.
E.G.Hatch, Travancore, London: 1933, cited in G.Woodcock,

op.cit., p.314.
C.W.Logan, Malabar: Vols.I to III, Madras: Government Press, 1931.
T.K.Velu Pillai, Travancore State Manual: Vols.I to IV, Trivandrum: Government Press, 1940.
T.J.Nossiter, Communism in Kerala, London: C.Hurst and Co., 1982.

15. United Nations Organisation, Poverty, Unemployment and Development Problems, Trivandrum: Centre for Development Studies, 1975.
M.D.Morris, Measuring the Conditions of the World's Poor, New Delhi: Overseas Development Council, Promila, 1979.

16. G.Woodcock, op.cit., pp.35-37.

17. India Weekly, London: Ashoka Publications, 12 May, 1977.

18. "In Kerala, irrigation benefits small land holders. Nearly 71% of the irrigated farm land in the state belongs to this category of less than a hectare or 2.5 acres. The fruits of the technological revolution here go more to the poor than to the rich. This is in sharp contrast to the prevailing situtation in the Punjab where the Green Revolution has made remarkable headway". Commerce, op.cit., 6 November, 1976, p.3.
In connection with the birth rate; "Kerala's experience is that female education could reduce fertility and birth rate. In the southern districts of the state where female literacy is higher, the birth rate is found to be lower. In the Malabar area (northern districts) having a lower rate of female literacy, because of the concentration of Muslim population, the birth rate is comparatively high. Female education helps the fall of birth rate by raising the age at marriage and also by enhancing the proportion of family planning acceptors among the married population... the birth rate being 50 in Kerala for 1000 women, against 97.91 for the country as a whole". The Overseas Hindustani Times, op.cit., 18 September, 1975, p.7.

19. The Hindu, Madras: International Education, Kasturi Buildings, 13 August, 1977, p.7.

20. J.W.Sewell and the Staff of the Overseas Development Council, The United States and World Development, New York: Praeger Publishers for the Overseas Development Council, 1977.

21. The PQLI concept is being developed at the Overseas Development Council as part of a major project exploring alternative development strategies under the direction of M.D.Morris. Ibid., pp.147-149.

22. Ibid., p.150.

23. K.T.Achaya, The Economic Times, Bombay, 17 October, 1981, Supplement on nutrition, p.5.

24. E.Martin, former chairman of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee and of the Consultative Group on Food Production and Investment.

25. E.Martin, in Development, Rome: Society for International

Development, Vol.21, No.1, 1979, p.17.

26. Ibid., p.18.

27. K.T.Achaya, op.cit., p.5.

28. J.P.Mencher, op.cit., p.1782.

29. Loc.cit.

30. "Countries are underdeveloped because most of their people are underdeveloped, having had no opportunity of expanding their potential capital in the service of society". A.Curle, "Some Aspects of Educational Planning in Underdeveloped Areas", in Harvard Educational Review, Vol.32, No.3, 1962, p.300.

31. In Kerala during the rainy season "the poor have three choices: to go hungry, to work for whatever wages they can get whenever they can get work, or to borrow from the shop keeper. It is for this reason that I consider it is a mistake to equate Kerala with Sri Lanka". J.P.Mencher, op.cit., p.1980.

32. T.W.Schultz, Transforming Traditional Agriculture, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964, p.203.

33. W.C.Logan, Malabar, Madras: Superintendent Government Press, 1931, pp.105-107.

34. C.A.Menon, The Cochin State Manual, Cochin: Government Press, 1911, pp.290-297.
Also, T.K.Velupillai, op.cit., Vol.1, p.728 and Vol.2, p.53.

35. G.Woodcock, op.cit., p.257.

36. G.Woodcock, op.cit., pp.158-159. "The Portuguese colleges set up by the Franciscans at Cranganore and the Jesuits at Vaippicotta were religious in intent... but they fulfilled another purpose by teaching Latin and Portuguese to many hundred Malayabis, and in this way represent the beginning of the great educational movement which was later to make Kerala the most literate region of all India... Many of the members of the chief Hindu families too studied Portuguese. As Panikkar says, ' The later Rajas of Cochin conversed fluently in Portuguese and often corresponded directly in that language... Portuguese continued to be the diplomatic language of the Kerala rulers. An instance is that all the letters addressed by the Zamorin (Raja of Calient) to the English factor, for over a half a century after the disappearance of the Portuguese from Kerala, were written in the Portuguese of Camoens'."

