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5. Dreze and Sen, for example, show the strong link between disparities in education and social inequality and argue that a policy of universal and compulsory education is likely to lead to elimination of social inequalities. They stress that leaders of the freedom struggle were well aware of this and Dr Ambedkar himself saw education as the cornerstone of his strategy for liberation of oppressed castes, as he was conscious how in his own case his scholarship enabled him to overcome the stigma of untouchability. They also point to a common finding of village studies and household surveys that education is widely perceived by members of socially or economically disadvantaged groups as the most promising chance of upward mobility for their children. Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen, *India: Economic Development and Social Opportunity*, Delhi, 1996, especially pp. 96–97, 109–10.
6. In South India, there was no strong reaction because state governments had been

implementing different levels of reservations for Backward Castes for many years. The caste structure in South India, with far more extreme forms of Brahmin domination, was quite different. Also, there was a long history of caste-based reservations which were introduced by the British in the 1920s and also by the princely states, as well as a long tradition of the non-Brahmin movement since the 1910s.

7. In 1993 the Congress government implemented the Mandal report, without much furor taking place, as by then people had got more used to the idea, thus proving the point that in a democracy you cannot ram decisions down people's throats but have to work through consensus.
8. V.P. Dutt, *India's Foreign Policy in a Changing World*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 15
9. *Times of India*, 23 June 1999.
10. Quoted in V.P. Dutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 368–69.
11. V.P. Dutt, *India's Foreign Policy Since Independence*, New Delhi, 2007, pp. 97–98.
12. *The Indian Express*, 28 July 2007.
13. *The Hindustan Times*, 28 July 2007.

### **23. Politics in the States (II): West Bengal and Jammu and Kashmir**

1. Quoted in Atul Kohli, *Democracy and Discontent: India's Growing Crisis of Governability*, New Delhi, 1992, p. 289.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 288; Atul Kohli, 'Parliamentary Communism and Agrarian Reform—The Evidence from India's Bengal', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 7, July 1983, pp. 780, 800.
3. Quoted in Geoffrey Tyson, *Nehru—The Years of Power*, London, 1966, p. 79.

### **24. The Punjab Crisis**

1. Quoted in K.P.S. Gill, *The Knights of Falsehood*, New Delhi, 1997, p. 35.
2. Baldev Raj Nayar, 'Sikh Separatism in the Punjab', in Donald E. Smith, ed. *South Asian Politics and Religion*, Princeton, 1966, p. 168.
3. Quoted in K.P.S. Gill, p. 81.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

### **25. Indian Economy, 1947–1965: The Nehruvian Legacy**

1. See for details Bipan Chandra, et al., *India's Struggle for Independence*, New Delhi, 1989, chapter 29.
2. Aditya Mukherjee, *Imperialism, Nationalism and the Development of Indian Capitalism: The Making of the Indian Capitalist Class 1920–47* (forthcoming) and Aditya Mukherjee and Mridula Mukherjee, 'Imperialism and the Growth of Indian Capitalism in the Twentieth Century', *EPW*, 12 March 1988.
3. N.R. Sarkar, Presidential speech, FICCI, *Annual Report*, 1934, New Delhi, pp. 3–67. M. Visveswarayya was among the first to give a call for planned development in the

1920s.

4. Indian National Congress (INC), Economic Resolutions, p. 8.
5. *A Plan of Economic Development for India*, Parts 1 & 2, London, 1945, pp. 9–10. The authors of this plan were Purshottamdas Thakurdas, J.R.D. Tata, G.D. Birla, Ardeshir Dalai, Sri Ram, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, A.D Shroff and John Mathai.
6. *INC Economic. Resolutions*, p. 29. Emphasis added.
7. *Second Five Year Plan*, 1956, p. 44.
8. K.N. Raj, *Indian Economic Growth: Performance and Prospects*, New Delhi, 1965, p. 2.
9. A. Vaidyanathan, 'The Indian Economy Since Independence (1947– 70)', in Dharma Kumar, ed., *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Delhi, 1983, p. 961. Emphasis added.
10. J. Bhagwati and P. Desai, *India: Planning for Industrialisation*, London, 1970, table 10.6, pp. 185–87.
11. *Business Standard*, 9 January 1998.
12. Sukhamoy Chakravarty, *Development Planning: The Indian Experience*, Oxford, 1987, pp. 4, 81.

