

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE ON DALITS, MARGINALISED & TENTH FIVE YEAR PLAN (2002-07)

INTRODUCTION

In March 1950, Government of India passed a resolution to set up a Planning Commission for the Planned Development of the Country. Government's Resolution to set up Planning Commission defined the scope of its work and aimed at directing its policy towards securing, among other things:

- (a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;*
- (b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to sub serve the common good; and*
- (c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment*

Setting up of such an institution to carry out the above said objectives was indeed a very welcome step. The Socially and economically marginalised sections such as the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, Women and other backward classes now could see a definite and positive role of the state in overcoming their marginalisation that has prevailed for centuries. Since 1950, nine Five Year Plans along with three annual plans have been completed and Planning Commission has played a vital role in putting India on the road to all round development and as a result there are improvements in the life of the Dalits and Disadvantaged. It does not mean that all the developmental problems of these sections have been overcome. In fact a study of the Delhi based NGO of Dalits, Centre for Alternative Dalit Media (CADAM) noticed that the total planned expenditure incurred on the development of Dalits had never exceeded by 2 percent. Considering the proportion of the Dalits in Indian Population, which is about 25%, this paltry allocation in Development Planning is a sure indication as to why Dalits (SC+ST) still remain socially and economically weak and backward.

BACKGROUND OF THE CONFERENCE

Realising the above-mentioned shortcoming in the India's Development Planning, CADAM organised a seminar on **Dalits and the Approach Paper to the 10th Plan** on 24th June 2001 at Gandhi Peace Foundation in New Delhi. Dalit Intellectuals and other concerned citizens from all over India were invited to analyse and discuss the Approach contained in the Approach Paper. As a result of the detailed discussions held in the seminar, a memorandum expressing the concerns of the Dalits and marginalised was prepared and the same was sent to the Chairman, the Deputy Chairman and the Advisor (Backward Classes) to the Planning Commission. This memorandum had impact on the deliberations of NDC and the Prime Minister, who also heads the Planning Commission publicly stated in that at the time of Detailed Planning, interests of the Dalits would be duly considered.¹

Therefore, **National Conference of Dalit Organisations** joined hands with **CADAM** in striving to get developmental expenditure on Dalits enhanced in proportion to their population. It was felt that unless short-term and long-term Plans consciously take care of the interests of the SCs, STs and marginalised sections, Developmental Planning would not fulfil the basic premises of socio-economic justice to these sections.

OBJECTIVES OF THE CONFERENCE

It is important to note that the implementation of 10th Five Year Plan have already begun in March 2002. Planning Commission, which has prepared draft 10th Five Year Plan (2002-2007), planned to put up the same for its approval in the National Development Council (which comprise of Prime Minister, Chief Ministers, Ministers and Deputy Chairman and Members of the Planning Commission) on 21st December 2002.

The 10th Five Year Plan, covering the period 2002-03 to 2006-07, envisages total investment (Centre + State + Public Sector Enterprises) of more than Rupees 1.2 million Crores at 2001-2002 prices. Therefore, it is important that the interests of the Dalits and Marginalised are duly taken care of in the 10th Five Year Plan. It become all the more important for the Dalits when they assess their conditions in the light of the following Data that have been compiled from various Governmental Reports:

- Literacy gap between SCs and general has increased from 13.75% in 1961 to 14.80 in 1991.

- Literacy gap between STs and general has increased from 15.49% in 1961 to 22.61 in 1991
- Female Literacy gap between SCs and general has increased from 4.64% in 1961 to 15.53% in 1991. Similarly this gap between the STs and general female has widened from 4.77% in 1961 to 21.10% in 1991.
- Drop out rate of the SCs and STs student as per the 1991 census stands at 67.8% and 78.6% respectively is
- 48.37% of SCs and 51.14% STs live below poverty line compared to 35.97% of general masses for reason being low-paid and jobs considered degrading.
- Representation of the SCs/STs in group A and B has been far low than the expected level
- 75% of SCs work in primary sector and more than half of these as agricultural labourers

In the light of the above, the objectives of the Conference were to provide adequate inputs and training to the grass-root dalit activists on the process of planning in India and developing indepth knowledge on 10th Five Year Plan. This was to be achieved through a detailed discussion by leading economicists, intellectuals, leaders and activists of various socio-political streams so that grass-root leaders and activists could link up problems with the Planning Process and prepare a Memorandum on 10th Five Year Plan, which could be submitted to the Planning Commission and Government of India for corrective actions. This memorandum was also envisaged to be used as a lobbying document to mobilise public and political opinion in favour of the disadvantaged sections, specially the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the Women.

PARTICIPANTS OF CONFERENCE

National Conference of Dalit Organisations (NACDOR) in association with Social Development Foundation and CADAM organised a two-day **Conference on Dalits, Marginalised and 10th Five-Year Plan** in New Delhi on 16th and 17th December 2002 at Gandhi Peace Foundation, in New Delhi. This conference had in-depth discussion on the Draft Document of the 10th Five Year Plan. About one hundred Eminent intellectuals, academicians, writers, social and political leaders, and activists from Delhi, Gujarat, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, participated in the Conference. List of the Speakers and participants is given in

the annexure-I

STRUCTURE OF THE CONFERENCE

The whole conference was divided into seven sessions. Apart from Inaugural and Concluding sessions, special sessions on Dalits and Women were planned to have a focussed discussion on the concerns of these two sections. Three sessions were planned to discuss sectoral issues.

SESSION-I: INAUGURATION

The Conference began with the formal inaugural session, where important leaders of different political streams in India participated. These leaders, while presenting their remarks sought the feedback of the participant on the 10th Plan so that they could take up the matter at the appropriate platforms. Mr. Ramdas Athvale Member of Parliament and President of Republican Party of India, chaired the session. Speakers of this session included Mr. Prakash Karat, Polit Bureau Member of Communist Party of India (Marxist), Mr. D. Raja, Secretary, National Executive of Communist Party of India, Mr. Jai Kishan, ex-MLA and Member of All India Congress Committee. Mr. V.B. Rawat of Social Development Foundation Conducted the proceedings of the session and Mr. Ashok K. Bharti, National Coordinator of National Conference of Dalit Organisations presented the brief background and objectives of the Conference. Ms. Rajni Tilak of CADAM gave the vote of thanks.