37. P.R.G.Nair, op.cit., p.36.

38. G.Woodcock, op.cit., p.224.

39. P.R.G.Nair, op.cit., p.37. "For the attainment of this objective the principle that the state should defray the entire cost of education of its people was accepted".

40. Loc.cit.

41. P.R.G.Nair, op.cit., p.40.

42. H.C.Perumaiy (Ed.), Chavara Death Anniversary: 1871-1971, Kottayam: K.P.Press, 1971, p.171.

43. M.Breacher, .op.cit., p.611.

44. D.R.Mankekar, The Red Riddle of Kerala, Bombay: Manaktalar, 1965, pp.30-31.

45. Ibid., pp.100-101.

46. M.N.Srinivas, Social Change in Modern India, Berkeley, U.S.A.: University of California Press, 1973, p.6.

47. P.R.G.Nair, op.cit., p.47.

48. D.R.Mankekar, op.cit., p32.

49. G.Woodcock, op.cit., p.231.

50. P.R.G.Nair, op.cit., p.48.

51. G.Woodcock, op.cit., p.230.

52. D.R.Mankekar, op.cit., p33. "The Kerala Muslim League's Qaid-e-Azam is Abdur Rehman Bafaqui Thangal, a bigot who traces his Arab ancestry to the Prophet himself".

53. S.Wolpert, A New History of India, New York: Oxford University Press, 1977, p.139.

54. G.Woodcock, op.cit., p.178. "Hyder Ali (Tippu is his son and sucessor) announced that all Nairs who accepted conversion to Islam would regain their rights and privileges. Some accepted and many members of the lower caste were converted; in this way Islam first appeared in the Malabar countryside, and the class of agrarian Moplahs or converted Moslems was created".

55. Ibid., p.34.

56. D.R.Mankekar, op.cit., p22. "In Kerala, a coffee house, which subscribes to half a dozen newspapers, is no mere place to imbibe the liquid that cheers but does not inebriate. It is an institution; where every morning the elders and grown-ups of the village and town foregather to read and to be read the news, and thus not only public opinion on vital and non-vital matters of state is moulded, but also one of the major functions of democracy is performed".

57. G.Woodcock, op.cit., p.254. "The four great communities comprise roughly 80% of the population and no government can survive unless at least three of them support it".

58. D.R.Mankekar, op.cit., p48. "Kerala's grouse about having been given the Cinderella treatment by New Delhi is legitimate so far as the two five year plans were concerned. During these two plans total central outlay on industries was above Rs 8000 million, of

which the area comprising Kerala (Travancore and Cochin) got less than Rs 10 million. None of the new heavy and large-scale industries envisaged under the second plan were set up in Kerala".

59. G.Woodcock, op.cit., p.307.

60. Census of India: Travancore Report, op.cit., pp.367-368.

61. K.Gough, "Village Politics in Kerala", in A.R.Desai (Ed.), Rural Sociology in India, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 4th Edition, 1969, pp.736-767.

62. Administrative Report of Travancore, cited in P.R.G.Nair, op.cit., p.49.

63. Loc.cit.

64. G.Woodcock, op.cit., p.303.

65. Ibid., p.35.

66. P.R.G.Nair, op.cit., pp.177-8.

67. Ibid., p.182.

68. Loc.cit.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE PROPOSED SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

1 Introduction

One of the central themes of this thesis is the difference in the view of devolopment taken by Nehru and Gandhi. Generally speaking, it was Nehru's view rather than Gandhi's which found expression in the five year plans.[1] It is the contention of the author of this thesis that Gandhi's programme for rural development, and for an educational system which drew upon the strengths of rual communities and addressed their needs, has a great deal to offer India at the present time. However, there are a number of reasons why Gandhi's basic education cannot be implemented in the precise form which he proposed. In this chapter a revised educational system will be proposed which is designed to introduce some of the elements of Gandhi's education for self reliance, but which is based in a problem-solving approach rather than Gandhi's craft centred basic education.[2]