## **26. Indian Economy, 1965–1991**

1. C. Rangarajan, 'Development, Inflation and Monetary Policy', in Isher J. Ahluwalia and I.M.D. Little, eds, *India's Economic Reforms and Development: Essays for Manmohan Singh*, Delhi, 1998, p. 59.
2. See E.J. Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century*, Harmondsworth, 1994, for a brilliant analysis of the changes in world capitalism since the Second World War and pp. 261, 277 and 280 for the statistics in this paragraph.
3. *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy*, World Bank, New York, 1993, p. 38.
4. Vijay Joshi and I.M.D. Little, *India: Macroeconomics and Political Economy 1964–1991*, Washington, 1994, p. 58.

## **27. Economic Reforms Since 1991**

1. For example, in his D. Phil. dissertation at Oxford in 1961 and his book *India's Export Trends*, London, 1964.
2. Ajit Singh, 'Liberalisation, the Stock Market, and the Market for Capital Control', in Isher Ahluwalia and I.M.D. Little, eds, *India's Economic Reforms and Development*, Delhi, 1998.
3. See *Economic Survey 1998–99*, Government of India, tables 10.6 and 10.7, p. 146.
4. Vijay Joshi and I.M.D. Little, *India's Economic Reforms, 1991– 2001*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 222, 225.
5. Suresh D. Tendulkar, 'Indian Economic Policy Reforms and Poverty: An Assessment', in Ahluwalia and Little, eds, *India's Economic Reforms*, 1998, tables

- 12.1, 12.2, 12.3, pp. 290–294.
6. C.H. Hanumantha Rao, 'Agriculture: Policy and Performance', in Bimal Jalan, ed., *The Indian Economy*, New Delhi, 1992, p. 132.
7. *Economic Survey*, pp. 11, 18. Emphasis added.

## 28. *The Indian Economy in the New Millennium*

1. *Economic Survey* (hereafter *ES*), Government of India, 2002–03, pp. 155 ff., 2003–04, table 8.5, pp. 153–55 and 2006–07, table 1.2, p. 3.
2. Dani Rodrik and Arvind Subramanian, 'Why India Can Grow at 7 Per Cent a Year or More: Projections and Reflections', *Economic and Political Weekly* (hereafter *EPW*), 17 April 2004.
3. Jeffrey D. Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities of Our Time*, New York, 2005. Emphasis added.
4. See, for example, Bibek Debroy, *Indian Express*, 2 June 2007.
5. Angus Maddison, *The World Economy: Vol. I A Millennial Perspective, Vol. II Historical Statistics*, OECD, 2006, Indian edition, New Delhi, 2007, table 8b, pp. 639–43.
6. *ES*, 2006–07. p. 106, table 6.1.
7. Bimal Jalan, *India's Economy in the New Millennium*, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 25–26.
8. Calculated from table 1.5, S-8, *ES*, 2006–07.
9. Dani Rodrik and Arvind Subramanian, *EPW*, 17 April 2004, p. 1592.
10. Note that figures used here for the 1990s are different from those used in the previous chapter as different base years have been used by the CSO over time. See *ES* 1996–97, p. 19, 1998–99, p. 21 and 2006–07 p. 19 The previous chapter used the older figures.
11. *ES*, 2006–07, table 2.1, p. 19, table 2.11, p. 44, table 2.12, p. 48.
12. *ES*, 2006–07, table 2.3, p. 23.
13. Dani Rodrik and Arvind Subramanian, *EPW*, 17 April 2004.
14. *ES*, 2006–07, table 2.2, p. 21, p. 28.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *ES*, 2006–07, p. 3, table 1.2 and S-10, table 1.6.
17. See *ES*, 2006–07, p. 1, S-10, table 1.6.
18. Figures for 1951 are not strictly comparable as the figures include mining and quarrying in the primary sector while in 1971 mining and quarrying are included in the secondary sector. Yet the trend is clear enough. See Ruddar Dutt and K.P.M. Sundharam, *Indian Economy*, New Delhi, 2007, p. 84, table 5.
19. The figures are from a persuasive argumentative work on India's reform process by Baldev Raj Nayar, *India's Globalisation: Evaluating the Economic Consequences*, New Delhi, 2007, pp. 15–17, first published, Washington, 2006.
20. See *ES*, 2006–07, pp. 113–14, table 7.1a, S-78 and Baldev Nayar, 2007, p. 18.
21. *ES*, 2006–07, p. 108, table 6.2, p. 119, table 6.9.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 21

