

CASS PUBLICATIONS

Sl. No.	SEMINAR PROCEEDINGS	Date of Seminar
1.	"Defence and Industry"	17 May 93
2.	"Use of Force in Internal Peace Keeping"	04 Dec.93
3.	"The Emergence of China : Political, Economic & Military Implications for India"	22-23 Nov.94
4.	"Human Rights : Law and Order in India"	30 Sep. 95
5.	"The Emerging Security Environment in South East Asia with Special Reference to Myanmar : Political, Economic and Military Implication for India"	02-03 Dec.95
6.	"Challenges to India's National Security And India's Defence Preparedness"	20-21 Apr. 96
7.	"Challenges of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Implications for India"	28 Aug. 96
8.	"Preparing to Meet Challenges to National Security In the 21st Century - The Organisational Dimension."	30 Jan. 97
9.	"Regional Security Environment To The North-West of India With Special Reference To Afghanistan."	21-22 Mar. 97
10.	"Information Warfare"	Sep. 97
11.	"Laws of War"	09 Jan. 98
12.	"Indian Ocean - The Challenges Ahead"	06-07 Mar. 98
13.	"Pokhran II and its Implications"	01 Sep. 98
14.	"Nuclear And The World"	08 Sep. 98
15.	"The Challenge of Terrorism"	29 Oct. 98
16.	"Foreign Policy Imperatives For Nuclear India"	26-27 Feb. 99
17.	"Challenges of J&K"	04 Feb. 00
18.	"Indo-Pak Relations : Challenges Ahead"	30-31 Mar. 00
19.	"Insurgency In India - Causes & Perspectives"	28 Dec. 00
20.	"Governance In India : Challenges Ahead"	25 Jan. 01
21.	"India and China by 2020 : Political, Economic Sociological and Military Perspectives"	14-15 Mar. 01
22.	"Global Terrorism And India's Response"	19-20 Mar.02
23.	"Shri N.K. Firodia Memorial Seminar : 2002" on "Governance In India"	03 Oct.02
24.	"Globalisation And India"	19 Mar.03
25.	N.K. Firodia Memorial Seminar : 2004 "Elections And Democracy in India"	17 Feb.04
26.	"Comprehensive Security : Need of the Hour"	25-26 Feb.04
27.	"Ombudsman, Lokayuktas, Lokpals ; Concept and Working, with Special Reference to State of Maharashtra"	25 Mar.04
28.	"Comprehensive Security II : Economic And Internal Security"	03 Mar.05
29.	"India and Its Neighbours : A Regional Security Perspective"	04 Jan.06
30.	Yashwantrao Chavan Memorial Seminar : 2006 "Probity And Propriety in Public Life"	03 Feb. 06
31.	Yashwantrao Chavan Memorial Seminar : 2007 "Social Unrest in India : Challenges Ahead"	13 Mar.07

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

1.	"The First SLK Memorial Lecture" by Shri P.Chidambaram, Union Minister for Commerce.	Jun.95
2.	"India 2020 : An Agenda for the Nation" by Maj Gen (Retd) KS Pendse.	Feb. 96
3.	"India : The Nuclear Challenge" by Lt Gen (Retd) EA Vas, Maj Gen (Retd) KS Pendse, Dr. Col (Retd) AA Athale.	Mar. 96
4.	"Second SLK Memorial Lecture" by Dr. P.C. Alexander, Governor of Maharashtra "Citizens Rights and Indian Democracy"	Jul. 96
5.	"Third SLK Memorial Lecture", by Justice AM Ahmadi, Former Chief Justice of India "Changing Scenario of The Constitutional Values"	Aug. 97
6.	"Fourth SLK Memorial Lecture", by Dr.Abid Hussain, Vice Chairman, Rajiv Gandhi Institute of Contemporary Studies. "The Changing Pattern of India's Relations with America"	Jul. 98
7.	"Fifth SLK Memorial Lecture", by Dr. R.A. Mashelkar Director General, Council of Scientific & Industrial Research, "On Building a Globally Competitive Indian Industry : The Role of Research & Technology"	Jul. 99
8.	"SLK Memorial Lecture - 2000" by Shri K. Subrahmanyam, Converner, NSAB "Self Reliant Defence and Indian Industry"	Jul. 00
9.	"SLK Memorial Lecture - 2002" by Dr. C. Rangarajan, Governor, Andhra Pradesh "Globalization And Its Impact"	Apr. 02

Printed by On-Line Printers, Pune-58

CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STRATEGIC STUDIES



PROCEEDINGS OF SEMINAR ON YASHWANTRAO CHAVAN MEMORIAL SEMINAR : 2007 SOCIAL UNREST IN INDIA : CHALLENGES AHEAD 13th March, 2007

**CENTRE FOR ADVANCED
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**WELCOME BY DIRECTOR
LT GEN D.B. SHEKATKAR**

Lt Gen D.B. Shekatkar welcomed all the participants at the seminar and introduced the two distinguished main speakers, Dr. D.N. Dhanagare and Dr. P.V. Joshi. He said that Dr. D.N. Dhanagare, former Vice Chancellor of Shivaji University, Kolhapur was a renowned sociologist not only in India but also abroad. He did his D. Phil degree at the University of Sussex, England in 1973. His doctoral research "Peasant Movements in India, C 1920-1950 proved to be a pace-setting work in the study of social movements and in comparative history and sociology. Widely traveled, he has been a visiting Research Professor in a number of Universities in many countries abroad. He has been Member-Secretary, ICSSR, New Delhi and was Consultant in Sociology to the World Bank Project on "Social Forestry in UP". His areas of research interest are Theories of Development, Sociology of Social Movements, Agrarian Sociology of India and Research Methodology. He has authored a number of books and published a large number of articles in national and international journals.

Ambassador Dr. P.V. Joshi is Additional Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs and has been with the Home Ministry for last couple of years. He has authored a number of books including two volumes on "SAGA of Hinduism". Currently he is looking after the problems of nearly 7000 foreign students in Pune University. The number is expected to go up to 20000 in two to three years. He has been examining the changing pattern of life of the young generation, its impact on their value system and the problem of social unrest in India.

The Centre is fortunate to have these two experts as main speakers for the seminar. After their presentation the subject will be thrown open for general discussion. He requested the Chairman Dr. Madhav Godbole to take over and give his opening remarks.

**OPENING REMARKS BY THE CHAIRMAN
DR. MADHAV GODBOLE**

Dr. Dhanagare, Dr. Joshi, ladies and gentlemen.

Today's occasion is one of special significance for me. Forty years ago, I had the privilege of working for four and a half years with late Yashwantrao Chavan, I have very vivid memories of that period. The subject of this seminar could have been a relevant topic 40 years ago, when he was Home Minister. Student unrest, agrarian unrest and Naxalites, these are not problems of today. These were prevalent at that time too. Our approach to these issues at the Government and political level has been the same then and even now. It looks as if the more things change, the more they remain the same. These problems still remain, but with greater intensity. Forty years ago these were seen as emanating from denial or deprivation of basic constitutional rights of the affected people. These were then tackled as merely law and order problem as is being done even now. These problems cropped up primarily due to misgovernance and non governance. Do the political leaders understand this? How do they look at these issues? Is any political party committed to good governance?

