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A SCHEME FOR WOMEN EMPOWERMENT**

**CLIMATE CHANGE
AND ITS IMPACT ON SUNDARBAN**

***ntfocus* : DR B.R. AMBEDKAR**

Editorial

The recent incidents of terrorist attack over innocent citizens in a Gay Club & Pub in USA are one of the most horrific attacks on the civilians in the recent history of USA. However, we found these sorts of activities in various time & situation across the globe. On occasion, terrorist have attacked hospitals, schools, railways, aero planes, market places, hotels. The net result in all these incidents are loss of life, bloodshed, fear, horror and creation of a psychosis of fear among the innocent masses. In all counts, terrorism is always un-human, un-civilized, un-cultured and against humanity. All over the world, be it USA, UK, European Union, Africa, Islamic World is facing this problem. More particularly, the countries of South Asian region- India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan are witnessing the horrors of terrorism more or less every day. When we look at Kashmir, apart from its geo-politics, the scenic beauty, panoramic views of snow clad mountains, nature living with culture with a backdrop of beautiful landscape, in recent times turned the state from 'tourism to terrorism'. Whole 'Islamic Fundamentalism' has engrossed the sky of gulf as well as the strong undercurrent of 'Political Islam' has left its foot print in the form of terrorism across the globe, though there are number of other groups also. As a matter of fact, terrorism has no particular philosophy, except creating terror. They do not have any ideology, any value system, beliefs, objectives, purpose etc. That's why, they are known as 'freelancer terrorist'. They belief in the process of action-reaction- counter action. Hence terrorism always creates counter terrorism, be it state sponsored or private militia.

The need of the hour in this context is 'from insurgency' to 'innovation', in each & every sphere of our life- be it governance, administration, business, scientific achievement, trade & commerce, civil aviation- in each & every sector, which is the call of the day of our honorable Prime Minister of India, Shri Narendra Modi Ji. In his entire recent visit to foreign countries, he has given clarion call for establishment of peace, stability, progress, advocated for peaceful co-existence. He has championed for good & equitable sharing relationship with immediate neighbors, regional powers, super powers etc. His historic speech at Madison square at USA is a turning point in recent history of world politics & international relations. We presume all his efforts and forward steps in this direction will be milestones in near future.

Ms.Pramoda Patel

Editor

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Development and Governance Agenda in Third World

Dr. Sunita Samal

Abstract:

For development and governance agenda, the implication is that the under-development and dependency movement conceives bureaucratic behavior in class terms. By contrast, conventional development administration looks at bureaucratic behavior as an outcome of organizational structure hence manipulative. Recently, development is conceived not as a cultural process but instead as a system of more or less universally applicable technical intervention intended to deliver some badly needed goods to a targeted population.

Introduction: In his monumental work 'Asian Drama', Gunnar Myrdal examined in great depth the poverty of nations. Myrdal was critical of the western theories of economic development, as in his view economic theories could not be separated from the environment consisting of attitude, cultures and institutions'. He characterized the Third World states as 'soft state'. The choice of development path of the Third World seems an illusion as what it does in the name of 'development' is virtually a dictation from the capitalist world economy. Development administration has, therefore, to reckon with this international economic scene and the bureaucracy's deep involvement in it. As poverty gets perpetuated, inequality and injustice show no signs of abatement. Their development awaits a breakthrough in regime character that would hopefully facilitate its emancipation from internationally dictated exploitation. The Third World is presently waiting for a second decolonization. By contrast, tragically enough the structural adjustment policy with state minimalist and market friendly approach to development marks a renewed effort at re-colonization, as it seems, the Third World development currently being subjected to first world dictation.

● **State Vs Market:** The post-second World War II period, large scale socio-economic reconstruction in war ravaged West and developmental needs of newly independent countries necessitates a radical review of states' role in economic development. The earlier experience of the Keynesian revolution of 1930s and imperatives of crucial macro-economic management as keenly felt during 1950s, had both catapulted the state

to the center-stage of governance. The development enterprise of the Third World had to be decisively state-led. Both the external donor institutions and the leadership of the newly independent countries accepted the crucial role for the state in pushing through development.