SESSION-II: DALITS AND 10TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Second Session of the Conference was on Dalits and 10th Five Year plan. Participants discussed the issues and concerns Dalits, i.e. the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and the propositions of the 10th Plan. Prof. Sukhdeo Thorat, an eminent Dalit Intellectual and Professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University chaired the session. Prof Arun Kumar, Professor of economics at Jawaharlal Nehru University discussed the 10th Plan and its macro-economic aspects. Prof. Virginius Xaxa, Sociologist, Delhi School of Economics, Delhi University and an eminent Tribal intellectual deliberated on 10th Plan and the Scheduled Tribes. Mr. Anil Pandey, Editor, Budhan, a magazine committed to the welfare and empowerment of the de-notified tribes (DNT) informed that the 10th Plan Document was conspicuous by its

silence on the development of DNT. Mr. Ashok K. Bharti, National Coordinator of the National Conference of Dalit Organisations presented a comprehensive analysis of the 10th Plan document in the light of the SCs and STs and expressed his unhappiness of reduced allocation for the development of these marginalised sections of the Indian Society. Chairman of the session Prof. S.K. Thorat also felt that the 10th Plan does not address the core issues of the Dalit Concerns. It was felt that the 10th Plan does not adequately addresses the issues and concerns of the dalits and need some serious improvements.

SESSION-III: WOMEN AND 10TH FIVE YEAR PLAN

Third Session of the Conference was on Women and 10th Five Year plan. Ms Rajni Tilak of National Federation of Dalit Women chaired the session. Prof. Pranab Banerjee of Indian Institute of Public Administration spoke on the macro-economic aspects of the 10th Plan and how these issues affect the women. Dr. Vimal Thorat of Indira Gandhi National Open University and Vice-President National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights expressed her reservations about the claims of the 10th plan. Dr. Urvashi Butalia, a leading feminist and founder of Kali for Women, in her paper said that the whole approach of the planning was wrong. The Planning Process in India considers women, dalits and other marginalised sections as beneficiary and hence fails to plan as per their need. The 10th Plan Document was not an exception to this. In her absence, renowned Social Scientist Dr. Meena Radhakrishna read her paper. Dr. Indu Agnihotri also expressed her concerns on claims of the 10th Plan document. Mr. Sunit Chopra, Secretary of All India Agricultural Workers' Union, also discussed the 10th Plan and unorganised sector, particularly the agricultural labourers, of which significant portion is composed of the women in detail and gave important inputs to the participants.

SESSION-IV: SECTORAL ISSUES – HEALTH, FOOD AND HABITATION

Fourth Session of the Conference was on Sectoral Issues of Health, Food and Habitation and 10th Plan. Prof. Imrana Qadeer of Jawaharlal Nehru University chaired the session. Speakers of this session included Mr. Harsh Mander, Country Director of Action Aid, noted environmentalist Mr. Dunu Roy, Dr. Harish Pemde of CADAM. Mr. Harsh Mander Spoke on the Poverty Alleviation, Food Security and 10th Plan. Mr. Dunu Roy discussed the issue of habitation, particularly urban and rural habitation and 10th five-year plan. Dr. Harish

Pemde discussed how the 10th plan does not take care of the issue of Dalit Health. He said that the issue of the Health of Dalits has to be considered as a specialised need of the Dalit Community, which 10th plan doesn't do. Prof. Imrana Qadeer discussed the implications of the 10th plan, which in her view was all for privatisation of the health services and could be disastrous for the poor and needy. Speakers gave valuable suggestion for improving the 10th plan. With this session ended the first day of the conference.

SESSION-V: SECTORAL ISSUES – EDUCATION AND 10TH FIVE YEAR PLAN

The Second day of the conference began with the Fifth Session of the Conference that discussed the issue of education and the 10th Five Year Plan. The second day would begin with the session on Education and the 10th Five-year plan. Prof. Kamal Chenoy of Jawaharlal Nehru University chaired the session. Speakers and presenters of the session included Dr. Janaki Rajan, Director State Council of Education Research and Training (SCERT), Delhi, Ms. Sheba Farooqui, National Federation of Indian Women and Mr. Ashok K. Bharti of National Conference of Dalit Organisations (NACDOR). Speakers of the Conference clearly said that there was a fundamental difference between the education and the literacy. Dr. Janaki Rajan said that the mid-day meal scheme of the government was impractical and meant to divert the attention of the people. She stressed that there is an acute need of special campaign to educate Dalits and other marginalised sections of the society, but 10th Five Year plan does not address this need. Ms. Sheba Farooqui explained how the girls in school have to suffer basic necessities of water and toilet, forget about the educational materials. Mr. Ashok K. Bharti of National Conference of Dalit Organisations (NACDOR) presented a brief status of the education of the Dalits. He said that the Punjab, which is considered as one of the advanced State in India does not have even one Scheduled Caste pursuing Doctoral Course. He said that most of the Dalit students drop before they reach to the college and the way 10th Plan has addressed the question of education will wipe out dalit students from the colleges and the University.

Prof. Kamal Chenoy said that it seems that the 10th plan has different priorities. Quoting the allocation for the Sanskrit, he said that there is too much allocation for saffron agenda than the saner agenda. He said that when govt can spare money for Sanskrit Kosh, why it cannot create a fund for educating Dalits and marginalised.

SESSION-VI: SECTORAL ISSUES – DEFENCE, SCIENCE – TECHNOLOGY, ECONOMY AND GOVERNANCE

Sixth Session of the Conference also continued focussed discussion on the sectoral issues. It specially focussed on Defence, Science – Technology, Economy and Governance. Mr. Praful Bidwai, renowned journalist and columnist chaired the session. Speakers of the session included Dr. Dinesh Abrol, Delhi Science Forum, and Mr. Aditya Nigam, Political Scientist and fellow at Centre for Studies of Developing Society.

