CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER - I

1. INTRODUCTION

Agriculture continues to be mainstay of the Indian economy. It is the source of livelihood for the majority of the population even today. In spite of development planning pursued for sixty six years after independence, even today agriculture is the source of employment for majority of the population, so a main source of livelihood of the dependent population. Agriculture is the cheap source of raw materials for many of the industries. It also serves as the major source of raw materials for many of the industries. It also serves as the major source of demand for the economy to expand and survive. Inspite of all these, Agriculture in India is growing at a very low rate when compared with other sectors of the Indian economy. All along the course of development history agriculture is growing hardly at 2%, to the expected growth rate of 4% annually. This low growth can be attributed to the gross neglect of Agriculture in the development paradigm of India. The development paradigm has defined development in terms of industrialization of the Indian economy. Development is defined in terms of industrialization, because of its capacity to contribute to gross domestic product (GDP) is very high. The world development history reflected this. So the world has accepted Industrialization as the only process of bringing about an enormous increase in the Gross Domestic Product. It was also believed wrongly that industrialization generates employment to the increasing labour force in the economy. The technology will bring about increasing efficiency with the process of production in Industry. So Research and Development as an inevitable partner in industrialization will deliver the required increase in the ultimate output.

These scenario’s reflected the neglect of agriculture, when compared with other sectors of the Indian economy like industry, manufacturing, and service sectors. This gap between the Growth of agriculture and non-agricultural sectors begin to widen since 1981-82 and more particularly since 1996-97, because of acceleration in the Growth of industry, manufacturing and service sectors.
This scenario of Indian agriculture is also replicated in the Growth of agriculture of the states of the Indian Union. Karnataka is not an exception. The State domestic product (SDP) started declining after 1985. This decline is starkly reflected in the state Agriculture domestic product (ASDP) also. Agriculture and allied activities accounted for 37% of the state income of Karnataka and 69% of the population of the state is engaged in this sector. Within this sector Crop husbandry accounted for 34% of the output, 32% of the income and 25% of the employment generated in this sector. The dominant role of this sector in the state economy as core contributor is quite clear, even ignoring the estimates relating to its forward linkages. The Growth rate in agriculture which was good till the end of 1970’s, started decelerating during the early 1980’s.

Agriculture in Karnataka:

Nearly 80% of the cultivated land in the state falls under rainfed farming out of ten agro-climatic Zones, five zones can be classified broadly as drought prone areas, which covers 14 districts and 106 taluks of the state. The annual rainfall ranges between 450 mm to 3932 mm in Karnataka. Because of the fluctuation in rainfall, the crop yield under rain fed cultivation varies across the districts. For better use of the resources like land and water, the Government of Karnataka in the early 1980’s initiated rain fed farming through watershed approach. Dry land development Board (DLDB) was constituted and district watershed development Programme (DWDP) was undertaken for implementation since 1983-84 in all the districts of the state. It is an integrated approach covering soil conservation, involving crop husbandry, animal husbandry, forestry, irrigated agriculture, horticulture etc., Activities undertaken under this watershed approach covered both arable and non-arable land.

Development paradigm and Indian agriculture:

The first plan document of the planning commission of Indian considers agriculture as a supplementary sector to the development of industry and manufacturing sector. Industry was accorded the status of the core sector of the
economy. The development model of India considers industrialization as economic development and Agriculture has to supplement the process of industrialization by supplying cheap food to industrial workers and raw-materials to the Agro-based industries. The agricultural prices should be deliberately depressed to keep the cost of living index of industrial labourers low. This will keep the wages low facilitating profits and so investment in the economy. This belief in the development model of India lead to agriculture in India to be a weak sector and the dependants of this sector to lead a life of distress eternally. This is no exception for the states of the union of India.