The fourth issue is that of communal violence. In the sixties and the seventies, there were communal riots. We are now being told about a new phase of alienation of Muslims. Politically populist measures are being advocated and attempted. It is not realized that very large cross sections of people who have been left out from the development efforts have been alienated. The real issue is how to integrate them in the process of development, how to make the process inclusive.

There is no need to run to the High Courts and Supreme Court for finding an effective solution to these problems. Establishing good

governance is the core issue. Responsible and alert citizens need to educate the masses and through constitutional means compel the political masters and the bureaucracy to bring about good governance. The crux of the problem is good governance.

The subject of today's seminar "Social Unrest in India : Challenges Ahead" is an excellent tribute to the memory of late Yashwantrao Chavan.

SOCIAL UNREST IN INDIA : CHALLENGES AHEAD

Chairman : Madhav Godbole
Main Speakers : D. N. Dhanagare
P. V. Joshi

PAPER PRESENTED BY DR. DN DHANAGARE

Social unrest is a popular theme on which every Indian citizen, enlightened or otherwise, likes to talk with some passion and great enthusiasm. Everyday happenings, whether political, economic and social, and whether in rural or in urban setting, keep feeding people's minds to reflect on and to vent their feelings, though with varying degrees of intensity. Some events of what is generally called 'unrest' stay in short memory and tend to be forgotten with the appearance of new events that one reads or hears in the print and visual media every morning. However, some of them linger on and at times provide us with rallying points for public debate and from where attempts to mobilize masses for action, like protests, may gather momentum. This is so primarily because some of these events have occurred repeatedly and/or because they tend to make people think seriously as they threaten to shatter their faith in the system they are part of. Even then, i.e., despite the fact that social unrest is a part and parcel of our everyday life experience, this is a subject on which it is really difficult to write with flippant ease.

This presentation is divided into three parts. In the first part an attempt will be made to understand meaning of the term 'social unrest' without getting into conceptual technicalities (or nitigreties) of scientific definitions. Generally common people, law enforcement agencies, political leadership, and social scientists refer to the term social unrest assuming that its meaning structure is the same although different people have different meanings at the back of their minds. It will therefore help us if, in the present day situation, the concept of 'unrest' is approached more illustratively to operationalise the term so that we know what is being discussed. The second part would embody analysis or etiology of social unrest. It is necessary to probe the forces that lay beneath such events and the long-range

process of turbulence (meaning: 'recurrence of events that seem to be related to each other over a period of time') that people perceive as unrest. That is to say, factors, that produce sporadic events and/or those that sustain discontent over a long period of time, must be analysed and understood in all their ramifications. Finally, in the third part I would say something about what possibly could be done to minimize, if not eliminate, instances of unrest that to me appears to be an inescapable part of modern life in a rapidly globalising society in India.

Meaning:

Today it is difficult to locate persons belonging to different groups, ethnic communities (whether majority or minorities), professions, caste or class that are happy and contented with their lot. Even casual conversations with neighbours, colleagues at work place, or even with co-commuters while travelling to work place would reveal that, barring exceptions, men and women are keen to talk about their unhappiness, inadequacies, predicaments, and problems in their everyday life. People readily share their miserable feelings and moments of frustration day in and day out with others. Issues discussed, and views expressed, may be varied; however what appears common is a shared experience of restlessness over one matter or the other. Often such issues transcend interests that are purely personal, or are not confined to a single family, man or woman, but reflect agitated minds and shared concerns. More often this restlessness resembles what Robert Merton (1964: 155-56) called 'resentment'. It is a state of collective mind in which suppressed disaffection some kind of impotent anger, or a feeling of helplessness. When people start searching and tracing roots of their problems and frustrations in everyday life to systemic or institutional failure, such a collective feeling may be called 'social unrest'. Such a feeling may not manifest necessarily in similar form or forms every time, yet such a situation could be described as a prelude to mass protest or movements. Term social unrest is usually applied when this collective feeling expresses itself into mass action. The collective action may simply be crowd behaviour, or it could manifest in the form of a more planned offensive,

violent or peaceful, against the state or any specific group, community, or an authority.

During any academic year, for instance, students get agitated either because of injustices in admission process, or over unjustifiable and unwarranted rise in fees. At times students march to their principal's office because food served in their hostel's mess is of substandard quality or because a faculty member had used insulting language while talking to students, especially to female students. In the months of examinations students agitate either for postponement of examination dates or against unfair paper setting or because they suspect examiners were too harsh while correcting their answer-scripts hurriedly. They allege that in CAP (Centralized Assessment Programme) examiners have tendency to overlook contents of their answers so that they could complete the day's quota of answer-books and promptly claim their day's remuneration. In a university where a meeting of a selection committee for a faculty position was in progress, and where I was an expert member, the committee's proceedings were interrupted by a sudden eruption of slogan shouting. The agitators, not more than about twenty, comprised of teachers belonging to the reserved categories of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. They had registered for an M. Phil. vocational course and were demanding that their fees must be drastically reduced. It was a self-financing course for which that university had charged a fee of Rs. Thirty thousand per candidate while the agitators wanted the fees to be reduced to one tenth in their case.

Employees in the organised sector, who normally lead a relatively more secure life, agitate either because the government has not appointed a new pay commission or because the rise in their D.A. is not commensurate with the rate of inflation or with rising cost of living index. Employees of nationalized banks in India, who are among the best-paid workers, periodically reiterate their hackneyed demands, and their threat to go on strike is now almost a predictable phenomenon something like once in three months! Unorganised workers are restless because they are seldom assured of minimum wages, and have no legal protection or provisions of social security. Daily wage-workers in an organisation agitate in support of their

demand that they be absorbed and regularized. In the rural /agricultural sector farmers are distressed for reasons more than one. Either drought or unseasonal rain has damaged their crops, or when harvest is promising but prices of their produce fall and government fails to declare support price as per the expectations of the farm sector. The state government now acknowledges that rising debt burden is driving literally thousands of farmers to commit suicide, and it is a major source of unrest in rural Maharashtra.

