Himachal Pradesh University Journal

(Humanities and Social Sciences)

Vol.08 No.2 December 2020

ISSN 2277-1425
e-ISSN 2277-1433

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A Peer Reviewed Biannual
Journal of Himachal Pradesh University

HIMACHAL PRADESH UNIVERSITY JOURNAL
(Humanities and Social Sciences)
ISSN : 2277-1425; e-ISSN: 2277-1433

Himachal Pradesh University Journal (Humanities & Social Sciences) is published biannually by Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla in the months of June and December every year.

The soft copy of the journal is available at https://hpuniv.ac.in/innerpage/h-p-university-journals.php

Subscription

Annual	Rs. 1500 Institutional
	Rs. 1000 Individual
	Overseas: $ 70

Claims for undelivered copies may be made no later than four months of publication. The publisher will supply the missing copies when losses have been sustained in transit and if the availability in stock allows.

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Resisting Western Critique of Women's Status in India: Reflections on Vedas and Dharmashastras

- Chandrakala Padia

My paper has three clear sections. First, it seeks to show that ontologically, or as human beings, women have all along been given an equal status in the Indian intellectual tradition; second, that in respect of character and contribution to cohesion and welfare of society, they have even been regarded superior to man; and thirdly, that it is unwarranted to hold the opposite view (of some critics) that the intellectual traditions of India have never thought highly of woman. Be it noted that, as demanded by the precise phrasing of the subject, my concern will be with *tradition* all along, and not with things as they are at present; and further that I will be focusing on intellectual tradition, that is, how women have been thought of and written about in the past, not on what their actual state of living and experience was in that period of time.

I

Now, to begin with woman's equality in respect of ontological status as visualized in our ancient texts, I may straight away refer to the *RgVeda* commonly regarded as the earlier available text of Indian thought. This Veda speaks of a common source from which the diversity of life has emerged. *The Nasadiyasukta* (Mandal 10: Rg 129)[1] visualizes the state before creation, even before the emergence of light, shade or form; and speaks of a process through which the One Will manifest itself in many forms, including the male and the female ones. Now, this very thought of a common origin recalcitrates the idea of unequal importance of the forms that emerge into existence. It is, in this context, relevant to point out that quite a few saints in India have also argued for the equality of all human beings on the ground that they are all alike the product of

Chandrakala Padia, *Former Chairperson IIAS, Shimla and Professor in the Department of Political Science, Banaras Hindu University, U.P.*

the five elements (*panch-bhutas*). The *Kathopanisad* (II, ii, 15) sounds a similar note where it says that before creation began, there was nothing, neither light nor darkness, neither day nor night, no sky, no stars, no earth-nothing; only when the primal Will-crystallizing itself as the golden cosmic egg, *hiranyagharbham-split* itself, that all this diversity of forms came into being; and that, as in respect of its emergence, so in dissolution too, this diversity will lapse back into the one and common Essence, or Being.[2] So, all that prevails on the earth is of equal significance, and also alike in impermanence.

It is noteworthy that such a non-discriminatory view of origin and dissolution continued to be held upto the time of *Dharmasastras*. Thus, *Manusmrti,* which is widely acknowledged as the earliest *Dharmasastras* text, more or less repeats the view in question (Manu I:13-39) adding that the process of self-division of the one included gender differentiation as well. The one, we are told, split itself into two halves, and assumed the male form with one half and the female form with the other (I:32). The implication here obviously is that though at the ontological level gender-differentiation is certainly there, it is surely not the same thing as gender discrimination.

The *Upnishads*, too, speak of human beings generally, not of man as opposed to woman. They formulate problems of life and offer thoughtful solutions for the whole of humanity. What is more, the solutions are based on the faith that an overriding principle is at work in all alike, the faith that all living beings are evolving towards *Mukti*, or spiritual liberation. The evolutionary process is described as a passage from the physical to the spiritual, and, collaterally, from the mundane to the divine, all along making for the realization that, more than a mind-body complex, the individual is 'the spiritual principle.' This supreme objective (of self realization) is held to be accessible to man and woman alike. Nor is such a view merely a thing of the past. Swami Vivekananda has spoken for it vigorously. Our psychology, too, insists that both men and women are basically spiritual; that body and mind are, but helpful instruments; and that is the *atman* (the self), which is the *tattva* (or Essence), and also the real *Karta* (or/agent) which is seeking *moksha*. The *Kathopanisad* visualizes the selfsame thought in the form of a beautiful image. The body (it says) is the chariot, the mind is the reins; and the *atman* is the driver which directs the chariot and keeps it running in the direction of *moksha*.[3]