**Low Public Investment:**

The development paradigm considering Agriculture as a supplementary sector, allocation of resources for agriculture has been low. Due to this, public investment in agriculture has been consistently going down from the beginning of the 1st five year plan to this day. This is reflected in the Gross capital formation in agriculture. Capital formation in Indian agriculture in 2006-07 is as low as 5.7% compared to 8.6% in 2000.

We can also compare the average Gross Domestic Product growth rate of agriculture with other sectors. During the period 1951-52 to 1967-68, Agriculture and allied sectors average Gross Domestic Product growth was 2.5% when compared with non-agriculture Gross Domestic Product growing at 4.9% during the same period. During 2005-06 to 2006-07 average agricultural Gross Domestic Product grows at 4.8% compared with non-agricultural sectors average Gross Domestic Product growing at 10.7%. This clearly makes out, that the very low growth of Gross Domestic Product of agriculture over a period of time has made the livelihoods of the dependants of agriculture miserable.

**Lack of Institutional support for the Growth of agriculture:**

Increased pressures of commercialization of agriculture resulted in, the village as an institution collapsing, thereby making the weak and the poor to tend for themselves. The village as an institution which hitherto cared for them has
weakened and gradually receded to the last ground and vanished. The demographic pressures have added to this process of creating marginalization of land holdings and thereby affecting the economic viability of small and marginal farmers. When new systems and fresh initiatives were created, enough care has not been taken to provide further checks to correct any failures, in the process extension credit input delivery system, input and produce marketing mechanisms and the Government support systems, including safety nets are easily amenable to failure under pressures.

The institutional failure can be put under:

a) Mounting credit burden, debt trap and financial non-viability.

b) Distress sale in the market due to bulk arrival in the market.

c) Non-availability of proper Infrastructure and imperfections in the market.

d) Production loss due to non-quality seeds, inferior fertilizers and pesticides.

e) Non-availability of technical services when needed.

f) Failure of rain and frequent droughts

g) Diseases and pests.

h) Failure of counseling institutions.

i) Lack of extension services extended to rural economy.

j) Low yields, due to any or all the above factors, the agriculture of the state experiences distress, causing untold hardship to the farmers of the state.

Issues of Liberalization:

Eighth round of GATT negotiations have brought agriculture to the centre stage of the world trade regime otherwise the world community in the deliberations of the Bretton-woods, in the aftermath of the World War II, respected the exercise of the sovereign rights of the nation states in the areas of agricultural development. Agriculture was never an area of trade; instead it is a
primary source of livelihood of the millions of people of the nation states. Investment, intellectual property rights and the growth of services were all the prerogative of the nation states. The 8th round of GATT negotiations popularly known as Uruguay round put agriculture investment, patent regime and services as prominent areas which come under the international trading regime. This caused concern among the developing countries for loosing the areas of majority of the populations livelihood source to the outplay of international forces. This resulted in this round of negotiations being dragged for a longtime till 1994 December. Ultimately on 19th December 1994 the world countries were compelled to sign the agreement and commit the countries of the world for a new-trade regime, which created newer areas of business, where the world capitalism can have access to huge profits in agriculture and related activities through trade, patenting sand services.

These emerging issues created a situation where the native states failure to develop agriculture, has now become the prerogative of the international capitalism. In the name of bio-technology large number of patents have already been acquired by the multi-national corporations (MNC’s). This patenting regime rejects the new research in areas, where there already exists patents acquired by multi-national corporations. The signatory countries are compelled to zero-in on support measures for agriculture. This agreement allows the foreign capital to play its role in helping agriculture to prosper with the help of Bio-technology. This capital has to be treated on equal footing with the domestic capital. The foreign capital interests have to be protected without violating the provisions agreed in the 8th round of GATT negotiations. These were made to be very essential to derive enormous value-addition in agricultural output.