Gandhi's original scheme of basic education was rejected, not only by prominent politicians such as Nehru, but also by many parents in rural areas, who felt that they were being offered a second class education, while the elite, academic education was reserved for the privileged urban minority.[3] The attitudes of rural parents presented a major obstacle to the introduction of basic education, and illustrate that a system of education in self-reliance which does not provide the possibility of access to the high status schools is almost bound to fail. The proposed

educational system is, therefore, not a system of rural education; it is a system of national education in which education for self-reliance is fully integrated with the elite universities and colleges of the traditional European system. This will require changes in those institutions which are outlined in the proposals set out below.

Besides the lessons which are to be learned from the failure of Gandhi's scheme for basic education, and the adherence to academic rather than social standards in the elite schools, it should also be noted that the situation in India is now very different from that which existed in the immediate post-independence period. The majority of these changes are such that the introduction of a more pragmatic and less academic education system would be easier than it was in the late forties and early fifties. Above everything else, the success of Nehru's modernisation programme in tranforming the economy of India means that there are now much greater opportunities for entrepreneurial activity and private initiatives to solve specific problems.

India has raised agricultural output to the point where massive famine is not an immediate threat, and where more resources can be devoted to the raising of the quality of life for the majority.[4] In this connection it is important to ensure that the materials necessary for the satisfaction of the five basic needs are more abundantly and more widely available.[5] Heavy and primary industries are providing more of the basic materials which can be put to these purposes.[6] In modernising the national network of communications the government has provided the basic infrastructure which would permit relatively small collectives or

groups to benefit from national and international resources.[7] Furthermore, the benefits of the present educational system should not be underestimated. India has the largest community of trained and qualified scientists and technicians in the world after the USA and USSR, and therefore has the human resources to take the next step forward in transforming her society.[8]

In short, the Indian government has, since independence, done practically everything possible to establish a modern economic system. What is now required, in moving towards the socialist state proposed in the constitution, is a change in direction. If people could be educated to exploit the opportunites which the modern economy offers, and to use national resources to satisfy their own needs and establishing local centres of growth within the economy, then the wealth of the nation could simultaneously be increased and better distributed. The opportunities for a scheme now which embodies some aspects of Gandhi's education for self-reliance are greater than they ever were in Gandhi's lifetime.

Quite apart from these economic changes, there have also been important political changes since 1947. At the time of independence the rural majority was also largely a silent majority.[9] While universal suffrage nominally gave power to the rural people, they were too poorly educated and badly organised to exploit their advantage.[10] This has started to change, where rural political groups have organised themselves to ensure that they are represented by politicians who themselves have a rural background.[11] This is bound to continue as rural groups test and

learn to use their power at the ballot box. However, it could happen quicker, and be less likely to lead to divisive conflicts, if the political education provided by practical experience was matched by a political education in schools which showed how political action fitted in with other practical approaches to the solution of local problems.

There has also been a growing recognition among national politicians that the educational system is in need of severe reforms, and this has been reflected at the highest levels. Shortly after coming to power in January 1985, Mr.R.Gandhi in his first brodcast to the nation spoke of measures which would include the delinking of degrees from jobs in government and the establishment of an open university as being "under active consideration".[12] These are measures which are not far removed from the spirit of the proposals made here, and reflect a concern for similar criticisms of the present educational system.

Lastly, there have been important changes in attitudes within the educational system, on the part of both teachers and pupils, since 1947. At the time of independence the education system was distinguished by a confidence on the part of pupils that once they obtained their qualification they would be established in a secure career for life, and a corresponding complacency on the part of teachers that they were teaching the right thing and that there was no real need for major reform.[13] Graduate unemployment on a massive scale, and at all levels in the education system, has done a great deal to change that.[14] Students and their parents are starting to demand courses which are more closely related to the actual life chances that they face in their

immediate environment.[15] This finds expression in demands that courses should be related to job specific skills and professional qualifications.[16] While the emphasis is still on obtaining a job through education, it does illustrate that aspects of professional and technical education are now acceptable within education in a way which they certainly were not before 1950.[17] Graduate unemployment has also had its effect on teacher attitudes, with an increasing feeling that something is wrong with the educational system as presently constituted.[18] Again, this is an indication that many teachers, at least at the level of rhetoric, are much more open to the possibility of change than they were in the post-independence period.

