Conclusion

"Long years age we made a tryst with destiny and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom."

So said Jawaharlal Nehru as the Prime Minister of Free India while he was addressing the Constituent Assembly and the Indian nation on 15th August 1947. India was born anew and as a free nation; but it was no unmixed blessing. The attainment of long awaited Independence was preceded by communal carnage of unprecedented magnitude, famine, huge destruction of men and money. The Freedom at midnight, such events as the naval uprising, the I.N.A. trials and the popular movements. The new Labour Prime Minister Mr. Clement Atlee could see the writing on the wall and made a historic declaration to this effect in the British Parliament. On the other hand Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself admitted that they were left with no alternative but to accept the Mountbatten plan of partition, a precondition of transfer of power since they were too weary to continue the movement opposing the British Imperialism.

Unfortunately enough, Bengal emerged a truncated State as a sequel to the partition of India. The joy of freedom was marred by the sorrow and suffering of the large scale exodus.
of the uprooted humanity from the East Pakistan to West Bengal. The social milieu in Bengal was no less explosive and divided communally. The Great Killing of 1946 was a shameless and grievous act of barbarism enacted in Bengal. The call of greater (undivided) Bengal of Sarat Chandra Bose fell on deaf ears. Against this background West Bengal began her career as a state of Independent India, with economic and social constraints if not instability.

Historically speaking, Bengal was brought first within the ambit of the British Colonialism and it was here where the banner of protest and revolt was first hoisted. The Bengal renaissance and myriads of the Socio-religious movements in the 19th Century Bengal not only unleashed the forces of rationalism, secularism, scientific outlook but also prepared and nurtured the soil for the emergence of nationalism and patriotism. The twentieth century witnessed political social, peasant and trade union movements for social, economic political justice and the attainment of the national goal that complete freedom was from the thraldom of the British.

The leaders of Free India undertook the gigantic task of nation building immediately after the transfer of power. Jawaharlal Nehru declared in unequivocal terms that India would not join any power block; rather it would prefer to pursue an independent foreign policy in accordance with the needs and national interest. In the objective Resolution
adopted on 22nd January, 1947, the goal of a Welfare State was declared. The Constitution of India was put into effect on January 26, 1950 and it marked the journey of Indian Republic. Both political and socioeconomic democracy were sought to be established through parliamentary method. Part IV of the Constitution entitled Directive Principles of State Policy include a comprehensive list of principles which may be classified into Socialistic liberal - intellectualistic and Gandhian principles. Article 38 is worth mentioning here; it says that the State shall devote all efforts for 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 influence all the institutions of national life. The item of said social security arises in this background. Unless the economy is placed on solid pedestal and stability achieved in political and administrative plan, the question of social security can not be put on the agenda for consideration.

Jawaharlal Nehru's declaration, "to remove tear from every eye" was no empty phrase. He was chiefly instrumental in launching 5 - years plans in India for the economic development of India. The achievements of the Soviet economic planning had deep impact upon him since the thirties of the present century. It was capable enough of withstanding the onslaught of the world wide depression; significantly enough the U.S. economy had to undergo severe strain and protracted privation to tide-
over the impact which surprisingly enough ultimately became 
the compulsive cause for emergence of Social Security in 
U.S.A. Again, the terrible aftermath of World War II 
gave birth to comprehensive social security in U.K. So 
adversity at end become great blessing.

However be that as it may Nehru felt that there was 
no alternative but to accept state directed economic planning 
for the reconstruction of Indian economy which had been plun­
dered, devasted and ruined shamelessly by the imperialists 
during the last two hundred years. Planning, in fact, is the 
conscious process of selecting and developing the best course 
of action to accomplish the defined objective - the establish­
ment of justice in Indian Society. The role of the Government, 
therefore, became crucial if not seminal in this regard. 
Planning in India is the "dream child" of Nehru who had all 
along been the Chairman of the Planning Commission since its 
inception.