With the massive shift in global balance of power that followed the collapse of USSR and the Eastern Bloc, Third World development is being subjected to new interpretation. In the absence of any rival ideology and competing hegemonic power, the new world order is witnessing reappearance of a more open and blatant form of imperialism. National sovereignty is now being more readily overridden by a hegemonic power in pursuit of its own self-defined national interest. The neo-liberal policy prescription of 1980s wills henceforward to be more doggedly imposed in today's mono-lithic world with potentially serious socio-economic consequences for large parts of the developing world.

There was a spectacular change in the public policy stance of governments in the Western liberal democracies in 1980s. Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain and Ronald Reagan in the United States represented this paradigmatic change as both declared in unison that the size and role of government should be substantially reduced, and opportunities should be created for full play of the free market in the economy. Born out of this kind of big shift in the practical world of governance, the 'New Right' has been a baggage of diverse ideas. Essentially, it has stood for a lesser role of the state in the society and the economy and a larger role of the 'market' by way of replacement of the state's presence in selected spheres of activities. From the stand point of political governance, the 'New Right' has emerged as a dominant ideology determining the scope and contents of public policies.

In recent time, the collapse of many of our hopes and paradigms in political analysis has pushed us virtually on the brink of a disciplinary collapse. In the early decades of 1970s, the Behavioral Analysis and Estonian systems theory came to be displaced by state-centric theory accepting the state as a determinate object of analysis. Bringing the state back was a timely return to institutionalism and to the basic concerns of

political analysis, namely, the social bases of power and ethical dimension of politics. At the same time, the state centric political analysis tended to silence autonomous societal action. Both the modernization theory and dependency theory directed the third world towards the model of the developed West. In the same way in Marxism when the state was sought to be brought back as the central concept, that was also the moment of decline of state activism. The ascendancy of state apparatus in the former socialist world was equated with a pathological bureaucratization that had rendered the society impotent.

State of third world: The two intellectual thoughts reappraisal of state-society nexus and reaffirmation of democracy as have been occupying the center-stage in political analysis. Alongside the post-modernist ideas seem to be suggesting restoration of authentic communitarian living bedecked with warm humanism that has largely been lost in the age of modernist science and technology. While philosophy is struggling for human emancipation, economics has been working out a new formula of 'corporate cannibalism'. In fact, there is well ordered conspiracy to dethrone Marxist thought from centre-stage and to clamp down a pernicious intellectual fundamentalism in a devious way. That capitalism has been a massive dehumanizing process in history².

So far as the Third World state is concerned, the issue is not state versus market, but changing the character of the state in order that a vital power shift can take place from the bourgeoisie-feudalism bureaucracy combine to a genuine people's democracy. The market-friendly and marginalized state would pave the way for capitalist world development, whereas the Third World needs an altogether different model of development that will assure general welfare of the masses and an egalitarian social life free from exploitation and deprivation³.

While 'globalization' emerges another name for marauding capitalism, the intellectual trend is toward accepting it as a discourse structuring 'absent Clause'. By granting the global economy an overarching and determinate power, there is a covert attempt to foreclose a serious consideration of alternative notions of collective action to reshape socio-economic destiny.

New Right philosophy justifies capitalism, consumerism and vulgar affluence. It pays no heed to the post-modernist musings on humanistic and communitarian values that are being invoked to rehabilitate man—the

endangered species. The New Right proponents are the new peddlers of a standard economic world view that seeks to propagate uniformity and annihilate diversity. It is re-colonization of the worst kind.

Historically, the state Vs Market debate is as old as Adam Smith. In the Third World context, the old debate has been reopened by the World Bank's recent market Friendly Prescriptions, as earlier mentioned. For an excellent overview of the on-going debates and their tie-up with different theories, Paul Streten stats with the Myrdal thesis of the 'soft state' in the Third World which, in a way, anticipated the public choice analysis. He said much of conventional economic theory is a rationalization whose purpose is to conceal the conflict. Markets are not the natural friends of people, they have to be made people friendly through government intervention.