There are, then, indications that a reform of education which introduced some aspects of Gandhi's basic education could have a measure of acceptance which Gandhi's original plans never enjoyed. On the other hand, while the situation has changed to favour such a reform, better communications and transport, increased aspirations and mobility, and a growing understanding of the political process on the part of rural groups, mean that a reform of education based on traditional craft, and which was seen as restricting the opportunities for rural people, would be less likely to succeed now than it was twenty five years ago.[19]

Taking the failure of the original basic education into account, along with the changes in political and economic circumstances, a system of education will be proposed in this chapter.

Before proceeding further, it is important to note that in some

areas there is no shortage of resources inhibiting the implementation of a new educational programme in India. In the first place there is no shortage of personnel. Graduate unemployment at all levels of education in India represents untapped human resources.[20] With a more effective educational system this surplus of educated manpower would be even greater. There is therefore no need to assume that shortage of manpower would be a great difficulty in reforming the educational system.[21] What is true is that the educated unemployed have been ill prepared to take part in a problem-centred educational system. The proposal will return to the issue of changing attitudes and teaching the skills needed to assure an adequate supply of teachers and ancillary staff. In the first instance, however, the proposed formal and non-formal education system will be described, so that the teacher training requirements can be put in proper perspective later.

It should also be noted that in some respects there is no shortage of material resources.[22] There are a great number of schemes which have been directly or indirectly aimed at alleviating the problems of the rural communities. These have included provisions under the Five Year Plans and the Extension Service.[23] Mention might be made specifically of the Basic Needs Programme, the Small Farmers Development Agency, the Drought Prone Area Progamme, the Marginal Farmer and Agricultural Labour Programme, the Intensive Agricultural Development Programme, the Integrated Rural Development Programme, the National Rural Development Programme, and the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme.[24] These are among the wide range of programmes which have been aimed at improving conditions in the

rural areas. Under the provisions of these various programmes resources have frequently been allocated which have not been taken up because either state offices or local farmers have been unwilling or unable to formulate policies which could have received support under these programmes.[25]

One of the criticisms which was raised of the present system of support for rural areas was that it was highly diversified. As a consequence, those who were most in need of aid were therefore those who were least likely to be able to keep track of programmes from which they might benefit.[26] It follows that an important feature of the formal and non-formal education system should be the integration of programmes for the rural poor, so that information about all the government programmes could be obtained in one place. The educational system should include political education in the sense that knowledge of individual rights, and methods of asserting those rights in a democratic system, should form an integral part of the solution of many problems which face rural communities. Through such means the rural communities would not only be able to take the maximum advantage of central and state government programmes, but might also be able to make the political process, which is currently urban centred, more sensitive to the needs of the rural majority.[27]

2 Primary and Secondary Education

It is proposed that the formal school system be reformed so as to impart a basic understanding of a problem solving method, related to the problems which are to be found in the rural community. As

has been noted, the problems of the rural community centre on the satisfaction of the five basic needs, of food, housing, clothing, health and employment.[28] The proposed curriculum will start from the problems raised in the satisfaction of these needs and stimulate an attitude of active involvement in their solution.

For example, in meeting the requirement for food, the pupils in the primary school will be introduced to the local crops and the problems associated with producing adequate amounts. They will be introduced to the ideas of improving crop production through controlled irrigation or the addition of nutrients. These ideas could be followed through with small scale experiments on a school plot to test ways in which the crops might be improved.

The pupils will also be taught that it is not enough simply to produce the crop, but that it also has to be marketed and distributed, and the role of various organisations in this process could be investigated. In this way the production of the crops in the rural areas can also be seen as relevant to pupils in urban areas.