23. *ES*, 2004–05, p. 112 and *ES*, 2005–06, pp. 116–117
24. Jeffrey Sachs, *The End of Poverty*, 2005, p. 186.
25. *ES*, 2004–05, p. 111, 2005–06, p. 206, 2006–07, p. 108 and Baldev Nayar, 2007, p. 21.
26. *ES*, 2005–06, p. 105.
27. *ES*, 2007, pp. 6, 131, 135 and table 6.1b, S-69.
28. *The Hindustan Times* and *The Times of India*, 18 June 2007.
29. Report of Ernst and Young and Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry cited in *The Times of India* and *The Hindustan Times*, 18 June 2007,
30. Quoted in Baldev Nayar, 2007, p. 45.
31. *ES*, 2006–07 p. 228 and p. 7.
32. *ES*, 2006–07, pp. 131–32, 2005–06, p. 130, 2003–04, p. 128.
33. See the chapter The Post Colonial Indian State, pp. 465–66, for a discussion of this aspect and Prabhat Patnaik, 'Political Strategies of Economic Development', in Partha Chatterjee, ed., *Wages of Freedom: Fifty Years of the Indian Nation-State*, Delhi, 1998 and Prabhat Patnaik, *The Retreat to Unfreedom: Essays on the Emerging World Order*, New Delhi, 2003.
34. This argument is made effectively by Baldev Nayar, 2007, pp. 39–41. The figures are cited by Nayar from a study by Nagesh Kumar, 'Liberalization, Foreign Direct Investment Flows, and Economic Development: The Indian Experience in the 1990s', RIS discussion paper 65/2003, Research and Information System for the Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries, New Delhi, 2003.
35. *ES*, 2006–07, p. 139.
36. R. Nagaraj, 'Industrial Growth in China and India : A Preliminary Comparison', *EPW*, 21 May 2005, quoted in Baldev Nayar, 2007, pp. 85–86, f.n. 4.
37. Baldev Nayar, 2007, p. 41. The figures are from UNCTAD cited by Nayar in table 10, p. 42.
38. *ES*, 2006–07, p. 207 and *ES*, 2002–03, table 10.6, p. 213.
39. 'Prices and Poverty in India, 1987–2000', *EPW*, 25 January 2003.
40. K Sundaram and Suresh D. Tendulkar, 'Poverty Has Declined in the 1990s', *EPW*, 25 January 2003.
41. Himangshu, 'Recent Trends in Poverty and Inequality: Some Preliminary Results', *EPW*, 10 February 2007, and S. Mahendra Dev and C. Ravi, 'Poverty and Inequality: All-India and States, 1983–2005', *EPW*, 10 February 2007.
42. Himangshu, 2007, p. 499.
43. Dev and Ravi estimate it as 1.02 per cent per annum, 2007, p. 111.
44. Himangshu, 2007, p. 501.
45. Dev and Ravi, 2007, p. 511.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 510.
47. *Ibid.* pp. 510–11.
48. *Focus on Children Under Six*, Abridged Report, Right to Food Campaign, New Delhi, 2006.
49. See *National Family Health Survey (NFHS3) 2005–06, National Factsheet (Provisional Data)*, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India.