These developments threw new challenges to the states of India. To face these challenges Karnataka is the first state to bring reforms in the land legislation, allowing companies and corporates to have interest in land ownership and cultivation. The state of Karnataka opened the gates of farming to contractors and corporate houses to pursue contract farming and corporate
farming. This is a decision giving a serious blow to the farming life of the state. This showed its reflection in the form of Turdal farmers of Bijapur, Gulburga and Bidar districts committing suicide in 1997. From then on, there has been a series of farmer’s suicides taking place across crops, across dry and Irrigation farmers, across regions, due to the economic distress caused by the liberalization process unleashed by the state deliberately.

**Emergence of Karnataka Rajya Ryota Sangha (KRRS):**

The continuous neglect of agriculture, in terms of allocation of resources, building of an institutional system of support, creating support services, in terms of technical services, marketing services, extension services, Agriculture in the 1980 reflected to be the weakest production sectors in the Indian economy when compared to industrial, manufacturing and service sectors. So the dependants on this sector of about 71% of the population and their livelihood derivation became pathetic. This has reflected throughout the country in terms of higher deprivation, misery and poverty in the rural society of India.

This deprivation of rural India, which was a deliberate attempt resulted in creating an atmosphere of frustration. This frustration of rural India resulted in terms of a Farmers agitation throughout India, demanding a better deal for the Farmers and rural India in the beginning of 1980’s. This agitation appeared as an ante-thesis, for the development paradigm of India as a thesis, which India followed sincerely from 1950-80 development planning.

In Karnataka Farmers of the Malaprabha and Gataprabha project command area came out on their own on July 21st 1980 to protest against the injustice meted out to them as farmers. This indicated that the Farmers of India are opening for a new agitation against the continuous neglect of agriculture and rural India in particular.

Historically this period is also important. Because India accepted Industrialization as a policy of development, perhaps no newly independent country can pursue its own development policy. In the world it has already been
established that the process of Industrialization has higher capacity to contribute to Gross Domestic product in terms of higher value addition to the national output. The model of development, the World Bank accepted, taking into consideration the experience of western Europe in realizing massive growth in the value of gross domestic product (GDP) during 1850-1944.

The agitation of Farmers of Gataprbha and Malaprabha command areas showed that the farmers of the state are ready to put a stop to the deliberate neglect of agriculture for the future growth of rural India. When the Farmers of these command areas agitated for four days, sometimes violently, resulted in police using fire power caused some deaths of the farmers. This encouraged the sugar cane growers of Shimoga district who had formed into an organization called “Shimoga sugarcane growers association” to give a call for boycott of towns and cities intern of supply of milk, fruits and vegetables. Seventeen districts volunteered to participate in the agitation to block fruits, vegetables and milk reaching the towns and cities. This response of the districts in the call for agitation gave to the leaders of Shimoga sugarcane growers association that farmers are ready for a movement and contacted the leaders of agitation in different districts, who volunteered on their own to participate in the agitation with them. A loose organization of Farmers was formed and called it Karnataka Rajya Ryota Sangha (KRRS). A charter of 19 demands were framed and submitted to the Government of Karnataka. These charter of 19 demands remains even- today the rallying point for the Farmers movement in Karnataka going strong. To get these demands redressed under the banner of Karnataka Rajya Ryota Sangha (KRRS) a call was given to the Farmers to Block the road of Karnataka from 22nd September 1980, to start the blocking the of roads from morning 6° clock to evening 6° clock. This agitation attracted large mass of rural Karnataka to be part of this agitation except undivided Dakshina Kannada and Kolar districts. The state did not recognize the strength of the movement. It used massive force to quell the movement through force. Otherwise the movement of the Farmers was Gandhian non-violent way of protest through blocking the roads, making a wide publicity of the mode of agitation a week before the
starting of the agitation. So that the inconvenience to the travelers can be reduced.