Even in the post *Samhita* period, we may note, woman was regarded as *ardhāngini*, that is, one half of the very being of man and in no way subordinate to him. Another significant term that is used for her is: *sahadharmini*, that is, a co-participator in discharging the obligations of life and fully capable of taking her own decisions. Of all the different women mentioned in *Vedic Samhita* texts, Maitreyi is perhaps the most illustrious example of a woman's ability to exercise her own judgment in respect of a question of values. The relevant situation is, in brief, as follows: *Maharsi Yājnavalkya* wishes to embrace *sannyāsa* (renunciation, the fourth stage of life). He duly seeks his wives' permission for the change, adding that he was quite willing to divide his property between his two wives. Thereupon, exercising both her individual sense of values and freedom to disagree, Maitreyi emphatically refuses to share the property and pleads instead for being granted the imperishable treasure of self-knowledge or *ātman-jnāna*.[4] This case clearly shows that women in the *Vedic* age were educated and free enough to exercise their own judgment on vital matters. Nor is Maitreyi a solitary example of capable womanhood. There were the following other ladies of substance as well, namely RsikaGhosa who had earned this name just because she was fond of emphasizing the value of the *Vedas* everywhere; Dakshinā, so called because she would never tire of stressing the significance of *dana* (gift, offering, endowment); Romshā, Lopamudrã, Vãgabhuranã, all of whom excelled in giving accounts of the process of creation, and Juho who became known for her sharp intellect. All these women of the *Samhitā* period enriched the *Vedic* lore; and, in the process, added to the intellectual status of women in general.

The *Samhita* literature speaks of women as *Kulpālak* (family nurturer), *Dhruva* (steadfast), anchor of the whole society, the guiding agent of life, *Shiva* and *Kalyāni,* that is, the source of welfare and prosperity in general.

I turn now to show how in the Indian intellectual tradition woman has even been regarded as superior to man in many a way. Thus see the following from *Ṛgveda* (V-61-6):

> "… Many a woman is more steadfast and better than the man who turns away from God… and [does not offer] prayers".[5]

The Shatapath Brahman argues for the pre-eminence of women by saying that, as mothers, they are the best and the foremost preceptors of children.

The Vasistha Dharmasūtra heightens the emphasis even more by observing that woman is hundred times superior to man in instructing and elevating a child (XIII-48). *Parāsarṣmrti* declares that wife is the refuge of her husband in times of trouble, and that, therefore, she should not be made the victim of exploitation and oppression by him. It adds (Ch. IV:33) that as a snake-catcher can pull out a snake from its hole, similarly a pious woman can redeem her husband-from moral turpitude. Another law-giver of ancient India, Apastamba has a different, yet commonly acceptable way of arguing for the superiority of woman. He argues that in so far as a mother serves her son in numberless ways and quite selflessly, he should not desert her even if, for some reason, she happens to take to devious ways. He is quite emphatic in honouring the fair sex where he says that all must make way for a woman when she is treading a path (Apastamba, Dharmasutra II-5-11-7).

Manu,who is regarded as the highest authority on social matters, unequivocally assigns to women the status of presiding deities in the home. According to him, there is no difference whatsoever, (Manusmriti, IX:26) between wives who are destined to bear children and who provide the blessings of love and caring, and those idols that are put in the houses of men for worship, as symbols of good fortune and holiness.[6] He adds that where the female relatives are unhappy, the family soon perishes. He lays even greater emphasis on the need to honour women by declaring, in one of his very well-known verses, that the gods are pleased with those who honour women; and that where they are not honoured, even sacred rites do not yield the desired result.

The same sentiments have been variously expressed by other writers of *DharmaShāstrās*. Yajnavalkya, for instance, extols women so much as to call them earthly embodiments of all divine virtues. The typical qualities of women, we are told, are god-given gifts to them. The god *Soma* is supposed to have bestowed purity on women, *Gāndharvas*, sweetness of speech; and *Agni*, all his warmth that quickens life. A more or less similar laudatory attitude to women is to be found in our epics. Our most impressive epic, *Mahabharata* looks on woman as the light and the very life of a home, and as the pre-eminent source of family happiness.

She has even been regarded as the presiding deity of prosperity and happiness, an embodiment of virtues like patience and forbearance, and therefore as the very diadem of a family. What is more, the *Mahabharata* looks on women as the anchor not only of family life, but of the social organism. The very future of a country is said to depend on women, essentially because it is they who beget, and nurture children and impart the right *samṣkārās* (or value based dispositions) to them. However, the most emphatic and comprehensive exaltation of the value of woman comes from the sage Visavmitra, who says categorically that ideally (or in principle) as wife is eminently helpful in enabling her husband to strive successfully after all the four principle objectives of life, namely, righteous living, securing material resources, gratification of desires, and spiritual emancipation. Here are some other relevant utterances from our sacred texts:

a. "Wives can elevate men from the mundane world (Durga Saptshati, Argala Strotam, 24).[7] "One *ācāryā*surpasses ten