50. UNDP Human Development Report, 2002 and 2006 cited in *ES*, 2006–07, table 10.1, p. 205.
51. See G.S. Bhalla, *Indian Agriculture Since Independence*, New Delhi, 2007, p. 295.
52. See, for example *Times of India*, 14 June 2007 and also *Report to the People: UPA Government 2004–07*.
53. *The Hindu*, 29 September 2007.
54. *ES*, 2005–06, p. 204.
55. Bimal Jalan, 2002, p. 25.

## 29. Land Reforms (I): Colonial Impact and the Legacy of the National and Peasant Movements

1. See Louis J. Walinsky, ed., *Agrarian Reform as Unfinished Business, The Selected Papers of Wolf Ladejinsky*, OUP, 1977, p. 371 (hereafter Ladejinsky Papers).
2. See Bipan Chandra et al., *India's Struggle for Independence*, Penguin, New Delhi, 1988, 40th impression, 2006, Chapters 11 and 27 (hereafter Bipan Chandra, et al., *India's Struggle*).
3. See S.J. Patel, *Essays on Economic Transition*, Bombay, 1965, p. 76, and Bipan Chandra, 'Peasantry and National Integration in Contemporary India', in *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1979, p. 333.
4. See, for example, Resolution of Economic Planning Conference attended by Chief Ministers and Congress Presidents from the States, April 1950, and Indian National Congress, Economic Programme, Delhi Congress, October 1951, in *Indian National Congress, Resolutions on Economic Policy Programme and Allied Matters 1924–1969*, AICC, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 50, 66 (hereafter *INC Econ. Resolutions*).
5. See Bipan Chandra, 'Colonial India: British versus Indian Views of Development', *Review* (Fernand Braudel Center), vol. xiv, No. 1, Winter 1991, p. 85. For this section, see also Bipan Chandra, *Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India, 1880–1905*, New Delhi, 1966, and Bipan Chandra, 1979.
6. See, for example Resolutions of Indian National Congress, 1888, 1889 and 1893 in A.M. Zaidi and S.G. Zaidi, *The Foundations of Indian Economic Planning*, New Delhi, 1979.
7. See Daniel Thorner, *The Shaping of Modern India*, New Delhi, 1980, p. 241 and Bipan Chandra, 1979, p. 337.
8. Bipan Chandra, 1979, p. 337.
9. Bipan Chandra, et al., *India's Struggle*, ch. 3.
10. For details, see, *ibid.* ch. 16.
11. For details, see, *ibid.* ch. 27.
12. The provisions listed above are from the slightly modified version of the Karachi resolutions which was issued by the AICC in Bombay in August 1931, *INC Econ. Resolutions*, pp. 3–9.
13. See *INC Econ. Resolutions*; pp.12–14
14. See Agrarian Programme, Lucknow Congress, 1936, and Election Manifesto, AICC, 1936, *INC Econ. Resolutions*, pp. 10–12, emphasis added.

15. This paragraph is based on Bipan Chandra, et al., *India's Struggle*, ch. 26.
16. See Bipan Chandra, 1979, p. 350, and Bipan Chandra, et al., *India's Struggle*, p. 528.
17. Mridula Mukherjee, in Bipan Chandra, et al., *India's Struggle*, ch. 27, p. 354.
18. A.M. Khusro, 'Land Reforms since Independence', in V. B. Singh, ed., *The Economic History of India, 1857–1956*, Delhi, 1965, pp. 185–86, emphasis added.
19. See *National Planning Committee Report*, Bombay, 1949, Purshottamdas Thakurdas, et al., *A plan for Economic Development for India (Bombay Plan)*, Harmondsworth, 1945, and *INC Econ. Resolutions*, pp. 15–18.
20. *INC Econ. Resolutions*, p. 16, emphasis added.
21. 'Objectives and Economic Programme,' AICC, Delhi, November 1947, *INC Econ. Resolutions*, p. 19.
22. *INC Econ. Resolutions*, pp. 20–22.
23. See, example, Francine Frankel, *India's Political Economy 1947–77*, Delhi, 1978, p. 68.
24. *INC Econ. Resolutions*, p. 22, emphasis added. Frankel (see note 23), however, maintains that compulsory membership of service cooperatives was visualized.
25. *INC Econ. Resolutions*, p. 23.