From 22\textsuperscript{nd} September 1980 to 2\textsuperscript{nd} October 1982, the state used police firing on the agitation, who otherwise are on a non-violent protest to get their grievances redressed. In this use of force the state killed 139 Farmer’s. On October 2\textsuperscript{nd} 1982. Karnataka Rajya Ryota Sangha (KRRS) called the Farmers of Karnataka to come to Bangalore to show the strength of the Farmers, on whom large scale violence was used by the state. Nearly 25 lakh Farmers gathered in Bangalore Cubbon park to call for a halt to the use of force on the peace loving Farmers agitation and also defeat the Government which used force, in the approaching elections. This mass mobilization of rural people throughout Karnataka showed Karnataka Rajya Ryota Sangha (KRRS) as an important voice of rural India. The social scientists in India and outside called this movement as one of the most influential movement of contemporary India, in voicing the grievances of rural India (Muzaffor Assadi 1990, M.V.Nadkarni 1991 et al).

This movement’s central theme as reflected in the 19 demand included scientific price for the Farmers produce and ensuring scientific wages for agricultural labourers and social security for the Farmers and labourers. The movement also demands that, since India is 80\% rural, it demands 80\% of the national resources to be allocated for rural India. Thus presenting itself in the centre stage of the development discourse of the 1980’s.

**Objectives of the Study:**

The objectives of the study are enumerated as below:

1. To evaluate the new-development paradigm of India from 1950, in terms of the development of agriculture.

2. To study the importance of Agriculture vis-a-vis the livelihood of 71\% of the population who depends on agriculture for their livelihood.
3. To examine whether, the new development paradigm is responsible for the emergence of the Farmers movement across India in the 1980’s.

4. To assess the Karnataka Rajya Ryota Sangha (KRRS) interns of its demand for scientific price for the farmers produce.

5. To critically look into Karnataka Rajya Ryota Sangha (KRRS) in terms of scientific wage for agricultural labourers vis-a-vis the minimum wages of the Government of India and Karnataka.

6. To assess the role of Karnataka Rajya Ryota Sangha (KRRS) as a Farmers movement in Karnataka.

**Hypotheses of the Study:**

1. The emergence of Farmers movement in India is due to the deliberate neglect of agriculture in the new development paradigm.

2. The Karnataka Rajya Ryota Sangha (KRRS) argument of a scientific price for Farmers produce is theoretically a sound proposition.

3. The Karnataka Rajya Ryota Sangha (KRRS) discourse of a scientific wage for agricultural labourers in an attainable proposition.

**Methodology of the Study:**

The research design will be a combination of both descriptive and analytical in character. The study will be based on both primary and secondary sources of the data, methodology will also be a combination of induction of reasoning and deduction method of reasoning in verifying the hypotheses.

Primary information will be built by extensive interviews of farmers, across the sections and regions and interviews, debates, dialogues with leaders of the movement across sections regions and crops. Also dialogues, interviews and debates with other farmers organizations of the times to verify the other activity of the movements claim. Interviews, dialogues, debates with experts in the field of agriculture and Farmers’ issues across the state and the country. Also
interviews, dialogues and debates with people responsible for policy making at organization of the state.

Secondary information is available in terms of books, articles, Journals, booklets, Pamphlets, researched materials published and unpublished by scholars of universities, research institutes and organization of Government and voluntary agencies.

Publication of Governments of Karnataka, India and local self institutions and organizations. Committee reports and working papers. World bank reports, Reports of agricultural price and cost commission of the union of India and the state of Karnataka, Memorandums of the NGO’S in the state of Karnataka.