SESSION-VII: CONCLUDING SESSION: LAND, LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT

The seventh and the concluding session discussed the issue of land, labour and employment. Mr. A.B. Bardhan, General Secretary of Communist Party of India chaired the session. Speakers of this session included Mr. V. B. Rawat, Director, Social Development Foundation, Mr. N.K. Shukla, Joint Secretary, All India Kisan Sabha, Dr. Archana Prasad, Fellow, NMML and All India People's Science Network, Dr. Shobhana Warriar, Delhi University, Ms. Ramnika Gupta, CITU, Mr. Kanwal Bharti, Renowned Dalit author. Mr. V.B. Rawat discussed how 10th Plan ignored the issue of land reform. He criticised the governmental effort of promoting private sector's entry into the agriculture and planned marginalisation of the already marginalised marginal and small farmers. Mr. N.K. Shukla of All India Kisan Sabha explained how the 10th Plan was anti-farmer and agricultural labour. Dr. Archana Prasad discussed the implications of 10th plan on forest and communities dependent upon them. Dr. Shobhana Warriar spoke on unorganised sector and 10th Plan and concluded that 10th Plan does not address the problems of this sector. Ms. Ramnika Gupta, leader of CITU outlined the concerns of the workers. Mr. Kanwal Bharti of CADAM said that the 10th Plan appeared to be Hindu Agenda of finishing off all those who could be against them. He said that 10th Plan is nothing but was the economic agenda of Hindutva and need to be opposed.

Chairman of the concluding session, Mr. A.B. Bardhan said that one must keep in mind that 10th Plan ignore the mandate that government has. It was serving the interest of the mighty and rich and marginalizing the weak and poor. He said that people who are interested in putting people first, must oppose this and impress upon the government to bring necessary change so that poor are served.

Before the Conference ended, Dr. Meena Radhakrishna, senior fellow at Nehru Memorial Museums and Library, and author of famous book *Dishonoured by History 'Criminal Tribes' and British Colonial Policy* on De-notified Criminal Tribes, who helped greatly in organising this conference, was honoured by all the participants and the organisers. Mr.

Mohandas Namishroy, renowned Dalit Writer honoured her with a Blue Shawl. Ms. Rajni Tilak of CADA< extended the vote of thanks to all the speakers, participants and those who helped and supported the organisation of this conference.

FOLLOW UP PROGRAMME

As a follow up of the Conference, National Conference of dalit Organisations used the valuable analysis, inputs, suggestions and concerns and based on these prepared a Memorandum on the Draft Document of 10th Five -Year Plan. Memorandum is given in Annexure-II. This memorandum was submitted in the office of the Prime Minister, who is also the Chairman of the Planning Commission. Copy of the memorandum was also submitted to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. A copy of the memorandum was also submitted to the Leader of the Opposition Ms. Sonia Gandhi. Apart from this, NACDOR plans to publish this memorandum in Hindi and English and send to all the Chief Ministers, Members of Parliament, MLAs and Leaders of various political parties.

It has also been planned to meet all the SC/ST MPs and request them to take up the matter at various platform.

SPEAKERS AND PARTICIPANTS

RESOURCE PERSONS AND SPEAKERS

- 1 Mr. A. B. Bardhan, General Secretary, Communist Party of India
- 2 Mr. D. Raja, Secretary, National Council, Communist Party of India
- 3 Mr. Prakash Karat, Polit Bureau Member, Communist Party of India (Marxist)
- 4 Mr. Ramdas Athavale, Member of Parliament & President, Republican Party of India
- 5 Mr. Jai Kishan, ex-MLA and Member, AICC
- 6 Mr. Ashok Bharti, National Coordinator, National Conference of Dalit Organisations
- 7 Mr. V.B. Rawat, Director, Social Development Foundation
- 8 Mr. Kanwal Bharti, Renowned Dalit author & CADAM
- 9 Ms. Rajni Tilak, National Federation of Dalit Women
- 10 Dr. Jayati Ghosh, Economist, Jawaharlal Nehru University
- 11 Ms. Sehba Farooqui, National Federation of Indian Women (NFIW)
- 12 Prof. Kamal Chenoy, Former President, JNU Teachers' Association, JNU
- 13 Prof. Imrana Qadeer, Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, JNU
- 14 Prof. Dr. S.K. Thorat, Economist, Jawaharlal Nehru University
- 15 Prof. Arun Kumar, Economist, Jawaharlal Nehru University
- 16 Mr. Praful Bidwai, Senior Columnist
- 17 Mr. N.K. Shukla, Joint Secretary, All India Kisan Sabha
- 18 Mr. Sunit Chopra, All India Agricultural Workers' Union
- 19 Prof. Virginius Xaxa, Sociologist, Delhi School of Economics, Delhi University
- 20 Dr. Dinesh Abrol, Delhi Science Forum
- 21 Prof. Pranab Banerjee, Economist, Indian Institute of Public Administration
- 22 Dr. Vimal Thorat, IGNOU and National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights
- 23 Dr. Indu Agnihotri, All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA)
- 24 Dr. Urvashi Butalia, Publisher, Kali for Women
- 25 Dr. Harish Pemde, MBBS, MD, Centre for Alternative Dalit Media (CADAM), New Delhi
- 26 Mr. Harsh Mander, Country Director, Action Aid
- 27 Mr. Dunu Roy, Architect and Environmentalist
- 28 Dr. Janaki Rajan, Director, SCERT, Delhi

- 29 Dr. Aditya Nigam, Political Scientist, CSDS
- 30 Dr. Archana Prasad, Fellow, NMML and All India People's Science Network
- 31 Mr. Anil Pandey, Editor, Budhan (Hindi)
- 32 Dr. Shobhna Warriar, Delhi University
- 33 Ms. Ramnika Gupta, CITU
- 34 Dr. Meena Radhakrishna, Sociologist, New Delhi

OTHER PARTICIPANTS

ANNEXURE-II

COPY OF THE MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE CHAIRMAN, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF PLANNING COMMISSION AND MEMBERS OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL (NDC). COPIES OF THE MEMORANDUM HAS ALSO BEEN SUBMITTED TO THE LEADERS OF OPPOSITION IN LOKSABHA, CHIEF MINISTERS, AND MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

Dated: 20th December 2002

THE CHAIRMAN

Planning Commission of India,
Yojna Bhawan, Parliament Street
New Delhi

KIND ATTN: MR. A. B. VAJPAYEE, HON'BLE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

SUBJECT: MEMORANDUM ON THE DRAFT DOCUMENT OF 10TH FIVE -YEAR PLAN

Sir,

The founding fathers of our nation recognised the age-old socio-economic exploitation and sufferings of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe and other marginalised sections such as women, socially and educationally backward classes, and the poor of all backgrounds. The founding fathers of modern India aspired to establish a comprehensive democracy aiming at political, social and economic equality and justice. To achieve this, they evolved a number of mechanisms. Planning Commission, which was set up in March 1950 is one of the mechanisms.