Agitations by state funded schools and college teachers, or employees of autonomous corporations like Krishna Valley Development Corporation (there are some 176 such *Mahamandals* in Maharashtra, each one having a chairman with status of Minister of State) are frequently reported as the teachers or employees have not been paid their salaries for months. So far as law enforcement agencies, that are summoned to deal with such instances of social unrest, are concerned people suspect the Police to be corrupt while Police in their turn often complain about lack of cooperation from the people. Moreover, unlimited hours of work and absence of leave, when required, besides poor salary structure are standard grievances of the Police. These have manifested in shoot out incidences in which senior officers were shot dead, or police committed suicide or even in mass agitation. Hawkers and itinerant peddlers, having no fixed place to park their mobile shops, face uncertain future while working under a constant fear that they might be evicted or else they may end up shelling out a substantial part of their earnings as *hafta* (extortion) either to the Police or to tax collectors. Factory workers are, of course, well organised in labour unions that have affiliation, with all India federating trade unions and even with one political party or the other; nonetheless spectre of redundancy, lay-offs, and forced VRS as a result of adoption of new technology keep haunting them. Housewives and girls enjoy little or no protection against domestic violence or against eve-teasing or outrageous behaviour of hoodlums. Dalits are as insecure as tribals are, regardless of their education, placement and place of work

Politically sponsored agitations, *bandhs*, *rasta-roko* or *gheraos* not only paralyse normal life of people but also at times lead to arson, looting, and damage to public and private property. These are, of

course, instances of social unrest from above, that is quite different from unrest from below. Financial losses suffered during these agitations are simply incalculable though the burden of these losses is ultimately passed on to the rank and file taxpayer. Common citizenry feels that capitalists, industrialists and corporate sector managerial class are the wealthiest and the happiest lot because their profiteering is almost limitless. However, these sections have their own woes; they are distressed when government hikes taxes or surcharges, or when organised labour unions demand better wages, bonuses and other perks. Industrial peace is in a sense an interregnum between strikes and lockouts and tripartite parleys! More recently rural unrest in India, more so in a state like Maharashtra, has become an everyday occurrence partly because nearly 70 percent of villages have no perennial source of drinking water for major part of the year and villagers have to bear the brunt of load shedding for 11 to 14 hours of the day. Such unrest is further intensified when the power supply scenario in the state is contrasted with situation in neighbouring state like Gujarat where farmers do not have to face load shedding and all villages receive uninterrupted power supply. In recent elections to *Zilla Parishads* and *Panchayat Samitees* quite a few villages have been reported to have boycotted voting because of poor infrastructure like roads, water and electricity that were promised to them in the last elections but not made available by the government.

Examples of perceived unrest, whether latent or manifest, can be multiplied. However, these illustrations establish the fact that we as a nation appear to be sitting on a volcano that may erupt any moment. Separatist and secessionist movements, insurgencies bolstered up by ethnic identity politics, terrorist activities, Naxalite activities in different part, further intensify social unrest within the country. The frequency with which Indian armed forces are summoned to help civil administration to restore law and order should serve as a barometer of growing social unrest in India.

Etiology:

Why India is going through such a prolonged trauma of social

unrest? What factors account for the growing feeling of uncertainty, insecurity and an overall restlessness in the society at large? While attempting to probe these questions, it is necessary to note that mounting social unrest is not unique to India but it is a shared experience of most post-colonial societies, especially in the countries in South Asia, Africa South of Sahara and Latin America, in brief in what was known as the Third World during the Cold War years. Nature of problems faced by common people in these countries may be different. Fact, however, remains that nation states in these continents are sailing in the same boat with difference of degrees only, regardless of political systems they have adopted whether a representative parliamentary democracy, presidential form of governance or a military dictatorship. Reasons are not far to seek. Colonialism had ravaged their respective economies and after attaining independence, political elite and ruling classes in these countries were keen to draw upon some model of development that they thought would ensure speedy progress. As Ernesto Laclau (1979:143-98) has said these developing countries were facing the *revolution of rising expectations* of the people. These new nation-states were in hurry and looking for a formula of alchemy i.e. a process that usurps time function. What the developed world of Western Europe achieved in three hundred years from the beginning of Industrial revolution, the developing countries and their leadership wanted to attain in just fifty years. Consequently mounting pressure from below i.e. from the people and from above, i.e. from the developed countries that gave both funds, technology and technical know-how, led to a wide gap between expectations and performance.

Such a situation leads inevitably to political populism. It is a typical expression of a determinate social class like the Russian Norodinik's populism in the nineteenth century when it was a peasant ideology or North American populism in 1895. It is both an ideology and a protest movement in history (see Laclau 1979: 144-45). The term 'populism' has been used in the context of Latin American developmental experience more recently. Here the term is used as an ideology that tends to have four following properties: (a) Populist ideology has an ingrained hostility towards the *status quo*. (b) There is a growing mistrust of traditional leadership as it has failed to fulfill

long-standing promises. (c) It has appeal to people at large i.e., masses rather than to specific classes and (d) finally, anti-intellectualism is its hallmark. Such an ideology gets articulated to launch protests. In India, though ironically, status quoists political elite deftly manipulates and succeeds in mobilizing masses, using primordial loyalties for their own ends and convince their supporters that they are anti - *status quo*. So, if husband is defeated in one constituency, wife gets elected from another, or father makes room for his son, daughter or a nephew, and when one brother is in ruling party another brother joins an opposition outfit and his guess or hope that anti-incumbency factor will work is rarely proved wrong. As the saying goes: "The problem with political jokes is that they get elected". In any case power remains within the family that unfailingly cashes on mass unrest. It is a typical case of what William Kornhausser (1977: 1-55) called elite manipulation of the masses. Emotion dominates over reason as a result of which perpetrators of injustices manage to get returned. Consequently reign of power mongers and social unrest continues uninterrupted and hand in hand.

It must be remembered that when we talk about India we have to recognize that we are talking about the great divide between rural and urban India. During the last half a century of India's development experience the gap between the two has widened steadily. But a similar awesome gap exists between slum/pavement dwellers and apartment dwellers in metropolitan cities. One section of city consumers does its shopping in shopping malls, of course using credit cards, other does it on a day to day basis for which the poor has to spend a substantial part of day's earning on basic needs of minimum food requirements. This is not to suggest that development has not reached the poorest of the poor but in relative terms costs have tended to surpass wages so that conditions remains more or less unchanged. Children of affluent classes study in boarding schools while those of the poor have to study in schools run by local self government in which dropout rate is high and not few children end up either as rag-pickers or take to vagrancy.

In short, the present day social unrest has to be understood in the larger context of India's political economy and changes it has gone through during the last six decades. Political observers, commentators

and social analysts have been telling us that the dreams of the founding fathers of Independent India have not come true. The collective wisdom embodied in Indian constitution that paved way for parliamentary democracy in India has been proved wrong to a large extent, unless one wishes to by the number of times the Election Commission has conducted polls of the parliament, state assemblies and representative bodies down to the level of Panchayati Raj institutions. Failure of our institutions is a bitter truth that gets reflected in at least four areas. Nearly 30 percent of India's population is living below poverty line (BPL). The new draft approach to the 11th Five Year Plan, prepared by the Planning Commission (2006) has confessed that the figure of 27 percent BPL assumed in the 10th Plan document was based on a wrong estimate. 45 percent of children in the age group of 1 to 6 are undernourished and do not receive prompt medical attention. Our literacy rates are hovering around 65 percent that means more people are illiterate today than the total population of India at the time Independence. The 11th Plan document, it is said has promised 17 million new jobs and expects a GDP growth rate of 9 to 10 percent. Economists of left-wing persuasion think these are next to unattainable targets since rate of savings in India is no more than about 27 to 29 percent. One wonders whether our planners are not playing with a kind of populism that present ruling coalition finds a handy tool to mesmerize the masses.