### **30. Land Reforms (II): Zamindari Abolition and Tenancy Reforms**

1. A.M. Khusro, in V.B. Singh, ed., *Economic History of India 1857– 1956*, Delhi, 1965, p. 189.
2. *INC Econ. Resolutions*, p. 38.
3. Planning Commission, *Second Five Year Plan*, 1956, p. 188.
4. See P.S. Appu, 'Tenancy Reform in India', *EPW*, Special Number, August 1975, p. 1345.
5. See *ibid.*, p. 1347.
6. D. Bandyopadhyay, 'Land Reform in India: An Analysis', *EPW*, Review of Agriculture, June 1986.
7. L.I. Rudolph and S.H. Rudolph, *In Pursuit of Lakshmi: The Political Economy of the Indian State*, Chicago, 1987, p. 363.
8. P.S. Appu, pp. 1354–55, 1375.
9. Daniel Thorner, *The Shaping of Modern India*, New Delhi, 1980, p. 245.

### **31. Land Reforms (III): Ceiling and the Bhoodan Movement**

1. *INC Econ. Resolutions*, p. 23.
2. Planning Commission, *First Five Year Plan*, New Delhi, 1953, pp. 188–191.
3. Indian National Congress, *Resolution on Economic Policy and Programme, 1924–54*, New Delhi, 1954, p. 75.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 121. Emphasis added.
5. Planning Commission, *Second Five Year Plan*, New Delhi 1956, pp. 196–97.
6. Quoted in Ladejinsky Papers, p. 483



7. C.H. Hanumantha Rao, 'Agriculture: Policy and Performance', in Bimal Jalan, ed., *The Indian Economy: Problems and Prospects*, New Delhi, p. 118.
8. D. Bandyopadhyay, 'Land Reforms in India: An Analysis', *EPW*, Review of Agriculture, June 1986.
9. Wolf Ladejinsky, otherwise an avid supporter of ceilings and land distribution, came to a similar conclusion in May 1972. Ladejinsky Papers, p. 513.
10. *Indian Express*, 16 June 1999.
11. G. Kotovsky, *Agrarian Reforms in India*, New Delhi, 1964, p. 119. See, for similar views, D. Bandyopadhyay, 'Reflections on Land Reforms in India Since Independence', in T.V. Sathyamurthy, ed., *Industry and Agriculture in India Since Independence*, Delhi, 1995.
12. *The Hindustan Times*, 4 and 9 January 1961, cited in Kotovsky, 1964, p. 125.
13. Kotovsky, 1964, p. 126, he cites E.M.S. Namboodiripad, 'Sarvodaya and Communism', *New Age*, Vol. vii, No. 1, January 1958, pp. 46–55.

### 32. Cooperatives and an Overview of Land Reforms

1. Recommendations of the Economic Programme Committee of the AICC, November 1947, *INC Econ. Resolutions*, p. 22. Emphasis added.
2. *INC Econ. Resolutions*, pp. 41–42. Emphasis added.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Second Five Year Plan*, p. 201. Emphasis added.
5. *INC Econ. Resolutions*, pp. 120ff. Emphasis added.
6. *Third Five-Year Plan*, p. 209. (Quoted in Ladejinsky Papers, p. 388).
7. The figures in this paragraph are from Rudolph and Rudolph, *In Pursuit of Lakshmi*, table 42, p. 373.
8. Ladejinsky Papers, pp. 505–06.
9. The description below of the Kaira experiment is based on interviews with Verghese Kurien, Tribhuvandas Patel and others and a study of the experiment made by the authors in Anand and its neighbouring villages in July 1985. Materials provided by the NDDB, courtesy its present Managing Director, Dr Amrita Patel (whose own contribution to the movement is considerable), and Ruth Heredia, *The Amul India Story*, Tata McGraw-Hill, New Delhi, 1997, have also been used freely.
10. Wilfred Candler and Nalini Kumar, *India: The Dairy Revolution*, World Bank, Washington, 1998,
11. *Ibid.*, p. 48
12. *Ibid.*, pp. xxi, 6, 60. Emphasis added.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. xxi, 6. Emphasis added.
14. *Ibid.*, p. xv.
15. Daniel Thorner, *The Shaping of Modern India*, New Delhi, 1980, p. 245. Addition in parenthesis added.
16. The above figures are calculated from D. Bandyopadhyay, 'Land Reforms in India: An Analysis', *EPW*, Review of Agriculture, June 1986.