Government's Resolution to set up Planning Commission defined the scope of its work in following terms:

"The Constitution of India has guaranteed certain Fundamental Rights to the citizens of India and enunciated certain Directive Principles of State Policy, in particular, that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life, and shall direct its policy towards securing, among other things:

- a. that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood ;*
- b. that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good ; and*
- c. that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of*

wealth and means of production to the common detriment

Having regard to these rights, and in furtherance of these principles as well as of the declared objective of the Government to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by efficient exploitation of the resources of the country, increasing production, and offering opportunities to all for employment in the service of the community, the Planning Commission will:

- 1. Make an assessment of the material, capital and human resources of the country, including technical personnel, and investigate the possibilities of augmenting such of these resources as are found to be deficient in relation to the nation's requirements;*
- 2. Formulate a Plan for the most effective and balanced utilisation of the country's resources;*
- 3. On a determination of priorities, define the stages in which the Plan should be carried out and propose the allocation of resources for the due completion of each stage;*
- 4. Indicate the factors which are tending to retard economic development, and determine the conditions which, in view of the current social and political situation, should be established for the successful execution of the Plan;*
- 5. Determine the nature of the machinery which will be necessary for securing the successful implementation of each stage of the Plan in all its aspects;*
- 6. Appraise from time to time the progress achieved in the execution of each stage of the Plan and recommend the adjustments of policy and measures that such appraisal may show to be necessary; and*
- 7. Make such interim or ancillary recommendations as appear to it to be appropriate either for facilitating the discharge of the duties assigned to it; or, on a consideration of the prevailing economic conditions, current policies, measures and development programmes; or on an examination of such specific problems as may be referred to it for advice by Central or State Governments.”¹*

But, these efforts were not to be carried out in isolation. The Planning Commission accepted the role of every citizen in the Development Planning and hence sought their cooperation through wide circulation of the complete details of the plans and organising, facilitating and supporting large scale discussions among the concerned masses and interest groups so that they can put forth their views and provide important inputs to the Planning Commission so that it could take these into account before finalising the Draft Document. We quote what the Planning Commission said in the Introduction of the First Five Year Plan:

“Planning in a democratic State is a social process in which, in some part, every citizen should have the opportunity to participate. To set the patterns of future development is a task of such magnitude and significance that it should embody the impact of public opinion

and the needs of the community. We have, therefore, felt it necessary, before presenting our proposals in complete detail, to offer a Draft Outline of the Plan. The Draft is intended to be a document for the widest possible public discussion. We hope to have further consultations with the Central Ministries, State Governments and our own Advisory Board and Panels, and also to obtain the views of Members of Parliament before we finalise the Plan.” (Emphasis added)

The Planning Commission itself took the responsibility of organising the public debate and discussion on its proposed planning and Plan Documents that it prepared. The Planning Commission said:

“At the request of the Planning Commission, many educational institutions set up seminars of teachers and students to study the plan and send their comments to the Commission. Many district boards and municipal committees also commented on the Plan. In every district groups of officials and non-officials met together to study the Plan in relation to their local problems. Ever since its publication the Draft Outline has been a subject of extensive comment in the daily press and in periodicals. A considerable volume of literature in the form of books and pamphlets prepared by independent writers has also become available. Thus, as a result of the discussion which has taken place, every aspect of the proposals in the Draft Outline has been subjected to the fullest possible examination.”²

The National Conference of Dalit Organisations (NACDOR) is a network of more than 150 grass root Dalit Organisations spread all over the country. It aims at discussing policies, programmes, and interventions by the Government(s), non-governmental organisations and agencies, and others towards the advancement of Dalits. The conference focuses on the role of the organisations, entrepreneurial efforts, funding agencies, corporate bodies, political parties and leadership of various entities in addressing the concerns of the masses in general, and Dalits in particular.

Thus when National Conference of Dalit Organisations (NACDOR) came to know from the print media that the Planning Commission has finalised the Draft Document for the 10th Five Year Plan and the Cabinet has also approved the same, it contacted a number of people to get a copy of the Draft Document to examine it in the light of the objective conditions of the Dalits and marginalised and convey our concerns pertaining to these sections. Sir, it was quite disturbing to note that the Draft Document has not even been made available to the public, leave the debate in public domain. We are quite concerned that the Dalits, women, economically disadvantaged and other marginalised sections such as agricultural labourers, wage earners etc., or their representatives, have not been provided Draft Document of the 10th Five Year Plan for their inputs. We regret to note that not even the leading

economists, academicians, journalists and media persons, who play a pivotal role of mobilising public opinion in a democracy, have been provided the Draft Document of the 10th Five Year Plan. We are, therefore, sorry to conclude that for reasons best known to the Planning Commission, this process of discussions, deliberations and debate within the public domain has been completely given up as far as the 10th Five Year Plan is concerned. Sir, you would agree that these trends are quite detrimental to the wellbeing of democratic planning that India opted for, and for the goal of socio-economic and political justice to Dalits, women, socially and educationally backward classes, and other marginalised sections.

However, considering Development Planning as one of the corner stone for the development and empowerment of the above-mentioned sections, National Conference of Dalit Organisations organised a two-day conference on Dalits, Marginalised and 10th Five-Year Plan on 16th and 17th December 2002 at Gandhi Peace Foundation in New Delhi. Representatives of the organisations of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, women, agricultural workers, farmers, youth, industrial workers, along with economists, social scientists, doctors, journalists, experts on a range of areas like food security and housing, activists and leaders of different political parties participated in this conference. The Conference discussed the Draft Document of the 10th Plan exhaustively and resolved unanimously to communicate its concerns pertaining to Dalits and other marginalised sections. The concerns expressed in the conference are given below:

PERSPECTIVE, OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGY IN THE DRAFT PLAN

It has rightly been recognised in the draft plan that the 10th Five Year Plan, covering the period 2002-03 to 2006-07, represents another step in the evolution of development planning in India. It is also right to recognise that in the last 55 years, the challenges the imperatives and the capabilities of the nation have undergone profound changes. We appreciate the admission of the fact that *for the country to attain its full economic potential, and for the poorest and weakest to shape their destiny according to their own desires, it requires a comprehensive reappraisal not only of our development strategy, but also of the institutional structures that guide the development process.* We agree that the 10th Plan has rightly set this task for itself.