Second most important failure of the system is visible in our failure to build a healthy party system that has to be the backbone of any democracy. As number of parties multiplies, defections are rewarded despite the anti-defection law. New party outfits and equations get formed around personalities rather than set of ideas and values. Thirdly, the doctrine of social equity and justice, enshrined in the constitution of India, has not been translated into a reality but it exists only on paper. Finally, the system of governance has failed miserably to check corruption that is acquiring massive proportion. Lest the observations made above are misconstrued, let it be said that these failures are rather common in most of newly developing countries, and are not unique to India.

Why performance of Indian political system, like that of other

developing countries, is so disappointing? Why institutions like parliament, judiciary, bureaucracy, universities, banking and overall state apparatus that is in charge of governance and development, that once enjoyed reputation of uprightness and integrity, have started declining, and some of them already showing symptoms of decay? Since this presentation attributes social unrest to the systemic failure and institutional decline, answers to these questions must be attempted. Gunnar Myrdal (1970: 211-51), who coined the famous term 'soft state', has mentioned five reasons for these failures. First, people in India lack a sense of social discipline. By this Myrdal means that common citizenry is hyperconscious of their rights and tend to claim rights that they do not have. However, these very people are least conscious of their duties and social obligations. Secondly, although India has preponderance of legislations, Acts, Ordinances and Statues, neither political leadership nor bureaucracy is keen to implement these legal provisions in letter and spirit. Thirdly, their indifference to implementation percolates to the rank and file of the people who too have lost faith in the rule of law. Violation of rules and laws is habitual for some people and a matter of pride for others! Fourthly, there exists an unhealthy nexus of those who are responsible for implementation of laws, rules and development programmes that works primarily to serve its own interests. Myrdal has particularly the top brass of the Indian bureaucracy at the back of his mind. It, however, does not mean that there could be no notable exceptions. Finally, widespread corruption exists at all levels of decision-making that subverts the system of governance but also weakens the public faith in that system. In such a scenario a clean and law biding citizen or an office bearer becomes an eye sorr and hence most likely to be deported to penalty postings in their career. These five conditions appear to me to be chief sources of discontent and disaffection that manifests in social unrest from time to time.

Challenges ahead: What is the Way Out?

Answering this question in realistic terms is not that easy. Somewhere in our nation building experience the frontier values with which the freedom fighters and visionary founding fathers, that had sacrificed their lives on the altar of nationalism, were lost. 'Primacy of

political power at any cost' took precedence over commitment to rapid development through selfless service to the nation. The new wave of neo-liberal economic reforms and globalisation and privatization further reinforced hunger for power. Because global regime tends to transform citizens into consumers in a globalising market while elected representatives of the people owe their allegiance to Multinational companies and work for safeguarding their interests than represent people and their aspirations. SEZ law is a classic illustration as to how interests of corporate capitalism will be protected, if necessary by sidetracking the existing laws and constitutional provisions.

Under these conditions, the only option remains for well meaning people who still have faith in rule of law and who still harbour and share the dream of founding fathers of Independent India. They must keep platforms of public debate alive so that constructive criticism could possibly inform policy and action, and the institutional paraphernalia entrusted with decision-making and implementation. What Hebarmas called "Public Sphere" must become an instrument of lobbying and for politically educating the masses. Under normal functioning of democratic institutions such debates ought to take place on the floor of parliament and assemblies. Since through live telecasting of parliamentary proceedings people now know what business is transacted there, it is high time that public debates, platforms, and forums are brought to life again. That seems to me to be the only way to displace cynicism by robust optimism about dealing with social unrest in contemporary India.

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PAPER PRESENTED BY DR. P.V. JOSHI

I indeed deem it a privilege to deliver this talk as a part of the Yashawantrao Chavan Memorial Seminar under the auspices of Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies. When I first learned that the subject of my talk today was going to be **Social Unrest in India ; Challenges Ahead**, frankly speaking, I was somewhat bewildered. Not being a sociologist, and neither being a student of history , I felt this subject was somewhat out of my ken.

However, as I pondered over the topic many interesting facets of it began to emerge. I am indeed happy that I have been given this opportunity to share my thoughts on this subject with the distinguished gathering.

The first thought that came to my mind was how we define the term 'Social Unrest'. Secondly, what are its symptoms, characteristics, and causes?

Turning first to the definition of the term , its dictionary meaning is " *An uneasy or troubled condition*" or " *A state of uneasiness and usually resentment brewing to an eventual explosion*". I would however like to define Social Unrest as " *significant dissatisfaction or disaffection among a sizeable proportion of the population*". This disaffection and discontent can be both covert as well as overt. It is the job of statesmen and those in authority to look below the surface and to find out whether the apparent calm camouflages some dangerous volcano which can erupt anytime. History is replete with examples of how rulers have remained blissfully ignorant of the terrible discontent

of their people and they were rudely woken up only when they were violently overthrown in a revolution.

Social Unrest in modern times hardly remains under the surface as used to happen in the earlier times. It finds expression in protest against the government, against the established system, and these protests can sometime turn violent. As extreme manifestation of social unrest are the secessionist movements which are unfortunately even today plaguing many parts of India. When we talk of social unrest and its finding outlet through violence, one must be careful to separate it from ordinary crime. Criminals act on their own or as a part of gangs but do not represent any sizeable section of the society. Social unrest, on the other hand, is something which is manifested by a not insignificant proportion of the society as a whole.

I tried to imagine a country in which there was no social unrest. What would be the features of such a society? It appeared to me that a country whose population is homogeneous and which enjoys an excellent standard of living with guaranteed social services in the fields of health, education, etc., would not suffer from social unrest. While this premise initially may appear reasonable, it needs to be examined in depth. In my opinion, and I would be reverting to this theme a little later, homogeneity of population, high economic standard of the people, etc., are not adequate by themselves to ensure freedom from social unrest. These factors may be necessary to bring about absence of social unrest, but they are certainly not sufficient. We need only to look at the violent demonstrations which sweep across Western Europe from time to time to convince ourselves about the untenability of the premise that economic well-being alone is adequate to guarantee happiness of the populace. The million dollar question then is: 'What are the conditions that need to be satisfied so that there is no social unrest? This question is of vital importance and relevance to India.

According to Karl Marx, all historical developments could be traced to economic factors. While gross economic inequalities can be a major cause of Social Unrest, they are certainly not the only one. If I were to summarize some of the basic causes which engender Social

Unrest I would list the following:

- *Alienation of a sizeable section of the population from the mainstream.* This alienation could arise from a number of factors such as economic deprivation of that group, the conviction of its members that their basic beliefs and the way of life is threatened by the majority, and so on.
- *Lack of trust in the Ruling Polity and a gnawing sense of helplessness due to the inability to change the state of affairs.*
- *A stagnant economy marked by large-scale unemployment and lack of upward mobility.*

Today a major part of my lecture is going to be devoted to analysis of Social Unrest which could affect our society in the coming decades. We shall examine this against the backdrop of the three factors mentioned above. However, before we do so, it would be advisable, and of interest, to take a quick look at the conditions prevailing in India both during the Medieval era as well as during the post-independence period of sixty years. Before I plunge into the main theme of my lecture a general observation would be in order.