The market oriented economy is based on profit motive 
and results in massive concentration of economic power in the 
hands of the owners of production while the teeming millions 
continue to grope and languish in object poverty and depriva­
tion. The hiatus between the two sections or classes leads to 
socio-economic political enstrangement in the society, and 
ultimately the stability and equilibrium of the society are 
threatened with ruptures and balkanisation. The adoption of
the mixed economy and state directed planning in free India
is a step in right direction, and in that people will at least
feel that the 'new State' is, after all, doing its best to
alleviate their sorrows and sufferings that had been perpetra-
ted upon them by the colonisers. People will give their alle-
giance to the laws of the land and will provide all sorts of
cooperation to the administration. In fact, "people's partici-
pation in the government" is one of the basic criteria for the
effective functioning of the administration. So opined Lenin
shortly after the triumph of the October Revolution. Chairman
Mao Tse Tung and Doctor Ho Chi Min also upheld the identical
principle while embarking upon the development plan for their
respective states, China and Vietnam.

The State both at the Union and Units is the important
instrument for socio economic changes as well as the custodian
of citizen's interest. The motto of State is "social justice"
of multidimensional aspects in sharp distinction to the profit
consideration of the capitalist economy.

It is with this motto in view that the Governments both
at the national and State levels, have undertaken various
measures to uplift the socio economic condition of the Indian
people, abolition of Zamindari system and land reform, success-
ive five year plans, nationalisation of I.I.C., G.I.C. and
Banks, increasing arena of the State sector in the spheres
of health, education and cooperative labour welfare etc are
examples of the attention of the state to the problems of the
people. The attainment of "distributive justice," can be defied by the government only at its peril. The social security measures thus come to the fore as the measuring rod of the success and failures of the administration as far as the improvement of the lot of working people if not common men, is concerned. Bengal now West Bengal has all along been the epicentre of social religious-political movement for liberty equality and justice since the days of colonial rule. It has been a fortress of both nationalist left and Marxist left. People's movements in Bengal against oppression, bondage, exploitation have been well-known. Right from the days of Raja Ram Mohan to the present era West Bengal (previously Bengal) has witnessed numerous and sagacious efforts on the socio-economic political fronts to bring about improvement in the macro as well as micro level. People's interest has always been uppermost in West Bengal because the state has surpassed others in matters of cultural renaissance, democratic thought, political ideology and economic and social rights. In this connection, some of the major issues pertaining to the economy may be evaluated. The main objective of the establishment and implementation of the Panchayati Raj demonstrate democratic decentralisation of power in the way that the affairs of the local people are managed by themselves. It means, as already pointed out, the people's participation in administration. It, therefore ensures, extension of the "democracy at the grass root level. Since mid fifties Panchayati Raj has been set up in almost all states and huge money has been spent.
but unfortunately the result obtained has been far below expectation. The benefits have not percolated to the needy and the deserving; there has been concentration of powers, both political and economic in a few hands. Rampant corruption, nepotism communalism casteism internal squabbles and ignorance and illiteracy have been found major constraints retarding the effectiveness of the functioning of the Panchayati Raj.

Although the picture in West Bengal is altogether different and better compared to other states, here also bottlenecks are no less. The ruling party treats the Panchayati Bodies as the mechanisms for extending if not preserving its political and economy hegemony over the vast rural areas. This apart, the Panchayati system in West Bengal has resulted in the emergence of a "new class of zamindars" in the rural areas having huge agricultural wealth and prosperity at their disposal, with the agricultural progress in the country side. In consequence, genuine peoples' participation has been receding. However, there is no escape from the Panchayati Raj. Hence all efforts should be devoted to make it a success. The rural poverty eradication schemes now in operation should be earnestly implemented in default of which the menace of rural poverty might upset the political-economic balance of the State.