The proposals for the reform of the education system presented here do not centre on curriculum content. More important is the organisation of that content, its relations with a problem solving approach, and the attitudes of self-reliance and self-confidence which are linked to the ability to solve one's own problems. Through this elementary study of the farming and food distribution process, the majority of pupils could be introduced to an elementary understanding of the processes of biology, chemistry and economics as they are applied in their own

community. Similarly they could be introduced to a wide range of general education through the study of nutrition and health, clothing and housing, or the patterns of employment in their locality. The intention would be that at the end of formal education they will be able to solve certain problems which are relevant to the local community, such as the provision of a balanced diet on limited resources, or the improvement of domestic health care. Wherever possible the understanding of the basic principles will be followed through with experiments or studies in the community, to provide the invaluable experience of what it is like to have the satisfaction of solving problems. To this end the curriculum will need to be implemented with considerable flexibility, with opportuinties to follow up their own problems and to propose their own solutions. In this self-stimulated work the ability to read and write will be essential, and basic literacy should be taught as one of the tools of problem solving.

Starting from simple problems in the primary school, pupils will be introduced to the elements of a scientific problem solving approach to all aspects of knowledge.

The secondary level of education, representing for many the terminal stage of education, occupies a crucial position in the educational system.[29] It will build upon the achievements of primary education, by giving increasing confidence in the processes of problem solving, so that students graduating from the secondary system may be well prepared either to follow higher education or to enter the world of employment, and particularly

self-employment. The secondary school curriculum will also contain formal insights into the process of problem solving itself, as exemplified by J.Dewey in How We Think.[30]

It has already been noted that extension programmes and community development programmes frequently benefitted those who were not the worst off in the community.[31] For example, road building programmes which were undertaken as part of the community development programme, and which involved the activity of the entire comunity, were frequently seen to be used most by, and increase the income of, those in the community who already had most. This did little to encourage those who were poorest in the community to cooperate in future programmes.[32] With this is mind, it is important that the curriculum of the secondary school should not start from pre-conceived solutions, but from the problem solving process. The students should then be encouraged to analyse the problem, and to participate in its solution only when they can see the relevance of the solution to the entire community.

Although the impression that development programmes did nothing for the very poor was frequently mistaken, or an overstatement of the truth, this was not always the case.[33] The wealthier farmers were frequently able to manipulate the local political processes in order to ensure that they did well from any programmes.[34] In implementing any problem solution there is, therefore, frequently a political element which cannot be excluded from the secondary school curriculum. The pupils in the secondary schools should be introduced to the central ideas of the Constitution, and the stated goal of a democratic and socialist state. They should also

be made aware of their rights and duties as citizens, and of the main institutions of democracy in India.

This political education should not be of a dry or bookish type. The students should be encouraged to consider social and political organisation as an element of the solution to specific problems. Where appropriate they should be led to assess the benefits to the community of the existing social welfare organisations, or to propose alternative or new activities on a cooperative or trade union basis.

Above all, the curriculum will cover the workings of the state planning process. This will involve an understanding of the major programmes and provisions of the plans, and of ways in which local projects can be shaped so as to derive the maximum support from the government funds available. But an understanding of the planning process should go beyond this to include an understanding of how items get into the plans, and how a local community can most effictively advance a suggestion for a new inclusion in the plan, or the removal of something which, for whatever reason, produces undesirable results in their particular circumstances.

As has been stated above, this reform of the educational system will apply to all schools (or to all schools in a pilot area). While the content of the curriculum will be directly useful in rural communities, it is also versatile enough to provide the necessary knowledge for entry into higher education and urban employment. On this point the system of education can be seen as

clearly contrasting with Gandhi's proposals for basic education, which was primarily linked to a single, traditional craft. A problem solving curriculum would not be connected with a single craft, or with the possible social overtones of that craft in Indian society.

However, if the usefulness of the curriculum is to be made clear to all individuals and pressure groups in the rural community, two further requirements are necessary. The higher education system must be reformed to make sure that there is not a separate "academic" track to elite education. And the community must be given the opportunity to experience the value of education through a problem solving approach. The latter goal can be achieved through the non-formal education system.

3 Learning and Resources Centres

The proposed system of primary and secondary education can only reach children and adolescents who are at school.[35] A much broader involvement of the community in education is implicit in the suggestions that have been made for formal education. In addition to this consideration, if India is to be transformed with any speed at all into a socialist state it will be necessary to make educational provision for those who are already beyond the secondary school leaving age. A system of non-formal education is therefore proposed, which will operate from the school buildings, mainly, but not exclusively, in the evenings. These facilities will be provided through what will be called "Learning and Resources Centres".