As per the famous German philosopher Emmanuel Kant, Social interaction basically involves "*Strife of each against all*". However, he held that if man was an entirely social animal, without any individuality, the society would stagnate. Quoting him again, "*If men were entirely social, man would stagnate; a certain alloy of individualism and competition is required to make the human species survive and grow*". But, this social strife should not cross some well-defined limits. This is why Will Durant says, "*the whole meaning and movement of history is the ever greater restriction of pugnacity and violence, the continuous enlargement of the area of peace*".

Highest importance is attached to achievement of social peace by modern governments. This finds eloquent expression in the main goals of the French Revolution

(Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity), in the American Charter of Independence, as well in the very Preamble of our Constitution. We, therefore, recognize that while some social strife is inevitable, and in

fact necessary, as so convincingly put forth by Kant , it needs to be kept within limits which is what the Governments try to do.

With this general remark, let us now turn to the state of Indian society in the medieval era.

We all know that during India's long history many parts of it suffered from prolonged turmoil and turbulence. There was little social mobility and the avenues for social advancement and economic upliftment were almost non-existent for the vast majority. Large segments of the people were engaged in subsistence farming and they were required to pay a substantial share of their produce as tax to the landlord or the ruler of the province. To further aggravate the matters, warfare was a part of life and there used to be large-scale depredation, looting etc.

One would feel that in a milieu like this there would have been frequent revolts against the rulers by disaffected people. If we apply the criteria of modern sociology, we will have to conclude that the situation in India in earlier centuries was such that there was bound to be acute social unrest. But surprising as it may seem we read only rarely about violent protests against the rulers. This can be understood only if we accept that during the previous centuries generation after generation of people suffered in silence, firmly convinced that suffering was a part of their life and that there was nothing they could do to ameliorate their lot. It is often said, or often used to be said, that we are a people given to fatalism. We believe so implicitly in the theory of rebirth and karma that whatever hardships we suffer in this life, we acquiesce in them, ascribing them to the misdeeds of our previous births.

I do not know whether the average Indian today can be described as a fatalist or not, but I have little doubt that it is the Hindu Doctrine of fatalism which stood in the way of India having violent revolutions as were witnessed by China , Russia etc. Thus, we can say that while social unrest certainly existed in India in earlier centuries, it did not take a violent form at least partly because of the innate fatalistic inclination of the people.

India in the post-independent era:

I well remember that when I was in the school during 1960's , the theme which was often discussed was whether India will remain a united country. Indeed, with our numerous divisions based on caste , religion , language etc , it was routinely said that India was not one country but a conglomeration of small states. You would recall that Winston Churchill had strongly argued against giving independence to India because he was convinced that India could not survive as one nation, given its numerous divisions , if the British withdrew.

No doubt, there was much social tension in India as a result of these fissiparous tendencies. The violent insurgencies in Punjab and Kashmir posed a serious threat to our national unity. India's economy was growing in a very stagnant manner until 1990. We are all aware of the financial crisis which we faced in the early 1990's when our reserves had plummeted to the paltry figure of 1 billion dollars. We then used to have many protests, demonstrations , etc against the Government by disgruntled workers, office employees, etc,. Strikes were common. There was talk of communists coming to power in India. Of course , this was a period of intense social turmoil and unrest . The Government managed to contain this tension through pursuit of enlightened economic policies meant to benefit the common man and through judicious, though occasionally excessive, use of force.

Things slowly began to change with the liberalization of our economy from 1990's. Our rate of growth started to go up, production of consumer goods increased, and by and large people began to enjoy a higher standard of living. Insurgencies in Kashmir and Punjab were successfully tackled and brought under control. Large number of tourists now go to Kashmir while as far as Punjab is concerned we have forgotten that this was a highly troubled province no more than twenty years ago.

The beginning of the twenty-first century was a point of transition. Indians started shedding their traditional diffidence and began to feel that they were not only as good as anybody but rather the best in the world. This new found confidence began to find an echo in

slogans like 'Incredible India', 'Shining India'. It began to appear that India has finally come of age and has left behind once for all its image of a country marked by poverty, backwardness, and general apathy.

**Likely major causes of Social tension in 21st Century:
Breakdown of family life and hedonism :**

Therefore, as we look to the future , we may initially feel tempted to be optimistic. Threats to national unity which emerged in 80s and 90s have been successfully overcome. The so-called Hindu rate of economic growth (of around 3%) with which we were supposed to be saddled has been firmly consigned to the dustbins of history. Today, our economy is growing at the rate of 8% plus, which is one of the highest in the world. Thanks to the enlightened economic policies pursued by the Government, the fruits of development are being shared by all segments of the society. Economic growth and social justice have been the two planks of our Government's policy since the beginning and these twin objectives are being pursued with great pragmatism. A striking proof of how prosperity has percolated to all segments of the society is found in the telecom revolution which has swept over India. Today almost everybody from a rickshaw driver to a vegetable vendor possesses a cell-phone. Could this have been even imagined seven or eight years ago?

There is talk today of India becoming one of the major superpowers in the coming decades. We will have armed forces befitting our economic prowess. Can we conclude therefore that by 2030 or so, the Indian society will be highly prosperous marked by equality, social justice, egalitarianism and of course social peace.

However, in my opinion it would be highly premature to jump to such a conclusion. While we have achieved economic progress, commendable one at that, we have lost in the process something that is very precious, something of which we were immensely proud of over the ages. Economic progress has been brought about at a great social cost which is not at all recognized at present.

One factor that distinguished our society from other societies in the past was the strength of our family life and traditional values. Divorce was almost unknown in India. About two decades ago, we used to feel that break-up of families, singlemother families, etc., was a malady found only in the West and we in India were immune from it . We used to say proudly that we may not be as rich as those in the West but our family life was the best in the world. Marriage was deemed sacred and both the partners attached great importance to proper bringing up of the children. Extra-marital affairs were looked down upon and invited society's censure.

But how horrendously things have changed during the last two-three decades. I wonder whether any of you have ever visited the Family Court in Pune near the Alka talkies. The milieu in the premises of this Court (there are 4 of them) reminds one strongly of a railway station. They are thronged with people, young and old , men and women, and they come from all backgrounds. Everyone seems to be seeking a divorce. It is well known that in urban areas there has been an extremely rapid growth in the number of divorces being sought and if I remember rightly at present almost 25% of the marriages being solemnized head for a break-up. Is this the new India which we are aspiring to build in which the family, the basic unit of the society, is becoming endangered? In such an eventuality can we ever hope to have social peace?