As regards land reform, the achievements of West Bengal have been better than other states. The process had begun with Dr. B. C. Roy who was chiefly responsible to destroy the "ghost
of Lord Cornwallis through Zamindari Abotion legislation engineered during his tenure of state's chief ministership. The Left Front Government has carried the "banner" of reforms further and forward. It has passed various land reform measures, "operation Borga" being the most notable, to improve the socio economic lot of the rural masses. The Constitution (sixty-sixth) Amendment Bill, approved by both Houses of Parliament, has given protection to various land reform legislations enacted by several State Governments. But even here, a long road lies ahead to reach the desired goal. The strong peasant movement in 1940s and 1950s in West Bengal had prepared the ground for the successes achieved in the spheres of land reforms by the Left Front Government. The Telengana Movement deserves special attention. Though sporadic and violent, impact of Naxalbari Movement should also not be ignored at all together. The scheduled caste's and the tribes, the poor rural masses and particularly the landless peasants are being aided by the government so that they may be able to come out of the exploitative world of the moneylenders and poverty and to lead a free and peaceful life of their own. Attempts are made so that vested interests in land are also being removed in this state. The Minimum Wages Act for the agricultural workers is a welcome measure in that it will rescue them from the pernicious net of "thikadars" or middlemen for job and wage.
Recently some administrative measures in the form of creating appointment opportunities have been undertaken with an eye to improving the lot of the weaker sections of the society. There are the National Commission for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and the Commission for the minorities. The implementation of Mondal Commission recommendations will go a long way ameliorating the socio-economic educational backwardness of the backward classes.

The improvement of status of women and their socio-economic progress and well-being are intimately connected with the security stability and cohesion, if not integrity of Indian nation-state. In this connection we should not forget the warning of Swami Vivekananda - 'That country and that nation which do not respect women, have never become great and will never be so in future.' The recent decision of the West Bengal Government to reserve 30% seats for the women in the Panchayati Bodies is however a laudable and bold step to ensuring participation of women in the management of rural affairs that touch them most. Even today women are getting wage less than women in similar job. This inequality needs to be corrected. Caution, however, is to be taken so that the women participation is real and free from political interference. Eradication of illiteracy and spread of scientific knowledge are important items that should be taken in right earnest to better the lot of the women especially in the rural areas. Otherwise women emancipation will remain a mere hoax.
In recent past the West Bengal Government has been making efforts through decentralized planning to eradicate rural poverty and provide jobs to the rural unemployed. Giving more powers to Panchayati bodies with this end in view is a right step. It will minimize rural unrest as well as provide rural base to the power that be. But even here corruption, nepotism intra-party rivalry are bottlenecks defeating the main objectives. The picture on the industrial front is no better. It is rather dismal, if not retrograde. Sickness of industry has become the rule rather than an exception. The army of unemployed is steadily increasing. A review report of labour and industry compiled by the West Bengal Government (1987) reveals some facts of deep concern and disillusionment. During 1989 the number of strikes and lock outs, came to 237 involving 162542 employees with total working days loss of 28465126. But compared to that the position in 1968 was less depressing with total working day loss of 3177200 only. The number of unemployment comes to staggering figure reaching to the tune of 5 million by the end of 1992. While the creation of new jobs is scarce, the employed workers are being thrown out of employment in the pretext of modernisation and progressive loss in industry, trade and commerce.

The jute and many other manufacturing industries present a far more dismal picture. Unfortunately serious efforts are still not in the offing to arrest the deteriorating condition in the trade and industrial fronts. The picture on the organised government sector and the semi-government sector like Port Trust is however not so depressing.
But here too, there is no perceptible sign of increasing the avenues of employment. Rather, there is talk of voluntary retirement and 'golden hand shake', freezing of D.A. etc. All these certainly do not hold promising picture for the success of social security measures in our country. The scheme of E.S.I. has been perhaps the only field where the measures have borne fruits with many a limitations and short coming pointed out in previous pages. But here also the desired result is far from expectation mainly due to administrative lapses and corruption. How can we contradict here the frank view of Gunnar Myrdal, "Though so many laws have been enacted for the welfare of the people, but very abide by them." A very very sad comment!

Recently the question of special funds for the assistance of the employees in their days of lockout, strike and distress craves careful attention.

As far as West Bengal is concerned it had paid the highest price for freedom. But still it has been receiving scanty and inadequate financial assistance from the central Government even since the dawn of independence. Apart from administrative lapses paucity of funds stands as a major constraint thwarting the social security measures in India. One small submission herein may be made/State Government regarding protection of worker’s interest in case of apprehended large scale retrenchment that (1) security enjoyed under Industrial Disputes Act should not be jeopardised and (2) a special fund
with centre’s aid may be created for old helpless retrenched
workers at least temporarily for family maintenance.