### **33. Agricultural Growth and the Green Revolution**

1. G.S. Bhalla, 'Nehru and Planning—Choices in Agriculture', *Working Paper Series*, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1990, p. 29.
2. Ladejinsky Papers, p. 494.
3. See, for example, G.S. Bhalla and Gurmail Singh, 'Recent Developments in Indian Agriculture: A State Level Analysis', *EPW*, 29 March 1997. The statistics in the rest of the paragraph are taken from this source.
4. Raj Krishna, 'Small Farmers Development', *EPW*, 26 May 1979, p. 913.
5. G.S. Bhalla and G.K. Chadha, 'Green Revolution and the Small Peasant—A Study of Income Distribution in Punjab Agriculture', *EPW*, 5 and 22 May 1982.
6. Ladejinsky Papers, pp. 436–440.
7. See C.H. Hanumantha Rao, 'Agriculture: Policy and Performance', in Bimal Jalan, ed., *The Indian Economy: Problems and Prospects*, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 128–29.
8. See Daniel Thorner, *The Shaping of Modern India*, 202 ff., 224ff.
9. C.H. Hanumantha Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 129–30. Emphasis added.
10. M.S. Swaminathan, 'Growth and Sustainability', *Frontline*, 9–22 August 1997.

### **34. Agrarian Struggles Since Independence**

1. The best collection of essays on the subject remains A.R. Desai, ed., *Agrarian Struggles in India After Independence*, Delhi, 1986.
2. P. Sundarayya, *Telangana People's Struggle and Its Lessons*, Communist Party of India (Marxist), Calcutta, 1972, pp. 115–16, 239–40, 424.
3. Interview with Baba Bachhitar Singh, cited in Mridula Mukherjee, 'Communists and Peasants in Punjab: A Focus on the Muzara Movement in Patiala, 1937–53', in Bipan Chandra, ed., *The Indian Left: Critical Appraisals*, New Delhi, 1983.
4. See Mridula Mukherjee, 'Peasant Resistance and Peasant Consciousness in Colonial India: "Subalterns" and Beyond', *EPW*, 1988, October 8 and 15.
5. See Staffan Lindberg, 'New Farmers' Movements in India as Structural Response and Collective Identity Formation: The Cases of the Shetkari Sangathana and the BKU', in Tom Brass, ed., *New Farmers' Movements in India*, Ilford, 1995, pp. 95–125, and other articles in this volume for a consideration of this issue.