We in India traditionally always respected our elders. The concept of old-age homes was almost unknown in India. It was axiomatic that the son would look after the parents in their old age, but today everything is changed. I recently read that in Pune a society has been formed by couples whose children have migrated to USA and to other foreign countries. Theses elderly people who have spent their lifetime bringing up their children, who toiled to send them abroad, find themselves in their old age alone and friendless. They turn to strangers for moral and physical support while their children make merry in the USA and other places. A society which treats its elderly in such an indifferent manner can never be called a healthy society. This is in conflict with the basic values of our civilization and represents a shameful phenomenon.

You must have all read about the “Rave party” held in a farmhouse near Pune in which a large number of young people, both men and women, most of them highly educated, were arrested for drug consumption. We all know that in higher echelons of our society it has now become fashionable to take drugs and it is regarded as the 'in-thing'.

When we look at these developments one indeed starts wondering: what kind of a society will India have by 2025? On the one hand, we would probably be by then a major economic cum-military superpower, with our companies owning assets all-over the world and with a substantial number of Indians being listed among world's millionaires and billionaires. But, on the other hand, at the same time, it would be a society where the institution of marriage has lost its sanctity, in which young men and women prefer to remain unmarried (a trend which is already visible in the urban areas), in which the elderly are not respected and in which the family is on the verge of disintegration. It is indeed a nightmarish vision. In such a society there would be no violent demonstrations or revolts against the Government which are normally regarded as a manifestation of social unrest but it would be a society at war with itself, in which everybody would be concerned only with his own material well-being.

This is indeed a frightening scenario. It poses a threat to our existence as a civilized people, in some ways far more potent than the threats to our national unity which had emerged during the 70's and 80's. What has gone wrong? Unless we analyse this question critically, we will be unable to take remedial measures to bring our society on the right track.

I think that the root of all these maladies lies in the overwhelming and overarching importance being attached to material prosperity and worldly comforts by one and all. Money has become the one and only criterion of everything. Anything that is more costly, any job which fetches a higher salary, is automatically deemed preferable and hankered after. The traditions, values and the spiritual framework of the past which did so much to hold our society together in times of

great difficulty have been jettisoned out of the window as if they were trash. They have not been replaced by anything new, cohesive and enduring.

The sharp growth in divorce cases in the urban areas is at least partly due to the changed perspective of urban Indian women. Being a devoted wife or '*Pativrata*' was looked upon as a sacred virtue, but no more. Modern urban woman has begun to feel that marriage is a contract which she may annul anytime provided it is to her advantage. Divorce no longer carries any social stigma and thanks to existence of laws highly sympathetic to women many greedy wives have begun to visualize divorce as a means of quickly enriching themselves. We earlier never read about the husband being taken for a ride by the wife at the very time of the betrothal. A number of young men from America have fallen prey to machinations of their young Indian brides who had contracted the marriage for some ulterior motives, including making financial gains. I quote here from a recent report in the Times of India: '*They are the silent minority. Their anguished cries are barely audible and their scars --- mainly, emotional ---- well-camouflaged. They seldom make it to the headlines. Yet, the growing number of harassed husbands is as much a reality today as tortured wives and a sizeable number are NRI s who find their dreams of an ideal Indian woman turning into a nightmare. (TOI, 26/8/2006)*

Old parents are chucked out because they are an economic burden on their children; unlike the past there is no societal pressure which would induce grown-up children to treat their parents with respect.

Hedonism has been severely condemned by all religions. We all know that we are here for a short period and one day we have to depart leaving behind everything that we have earned and accumulated by fair and foul means. It was this fear of the unknown that used to goad people of past generations to stick to principles of morality and righteousness, but today, in the absence of any such moral restraint, most are firmly convinced that happiness is derived only by gratification of senses, ostentatious living and a flamboyant lifestyle. It is automatically assumed that a man with a bigger house and a

flashier car is ipso facto happier than a man with a smaller house and a compact car. So addicted to materialism have we become that even raising such a question seems an inane exercise. Here I cannot help quoting from the well-known German philosopher, Schopenhauer, that *what is in your head is more important than what is in your pocket*. It is this maddening and totally insensate hankering of most people for material possessions that is going to prove the bane of our society and cause immense social tension.

Some Other Factors likely to Lead to Social Tension: Corruption, dominance of caste and region-based identities, unemployment and terrorism :

Perhaps what generates most tension and stress for the common man in his day-to-day life is his interaction with corrupt officials which he cannot avoid. It is commonly said that corruption has pervaded all walks of life in India. The harm which this causes to our economy, to the moral standards of our society, is immense and cannot be overestimated. The Supreme Court of India has recently observed that *everyone wanted to loot this country and the only solution to the menace of corruption was to hang some people in public*. Apart from the suffering caused to those who are victims of corrupt practices, it has bred extreme cynicism and callousness in most of us. We cannot simply believe that anything can be achieved in a straightforward way, that there is something called goodness which has nothing to do with money. This reminds me of a stanza from the Gita which goes as follows :

“ They say that this universe is without truth, without (moral) basis, without a God, brought about by a mutual union, with lust for its cause, what else”(16.8)

As portrayed in this stanza, our society appears to be composed of people who feel that there is nothing to life except sensual enjoyments and there was no purpose in the creation of the world which had come about only as a result of physical relationship between man and woman. Most people complain of corruption when they have to deal with Governmental and Semi-Governmental

agencies. While corruption is deplorable, no matter where it exists, in certain sectors which have a direct bearing on day-to-day life of the people, it can have truly disastrous consequences. Here I would specifically like to focus on the sectors of police and judiciary. Social tension in a society can be contained only if the vast majority of its members are convinced that it operates on the *Rule of Law*; the *Rule of Law* requires an impartial enforcing machinery which above all consists of the police and the judiciary.

How does the average person look upon the police? Does he look upon them as his protector and guardian? Will he willingly go to police to make a complaint? What about the judiciary? Indeed it is commonly felt that the last thing a wise man should do is to consult a lawyer or get embroiled in court proceedings. It is a cliché that routine matters keep going on for years causing immense agony to the victims of injustice. Nobody would disagree that there is a crying need to bring about far-reaching reforms in the police and the judiciary. They need to regain the trust of the common man and his grievances require to be dealt with in a prompt, equitable and transparent manner. Unless this happens, vast segments of the people will feel aggrieved and demoralized which can only lead to more and more social tension.

As we look around today, while fissiparous tendencies have lost their virulence and while there is far more intermingling among Indians belonging to different regions, this has not led to any weakening of identities based on region, caste, etc. One has only to observe the tenacity and zeal with which different states fight over sharing of river waters or demarcation of their boundaries. Such unfortunately is the state of affairs in India that any politician who agrees to compromise on such issues faces the danger of losing his seat. Regional identities remain as strong as ever in this country. This is certainly not an auspicious portent as far as the future of the Indian society is concerned.

What about the caste? Caste remains a strong factor in our social life even after six decades of our independence. I am in Pune for the last one year. Earlier whenever somebody asked me my name, I

used to feel it was for the purpose of knowing who I was , but now my opinion has changed. I think, surnames are asked only to determine the caste of one's interlocutor.