> ordinary teachers; one father surpasses one hundred *ācāryās;* and above all, mother surpasses a thousand fathers" in respect of imparting a right sense of values to children (Manusmriti, II:145).[8] The *Mahabharata* sounds a note which is easier to follow when it says: 'Sweet-tongued wives are their husband's friends on the occasion of joy; fathers, on occasions of religious observances; and mothers in hours of illness and woe" (Mahabharata, Ādiparva. 74:43).[9]

Indeed, in the domestic life, women used to reign supreme. In regulating activities at home, her word would be final. Immediately after her marriage, she had to go to the house to be a mistress there (*Ṛgveda*, X-85-26)[10] and to exercise full loving sway over her husband's father, mother, brothers and sisters (X-85-46).[11] In *Atharva Veda* she is repeatedly addressed as the queen of the house, who rules over all the members of the family 'as an ocean rules over … the rivers …' by embracing them, so to say, open-heartedly (Atharva, XIV, 1/43).[12]

In *Vedic* India, indeed, woman occupied a very proud position in the household. She was the very axis on which the wheel of household life turned. It may here be added, in passing, that the words *Pati* and *Patni* as used in *Ṛgveda* simply mean master and mistress respectively, and that this implies only a difference of sex, and does not at all hint as to which of the two is superior to the other. And if there is any talk of such superiority, the reference is not to man but to woman, as in the following from Mahabharata; "Women, O King, should always be adored and treated with honour. [In a way], there the very gods are said to be propitiated, where women are treated with respect" (*Mahabharata, Anusāshan Parva,* XVI-5). Here is something more in the same vein, from *Mahabharata* again:

> "Those houses which are cursed by women meet with destruction and ruin, as if scorched by some Atharvan rites. Such houses lose their splendor. Their growth and prosperity cease" (Mahabharata, Anusasan Parva, XVI-6).

I may here add that scholars like Macdonell and Keith support the view that in ancient Indian, women in homes were indeed treated with honour and due consideration. Incidentally, there were two main reasons for the importance attached to women in domestic life. First, it was believed that man was born with three principal debts, namely, to the rsis or sages (Ṛsiṛṇa), to the deities (Deva ṛṇa) and to the ancestors (Pitrṛṇa); and that these debts could be repaid in three ways, respectively; by studying the Vedas, offering sacrifices, and by begetting children (Mbh. XII-28-55). The last of these clearly highlights the value of women. Secondly, only a man with a family could provide proper hospitality to guests and holy men. This is why the *Grhasthaāshram* was regarded as almost a mother in respect of giving shelter to all. At the sea received all rivers so a good house wife welcomes every one (Mbh. XII-269-6). It was believed that in the family life alone one could perform great penance that is by serving the needy in society.

It is important to note that in ancient India society's attitude even towards a fallen woman-say, a prostitute was quite different from what it is today. She was even considered auspicious enough to be invited to ceremonial occasions, the reason being that such a woman was regarded as the preserver of some of the sixty four arts, specially music and dance. This indeed is what made her welcome at republican assemblies and royal courts.

With a fall in the status of women, the country also began to lose in character. So says the Mahabharata (XIII, 46.6).

> स्त्रियां यत्र च पूज्यनते, रमन्ते तत्र देवताः ।।
> अपूजिताश्च यत्रेताःसर्वास्तत्राफलाः क्रियाः ।।

Here we find a clear agreement of views between Manu and Mahabharata. What is most striking is the fact that even Lord Siva is said to become a Sav (dead body) without 'Sakti' because it is a woman's caring attitude which quickens one in difficult times. To quote Saundarya Lahri, Verse I

> शिवः शक्त्या युक्तो यदिभवति शक्तः प्रभवितुम् ।
> न चेदेवंदेवो न खलुकुशलः स्मन्दितुमपि ।।

II

However quite a few Western and Indian scholars have alleged that women occupied a very insignificant place in India's intellectual tradition Wadley 1988:30). Here are the main points which they focus on:

a) The birth of a girl was always regarded as an unwelcome event.

b) Women were not given proper education; so they were less qualified than men. There was no co-education.

c) Women had no right in matters of divorce and remarriage. My answer, here, is as follows:

I. Our Vedic literature indicates that there were people in ancient times who really wished the birth of a daughter; and so in one of the early Upnisads, a certain ritual has been recommended to a householder for ensuring the birth of a scholarly daughter. (Brhadaranyaka Upanishad, IV, 4-180).[13]

Cultured parents were often as anxious to get daughters as sons. Some thinkers have even pointed out that a talented and well behaved daughter could prove to be better than a son (Samyutta Nikaya, IIIc). Such a daughter was regarded as the pride of the family[14] (Kumarasambhava, VI, 63).