The perspective that Draft Document (DD) has mentioned, conceives that *the notion of the human well being includes not only consumption of goods and services in general but more specifically to ensure that the basic material requirements of all sections of the population, especially those below poverty line, are met and that they have access to basic social services such as health and education.* The perspective also admits that economic prosperity measured

in terms of per capita income, alone does not always ensure enrichment in quality of life, as reflected, for instance, in social indicators on health, longevity, literacy and environment sustainability.

The perspective enunciated in the Draft Document rightly warns us about the decelerating phase of the economy and requirement of urgent steps to arrest this deceleration. It has also reminded us the glaring realities that are haunting this country for a long time such as slow growth of employment generation, infant mortality stagnating around 70 per 1000, lack of basic amenities such as safe drinking water, electricity and toilet facility to a large number of household in the country. Land and forest degradation and over-exploitation of ground water is also threatening the rural livelihood.

In the light of these perspectives, 10th Five Year Plan has put following objectives:

1. Eight percent average GDP growth for the period 2002-07
2. Monitorable Targets for the 10th Plan and beyond, which are:
 - Reduction of poverty ratio by 5% by 2007 and by 15% by 2012;
 - Providing gainful and high quality employment at least to addition to the labour force over the Tenth Plan period;
 - All children in school by 2003; all children to complete 5 years of schooling by 2007;
 - Reduction in the gender gaps in literacy and wage rates by at least 50% by 2007
 - Reduction in the decadal rate of population growth between 2001 and 2011 to 16.2%;
 - Increase in literacy rates to 75% within the plan period;
 - Reduction of infant mortality rate (IMR) to 45 per 1000 live births by 2007 and to 28 by 2012;
 - Reduction of maternal mortality ratio (MMR) to 2 per 1000 live births by 2007 and to 1 by 2012;
 - Increase in forest and tree cover to 25% by 2007 and 33% by 2012.
 - All villages to have sustained access to potable drinking water within the Plan period.
 - Cleaning of all major polluted rivers by 2007 and other notified sources by 2012.

Sir, you would agree that the Indian development strategy of the past half-century has not worked well and the material and even social conditions of the vast majority of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other "marginalised" groups such as women and some religious minorities such as Muslims have deteriorated. If anything, the past decade has witnessed a

worsening of the social and economic divide, and Dalits in particular have experienced a widening of the education gap and a worsening of the overall conditions of employment. The following data that we have compiled from various Governmental Reports indicates the deteriorating conditions of the Dalits.

- Literacy gap between SCs and the general has increased from 13.75% in 1961 to 14.80 in 1991.
- Literacy gap between STs and the general has increased from 15.49% in 1961 to 22.61 in 1991
- Female literacy gap between SCs and the general has increased from 4.64% in 1961 to 15.53% in 1991. Similarly this gap between the STs and general female has widened from 4.77% in 1961 to 21.10% in 1991.
- Drop out rate of the SCs and STs students as per the 1991 census stands at 67.8% and 78.6% respectively
- 48.37% of SCs and 51.14% STs live below poverty line compared to 35.97% of general masses, the reason being their concentration in low-paid and “degrading” jobs.
- Representation of the SCs/STs in group A and B of the civil services has been far lower than the expected level.
- 75% of SCs work in the primary sector and more than half of these as agricultural workers.

Sir, the market-oriented policies of liberalisation and integration with the world economy have reduced the intensity of any public policy thrust on affirmative action and systematic resource allocation in favour of marginalised groups. No doubt that the Tenth Five-Year Plan is eloquent and well-intentioned on the issue of empowerment of Dalits and marginalised groups and proposes to adopt a three-pronged strategy, which calls for:

Social empowerment through the removal of existing inequalities, disparities and other persisting problems besides providing easy access to basic minimum services

Economic empowerment through employment-cum-income generation activities with an ultimate objective of making them economically independent and self-reliant

Social justice through elimination of all types of discrimination with the strength of Constitutional provisions, legislative support, affirmative action, awareness generation, sensitisation of target groups and change in the mindset of people.

But we regret to bring to your notice that the mechanisms that the Tenth Plan envisages for the economic empowerment of Dalits and other disadvantaged groups fails to explain how the Planning Commission would actually achieve these eminently desirable goals.

LAND AND AGRICULTURE

The 10th Plan aims at *“Optimising the traditional ability of SCs/OBCs in agricultural production and maximising their productive capacity through endowing a piece of land, upgradation of skills, modern technology, equipment and ensured irrigation facilities.”*

While this sounds very good, it is in fact completely unrealistic. We are pained to bring to your notice that this clearly indicates that Government is not interested in land reform in terms of more equitable distribution of productive resources, and so “endowing a piece of land” will simply remain a pious wish. In fact when it comes to actual implementation of land reforms and distribution of ceiling surplus land to the landless and marginalised peasants, among whom the most numerous are the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the entire para 5.1.181 (page 562 Volume-II) dealing with this subject does not even mention it. Rather it mentions legislation to facilitate the transfer of land, leasing, contract farming etc. This clearly shows the shifting priorities of the Planning Commission. Instead of encouraging the landless to become landowners, it aims at wiping out the marginal and small farmers and handing over their land to be consolidated and managed by corporate entities.

The Draft Document does mention that *“for utilisation of unutilised/under-utilised degraded/wastelands, States would be persuaded to consider the allotment/leasing of Government/panchayat lands for the production purposes to landless and weaker sections”* but clearly undermines the ownership rights of the landless and Dalits, which has so far has been the accepted policy. The disturbing fact is that the 10th Plan Draft Document justifies the handing over of wasteland to the private interests in the name of the “huge financial requirements”.