The curriculum will be similar to that of the secondary school in being centred on problems. In essence, the Learning and Resources Centre will be a meeting place where local farmers, traders and artisans can come in order to receive assistance in solving problems. In order to increase the amount of expertise which would be available to those who come for help, the Learning and Resources Centres in a region will be so coordinated that experts can move from one centre to another in the course of a one week or two week period. In this way it would be possible for a centre to offer specialist help on particular problems on particular days, e.g. health on Monday, food and nutrition on Tuesday, housing on Wednesday and so on.

In addition to this problem solving service, the experts could offer more formal courses in the Learning and Resources Centre, on their subjects of specialisation. Alongside these could be courses of literacy education and of political education, similar to those found in the primary and secondary schools, and similarly related to the solution of local problems.

Through the activities of the Learning and Resources Centre, local people could receive direct help in the solution of their particular problems. The centres would serve a number of less direct purposes. In the first place the centres would serve as a focus for community activity, where people with similar problems could be brought together in order to find common and cooperative solutions to their problems. Not only could the members of the local community be brought together for common purposes through the centres, but information, and possibly personnel, of the many diverse state programmes for stimulating development could also

be brought together under one roof. In being able to provide information on all the aid programmes available, the Learning and Resources Centres would assist in the coordination of rural development in a way which is at present impossible.

Where the solutions to problems require expertise which go beyond the skills or knowledge of the staff of the Learning and Resources Centre, that staff should be able to call upon support arranged on a broader regional, and ultimately state and national basis. In the first instance each Learning and Resources Centre should have an adequate reference library. But where this proves inadequate, the region should be organised to have a superior reference library which the staff of a number of Learning and Resoures Centres can call upon.[36] These central resource centres should be based on existing colleges of higher education or universities, so that besides having material resources, there will also be a variety of experts available to act as consultants. This would involve a considerable change in the role of the colleges and universities, which will be discussed more fully under the heading "Higher Education". It can be noted here, however, that a major function of the Learning and Resources Centre is to make available to a wide audience the findings of research into indigenous applications of technology researched in the universities or government research establishments.

The Learning and Resources Centres should therefore become community centres, which might be compared to P.Freire's "Cultural Circles", but which would not focus entirely upon literacy or political education, although neither would be excluded from their programmes.[37] The Learning and Resources

Centres could be a focus of rural development in which the educated and the uneducated are brought together, so that the educated can teach the uneducated, and the uneducated can make clear their problems to the educated, for the mutual benefit of all. As the secondary schools were to involve students in the solution of local problems, and this would inevitably mean broad community cooperation in projects initiated in the secondary school, the Learning and Resources Centre would also have an important role to play in coordinating the activities of the secondary school with the rest of the community.

From the point of view of the central government agencies, using the Learning and Resources Centres as the final distribution point for funds would provide the possibility of removing duplication from the programmes to alleviate poverty in India. In this sense they offer some scope for economies of scale.

It has also been noted in this thesis that the poorest groups are often those least able to take the opportunities which national and state programmes offer. As community centres, the Learning and Resources Centres would also form the nucleus around which cooperatives could develop. Thus Learning and Resources Centres offer a range of possibilities for improving the efficiency of rural aid programmes.

4 Post-Secondary Education

The system of formal and non-formal education outlined above would require considerable manpower resources in order to be practicable. Not only would the schools and Learning and

Resources Centres require teachers who had knowledge of specific areas of rural need, but in addition there would be a need for ancilliary staff to assist teachers, team leaders to coordinate practical attempts to solve problems in the field, coordinators conversant with government programmes, advisors with a knowledge of economics and business management to advise those wishing to set up new small businesses, and technicians to prepare the materials for formal and non-formal instruction programmes. Apart from the necessity of in-service teacher training in order to make the scheme clear to practising teachers, provision would have to be made for these ancillary workers. It is proposed that this be done through a scheme of post-secondary education, or community service, which should be compulsory for all graduates of secondary education, whether they intend to enter higher education or move directly to the employment market.