The *Vanparva* of *Mahabharata* (293, 17) contains the following assurance: "with the grace of Lord Brahma a powerful daughter will be born to you."[15] IN a particular verse of *Yajurveda* the gods are blessing a bride by wishing her birth of both a son and a daughter.[16]

These citations indicate that the unfair view that the daughter is less desirable than the son was surely not accepted by all Indian social thinkers. There were quite a few people who realized that the view in question could inflict great harm on society and felt strongly that it had to be counteracted. They therefore championed the daughter's cause partly on the quite valued ground that patricides had always been a monopoly of the male sex, and that no father was ever known to have been killed by a daughter. There are cases on record where daughters like *Kunti* and *Lopamudra* are said to have saved their parents from dire calamities. In the *Kathasaritsagara* by *Somadeva* it is said that one has no right to be, elated at the birth of a son and depressed at the birth of a daughter.

Now, turning to the criticism that less importance was given to the education of daughter, I may counter it as follows:

We have instances of lady poets in pre- Vedic period who were themselves composing hymns, some of which were even included in the *Vedic Samhitas*. According to the orthodox tradition itself, as recorded in *Sarvanukramanika* there are as many as twenty women among the "seers" or authors of *Ṛgveda*. Some of these may well have been mere mythical figures, but internal evidence shows that Lopamudra, Visvavara, Sikata, Nivavari and Ghosa, the authors of the *Ṛgveda* 1.79, V.28, VIII. 90, IX. 81. 11-20, and X.39 and 40 respectively, were women in flesh and blood, who once actually lived in Hindu Society. The authors of X. 145 and 159 are undoubtedly ladies, though it may be doubted whether their real names were Indrani and Sachi, as recorded by tradition. Among the authors and scholars to whose memory a daily prayer of respect is enjoined, a few ladies also figure such as Sulabha, Maitreyi, VadavaPratithyi, and Gargi-Vachaknavi (Asvalayana Grhyasutra, III, 4, 3).[17]

Women students were divided into two classes *Brahmvadinis* and *Sadyovadhus*. The former were lifelong students of theology and philosophy; the latter used to prosecute their studies only till their marriage at the age of 15 or 16. *Brahmviidinis* used to aim at a very high excellence in scholarship. Besides studying the Vedas, many of them used to specialize in *Pūrva*

Mimāmsā, which discusses the diverse problems connected with Vedic sacrifices. Mahabhasya speaks of a theologian named Kasakritsana who composed a work on *Mimāmsā* called *Kasakritsni*; and lady scholars who used to specialize in it, were designated as *Kasakritisnas*.

In a congregation of philosophical debate held under the auspices of kind Janaka, the most subtle philosophical questions were initiated for discussion by the lady philosopher *Gargi*. She launched her attack on *Yajnavalkya* with admirable coolness and confidence. The topics of her inquiry were so abstruse and esoteric in character, that *Yājnvalkya* declined to discuss them in public. The searching cross-examination of *Yājnavalkya* by *Gargi* shows that she was a dialectician *par excellence* (Br. Up. III, 6 and 8). Of a few distinguished poetesses who appear to have composed poetry of a really high order, Silabhattarika, we learn, was famous for her easy and graceful style. Vijayanka's fame was second only to that of *Kalidasa*. She seems to have attained a really high position among Sanskrit writers, for a distinguished critic and poet like *Rajasekhara*; likens her to goddess *Saraswati* herself.

The third charge can be easily refuted by pointing out that women have been granted the right to divorce and remarriage in a number of our *Dharmasastras*. Even Many, who has been the most frequent target of glib criticism, has declared that a wife is not to be censured where she abandons her husband if he is impotent or suffering from an incurable or contagious disease (IX, 79), and that she may well remarry if her previous marriage has not consummated (IX, 175-176). Again, in his *Arthshastra*, *Kautilya* says that the childless wife of a husband who has gone abroad, without making any provision for her proper maintenance, and who does not return even after 8 years, should be allowed to remarry (28). Similarly, *Pārāsar* has expressed the view that if the husband has been away for long and remains untraced, is dead, or has taken to *sannyāsa* (that is, the life of renunciation) and so has gone away for good; or if he has been convicted for some misdeed, the wife may well remarry (28). *Kautilya* has ruled that a husband cannot divorce his wife without her consent, and that divorce is permissible if both husband and wife have ill will for each other. In respect of a widow; the intellectual tradition has allowed three option: first, to remain unmarried and practice celibacy; second, to have a child through *niyoga*; and third, to remarry. Several heroes whose account appears in the *Mahabharata* and *Puranas* were born out of *niyoga*, though *Manu* does not allow this option to a widow who already has a son to support her. Further, though it was surely not imposed on them, celibacy was surely recommended as an ideal for widows (Pārasar 29). At the same time, due attention was also paid to provision of proper economic relief for widows (Mahabharata, Shantiparva 24;86). *Gautam* proposed that a widow may be regarded as a co-heir of her husband's property along with other close relatives (S-pindas). Visnu goes to the extent of saying that if her sons desert her, the whole estate should go to the widow (XVII; 43). It was, however, *Brhaspati* who championed the right of widow to inherit the property most strongly. He pointed out that the *Vedas*, the *Smrtis*, and sages of antiquity have unanimously declared that husband and wife are the joint owners of family property and that they together constitute one legal personality.