Therefore, the 10th Five Year Plan should be modified to spell out the measures to distribute the surplus land, government land, cultivable wasteland and other lands. The Planning Commission must devise a plan to encourage landless agricultural labourers to form cooperatives to develop wastelands and encourage NABARD and other financial institutions to provide credit facilities along with the required margin money from the Government. These cooperatives shall have adequate representation of the SC, ST and female landless labourers.

It is a well-known fact that a large number of Dalits have got “pattas” but because of legal hurdles they have not been able to get ownership rights. The government should have a specific scheme to confer these rights in favour of the Dalits.

The Draft Document proposes a fresh look at agricultural subsidies, pricing and procurement operations under Minimum Support Price so as to force the peasantry to change cropping pattern from cereals to cash crops. These would affect not only the peasantry, but also

endanger our food security. Naturally, the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, women, the poor and other marginalised sections would be adversely affected. It is important to mention that starvation deaths in Orissa and Rajasthan have already been reported in the print media. We fail to see any fail-proof mechanism/policy that would ensure food security against hunger. Therefore, there is a strong felt need of incorporating mechanisms and policy interventions targeting hunger deaths and ensuring that no citizen of this country dies when grains and cereals are left to be consumed by the pests and rats in the warehouses.

IRRIGATION/WATER

Similarly, the trends in terms of provision of water services for irrigation or even for household use, are towards higher user charges and privatisation, rather than towards universal access or even improved access for the poor and socially disadvantaged. The Tenth Plan document actually supports the privatisation of basic services. Therefore, it would not be wrong to conclude that the Government is clearly hypocritical in arguing that it intends to provide “assured irrigation facilities” to Dalit cultivators.

UNORGANISED SECTORS AND WAGES

The 10th Plan Document mentions “Special legislative measures to ensure payment of minimum wages and equal wages with no gender discrimination to the SCs, especially in the informal sector.” However, it is not the existence of legislative or legal remedies but their effective implementation that is critical. The experiences of the common men and women show that the machinery responsible for implementing the laws actually acts in collusion with the employers who are socially and economically powerful, and acts contrary to the objectives of the assemblies and parliament. Had this not been the case, the informal sector would become part of the “formal sector”. While legislation for minimum wages and equal wages is obviously a necessary move (and it is even one which has been suggested by the Second National Labour Commission, which has otherwise made some alarming and anti-labour recommendations) it is likely to remain quite meaningless because of the sheer difficulty of its implementation, and the absence of redressal and punishment mechanisms. What is required is a concerted policy approach towards improving employment generation and working conditions in general, especially for activities and in sectors where Dalits are in significant numbers.

POVERTY ALLEVIATION

“Expanding and reinvigorating the on-going poverty alleviation programmes to improve quantitatively the economic conditions of SCs/STs/OBCs/Minorities, through specially designed activities in the programmes best suited to their skills and requirements.” We feel that this is a completely correct policy intention, and one that should be supported completely. However, this general statement is belied by the entire absence of attention to the most basic of all the anti-poverty schemes that affect Dalits, i.e. wage employment schemes. In fact, the general thrust of the Tenth Plan is to reduce the quantitative significance of such employment schemes (proportionate to population) by a process of merging, streamlining and rationalising them. In fact, employment schemes in particular need to be increased many times over, and special attention needs to be given to the employment of Dalits and other disadvantaged groups in such schemes. It is a mistake to see this as a sort of “welfare” measure, or “charity” – this can be a crucial way of using productively the surplus labour in society, which is really the country’s most important and least used asset, to build much-needed infrastructure and provide public services that are currently massively under-provided.

“Motivate the landless and agricultural labourers, especially women, to form economically viable Self Help Groups on the pattern of Swarozgaris to ensure employment and income generation on a sustainable basis.” The creation of Self Help Groups – as a part of economic and political mobilisation – is of course to be welcomed. But it has been observed that the government has started treating this as one way of passing the buck and effectively walking away from its own responsibilities for development. Self Help Groups (SHGs), which are being encouraged to replace “co-operatives” are typically associated with micro-credit provisioning. By now, there is enough national and international experience to suggest that micro-credit schemes may be useful in terms of smoothing consumption over cycles and easing the burden of shocks such as natural disasters. But it must be mentioned that SHGs do not encourage real asset building, they do not enhance development in any meaningful way, and therefore end up redistributing poverty among the poorer groups.

SHGs cannot be the long-term solution for the economic empowerment of Dalits, marginalised and women and hence offering it as a solution is really to distract attention from the serious inadequacies of existing plans and policies. Dalits, women and poor can only be empowered through meaningful employment and productive activities. Therefore, the poverty alleviation programme must be oriented to generate sustainable employment and not be merely a form of doles.

MEANINGFUL EMPLOYMENT

At present the protection against discrimination in recruitment for employment is provided to the SCs and STs through reservation policy in the government and public sector, which account for only 3-4% of the total jobs. The reduction in the government intervention and the privatization of the existing public sector undertakings and also the social services has led to a sharp decline in the jobs under reservation. This has led to de-reservation through backdoor means. The government should, in the 10th Plan, ensure implementation of a specific policy of reservation in all those sectors, which get any kind of support, tax rebate, subsidy or relief in form or kind, including private sector. This could be on the pattern of USA or Malaysia where all private industries and enterprises and activities, which get some sort of a support from the government are required to follow a reservation policy in employment. This must be pursued as social responsibility of the corporate sector.

Apart from this, there should be a focus on massive expansion of public employment generation schemes in both rural and urban areas. These should focus on building assets and infrastructure as well as maintaining and repairing such assets and also providing public services. Within these employment schemes, there should be special attention paid, and additional resources directed to, those regions/districts/blocks with a high proportion of SC/ST population. In addition, there should be legislation to the effect that a minimum proportion of such jobs should be given to Dalits and other disadvantaged groups. This proportion should be determined not by their share of the aggregate population, but in terms of their share of the landless population, which is much higher.