This thesis depended more on the traditional reasoning in economics of an inductive reasoning and deductive reasoning. To construct the scientific judgment consists for long times have used these methods. Though the modern methods have become more quantitative interns of numbers and equations, the quantitative approach has gained enormous space in research in social sciences, particularly in economics. That does not of mean the traditional methods are irrelevant. The subject of inquiry necessitates the methodology that can be used to move towards more effective analysis and arrival at a scientific judgment. The topic, I have selected necessitated the methods that have been extensively used to come to an acceptable judgment. May be a disappointment for quantitative economists, But the study tries to make the judgments more effective in their analysis and interpretation and coming to an conclusive judgment. Thereby implying how even the traditional methods of reasoning can still be used to make a research study effective particularly when the issues involved are of welfare types.
Review of the Literature:

Sri Raghavaiah (1778-1971): A noted social worker attached to Adimsevak samaj, in his very valuable work which provides a picture of tribal revolts on an all India scale in his book “Tribal revolts in chronological order 1778-1971” is the only work which gives or useful account of tribal movements enveloping in India. His writings describes the impact of the measures adopted by the Britishers on the tribal. He examines how these measures uprooted the very foundations of tribal socio-economic structures and hit at the basis of tribal communal, cultural life generating among them a deep sense of frustration, resentment and inevitable need to struggle for sheer survival. His highlighting the functions of missions to directly or indirectly subserve the interest of the British rulers, gives a proper perspective for analyzing the role of missionary complexes in India. A brief account of the tribal struggle and also the non-tribal peasant struggles given by him is valuable for observing how the same forces operated on the tribal and non-tribal rural population compelling them to rise in revolt.

Sri N.G. Ranga and Swami Sahajanand Saraswathi work:

History of Kisan movement published by All India Kisan Sabha acquired importance during the mid 1930’s. It is one of the first systematic review of Agrarian revolts in India. It also presents the assessment of these struggles by the All India Kisan Sabha. This brings the strong peasant struggles up to the middle of the 1930’s, because it raised some of the important theoretical issues like inability of the peasantry in evolving an independent all India political party. The necessity of understanding properly the role of various classes in rural areas and their link at the national level and the role of Indian national congress in bringing the peasantry into the vertex of the national movement.

Indian peasant uprising by Kathleen cough:

Kathleen cough is known for her valuable studies on Indian villages’ community and peasant movement in India. This work is noteworthy for her
clear examination of social movements which involved peasants as the main force where struggles against those who extracted surplus from peasants led to armed struggles. She also tries to establish how a cursory glance at the history of 77 revolts, the smallest of which engaged several thousand peasants in active support and combat, about 30 revolts affecting several tens of thousands and about 12 several hundred thousand. She also tries to classify peasant revolts during British period into five types of actions in terms of Goals, ideology and methods of organization. They also to establish a new form of peasant society, which would be free from foreign rule and would be based on some traditional virtues and modern technology. She also tried to identify the remarkable organizing ability, revolutionary potential and solidarity of the peasant and their determined militancy in opposing imperialism and Exploitative relations. It also points to the peasants inventiveness and potential military powers and their aspirations for a more democratic and egalitarian society and even their capacity for co-operation in struggles cutting across caste, religion and linguistic lines to redress their grievances.

Agrarian revolts- N.G. Ranga and Sahajanamd Saraswathi:

This study notes one of our great struggles engineered by our nationalists under the leadership of the congress on behalf of our voiceless peasants. It was aimed at the abolition of the indenture system. According to this system, lakhs of our peasants and workers used to or induced to sign some indenture bonds, agreeing to work for a specified number of years for some specified employers, most of whom were Europeans. Under this system our rural folk used to be recruited for work in South-Africa, Malaya, Sri Lanka and other overseas Countries and also for plantation work in Assam, Bengal, Madras and Utter Pradesh for years, lakhs of these unfortunate people were persecuted in an unspeakable manner. Against this in human system Indian National congress waged a relentless war and triumphed and the Indenture system was abolished by the Government. Which had agreed to shoulder the responsibility for the
safety, economic wellbeing and cultural uplift of all immigrant and emigrant labour?

Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Rajendra Prasad the famous champaran struggle against the Indigo planters. They were persecuting local Bihari peasants to grow Indigo against their will. Mahatma Gandhi and Rajendra Prasad detailed their woes and fought for the impost and tyranny of the indigo planters.