It is, therefore, quite wrong to say, as has been contended by Kurnkum Roy (1998: 98-99) that women in ancient India had no right of inheritance. Indeed, if we consider the socio-cultural context of that time, we would be led to believe that, with some limitations, women enjoyed equal property rights with men. They were debarred from getting the property of their fathers only if their own brothers were alive. At the same time, in the event of her mother's death, she was regarded as the sole inheritor of the latter's property. Most of the *Smrtikāras* have categorically asserted that the transfer of *streedhan* should be towards the women, inheritors only, and that where a man has no son, the entire property must go to the women inheritors. This has been openly asserted by *Manu* and others at several places. This clearly proves that our ancient system of inheritance had more of a horizontal than a vertical structure.

Let me also cite those two verses of *Yajnavalkya* where he has clearly suggested that wives and daughters should be given preference in case where a man has no sons; (Yajnavalkya II: 135-136),[18] His view, which is very significant, may be put thus. The lawfully wedded wife; the daughter (and the daughter's son); the parents; the brothers, their sons, cognatic relatives,- all have to be regarded as rightful claimants to a man's property *in this order of succession* in case he does not leave any male issue behind him (Kane 1946:701).[19] *Yajnavalkya* and *Visnu* among *Smrti* writers were probably the first to clearly enunciate the rule that the wife was the foremost heir of a man if he died without leaving a male issue. *Brhaspati* makes the wife the first heir of a sonless man and supports his opinion with reasons. He says:

> In the Veda and in the doctrines of the Smrtis, as also in popular usage, the wife is regarded as one-half of a husband's being, and equal in sharing the consequences of his good and evil acts. How then can anybody except his widow be regarded as a lawful heir of his property."?

Again, a text attributed to *Vṛddha Manu* says,

> "The wife alone, if she has no son and no illicit sexual relations with anyone and leads a life of religious observances, may

> offer *pinda* to her deceased husband and take his entire estate" (Vṛddha Manu quoted by Mitaksara on Yajnavalkya, II, 135, Dayabhag XI. I.7, Vivadaratnakar, p. 589)[20]

Even Manu asks, suggestively, how can another person except the daughter (along with son) take the wealth of the deceased when she, who is the very self of the deceased, lives (Kane 1946:711).[21] The most emphatic assertion comes from Prajapati where he says that the king should punish as thieves those relatives who try to prevent a widow from getting her husband's estate (Kane 1946:712).

I may point out, in passing, that quite a few criticisms leveled against the place of women in India's intellectual tradition arise from a clear misinterpretation of our ancient texts. Of the several examples that I can give in support of what I here say, let me draw readers' attention to just one.

> क्षेत्रभूता स्मृता नारी बीजभूतः स्मृतः पुमान्।
> क्षेत्रबीजसमायोगात्संभवः सर्वदेहिनाम्।। (Ch. IX Verse 33)

"Woman may be taken as a field, and man as a seed. All living beings arise from the union of the field and seed."

Focusing on verse 33 of chapter IX of *Manusmrti*, Kum Kum Roy interprets it as follows:

> "Here, the womb is equated with the field, in which men sow seed, [the precise] offspring being determined by the nature of the latter, with the former conceived as a [merely] passive, supportive receptacle. The field, moreover, is ideally owned by a man, and, by extension, the produce of the field is his."

Hence, the critic concludes, man may well be regarded as superior to woman Sarkar & Butalia 1995:18; Roy 1995: 18).

Now, to my mind, even a casual look at the verse in question shows that here there is not the slightest hint of the categorical view that, by virtue of being a mere "field", woman is inferior to man. How, indeed, can we decide as to which of the two is of greater value-the seed or the field? The seed remains merely itself until it impregnates the field, so to say; and the field is a mere stretch or receptacle until it is fertilized by the seed. What is more, the very next verse (no. 34) of *Manusmrti* makes it clear that, according to *Manu*, the seed or the male person is more important in some contexts; *and the field (or woman)in quite a few others.* (Chap. IX, verse no. 34). Here we also have the additional suggestion that where the seed and the field *alike* contribute to the act of begetting or production, the maternity involved is commendable. I may, in the end, cite the following powerful words of P.V. Kane:

> "Hindu law does not favour the distribution of a deceased man's estate among the several relatives, as some other systems do. It is greatly to the credit of the ancient Hindu law that it boldly gave all the separate property of a deceased make to women, viz. to the widow and after her to the daughter, in preference to the man's own father or brother or nephew. (Kane1946:711).