In order to avoid the separation of rural education from mainstream academic education, involvement in the proposed programme of problem solving education has to be made compulsory for all prospective university students. Among the selection criteria for entry into university, the proven ability to solve problems relating to the subject selected could be given a greater emphasis than other qualifications. An additional benefit of such a scheme would be that those who chose to follow a university career, eventually becoming state or central government administrators, would have first hand experience of some of the major problems which face the rural communities under their administration.

On graduating from secondary school, all graduates should be required to undertake a period of one year of community service before entering higher education or employment in the public or private sector of the economy.[38] Initially the first element in this year should be an intensive course in the ideas of problem solving as the core of an educational programme. This would be a necessary phase to counterbalance any expectations the secondary school students may currently have after following a traditional academic course, although as increasing numbers of students graduated from the sort of secondary schools proposed here the need for such an introductory course may reduce.

After the introductory instruction the community service assistants should be allocated either to a specific school in a rural area, or to a consortium of schools to act as peripatetic instructors in specialist courses in the Learning and Resources Centres. Some may even be assigned as assistants in the central coordination of the system, and in the transfer of specialist knowledge. In all cases a strict requirement should be that the assistants be required to live in a rural community, as an important element in the experience is to be an enhanced understanding of the problems of the rural communities.

Where possible the assistants should live with families within the community, but where this is not possible additional accomodation should be provided within the village. In the early stages of the scheme the assistants will necessarily have to cope with providing such accommodation, and ensuring that the fabric of the buildings of the local schools and Learning and Resources Centre are adequate to the requirements of the scheme. It is

therefore to be expected that the major part of the effort of the assistants in the early years will be directed to solving these specific problems. However, since the interest and support of the local community will only be secured through showing what the schools and Learning and Resources Centres can provide for the community, it is essential that the educational programme be initiated as fully as possible.

Here the purpose of the compulsory year working with the programme is three-fold: the first main aim is to provide an educational experience, and especially practical experience of problem solving for the secondary school graduate; the second purpose is to provide a broad service to the local community; and the third aim is to raise the level of awareness of future administrators and officials of the problems which face the rural areas. In this way the proposed system of education can have an extensive and beneficial effect on the whole of Indian society.

5 Higher Education

There is no shortage of talent in the Indian universities. This is borne out by the amount of first rate research done in those universities which is recognised by the world academic community, and the award of Nobel Prizes to Indian scholars.[39] The problem is that the research of Indian universities is much more closely tied into the norms of the international community of scholars than it is to the needs of the rural poor of India.[40] It is important that this separation of research in universities from the life of Indian people in general should be removed in order to implement the proposed scheme of education.

One way of overcoming this division has already been mentioned. The compulsory year of community service for secondary school graduates, the assessment of which would be included in the requirements for university entrance, would ensure that students arriving at the university had first hand knowledge of village life and the problems involved. Their concerns would be closer to the needs of the Indian rural poor than they are at present.

There are a number of developments in Indian higher education which suggest that there are at least sectors of higher education which would respond to a requirement for their work to be more relevant to the needs of rural India.[41] A number of successful innovations can be mentioned. At the Tata Institute for Fundamental Research, one of the most prestigious scientific institutions of the country, there are two organisations to help develop science education in schools: a science curriculum development department in which the science curriculum from primary to university level is prepared, and the Homi Bhabha Centre for science education which gives special emphasis to the development of programmes suited to the poorer schools in the city and rural areas.[42]

Another educational institute of a different kind which has made initiatives, with its own curriculum and method of teaching and imparting its new method of teaching in a rural setting for the last twenty five years is the Gandhigram Rural Institute for Higher Education, at Mudurai in South India.[43] This includes both educational and community services, such as teaching, training,

production, extension work, and research activities in an area covering 26 villages. The Institute does not have the status of a university but awards diplomas which are regarded as equivalent to university degrees both by the state and central governments. Unlike the conventional universities, the teaching at all levels is geared to extension work and action oriented research in the academic programme of the Institute.[44]

By creating a cell for the Application of Science and Technology to Rural Areas (ASTRA) in 1974 the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore has shown how its work can be of help for the development of villages.[45] The main purposes of the cell are to catalyse the development and testing of village oriented technologies at the Institute campus, to establish an extension centre and to accomplish and monitor the transfer of the developed technologies to the rural area.[46] The Indian Institute of Technology in Bombay has started an Appropriate Technology Unit to do something similar to the work done by ASTRA.[47]