### **35. Revival and Growth of Communalism**

1. Gandhi, *CW*, Vol. 76, p. 402.

### **36. Communalism and the Use of State Power**

1. See chapter on Revival and Growth of Communalism for a detailed discussion of this aspect.

2. Savarkar was tried for the assassination of the Mahatma but was let off on technical grounds. Sardar Patel, being a fine criminal lawyer, was personally convinced of Savarkar's guilt, otherwise he would not have agreed to put him up for trial. He told Jawaharlal Nehru in unambiguous terms: 'It was a fanatical wing of the Hindu Mahasabha directly under Savarkar that [hatched] the conspiracy and saw it through.' *Sardar Patel Correspondence*, 1945–50, (hereafter *SPC*) ed by Durga Das, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, Vol. VI, p. 56. However, when the Commission of Inquiry set up in 1965 under Justice Jiwan Lal Kapoor, a former judge of the Supreme Court of India, gave its report, it came to the following conclusion: 'All these facts taken together were destructive of any theory other than the conspiracy to murder by Savarkar and his group.' *Report of Commission of Inquiry into Conspiracy to Murder Mahatma Gandhi* (Kapur Commission Report), New Delhi, 1970, p. 303, para 25.106.
3. A book edited by Dina Nath Batra of the RSS, called *The Enemies of Indianisation: The Children of Marx, Macaulay and Madarsa* was published on 15 August 2001. The book, which was an attack on scientific secular history and historians, contained an article listing 41 distortions in the existing NCERT books. The NCERT director J.S. Rajput himself had contributed an article in the volume listing a few more distortions.
4. See *The Times of India*, 5 October 2001. Emphasis added
5. See *The Hindustan Times*, 4 December 2001.
6. See the RSS mouthpiece, *Organiser*, 4 November 2001.
7. *The Hindustan Times*, 8 December 2001.
8. *The Indian Express*, 20 December 2001.
9. 'History and the Enterprise of Knowledge', address delivered to the Indian History Congress by Amartya Sen, January 2001, Calcutta. See also Amartya Sen, *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture and Identity*, Allen Lane, Penguin, London, 2005, for a brilliant critique of the communal interpretation of Indian history.
10. *Harijan*, 5 December 1936, quoted in Bipan Chandra, 'Gandhiji, Secularism and Communalism', *Social Scientist*. Also reprinted in Irfan Habib, Bipan Chandra, et al., *Gandhi Reconsidered: Towards a Secular and Modern India*, Sahmat, New Delhi, 2004.
11. Irfan Habib, Suvira Jaiswal and Aditya Mukherjee, *History in the New NCERT Textbooks: A Report and an Index of Errors*, Approved and Published by the Executive Committee, Indian History Congress, Kolkata, 2003.
12. *The Hindu*, 3 March 2002.
13. *The Hindu*, 30 April 2002.
14. *The Hindu*, 1 May 2002.
15. *Ibid.*,
16. *Ibid.*,
17. *Ibid.*, 2 May 2002.
18. *Ibid.*, 30 April 2002.
19. *Ibid.*, 3 May 2002.

20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, 17 August 2002.
22. *Ibid.*, 3 September and 29 October 2002.
23. *Ibid.*, 16 December 2002.

### **37. Caste, Untouchability, and Anti-caste Politics and Strategies**

1. For these, see Bipan Chandra, et al, *India's Struggle for Independence. 1857–1947*, chapter 18.
2. For a useful overview of Dalit politics, especially from 1957 onwards, see V. Suresh, 'The Dalit Movement in India', in T.V. Sathyamurthy, *Social Change and Political Discourse in India*, Vol. 3, *Region, Religion, Caste, Gender, and Culture in Contemporary India*, 1996, pp. 355–87.
3. See Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen, *India: Economic Development and Social Opportunity*, Delhi, 1995, p. 97.
4. *Ibid.*, table 6.1, p. 112.
5. For an interesting attempt to argue for Dalit–Backward Caste unity, especially in the context of the attempt to forge links with the Shetkari Sangathana in Maharashtra, see Gail Omvedt, 'The Anti-Caste Movement and the Discourse of Power,' in T.V. Sathyamurthy, *op. cit.*, pp. 334–54, and Gail Omvedt, 'We Want the Return of Our Sweat: The New Peasant Movement in India and the Formation of a New Agricultural Policy', in Tom Brass, ed., *New Farmers' Movements in India*, Ilford, 1995, pp. 126–64.

### **38. Indian Women Since Independence**

1. Based on Mridula Mukherjee's interview with Professor Usha Mehta.
2. The most comprehensive account of women's movements is to be found in Radha Kumar, *The History of Doing*, New Delhi, 1993, and I have used it extensively.
3. See, for example, Mridula Mukherjee, 'Interview with Sushila Chain', in *Manushi*.
4. For a detailed account of this very interesting movement, see Ramachandra Guha, *The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalaya*, Delhi, 1989.
5. For a detailed study of the agitations against dowry, the Muslim Women's Bill and sati, see Rajni Paliwala and Indu Agnihotri, 'Tradition, the Family and the State: Politics of the Contemporary Women's Movement', in T.V. Sathyamurthy, ed., *Social Change and Political Discourse in India*, Vol. 3, *Region, Religion, Caste, Gender and Culture in Contemporary India*, Delhi, 1996, pp. 503–32.
6. For the data and much of the conclusions in this and the following paragraphs, I have relied greatly on the path-breaking work of Jean Dreze and Amartya K. Sen. See, for example, their *India: Economic Development and Social Opportunity*, Delhi, 1995.