Notes and References

Notes

1. नासदासीन्नोसदासीत्तदानींनासीद्रजोनोव्योमापरोयत्।
किमावरीवः कुह कस्य शर्मत्रम्भः किमासीदृगहनंगभीरम्।। (ऋ. X/ 129.1)
न मृत्युरासीदमृतं न तर्हि न रात्रया अन्हआसीतप्रकेतः
आनीदवातं स्वधयातदेकंतस्माद्धान्यत्र पुरः किंचनास। (ऋ. X/ 129/2)
2. न तत्र सूर्योभाति न चन्द्रतारकं, नेमाविद्युतोभान्तिकुतोऽयमग्निः
तमेवभान्तमनुभातिसर्व, तस्य भासासर्वमिदंविभाति।। (कठोपनिषद, II, ii, 15)
3. आत्मानंरथिनंविद्धि शरीरंरथमेवतु
बुद्धिंतुसारथिंविद्धि मनः प्रग्रहमेवच।।
इन्द्रियाणिहयानाहुर्विषयान् तेषुगोचतन्।
आत्मेन्द्रियमनोयुक्तभोक्तेयाहुर्मनीषिणः।। (कठोपनिषद्, II, iii, 3-4)
4. देखें, बृहदारण्यकउपनिषद्, IV/V
5. उतत्वा स्त्री शशीयंसीपुंसोभवतीवस्यसी। अदेवत्रादराधसः।। (ऋग्वेद, V-61-6)
प्रजनार्थमहाभागः पूजाहाग्रहदीप्तयः
6. स्त्रियःश्रियश्चः गेहेषु न विशेषोऽस्तिकश्चन। (मनुस्मृति, अध्याय, IX, 26)
7. पत्नींमनोरमांदेहिमनोवृत्तानुसारिणीम्।
तारिणींदुग्रसंसारसागरस्य कुलोद्भवाम्।। (दुर्गा सप्तशती, अर्गलास्तोत्रमा, 24)
8. उपाध्यायान्दशाचार्यआचार्याणां शतंपिता।
सहस्त्रं तुपितृन्मातागौरवेणतिरिच्यते।। (मनुस्मृति, अध्याय II, 145)
9. साभार्यासागृहे दक्षा साभार्या या या प्रजावती
साभार्या या पतिप्राणसाभार्या या पतिव्रता।।
अर्धभार्यामनुष्यस्य भार्याश्रेष्ठतमः सखा।
भार्यामूलं त्रिवर्गस्य भार्यामूलंतरिष्यतः।।
भार्यावन्तः प्रमोदन्तेभार्यावन्तः श्रियान्विताः।।
सखायः प्रविविक्तेषुभवन्त्येताः प्रियंवदाः। (महाभारत, आदिपर्व 741–40–43)
10. पूषात्वेतोनयतुहस्तगृह्यश्विनात्वाप्रवहतांरथेन।

गृहान् गच्छगृहपत्नी यथासोवशिनीत्वंविदथमावदासि।। (ऋग्वेद, X/85/26)

11. सम्राज्ञी श्वशुरेभवसम्राज्ञी श्वश्र्वांभव।
ननान्दरिसम्राज्ञीभवसम्राज्ञीअधि देवृषु। (ऋग्वेद, X/85/46)

12. यथासिन्धुर्नदीनांसाम्राज्यंसुषंवे वृषा।
एवात्वंसम्राज्ञ्येधि पत्युज्ञ्युतदेवृषु।।
सम्राज्ञ्येधि श्वशुरेबुसम्राज्ञ्युतदेवृषु।
जनान्दुः सम्राज्ञ्येधि सम्राज्ञ्युत श्वश्चवाः।। (अथर्ववेद, XIV/1/44)

13. अथ यअच्छेद् दुहितामेंपंडिताजातेय, सर्वमायुरियादितितिलौदनंपाचरित्वा
सर्पिष्मन्तमश्नीयातामीश्वरौतनयितवै।। (बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद, 4.4.17)

14. एतेवयममीदाराः कन्येयंकुलजीवितम्।
ब्रूत येनात्र वः कार्यमनास्थाबाह्यवस्तुषु।। (कुमार,VI/63)

15. प्रसादाच्चैवतस्मात् तेस्वूयम्भुविहिताद् भुवि।
कन्यातेजस्विनीसौम्य क्षिप्रमेवभविष्यति।। (*Vanparva*: 293/17)