The current debate on the respective roles of the state and market has been ranging primarily among the economist—or the group claiming to be political economists. So Far as the Third World is concerned, the issues as earlier stated revolve round the nature of the state that has come out of colonial subjugation and is struggling hard to create an independent existence being confronted with inimical forces both from within and without. The post-colonial state has yet to complete it. Internal pressures from powerful socio-economic forces continually seek to dislodge it from its democratic path. In fact, the democratic state building process in the Third World has still a long way to go. At the other extreme; the powerful international actors are constantly pressurizing the Third World State to fall in line with their dictates. As Samir Amin points out, the persistent phenomenon of unequal development within the global capitalistic system is the most fundamental feature of contemporary political theory⁴.

Humane governance: The shape of third world public administration will in future depends on who governs the state and how they relates to globalization and liberalization process. As Amin so forthrightly observed there are virtually two options left for Third World. First, the democratic political system accepts subordination to the demands of world 'adjustment'. In that event, it will not be possible for it to push through any major social reform and democracy itself will be in crisis. Second, another type of global independence—building a polycentric world, in Amin's phraseology would have to be worked out through 'reciprocal adjustment'. This would mean structural changes in both South and the North which would allow for a path of development to

meet the need of the majority in the South while simultaneously safeguarding global interdependence⁵. Amin's second alternative depends on radical, political and ideological changes in the North which are very unlikely in the foreseeable future.

Public policy analysts in league with the economists have unfortunately been taking a narrow, mechanistic view of things. State and administration is not mere mechanical artifact. They stand for much larger causes of equality, human welfare, freedom and equality of life. However, much social institution will have to evolve and adapt to new global pressures, what is not in doubt is that the Nation-state remains the crucible for equality-seeking movements the world over. Efficiency, profitability and competitiveness have not won the hearts and minds of people world wide. There are larger and more compelling horizons which define the global agenda in the formative years of the millennium⁶.

Development to the Third World Countries in the post cold war era has been subjected to the new politics of good governance. In 1989, the concept of governance was for the first time highlighted in World Bank document on sub-Saharan Africa. The bank document prescribed for improving governance⁷. As the Bank's document entitled 'Governance and Development' (1992) put it governance is defined as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development.

The resurgence of civil orientation has received further impetus from the recent research on 'social capital' by Robert Putnam. As part of a unique experiment begun in 1970s, the research findings was that regions that enjoined effective government in 1990s inherited a rich legacy of civic engagement that could be traced backed to the early middle ages. Quoting Tocqueville's reference to civic associations as habit of the heart and the later research by Almond and Verba on 'Civic Culture', Putnam in 'Making Democracy Work' has drawn attention to socio-cultural factors as major determinants of performance of democratic institutions.

It is not being argued that 'development' is all about social capital. What is being suggested is that development activities are almost always embedded in social situations and relations. There are critics who attribute social capital's warm reception in development theory to World Bank's acknowledged of the concept. As John Harriss has observed, social capital has taken off in a dramatic way under patronage of World Bank, obscuring class relations and social power structure⁸.

It is now generally recognized that 'development must move beyond economic growth—a point so ably put forward by the Nobel economist, Amartya Sen. It must encompass major social goals such as reduced poverty, enhanced opportunities for better education and health and in general improved quality of life. This has been the firm conviction of MahbubulHaq, the principal architect of Human Development Reports, who wanted these reports to be a powerful voice of the poor against systems in South Asian region. Going beyond World Bank's 'good governance' theses Haq came out with new concept of 'humane governance' that puts people at the center of all governance policies, strategies and actions.

Concluding Observations: The Third World's administrative agenda are similarly large and compelling as the tryst with destiny continues even today. And the actors are changing. People are emerging in new roles of various sites. For us in Third World, the real issue is to transform the state against democracy into 'humane governance'. Here, the problem is the state moves away from society. Development was conceived not as a cultural process but instead as a system of more or less universally applicable technical intervention intended to deliver some badly needed goods to a target population. The transformative exercise is evident in the myriad challenges to the state offered by the grass roots people's movements. The existence of a career bureaucracy without corresponding strength in the political institutions does not necessarily lead to administrative effectiveness.