An improved centre-state relation on financial matter
is that is urgently needed in this regard. Regional imbalance
and intra-regional imbalance can be removed only if the union
and state governments work in close cooperation and the states
get adequate funds from the centre. The West Bengal Government
has given top priority on land reforms and the effectiveness
of Panchayati Raj institutions. Besides the State Government
are implementing various poverty alleviation measures like
IRDP Jawahar joyana etc. It is no denying the fact that
our social security measures are surely not adequate in compari-
son to the other advanced states mainly due to socio-economic
backwardness mounting unemployment and increasing pauperisation.
But it also is a fact that the efforts of the West Bengal Govern-
ment have paid dividends, otherwise they would not have been
returned to power for the four successive terms. This should,not
however, make us complacent. The placidity on the surface does
hardly reflect the ground realities of economic instability,
poverty and unrest. The disease must first be recognised, other-
wise proper medicine for cure can not be prescribed. Unfortu-
nately enough, the Government seems to concentrate its atten-
tion more on the retention of the political power than allevia-
ting with more vigor the economic ills plaguing the body politic.
This is a process which needs to be reconsidered if not reversed
in people's interest.
With the passing of days some unhappy developments have cropped up in our Country's economic political and Social spheres. This view stands reflected in our President's address to the nation in latest Republic Day Celebration. With a bit of agony and despair he made some frank utterances which may be summed up as under.

Economic inequality is ticking time bomb that might lead to social upheaval. There is sullen resentment among the masses against their condition often erupting in violent forms in several parts of the Country .... Many a social upheaval can be traced to the neglect of the lowest tier of the Society whose discontent moves towards the path of violence. Dalits and Tribals are worst affected by all this.

The indicators of this yawning gap between the haves and have-nots are everywhere. Our giant factories rose out of Squalor. Our Satellites shoot up from the midst of the hovels of the poor.

A decade of liberalisation has completely ignored the poor and the needy. The "three way of fast lane of liberalisation privatisation and globalisation" has neglected to provide safe pade crossing for the poor. Obviously with regret he stated.

We have one of the world's largest reservoirs of technical personnel but also the world's largest number of illiterates, the world's largest middle class, but also the largest number of children suffering from malnutrition. So it is time when we should have more thought on liberalisation and free market economy which seems to
have failed to change the abysmal conditions." However, in spite of these he is in favour of economic growth but it according to him must not be at the expense of the poor and the tribal.

This entire contention seems to be a genuine paternal warning to his sons. And as a first Citizen he has with love and affection rightly done his duty for the real benefit of the people.

But the question stands—why with enormous natural resources and human and other potentials India could not achieve expected success while after unprecedented war devastation and massive destruction of men and material our two neighbours Japan and China gained tremendous success in social and economic fronts within a short time. A very sad contrast indeed. Now in brief let us analyse and review the deep seated impediments or the inherent drawbacks we have been suffering from since long and which pose to be strumbling block on our way to smooth and satisfactory progress.

The thing to remember first is that Western political institutions and conventions are introduced in our country under colonial rule. They operated within the frame work of an arbitrary and authoritarian regime rather than an open democratic regime. A bureaucratic regime can never faster a culture of true democracy. Actually India inherited a highly Centralised administrative system from the British regime. And it also decided to continue with the same colonial apparatus of governance. The Indian Constitution
though federal in form contains strong unitary elements. India's unitary system of government needs to be converted to a truly federal structure so that it will provide a democratic space to accommodate centrifugal forces. And in case of our failure the calamity of regional desparity and conflict is the outcome threatening. Of late realisation comes in Indian policy that regional forces will almost always matter and their representation in the government will give due respect to regional will and aspiration. In this connection celebrated historian and political thinker Mr. K. M. Pannikar's observation is quite appropriate — Regionalism has generally not been against the centre. It does not weaken the centre. On the other hand muzzling of regionalism creates opposition. Actually regionalism tends to strengthen the centre as each region looks at it for support. "The most brilliant example is USA administration where both centre and States are working mutually and in full cooperation for the prosperity of the country. Besides centralisation of political and administrative power can never be conducive to better and friendly understanding. On the other hand certain amount of independence may serve as a great impetus or a good angury of new horizon and arouse new hope and aspiration:

Not only that the new cordial atmosphere may help root out sources of corruption and by which a fresh and loving environment may be created for a better order. And it is a fact that moral character of the people is one of the surest guarantees for combating corruption as well as for successful implementation of any kind of
In our democratic system of government the political leaders become ministers or top executives of different departments of government. But they possess neither special or thorough knowledge nor even the previous or long experience in the affairs of administration they head throughly election. Consequently they have to depend much on the help advice and cooperation of the bureaucrats unlike the administration of USA where specialists are appointed as the secretaries of the respective departments. They use to conduct the department independently and without outside interference. So, they turn to be efficient and skillful administrators. And in our Country herein lies the crux of the problem, because our ministers are wholly dependent upon the bureaucrats who have little connection either with soil or people. But on the other hand some of them are alleged to have indirect involvement in so many corruptions.

3. Both Mr. K.C. Panth, Dy. Chairman, Planning Commission and Mr. P.A. Sangma, Ex-Central Labour Minister and Ex-Speaker of Parliament are of firm view that some of the existing labour laws seem outdated and require fresh review and necessary amendments so that in revised and altered form they can be useful and more relevant in conformity with the changing requirement under different context.

4. Social Insurance has wide scope for beneficial and welfare activities to be initiated for the betterment of the poor. But our two massive Insurance organisations (GIC & LIC) use to work on routine bound process instead of launching more effective and fruitful projects both for alleviation of rural poverty as well as for better
comfort and security of the wage earness and workers of Industry and Commerce. Wings of social security can be more expanded if insurance sector in our country moves with undounted will and determination and with comprehensive scientific and broadbased plan as is quite evident in case of almost all the developed countries of west and some in other parts of the world.

It is indeed a matter of regret that even after 50 years in our life in republic we are to find that justice social and political still remained an unrealised dream for millions of our fellow citizens.

5. It is to be admitted that for the remedy of our deep rooted economic ills India instead of blindly imitating western economic ideas or model we must pursue specific policies to boost production and expand scope of further employment. India needs a new socio economic political order to save it from disaster.

And keeping this in mind West Bengal embarked upon a journey on a new path by vigorously pursuing land reform with peoples' participation. Our country not excluding West Bengal is predominantly agrarian in character. And there is no doubt that the problem of agricultural labour is quite complex and is more compounded by two sub-problems viz. how to reduce the number of persons dependent on agriculture and how to raise productivity of land. It is to be reaffirmed that the lot of agricultural labour cannot be improved unless the productivity of agriculture is sufficiently increased. But in this
sector we are still lagging behind.

However West Bengal will have to be pulled out of its present economic problems. We must study afresh the mood and the times and make suitable changes in tune with the new ideas of liberalisation. We must make ourselves free from the inflexible mind-sets and antiquated ideological beliefs. Rightly opined the renowned jurist Mr. N.A. Palkiwala "In the next century India should endeavour to introduce fruitful egalitarianism in place of sterile socialism. In that direction we have a long way to go".

India is determined to become a true Socialist Republic by timely constitutional amendment. The nation anxiously waits for the dawn of new era when our politicians will be able to fulfil the dreams and aspirations of the teeming millions instead of bothering dry ideology.

And lastly our prayer that Law will help translate constitutional values in our preamble into living realities for the people of India. It will not falter in this noble venture in the quest of equal justice to both men and women under the law and for social justice which is the signature-tune of our Constitution.
A nation without a vision cannot prosper. So it will be our solemn pledge that we shall continue to toil with true spirit of patriotism and purity of heart to make reality our dream for a society where the social justice prevails, truth decency and human dignity are respected, where wealth and power are held in trust for the common good and when all people and communities live in peace and harmony. That is the dream for realisation of which must we work together and stop not until the goal is reached.