16. हृदेत्वामनसेत्वादिवेत्वासूर्याय त्वा।
उर्ध्वमिममध्वरंदिविदेवेषुहोत्रा यच्छ।। (यजुर्वेद, 6/25)

17. सुयन्तुजैमिनिवैश्म्पायनपैलसूत्रभाष्यभारतमहाभारतधर्माचार्या–
जानन्तिवाहविगार्ग्यगौतमशाकल्यवाभ्रव्यमाण्डव्यमाण्डूकेया
गार्गीवाचक्नवीवडवाप्रातीथेयीसुलभामैत्रेयी।
(आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रम्, अध्याय–2, खंड 4, सू. 3)

18. याज्ञवल्क्य समृति,व्यवहाराध्याय, श्लोक 115।

19. पत्नीदुहितरश्चैवपितरौभ्रातरस्तथा।
तत्सुतागोत्रजाबन्धु शिष्यसब्रह्मचारिणः।।
एषामभावेपूर्वस्य धनभप्तरोत्तरः।
स्वर्यातस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य सर्ववर्णेष्वयंविधिः।। (याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति व्यवहाराध्याय, 135–136)

20. वृद्धमनुरदिपत्नयाः समग्रधनसंबंध वक्ति–'अपुत्रा शयनं यर्तुः पालयन्ति
पत्न्येवदघात् तत्पिण्डंकृत्स्नमंशंलभेत च'।।–व्रतेस्थित। (मिताक्षरा याज्ञवलक्य, V-135)

21. यथैवात्मातथापुत्रः पुत्रेणदुहितासमा।
तस्यांआत्मनिनिष्ठन्त्यांकथंअन्यो धनंहरेत्।। (मनुस्मृति, IX.130)

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Maritime Security of India and Sri Lanka: An Indian Perspective

- Suresh Rangarajan

Abstract

Maritime security of India and Sri Lanka are closely linked to the peace and security situation in the Indian Ocean region. The significance of the Indian Ocean to India's security has long been recognized. However, commensurate with the significance of the Indian Ocean to its national security no major initiatives were taken during the cold war period. India's Indian Ocean policy was centred on the Sri Lanka initiated proposal to the elimination of external power presence, and creation of peace zone in the Indian Ocean with the support from international organisations including the UN. Thus, India and Sri Lanka's Indian Ocean policy during this period was solely based on the implementation of the UN General Assembly Declaration on Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace (IOZP). A marked change in India's Indian Ocean policy has been reflected in the post-cold war period with the advent of engagement with external powers, especially the US in the Indian Ocean. Similarly, the imperatives of non-traditional threat to its national security also prompted India to collaborate with extra-regional countries in the Indian Ocean to address the common threat that emanates from international terrorism as it demands a multilateral approach. The existence of a non-traditional threat to national security from climate change further cements the relationship between the two countries. Though the ethnic issues, and the Chinese involvements in Sri Lanka had put both countries in a conundrum, both have shown resilience in accommodating and appreciating each other's national security imperatives. Thus, India and Sri Lanka, in addition to bilateral interactions are also shared their common concerns through regional and international organisations including the BIMSTEC, IORA, SAARC, ISA, and the UN.

Keywords: Indian Ocean Region , Maritime Security, Human Security, Indo-Pacific.

Suresh Rangarajan, Professor & Chairman, Department of Political Science, University of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala State, India 695881 E mail sureshrajan1994@yahoo.co.in

Introduction

The roots of India-Sri Lanka relations can be traced to the ancient period and is more than 2500 years old. Both countries have cultural, religious, and linguistic interaction. In recent years the relationship has been marked by close contacts in all fields of development, education, culture, and defence. Though the ethnic issues in Sri Lanka and the Chinese presence in the region had created some apprehensions, India's incessant support in preserving the democratic tradition and rule of law in Sri Lanka once again congealed the relation between these two democratic countries, India and Sri Lanka, in the Indian Ocean. The recent pandemic COVID -19 and India extending a helping hand to the immediate neighbours including Sri Lanka manifest the cordial interaction. Thus, it appears that in addressing both the traditional threat as well as the nontraditional threat to security a reciprocated and synchronized effort of both India and Sri Lanka is a sine qua non. And better India-Sri Lanka relations contribute towards peace and security in the Indian Ocean.