A young man today belonging to a so-called upper caste and who is not academically very bright stands no chance of getting a good job. Can we put ourselves in the shoes of such a young man who finds that somebody who has fared far worse than him academically easily secures a lucrative job only because he belongs to the “privileged” segment of the society while he remains unemployed? How can he accept that he has to atone for the sins of commission and omission committed during some long bygone era by his remote ancestors.

Finally, it would be appropriate to say a few words about Government's economic policy. While after the liberalization of the 90's , our economy has expanded rapidly, there has not been a concomitant growth in job creation. A significant segment of the population unfortunately remains unemployed and every year the pool of unemployed goes on expanding. This can pose a serious threat to the very fabric of our society in the years to come. The unemployed youth belonging to the minority community can be tempted into joining terrorist movements. This is not a question of numbers; even if every year hundred or so disaffected and discontented youth join terrorist groups, they can create havoc in our society. Terrorism will find ready recruits when the general milieu of the society is marked by callousness and lack of faith in its ability to act in a just and fair way. It seems to me that this is a scenario which can very well become a reality in the coming years; if this happens the consequences would be frightening.

Against this background , how would the Indian society look like in 2030 or so ? The scenario which comes to my mind is not very alluring. We will have a large pool of unemployed people , going through life in an aimless, discontented way. Some of them will turn to petty crimes , some to drugs, and so on. A large percentage of our young and middle-aged population will remain unmarried. There would be a substantial increase in promiscuity , illegitimate births, single-mother families, and so on. A larger percentage of our young

population would fall victim to AIDS. It may be mentioned here that in some parts of Southern Africa almost 20% of the population below the age of forty has been wiped out by AIDS. Corruption would remain endemic and there would be total disenchantment of the common people with the functioning of the Government. The elderly would feel lost and forlorn. There would be an increase in crime against women, children, elderly, and the weak. Caste would remain an all- important factor in all walks of life. Those who belong to the other side of the divide will feel deeply disenchanted and alienated from the mainstream. This would create deep chasms in our society and would greatly weaken the bond of national unity. There would be a sharp increase in acts of terrorism and violence directed against innocent citizens; a small segment of the minority community will firmly embrace the ideology of Islamic fundamentalism. This in turn will widen the rift between Hindus and Muslims. Added to all this, people by and large would become totally intolerant, unwilling to do anything for others. Each person will be concerned exclusively with his own material interests and well-being and would worship the Mammon by all means, fair or foul.

Strategy for Dealing with the Causes of Social Unrest:

- ***Revisiting and reviewing the laws bearing on social life of the people such as the Anti-dowry Act, Reservation Policy, etc., every ten years or so in a realistic manner taking into account their impact on all segments of the society.***
- ***Taking urgent steps to cleanse our public life of the scourge of corruption and nepotism.***
- ***Ensuring that people's grievances are attended to in a prompt and fair manner. Special attention will be given to those departments which deal directly with the common man like the police and judiciary so that people develop confidence in them.***
- ***Decrying the role of caste in all walks of life especially in politics.***
- ***Evolving a system by which we get visionary leadership which can look ahead and take steps to meet the***

threats confronting our society. Plato two-thousand years ago had given much thought to who should ideally rule Athens. According to him the rulers, and he called him *Guardians*, should have among others the following attributes : In the first place none of them should have any property beyond what is absolutely necessary; neither should they have a private house with bars and bolts , closed against anyone , who has a mind to enter. They should have common means and live together.

- *Making holistic spiritual education mandatory in schools and colleges.* Young boys and girls should understand that there is far more to life than merely earning money and man is far more than a mere body. It is only through proper spiritual instructions that the quality of tolerance will be inculcated among the people.
- *The ideal which we should keep before us is enshrined in the following stanza of Gita: he who sees Me everywhere and sees everything in Me, he never becomes separated from Me, nor do I become separated from Him.*
You can never be unfair or cruel to another person or demand a bribe from him if you feel he too is a manifestation of God as you are.

In the final analysis, our society will become truly harmonious only when each of its member realizes that there is a common bond of humanity binding one and all.

CLOSING REMARKS BY THE CHAIRMAN

DR MADHAV GODBOLE

The canvas of the subject of the seminar is so large that it is a difficult task to make concluding comments. I do not take a pessimistic view of the future. When India's partition took place, the British had 150 years to 200 years of experience. The British Government had made out a top secret "eyes only" report on the eve of partition. It said that due to religious homogeneity, Pakistan will be a dynamic and a strong nation and India due to its heterogeneity and immense diversity will disintegrate. What has happened is exactly the opposite. Winston Churchill too held similar views and expected India to collapse. Late former Prime Minister of Pakistan Bhutto in reply to question said that what is holding India together is its democracy. Doomsday sayers raised the question, "After Nehru, Who ?" and said that India will not survive.

I have great faith in democracy despite its many pitfalls, internal turmoil and aberrations. These days India is compared with China by many thinkers and institutions taking the economic indicators into account. In my view, India is a more solid entity as a development entity. China has serious internal social and political problems which could implode with the passage of time. These are likely to surface by 2030-2040.

Social unrest should never be looked at as a law and order problem. The problem of Naxalism in its initial phase was examined in depth and a paper was brought out, which said that it was basically a social and economic problem. The Planning Commission too was aware of it. Yet no serious credible effort was made to effectively tackle the problem. Most of the states were afflicted by non-governance and misgovernance. Naxalism was portrayed as a law and order problem. Consequently the situation worsened. 165 districts, from south of Nepal covering most of major states down south namely UP, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Kerala are under Naxal control. They run a parallel government. The problem of Naxalism is far more serious than threats from outside. The question that is worrisome is what

stops the politicians from addressing themselves to resolve the problem of Naxalism?

Globalization has become a “mantra” for many. They look upon creation of Special Economic Zones on the lines of China as essential to speed up economic development of the country disregarding the core needs and interests of the affected rural population. Globalization now is unavoidable. It needs to be handled tactfully to address home grown problems. The benefits of development need to reach a very large population which has remained deprived and neglected for too long. It should bring about very large scale of employment opportunities particularly in the rural sector. We have failed to do this. How much money allocated for the uplift of the poor downtrodden has reached the targeted population in the name of development? There are the issues crying for attention. Today's seminar has highlighted some of these issues.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

- Rising debt burden is driving literally thousands of farmers to commit suicide, and it is a major source of unrest in rural Maharashtra.
- The root causes of widespread social unrest in India have remained unaddressed for too long. As a nation we appear to be sitting on a volcano that may erupt any moment.
- After getting independence, the developing countries are facing the revolution of rising expectations. There is a wide gap between expectations and performance.
- During the last half a century, the gap between the rural and urban India has widened steadily. Similar awesome gap exists between slum/pavement dwellers and apartment dwellers in metropolitan cities.
- The collective wisdom embodied in Indian constitution that paved the way for parliamentary democracy in India has been proved wrong to a large extent.
- Nearly 30 percent of India's population is living below poverty line (BPL). 45 percent of children in the age group of 1 to 6 are undernourished and do not receive prompt medical attention. Our literacy rate is hovering round 65 percent. A large percentage of people are unemployed.
- A healthy party system is the backbone of any democracy. This is yet to be built up. New party outfits and equations get formed around personalities rather than set of ideas and values.
- The doctrine of social equity and justice enshrined in the constitution of India exists only on paper.
- The system of governance has failed miserably. Social unrest is the result of misgovernance and non-governance over a long period.