As outlined so far, there are a number of crucial gaps in the proposed educational system which the universities are well placed to fill. Regional groups of Learning and Resources Centres need to be able to call upon a research and information centre in cases where the solution of a problem requires expertise which is not available locally. Regional groups of schools will need to be able to call upon expert help in implementing new curriculum material or audio-visual aids in the classroom. In service training will be needed for teachers who are already working in schools but who have no experience of problem centred curricula. The future initial training of teachers will need to be related

to the proposed scheme of education. All of these functions could be served by the universities, along with the other institutes of higher education, and in filling these roles the staff of these institutes would gain valuable first hand experience which would improve the quality of future courses.

The long term intention of the proposed reforms is to entirely re-orientate the work of the universities, so that it is fully integrated into the educational system. Rather than forming a separate area of education, with concerns and interests which are more closely related to the needs of international scholarship than to the needs of Indian society, the proposal is that the courses of primary and secondary education should be followed through to the universities without a major break.

The initiatives which have already been taken in the higher education system indicate clearly that there has been a change in the attitudes of at least an important minority of teachers at the university level. These initiatives indicate that, certainly since 1970, work which is relevant to the development problems of rural communities is capable of both achieving academic respectability and of attracting some of the most able scholars in the country. This has been linked with another change in attitudes, which has meant that increasingly development issues have been seen as appropriate for academic study in Western Europe and North America.[48]

These significant changes in the attitudes of some teachers in universities and colleges make it possible to think of reforms

which bring the activities of the Indian higher education system closer to the needs of rural communities, in a way which was simply impossible in 1947.

6 Conclusion

Government documents on the aims of education show a very broad consensus. From the Constitution onwards, the aim of producing a secular, socialist and democratic state has been accepted.[49] Within that framework, the various commissions on education have stressed the importance of education for citizenship, for economic development, and for individual development.[50] In spite of this the education system of India has remained unreformed.[51] ~~One~~ The system of education has been formal and academic leading to university for the small minority. The education of the masses has been modelled on the elite system and has been ineffective either in preparing students for university, or in giving them an education relevant to their circumstances.[52]

So long as a traditional elite university system remains separate from the reforms proposed for the mass educational system, such a mass education system is bound to be seen as second rate, and reforms are doomed to ultimate failure. The system of education proposed here therefore includes a university sector which is fully integrated with the needs and aims of the system from primary school onwards. The solution of basic problems in the rural community is to be the focus of education at all levels, with each educational institution playing the part which is most appropriate to it.

In the integration of the proposed educational system, the proposal that the secondary school graduates be actively involved in the process of problem solving at the local level, and that this should be a requirement for university entrance, is of vital importance. Without this provision traditional academic study will remain a route whereby the privileged can escape from studying the needs of rural India.

As was noted in the introduction to this chapter, there is not a major shortage of resources for such a programme of education. The educational system already receives a considerable amount of financial support. In addition, many programmes which are aimed at the solution of similar problems remain ineffective, and to put the matter bluntly, do little more than waste resources which could be better directed under an integrated educational system. Shortage of manpower, even shortage of skilled and educated manpower, is not a major problem for a country as rich in human reources as India. The proposed system of education is a way of redirecting and coordinating effort in a national effort to produce a prosperous and equitable society.

The problem which was initially identified in this thesis was the change in the norms and expectations which were accepted in the country after independence. The Constitution incorporated ideas of a socialist, secular and democratic state, and of a socialist pattern of society, and of a planning system which involved the participation of a wide range of people. The present system of education has proved unable to bring about the necessary changes in institutions which should accompany these changes in norms. On the one hand, education has prepared an elite for particular

jobs, while not preparing the masses for any form of useful economic activity. On the other hand, because a very large percentage of the rural population is illiterate, they have effectively been excluded from the planning procedure. The proposed system of education is put forward as a possible solution to this problem, in the hope that it will bring about a transformation of the social institutions in line with the norms which have been accepted in the Constitution.

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