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Socio-Economic Development of Indian Plantation Workers in Sri Lanka

Chitta Ranjan Malik

Introduction

During 18th & 19th Centuries Indian plantation workers both skilled and unskilled went to many part of Asia and helped in the Economic Development of Territories which had come to the possession of the colonial power. The European capitalists had ample financial resources and they were anxious to invest these for the exploitation of the natural resources of the newly acquired territories. But labour was scarce in these territories. The local populations were unwilling and ill-equipped to do the strenuous work of clearing jungles, laying roads and planting area with coffee, tea, rubber etc. The Indian plantation worker went to Sri Lanka started with the inception of coffee plantations in the 1820's. Indeed seasonal migration of Indians labour to Sri Lanka started in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for peeling cinnamom in the royal domains. But these early emigrations were irregular it became pronounced only in 19th and 20th centuries, with the development of coffee and later tea and rubber plantation. Organized recruitment from South India began in 1837 and ended in 1939 when immigration of unskilled workers was banned. On the request of the Indian Government the Sri Lankan Government passed the ordinance No.3 of 1847 prohibiting workers to send beyond the shores to Sri Lanka. Recruitment of labour from Indian plantation workers were done by the Kangany System (Kangany in Tamil means an overseer or supervisor), A kangany was sent by the planter to South India to recruit labour. The suffering of the Indian plantation workers was made worse by low wages and appealing living conditions and there was no organized representative body to represent matters on their behalf. The vacuum was filled in July 1939 by the formation of the Ceylon Indian Congress (CIS) and the Ceylon Indian Congress Labour Union in March 1940. Several factors influenced and encouraged Indian plantation workers to look for work in Sri Lanka. A vast majority of the labour force came from Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Tirunelvely and Madurai District of the present Tamil Nadu. Increasing population pressure, resultant economic distress and oppressive caste structure are main causes to migrate Indian plantation workers in Sri Lanka.

Socio-Economic Conditions

1. Housing

So many Indian plantation workers live in Barrack, like line-room. Each room is 10 feet by 12 feet in extent. The entire family of the worker cooks eats and sleeps in this one room. The Consumer Finances Survey in 1973 showed that overcrowding (defined as more than two persons per room) in the plantation sector was 75 percent, which in urban and rural areas it was 35 percent and 37 percent respectively). In the plantation sector, 1, 85,533 families consists the population of 7,77,730 live in 1,63,580 housing unit, line rooms. Majority of these line rooms are more than 100 years old and 70 percent of them now in damaged conditions. The percentage of self-owned houses among the estate community to be as low as 10.2 and others are board in the line rooms which are owned to the plantation companies. Nearly, 13,000 families do not have even line rooms they board in temporary huts. However, as a result of various housing programmes implemented by the other organization from 1995, 45,000 new housing units were built and some of the old barrack Rooms were upgraded. Nevertheless, given the large number of unsuitable housing units in the estate sector the challenges behind the provision of proper houses for the plantation community is enormous.

2. Water Supply and Sanitation

With the regard of provision of sanitation and drinking water 62 percent and 90 percent of the needs of the plantation sector are met respectively due to NGOs, Donors and Government interventions. But still 74 percent of the estate households use common taps and 15.5 percent use common well for drinking water. As nearly 25 percent of the households use latrines, another 75 percent do not access to latrine facilities. Later the Re-privatization in 1992, NGOs and Government Agencies were taken interest to improve the water supply and sanitation conditions, but the problem still persists in higher level compare to the other sectors.

3. Health

The signals of Health and nutrition are another source which reflects the neglected and backward nature of the plantation community. The percentage of malnourished children below the age group of five years in the plantation sector was high percentage whereas the percentage of same for the urban and the rural sector were lower. The estate health sector still not integrated with the national health stream and it is behaved as a separate entity. As an effect, national health policies and health programs are not fully reaching to the estate community. Estate Human Development Trust is the institutions which handing the entire health services in the plantation sector. Plantation hospitals are not outfitted with the necessary facilities. The Medical Assistant in the dispensary is inadequately qualified and sometimes resorts to illegal practice by selling the drugs and demanding money from the workers. Lack of qualified health staffs and lack of qualified doctors, lack of medicine and indoor treatment facilities are the important problems that are face by the estate health service.

4. Education

Education is the main factor that determines the social status of development process of an individuals as well as a community. It transforms people socially, culturally and psychologically. Estate community is one of the marginalized groups, which are more vulnerable in educational achievements. Although estate managements have shown little interest in the maintenance of schools for the children of plantation workers. The Rural Schools Ordinance No. 8 of 1907 provided for establishment of estate schools for children between the age of 6 and 10. More than half of the plantation population had only primary education. A few of them had entering into the university system.