- Sporadic instances of communal violence used to occur at times. Political populists are now colouring it as alienation of Muslims, ignoring the core of the problem, that is, a large cross section of the Indian population which has been left out from the development efforts is getting alienated because of misgovernance, non-governance and endemic corruption.
- Economic progress though commendable has been brought about at a great social cost. Family life the basic unit of society is breaking down. Divorce which was a rare phenomenon earlier, has now become common place particularly among the young. Hedonism has come to stay. The country appears to be heading for society where many young men and women prefer to remain unmarried.
- There is rampant corruption. Police and judiciary need to regain the trust of the common man.
- A significant segment of the population remains unemployed and every year the pool of unemployed goes on expanding.
- Terrorism finds ready recruits when the general milieu of the society is marked by callousness and lack of faith in its ability to act in a just and fair way.
- Student unrest, agrarian unrest and Naxalism have been dogging the country for more than four decades. Then these were seen as emanating from denial or deprivation of basic constitutional rights of a large number of affected people. Now these are being looked at as merely law and order problem. This is totally wrong.
- Endemic systemic failure and institutional decline is leading to social unrest in India.

**YASHWANTRO CHAVAN MEMORIAL SEMINAR : 2007
SOCIAL UNREST IN INDIA : CHALLENGES AHEAD**

SEMINAR : 13th March, 2007

(Venue YASHADA New Auditorium, Baner Road, Pune)

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. Dr. Madhav Godbole | - CASS |
| 2. ACM (Retd.) H. Moolgavkar | - CASS |
| 3. Admiral (Retd.) JG Nadkarni | - CASS |
| 4. Lt Gen (Retd.) RK Nanavatty | - CASS |
| 5. Lt Gen (Retd.) DB Shekatkar | - CASS |
| 6. Air Marshal (Retd.) S. Kulkarni | - CASS |
| 7. Gp Capt (Retd.) SG Chitnis | - CASS |
| 8. Lt Gen (Retd.) PPS Bindra | - CASS |
| 9. Air Cmde (Retd.) AP Valavade | - CASS |
| 10. Rear Admiral (Retd.) SS Godbole | - CASS |
| 11. Air Vice Marshal (Retd.) RD Limaye | - CASS |
| 12. Maj Gen (Retd.) SG Pitre | - CASS |
| 13. Brig (Retd.) RR Palsokar | - CASS |
| 14. Brig (Retd.) V. Sapatnekar | - CASS |
| 15. Shri VL Date | - CASS |
| 16. Dr. Vimala Menon | - CASS |
| 17. Wg Cdr (Retd.) MY Kasbekar | - CASS |
| 18. Shri PC Khole | - CASS |
| 19. Air Marshal TS Randhawa | - CASS / NDA |
| 20. Amarendra Kumar | - CASS / NDA |
| 21. Lt RT Shusanthan | - CASS / NDA |
| 22. Capt Manish Kuketi | - CASS / NDA |
| 23. Lt Col Na | - CASS / NDA |
| 24. Maj Peyush Shukla | - CASS / NDA |
| 25. VP Thakar | - CASS / R&D Estt. (Engrs.) |
| 26. RK Chouhan | - CASS / R&D Estt. (Engrs.) |
| 27. Naresh Kumar | - CASS / R&D Estt. (Engrs.) |
| 28. AK Patel | - CASS / R&D Estt. (Engrs.) |

29. Dr. DN Dhanagare - Former Vice Chancellor, Shivaji University, Kolhapur
30. Dr. PV Joshi - Addl. Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs and presently with the Home Ministry for last two years
31. Ms. Jyotsna Deshpande - CASS / YASHADA
32. Mrs. Sujata Godbole -
33. Mrs. Lata Chitnis -
34. Col (Retd.) AB Deshpande -
35. Cmde (Retd.) Rajan Vir -
36. Mrs. Rajan Vir -
37. Col (Retd.) YG Tambay -
38. Col RR Nimbhojkar - DDSS, University of Pune
39. Prof. GB Kulkarni - DDSS, University of Pune
40. Mr. Kapil D. Patil - DDSS, University of Pune
41. Mr. Anil Abhale - DDSS, University of Pune
42. Col Virendra Tomar - MINTSD
43. Col Gurdev Kahlon - MINTSD
44. Ms. Deepali R. Khaire - CASS / JRVGTI
45. Mr. Anand R. Dubal - LLM, University of Pune
46. Mr. Nana Godse - LLM, University of Pune
47. Mr. Manohar Nikam - LLM, University of Pune
48. Mr. S. Ganabanta - LLM, University of Pune
49. Prof. PT Pandit - Yashwantrao Chavan Pratishthan, Pune Centre
50. Mr. Tarun Nangia - The Indian Express
51. Mr. Nitin Patil - Maharashtra Herald
52. Mr. Maruti Joshi - Kesari
53. Prof. Kirtiraj DC - Bharati Vidyapeeth
54. Mr. Vishram V. Sonsurkar - Bharati Vidyapeeth
55. Ms. Dhruvi N. Raval - Bharati Vidyapeeth

CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STRATEGIC STUDIES

The Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies (CASS), Pune was registered on 21st September, 1992 under the Society's Registration Act, 1860, and as a Charitable Public Trust on 28th October, 1992, under the Bombay Charitable Public Trust Act of 1950. The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, Ministry of Science and Technology, Government of India have accorded recognition to CASS as a Scientific and Industrial Research Institution. The Centre has been granted extension of IT exemption U/S.80G till 30.03.2008 and U/S.10(23C)(iv) for AY 2004-2005 and onwards vide Government of India Notification No.80/2007 dated 26.03.2007. Section 10(23C)(iv) gives hundred percent exemption for income of the Centre, and Section 80G gives fifty percent exemption to the donors. Extension of IT exemption U/S.35(1)(iii) which gives hundred percent exemption to donors of for the period AY 01.04.2000 and onwards is expected soon.

The Centre aims at undertaking research and analysis of subjects relating to national and international security and development through seminars, discussions, publications at periodical intervals and close interaction with the faculty members and research students in allied disciplines in the Universities/Institutions and the Armed Forces. It expects to award research fellowships as soon as its corpus builds up and makes it possible. It aims to generate and promote interest among the academicians and public in these subjects with a view to making them alive to national security concerns. It has received very valuable support from the University of Pune in all its activities, specially from the Department of Defence and strategic Studies. It has a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Yashwantrao Chavan Academy of Development Administration (YASHADA) enabling mutual collaboration for making available their infrastructure, publications and teaching and research activities. The Centre has held a number of seminars, panel and group discussions.

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