“To re-orient the employment opportunities for the disadvantaged to enable them to face the challenges of economic reforms and expanding private sector through equipping them suitably with the technical skills and emerging trades.” In so far as it is possible to make sense of this policy statement at all, it must mean that the government’s intention is to reverse the growing imbalance in educational and skill attainments between Dalit and non-Dalit populations. But this cannot be achieved simply by declaring that it has to happen; the government needs to specify very detailed and actual policy mechanisms, which it intends to put in place. We are sorry to note that nothing of this kind has been mentioned in the Draft Document of the 10th Five Year Plan. It is equally disturbing to note that the whole plan is centred around a philosophy, where State disown the responsibility of making meaningful arrangements for the unemployed, leave the right to employment as the fundamental right that even the youth wing of every political party in power is demanding. In fact the disturbing feature of the DD is that it does not specify the policies, which would be instrumental in achieving its declared goals. After all, even for the overall GDP growth rate the Planning Commission simply declares a goal (say, 8 per cent per annum) however

unrealistic it is, and then proceeds to assume that it will therefore occur.

ROLE OF SC/ST/OBC/MINORITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS

“Encourage the development of small entrepreneurship through formation of Self Help Groups and with the support of both “forward” and “backward” linkages of credit and markets through the corporations, exclusively set up for these Groups”. Here again, there is an absence of detailed policies and proposed programmes, and a tendency to assume that Self Help Groups will succeed where the government has failed, even though they cannot fundamentally address the most basic inequities of infrastructure access and asset holding that small-scale Dalit entrepreneurs face.

“Modernisation of technologies and upgradation of skills in traditional arts and crafts sectors such as handlooms, handicrafts, lace making, glass work, metal work, etc., and thus ensure value addition to the products to compete with the quality of the products of modern markets”.

“To review the workings of all the 5 national Finance and Development Corporations for SCs, STs, OBCs, Minorities and Safai Karamcharis and bring forth the most wanted reforms, to play an effective catalytic role in assisting the weakest among the disadvantaged to become economically self-reliant.” Such a review is, of course, urgent, because thus far these corporations have been quite remarkable in their lack of impact and inability to improve the material conditions of the target groups. We suggest that when such a review is taken up by competent and professional people belonging to SC/ST/OBC/Minority community and having higher qualifications and experience in the field of manufacturing, marketing and entrepreneurial development be necessarily associated so that meaningful assessment and workable solutions could be found for optimum utilisation of the resources. Similar approach should be adopted to empower women through the Rashtriya Mahila Kosh.

EMPLOYMENT IN THE PRIVATE SECTORS

“To motivate the private and corporate sectors to invest on the welfare and development of weaker sections and thus fulfil their social obligations/responsibilities.” This last statement is the real giveaway: it contains the essence of the current government’s basic approach in all these matters, which is to sit back and hope that the private sector will do all the things it has not done for more than five decades. The point about private economic activity is that it is motivated by profit, and if it is really to fulfil its “social responsibilities and obligations”,

in terms of either affirmative action for hitherto deprived groups or socially desirable redirection of investments to suit the basic needs of people, it would have to be done through legislation and enforcement of such laws, of fiscal and relative price incentives that make it profitable to behave in such ways. Since the Tenth Plan document does not propose either, it is difficult to see how its aim of changing the behaviour of the private sector will actually fructify.

ALLOCATION OF FUNDS, SPECIAL COMPONENT PLAN (SCP) AND SPECIAL CENTRAL ASSISTANCE (SCA)

Sir, you would agree that it has been policy of the State to allocate adequate resources for the rapid growth and development of the SCs/STs and other marginalised sections of the society. We are aghast to note that instead of increasing the proportion of the spending on the Dalits and marginalised, the proposed allocation for empowering Dalits has been reduced to less than 1 (yes, one) percent. In the Ninth Five Year Plan this proportion was about 2 percent. This is extremely disappointing given that the Government and the Planning Commission know that Dalits have been asking for allocations of expenditure in proportion to their population, which is about 25%. It seems that the Planning Commission has planned to marginalise the Dalits further.

The Draft Document says that *“Definite earmarking of population-proportionate funds under SCP besides effective utilisation of funds released under both SCP and SCA to better the economic status of SCs.”* It would be pertinent to bring in your notice that the problem with simply “earmarking funds” is that, even the relatively meagre resources allocated to SCP have not been fully spent, and there has been substantial under-utilisation and shortfall in actual expenditure compared to budgeted spending. We feel that both the Central and State governments have not really taken this seriously and hence it cannot be dealt with through general statements. We, therefore, demand that a specific plan of incentives that will ensure that these funds get utilised.

Sir, even more striking than the suggestions the Plan does make, are its gaping silences in crucial areas. For most Dalits in the country today, the most pressing economic problems are too few jobs and poor quality of jobs, not enough food, and unaffordable health care. In other words, hunger, inadequate productive work opportunities, and insufficient access to basic public health services must rank as the most direct concerns of any government that truly seeks to ensure the empowerment – or even the sheer survival – of the vast majority of Dalit population. In addition, of course, to live a life of dignity requires a host of other

conditions, such as the elimination of various forms of social and political exclusion and even direct oppression by upper caste groups. But the Tenth Plan document apparently does not see access to food as a major problem, even though the NSS data show that there has been a very large decline in per capita calorie consumption of the poorest 40 per cent of the population (in which Dalits are heavily over-represented) over the past decade. And elsewhere in the Plan, the proposal is actually made for a further reduction in the Public Distribution System, rather than an expansion, and opening up the field of food distribution to large private players, including multinationals. It should be borne in mind that private players have never so far been *prevented* from entering the area of food distribution, and in fact the small traders dominate in the markets. But large multinational such as Cargill have been deterred from entering by the presence of the Food Corporation of India, which effectively keeps profit margins low. The destruction of the PDS would therefore be a necessary condition for their entry. It would also mean devastation and possible starvation for both marginal farmers and poor consumers of food such a landless labourers, who would face prices that would render it difficult for them to participate in markets in a viable and sustainable way. Since most rural Dalits and poor are either marginal cultivators or landless labourers, the Government's policy seems to be to destroy the material conditions of Dalits and marginalised with one hand, while offering crumbs from the "Special Programmes" table with the other hand.

Similarly, it has already been noted that there is a lack of attention on employment generation, especially in rural areas where most Dalits live, and very poor elaboration of any strategy to generate more productive employment opportunities given the overall market-oriented structure. In all, therefore, the Tenth Plan document actually offers very little hope for Dalits and it will further widen the economic disparities between Dalits and the rest of the population.