**Assadi Muzaffar- Politics of peasant movements in Karnataka: 1980-89**

Prof. Assadi is a respected social scientist who has extensively studied Farmers’ movement in Karnataka, in terms of the Karnataka Rajya Ryota Sangha (KRRS) evolving as a political domain. This study is a detailed analysis of how a well-to do Farmers’ can form into a force to influence the social and cultural life of Karnataka as a whole, despite the marginalization of the movement in the given situation in Karnataka. Firstly, it brought forth a new awareness among the peasantry in other words it helped the formation of class consciousness, at least in the initial stages of the different categories in the rural society says Prof. Muzaffor Assadi. Prof. Assadi also says despite its weaknesses and contradictions the peasant movement in the final analysis had opened up a new chapter of subalterns in overall India context. This analysis barely touches the issue of the scientific price for agricultural produce and scientific wage for agricultural labourers.

**M.V. Nadkarmi-Karnataka Farmers’ movement-1991:**

Prof. Nadkarmi’s analysis of the movement in terms of its strength in numbers, historical perspectives. This an important document recording the movement in historical notes but barely touches the economics of the Farmers’ movement.

Many scholars of the universities from different disciplines and social scientists have worked on the sociology, politics and empowerment of the masses through the movement. Some scholars have also worked on the re-
inventing of Gandhi through the movement. But scholars have not tried to analytically interpret the Farmers movement in terms of their basic economic discourses. This new discourses of the Farmers’ movement all over India needs a through investigation and research.

So this research is an attempt in the direction of reinventing the new discourses of the movement in terms of a scientific price, scientific wage, a historical neglect of agriculture in the new development discourses.

**Chapter Scheme:**

Chapter-I: Introduction

Chapter-II: Farmers movements’ in India, Farmers movement in Karnataka as an ante-thesis for the thesis of development accepted by Governments as the new development paradigm.

Chapter-III: The emergence of Farmer’s movements in India is due to the deliberate neglection of agriculture in the new development paradigm of India.

Chapter-IV: Karnataka Rajya Ryota Sanagha (KRRS) and the demand for a scientific price for agricultural produce.

Chapter-V: KRRS and the demand of scientific wages for agricultural labourers.

Chapter –VI: Summary and Conclusion.

**The scope of the study:**

The scope for this study is necessitated by the development of the 1980’s which gave rise to the birth of Farmers’ movements across the country. This development happened as a new discourse to the development thesis accepted by the Government of India and the states of the Indian Union. The new development paradigm was centered around urban areas and industrial activities to the neglect of Agriculture which was the main source of livelihood for 90% of
the population of India at the time of independence of the country. This mistreatment of agriculture, its allied activities and rural India necessitated the rural India to raise its voice against the Gross neglect of majority of the population which lived in villages. This Growth is an all India phenomena indicating how, the whole of India and its villages raised their voice in the 1980’s which took the form of Farmers’ movement. Their new discourse for dialogue shook the conscience of the urban society and ruler’s muskarading in the forms of bureaucrats and politicians’, dissection of the issues raised by the new discourse is imperative. So the scope of this analytical study is vast to shape the future of Indian society to be strong and stable.

Limitations of the study:

Academic studies have their own limitations in terms of their insight on theme, history of the themes and the prediction of the future of the theme. With this limitation in mind the present study has tried to interpret the history of development of the Indian economy vis-à-vis-Agricultural development. The consequent development paradigm we accepted as a nation framing policy on these paradigms. The consequent impact and effect and the growth of Farmers’ movements in the 1980’s as a product of the development paradigm, which inevitably resulted in the gap of urban-rural India. Analyzing this phenomena involves many of the nuances which are social-economic, cultural political and even sometimes ethnic. A research study however scientific one is bound to fail to interpret the complex nuances of the factors. However, utmost care is taken to be as scientific as possible, as Judicious as possible and objective and forward looking in interpreting the observations, analysis and deriving conclusions on this.