5. Child Labour

Although there is a slight improvement in schooling between the plantation children and child labor wound to be one of the serious issues. A study conduct by Vijesandiran for center of estate study in 1999 showed that among the plantation children below 18 years old, 2.82 percent had engaged in child Labor. The child labor rate is high among the female compare to the male children, poor education facilities and poverty are found to be the major causes for child labor problem. It is remarked that parents are enforced to send their children to work as avenue to cope with poverty incidence.

6. Alcoholism

There is a growing trend in alcohol habit among the members of the estate community. There is nearly 60 percent of the plantation workers take alcohol and they spend 6.65 percent of their total income on the alcohol and 6.7 percent of their income spend on beetle and Tobacco. Alcoholism is seen as two aspects in the relation to poverty in the estate community. One is that the alcoholism is one of the major cause s for higher poverty incidence and the other one is that it is the outcome of higher level of human poverty prevails in the community.

7. Status of Women

Sri Lanka has enchanted much attention as a country in which women have remarkably favorable in society and in political field as compared to other countries of the SAARC region but the estate women have been neglected and marginalized by development programmes. Estate women's work has been underestimated and undervalued. The Economic contribution women make has not been fully established. The estate female worker tend to have multiple of roles. Women have a double burden as income earners and a care-takers. As effect, they don't have leisure time on a normal working day. Plantation women particularly vulnerable to the oppressive economic and social structures exists in the system that has continued to their subordinate for all over the century. Women's subordination is took root in patriarchy. In the estate families, decision making on serious issues like education of children, their marriage and employment, handling of the household authority form of the family where the husband is the chief actor. The isolated life led by them in the plantation is another problems, most of them don't know any world beyond their estate. Female literacy rate remain lower in estate sector than in the different sector and the school dropout rate of females remains high.

8. Citizenship

Historically, the estate community behaved as a separate entity. Unlike the average citizen of Sri Lanka, the births of the plantation people were registered by the plantation manager at estate level and details furnished to the Register General to issues birth certificates. On the structural changes came up in the sector most of the birth records were missed. As a result a large number of estate people made unable to get a birth certificate. The difficulty of further combined

due to non-registration of births properly. The absence of the Birth certificates makes it difficult for a person to get National Identity Card. There is ample number of people in the estate community live without citizenship. Still who have citizenship a very few of them hold citizenship by affidavit. The absence of citizenship caused for many of the estate people to face difficulties to integrate with the mainstream of the nation. As a result, they were marginalized from countries main stream of development process. Due to the problem, the plantation youth had berried to find out alternative employment outside the plantation which was limited their mobility in occupation and economic activities.

9. Trade Union Movement

The socio-political life and political history of the plantation people closely linked with the evolution of trade union movement in the plantation sector. K Natesa Ayer, known as the pioneer of the plantation trade union movement. He organized Ceylon Estate Worker's Federation as the first trade union to protect labour rights of the plantation workers. The leftist movement of Ceylon entered to the plantation sector after 1935 and struggled for the rights of these workers. However, the Ceylon Indian Congress was established in 1940s to safeguard the political rights of the Indian plantation workers in the country. It also involved in the trade union activities. However, the congress converted as Ceylon Workers Congress in the early part of 1950s. The congress became a major trade union and political party for the plantation community of Sri Lanka after 1977. Although, in the 1950s and 1960s, there were many trade unions established to fight for the labour rights of the plantation workers.

10. Political Representation

The political history of the Indian plantation workers was started before the independent with the introduction of the Universal Franchise in 1931. Since this, they enjoyed their political and voting rights as the other citizens in the country. They were exercised that right fully in the General Election held in 1947 and selected

7 members to represent them in the parliament. Nevertheless, they were disfranchised just after independent by introducing Ceylon Citizenship Act in the first parliament of the Independent Sri Lanka in 1948. Which brought to majority of the plantation people became stateless and only few of them received the Sri Lankan citizenship back through the Indian and Pakistani Residential Act No 3 of 1949. As a result, plantation people lost their political representation until 1977. There is one member was elected from Nuwaraeliya district in the General election of 1977 which also a result of the Srimava-Shasthiri Agreement signed in 1964 to solve the stateless problem of the Indian plantation workers. However, there were several acts enacted (1986, 1988 and 2002) to solve the stateless problem of these people. These efforts provided the citizenship and voting rights back to more than 75% of the Indian Plantation workers which had raised the political status of the people and increased their political representation at Parliament, Provincial Councils and Pradesha Sabhas.