DE-NOTIFIED AND NOMADIC TRIBES

Sir, this country has a very large number of people of these communities, running into several crores, whose census should be done immediately. It is now accepted that the British authorities at one point of time unjustly declared them criminal tribes. In 1952, free India's Government de-notified them and declared them as equal citizens. However, their condition has not changed because only a fraction of this most down trodden section of society got included in the scheduled lists of SC/ST. They live under the perennial threat of the law and order machinery, and are seldom allowed to stay at one place for more than 3-4 days. This makes their material advancement impossible. It is shameful to note that 10th Plan has not

even recognised as citizens in dire need of special assistance. We demand that a substantial allocation be immediately earmarked for their welfare and special programmes to settle the nomadic communities on government land are implemented immediately. These communities have not been recognised as the most vulnerable sections of our society in any of the earlier plans and we demand that the 10th Plan initiate the process of giving them citizenship.

EDUCATION

There has been an improvement in the literacy rate and enrolment among the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and women. However, the gap between them and others has increased, particularly for dalit women. The 10th Five Year Plan aimed at reducing this gap by 2007 but it failed to indicate that in order to remove this gap the precise rate at which literacy among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be increased, and the planned volume of government spending on education. We demand that the Government carry out detailed analysis for this purpose. We understand that this would require substantial spending in primary, middle and high school education, particularly in terms of infrastructure such as hostels and network of schools in the rural areas.

Secondly, higher education at the moment is highly under-financed as far as the SCs, STs and Women are concerned. It is surprising that there is no special fellowship scheme for those doing Ph.D. or research. It is necessary in order to promote the academically suitable candidates belonging to these marginalised groups that the higher education should be adequately supported.

We find that the plan collapses the concept of education into bare literacy and this is a point of concern to us. The privatisation of education that the plan envisages will result in education becoming unattainable for the Dalits.

PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM (PDS)

The Public Distribution System, far from being reduced, cut down and “targeted” to poor groups, should actually be expanded and made universal. This is important because only with a universal and well-funded system will the ration shops be viable and continue to exist in far-flung and backward areas. Otherwise, the system itself will be such that, effectively, target groups such as poor Dalits will be denied access. So there is urgent need for the Plan to allocate substantially increased public resources towards strengthening the PDS, expanding the network of Fair Price Shops in rural and urban areas across all states.

HEALTH

There has been a drastic reduction in real per capita public health expenditure, which adversely affects Dalit groups among others. Once again, any attempt to provide “targeted” health services will only mean that the target groups do not really get access because the services themselves are reduced. Similarly, there has been a substantial rise in *de jure* and *de facto* user charges, by charging more directly for health services, and by forcing patients and their families to pay for materials, medicines and so on. This is because fiscal allocations for health have been totally inadequate to the needs of the population, largely because the State Governments themselves have been deprived of funds and many of them are effectively bankrupt. The Plan must take account of such pressing problems, and reverse the downward trend in basic public expenditure on health services. The specific health requirements of Dalits, many of which stem from inadequate nutrition at early stages of life, need to be addressed directly, both through special nutrition programmes and through special medical and epidemiological programmes.

There are certain states where Dalits constitute more than one-fifth of the population. These include Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. Other states with large populations include Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. It is necessary to direct expenditure specifically to these regions, and especially to pockets of high Dalit population density.

Sir, there are many more issues that require your personal attention and influence. The Draft Document well-recognised the failure of the State in fulfilling the constitutional obligations to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, women and other marginalised sections. The fundamental weakness of our Five Year Plans has been that they take the majority of the people as the norm, and it is within this flawed conceptual framework that they have built special programmes and policies for the disadvantaged sections such as Dalits (SC/ST), women, and other marginalised sections. The Plans visualise these sections of people as recipients of welfare, rather than as actors in the process of development. It is high time that the Planning Commission adopts a different approach and plans for the disadvantaged sections, and sees them not as beneficiaries, but as an essential part of the development of the country. Our Plans have to work with a deliberate focus on the large masses of disadvantaged sections. We would like to stress that it is the weak and fragile citizens who need the intervention of the State, not the strong and mighty private sector that has huge resources for taking care of its interests. The government has allocated a huge sum in the 10th plan to propagate a language like Sanskrit, which is not in public use, and no doubt will earmark a large sum again on the defence budget to buy sophisticated weapons

in the name of national security. What we need is a rational strategy for planned expenditure on critical sectors which will ensure nurturing of a whole generation of citizens, currently marginalised, who are equally capable of contributing to the country's development. If approached, we would be more than happy to discuss and elaborate on the points that this memorandum suggests. We do hope that as Chairman of the Planning Commission and as the Executive Head of this country, you would look into the matter and initiate the desired action.

We are attaching the list of the persons who have participated in the deliberations in the Conference on Dalits, Marginalised and 10th Five Year Plan on 16th - 17th December 2002.

Thanking You,

Yours faithfully,

ASHOK K. BHARTI B.E., M.E. (Australia)

National Coordinator

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF DALIT ORGANISATIONS (NACDOR)

COPY TO:

- 1. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, Planning Commission, Yojna Bhawan, New Delhi**
- 2. Ms. Sonia Gandhi, Leader of the Opposition in Lok Sabha, New Delhi**
- 3. Chief Ministers of All States in India**
- 4. Presidents/General Secretary of Different Political Parties**
- 5. All the Members Parliament (Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha), New Delhi**

SESSIONS

DALITS AND 10TH FIVE YEAR PLAN

WOMEN AND 10TH FIVE YEAR PLAN

SECTORAL ISSUES-I: HEALTH, FOOD AND HABITATION

SECTORAL ISSUES-II: Education

SECTORAL ISSUES-II: Defence, Science – Technology, Economy and Governance

CONCLUDING SESSION: Land, Labour and Employment

PARTICIPANTS

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Mr. D. Raja, Secretary, National Council, Communist Party of India

Mr. Prakash Karat, Polit Bureau Member, Communist Party of India (Marxist)

Mr. Ramdas Athavale, Member of Parliament & President, Republican Party of India

Mr. Jai Kishan, ex-MLA and Member, AICC

Mr. Ashok Bharti, National Coordinator, National Conference of Dalit Organisations

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REFERENCE

¹ Introduction: First Five Year Plan Document, Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi

² Introduction: First Five Year Plan Document, Planning Commission, New Delhi