### **39. The Post-colonial Indian State and the Political Economy**

1. For the broad theoretical framework adopted in this chapter some of the works I have been most influenced by are listed below. Bipan Chandra, *Indian National Movement, The Long Term Dynamic*, New Delhi, 1988, first delivered as the Presidential Address, Indian History Congress, 1985, Amritsar; Ralph Miliband, *Marxism and Politics*, 1977; Ernesto Laclau, *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory*, London, 1977; Nicos Poulantzas, *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism*, London, 1975, and the recent writings of Mohit Sen; the leading left intellectual who has been closely associated with left politics for nearly half a century.
2. See, for example, Peter Evans, *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State and Local Capital in Brazil*, Princeton, 1979, pp. 31–34, 52 and Gary Gereffi and Donald Wyman, 'Development Strategies in Latin America and East Asia', 1985, mimeo.
3. See, for example, Bipan Chandra, *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*, New Delhi, 1979, and 'The Colonial Legacy', in Bimal Jalan, ed., *The Indian Economy: Problems and Prospects*, New Delhi, 1992; K.N. Raj, 'The Politics and Economics of Intermediate Regimes', *EPW*, 1 July 1973; Sudipto Mundle, 'State Character and Economic Policy', *Social Scientist*, May 1974; Pranab Bardhan, *The Political Economy of Development in India*, Delhi, 1998 (expanded edition); and Aditya Mukherjee and Mridula Mukherjee, 'Imperialism and the Growth of Indian Capitalism in the Twentieth Century', *EPW*, 12 March 1988.
4. See, for example, Aditya Mukherjee, 'The Indian Capitalist Class: Aspects of its Economic, Political and Ideological Development in the Colonial Period', in S. Bhattacharya and Romila Thapar, eds, *Situating Indian History*, Delhi, 1986 and *Imperialism, Nationalism and the Development of Indian Capitalism: The Making of the Indian Capitalist Class*, New Delhi (forthcoming).
5. Prabhat Patnaik 'Political Strategies of Economic Development', in Partha Chatterjee, ed., *Wages of Freedom: Fifty Years of the Indian Nation-State*, Delhi, 1998, pp. 58–59. Emphasis added.
6. F.H. Cardoso, 'Social Consequences of Globalisation', Lecture at India International Centre, New Delhi, 27 January 1996.
7. Amartya Sen, 'Social Commitment and Democracy', *New Thinking Communist*, 1 November 1998.
8. Bipan Chandra, 'The Real Danger of Foreign Domination: Peripheralization', in his *Essays on Contemporary India*, revised edition, New Delhi, 1999.

#### **41. The Dawn of the New Millennium: Achievements, Problems and Prospects**

1. C. Thomas in Geeti Sen, ed., *Receiving India*, New Delhi, 1993, p. 266.
2. S. Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru—A Biography*, Vol. 3, London, 1984, p. 301.
3. Mohit Sen, 'Entering the Fiftieth Year', *New Thinking Communist*, 15 August 1996, p. 2.
4. Quoted in Zareer Masani, *Indira Gandhi—A Biography*, London, 1975, p. 299.
5. W.H. Morris-Jones, *Politics Mainly Indian*, Bombay, 1978, p. 131.

6. Myron Weiner, *The Politics of Scarcity*, Bombay, 1963, p. 216.
7. Joan V. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*, revised edition, Berkeley, 1971, pp. viii–ix.
8. Francine R. Frankel, *India's Political Economy, 1947–1977*, Delhi, 1978, p. 4.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 4–6.
11. Nehru, *Speeches*, Vol. 3, p. 96.
12. India Development Report 1999–2000, ed., Kirit S. Parikh, New Delhi, 1999, p. 5.  
Most of the statistics in this and the next section are taken from this work Economic Survey, 1998–99, UNDP's *Human Development Report, 1999*, and National Council of Applied Economic Research's *India Human Development Report, 1999*.