11. Wages

The wages of the plantation workers have been extremely low in comparison to the other sectors of the economy. The higher poverty line defined by the Department of Census and Statistics reveled that nearly 80 percent of the plantation households lie below the poverty line. Wages Boards established under the Wages Boards Ordinance No.7 of 1941 determine the minimum wages comprising (i) a basic wage and (ii) a Coast of Living. Allowance for the tea and rubber growing and manufacturing trades. The minimum daily wage rate for a male tea estate worker in 1955 was rupees 2.06 and in 1980 it was rupees 2.51. The development of estate workers' wage rates showed an increase between 1973 and 1979, but there was been a decrease of real wages in terms of food and all other items since 1979. The real median income per income receiver fell from 158 (1979) to 138 (1981/82) which was lower than the rural and urban sectors.

Table
Daily Minimum Wage for Tea Estate Workers

Year	1976	1980	1982	1983
Male	13.40	14.00	16.42	17.17
Female	11.25	11.69	13.97	14.47
Children	-	11.13	13.41	13.91

Sources: The Estate Ledger and General Accounts and the Big Check roll Book, Sri lanka, 1999

Previously, there was an inequality in the basic minimum wage rate between male and female workers and in 1983 the pay difference amounted to 15 percent. Despite the fact that men and women performed the same type of work, such as weeding and draining, and irrespective of the fact that females worked longer days, the contribution of female labour power in the productive process has always been undervalued. In fact, the unequal pay rates between the sexes on the tea estates resulted in the exploitation of chief labour power and especially, female labour power. The unequal wage rates remained until 1983 when the Trade Unions' long standing demand for equal rates between the sexes was finally accepted.

12. Role of Governments and Non-governments Organizations

There are various Government and Non-Government organizations have been directly and indirectly engaged in the social and human development activities in the plantation sector. Ministry of Plantation Industries, Ministry of Estate Infrastructure, Ministry of Community Development, Ministry of Housing and Ministry of Education were implemented projects on physical and social infrastructure development. Likewise, the International NGOs and organisations, such as Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), NORAD – Norwegian Development Agency, Organization for Economic Cooperation (OEC), United State Agricultural Aid Department (USAID), World Bank, United Nations Education and Cultural Development (UNECD) International Labour Organizations (ILO) etc. were provided financial support to implement development projects in the plantation sector. Since 1980s, the INGOs, such as Plan International, German Technical Zone (GTZ), OXFAM, Christian Aid, World University Service Centre (WUSC), Care International, Sri Lanka Canadian Development Fund (SLCDF) and World Vision were directly implemented much of their plantation development projects. In addition were, there are more than 40 Sri Lankan NGOs have been work in the plantation sector to uplift the social, economic and cultural advancement of the plantation people.

Conclusion

Before going into details of Indian plantation workers present day lifestyle, it will think about their living

conditions in the plantations sector in Sri Lanka. It is true that these people were exploited and discriminated in all walks of life. Considering their contribution to the Sri Lankan economy, greater care and attention should have been paid towards the protection of their socio-economic and their political interest. The life in the 'lines' was by no means comfortable by any standard. The plantation industry, the mainstay of the island's economy, owes its development largely to the sweat and toil of the Indian workers. The Indian plantation workers were followed at their heels non-estate labourers as also by traders, business men and professionals, while the plantation workers were recruited by Kangany, Thundu, and Tin Ticket system from south India. Initially, good relations may be said to have subsisted between the Ceylonese and Indian origin but, the period beginning with 1930's brought about changes in the attitudes of the Ceylonese towards the Indian minority. Sinhalese nationalists and politicians considered the Indian nationals as an economic and political threat to the indigenous population. Basically, therefore the Indo-Ceylonese problem was an inter mixture of political and economic aspect. After many centuries, still they (Indian plantation workers) were facing problem in Sri Lanka. They need basic requirement, like proper medical facilities, housing, education, wages & citizenship and so on.

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