Indian Ocean

The Indian Ocean, which is the third-largest Ocean in the world, is surrounded by Asia, Africa, Antarctica, and Australia; the northern limits of the Indian Ocean are well defined by the landmass. The dividing line between the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean is the meridian of Cape Agulhas (20 deg.0 min.E). The meridian of the South-East Cape of Tasmania (147 deg. 0 min.E), the western exit of the Bass Strait, and the median line between North-West Australia and the Peninsula of Malay (the Cape of Talbot through Timor, Sumba, Flores, and Sunda Island up to Sumatra) from the dividing line between the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. The dividing line between the Antarctic Ocean and the Indian Ocean is 60 deg. 0 min. South latitude (UN, 1971). The total area of the Indian Ocean is 74.92 million square kilometers, (UN, 1971) which is 20.7 percent of the world's sea area and 14 percent of the earth's surface (Science, 1980) The average depth of the Indian Ocean is 38.59 kilometers. (Science, 1980) The main constituent parts of the Indian Ocean are the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal, the Andaman Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Mozambique Channel, and the Great Australian Bight. The Indian Ocean differs from the Pacific and the Atlantic Ocean in two important aspects. First, it is land-locked in the north, does not extend into the cold climatic region of the Northern Hemisphere, and consequently is asymmetrical about its circulation. Second, the wind system over its equatorial and northern portion changes twice each year causing an almost complete reversal of its circulation (Science, 1980) of all the oceans, the Indian Ocean offers the most suitable navigational environment round the year. Its winds are often predictable and remain at below gale force. It is mostly free from fog, mist, and treacherous currents.

Indian Ocean - Geopolitics

Five narrow stretches of water, the Bab-el-Mandeb, the Strait of Hurmuz, the Strait of Malacca, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Sundra Strait, guard the eastern and western entrance to the Indian Ocean.(UN 1971) The Bab-el-Mandeb is the southern tip of the Suez Canal; the strait of Hormoz stands sentinel over the oil flow by sea from the Persian Gulf; the strait of Malacca and the Sundra Strait control the seaborne traffic from the western Pacific Ocean, and the Cape of Good Hope overlooks the shipping route around Africa (Bezoboruah 1977) From the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean can be approached through Torrs Strait, the Arafura Sea, Timor Sea, Lombak, Sunda Straits, Malacca Strait, Bass Strait, and even from the South of Australia. It is approachable from the Atlantic Ocean either through the Cape of Good Hope route or through the Gibraltar straits, Mediterranean Sea, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and then through the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb. The major sea routes, from Europe to East Asia, the Indian sub-continent, Australia, and from the USA to the Indian sub-continent pass through the Indian Ocean. The minor sea routes are from Europe to West Asia, East Africa, and Mauritius (Secretariate L. S., Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace 1979)

Indian Ocean The Strategic Situation

The strategic importance of the Indian Ocean lies in its geographic setting as it is a sea-line of communication between the East and West. Further, since power can exercise by controlling island territories of the Indian Ocean, they are strategically important. These include from the west to eastward, Malagasy, Comoros, Seychelles, Chagos Archipelago, Socotra, Indian Coral Atoll, Lakshadweep, Sri Lanka, the chain of 219 island spots of Andaman and Nicobar stretching from the South-western tip of Myanmar to the northern end of Sumatra, Mergui Archipelago and the Cocao islands. These islands have served as the maritime station from the very beginning and were colonized in the 17th and 18th centuries to act as stepping stones to the 'Eastern treasures'. Besides the islands, the Indian Ocean cuts across the mainland at various places, thus forming a large number of gulfs, like the Persian Gulf, Gulf of Oman, Aden, Aquba, Suez, and Cambay which are also strategically significant.

The Geopolitical Importance of Indian Ocean Region

The Indian Ocean region includes 36 littoral and 11 hinterland states (Vladimirov 1979) making a total of 47 independent states with 30 percent of the world population. The vast majority of the Indian Ocean littoral and hinterland countries attained their independence from the European colonial powers only after the end of the Second World War. Most of these countries in the region were either colonies, trust territories, or protectorates under the British Empire which controlled the political, military, and economic activities of the region till recent times. The economy of the regional countries was almost ruined by colonialism and artificial national boundaries were drawn without any geographic, linguistic, or ethnic considerations leading to intra-regional conflicts once the colonial powers left the Indian Ocean region. Moreover, in the western countries, the economic and industrial revolution took place first which was followed by social and political revolution, whereas in the Indian Ocean regional countries the political revolution preceded the economic and industrial revolutions. This led to social and political tensions in these countries. Politically, the region has a strange admixture of democracy, military dictatorship, totalitarianism, absolute monarchy, and constitutional monarchy; several regimes in the region are politically unstable and provide a fertile ground for external intervention. In the 1960's the commercial activities in the region increased enormously and the presence of natural resources of oil made the great powers have shown much interest in the region. All the countries in the region, except Australia, South Africa, and Israel are developing countries. During the cold war period, most of the Indian Ocean countries were members of the Non-aligned Movement (NAM). It was the memories of colonialism, the desire to avoid entanglement in great power rivalries, and the need to devote their resources to development that have led the vast majority of the countries in the Indian Ocean region to adopt the Non-aligned policy.

Economically, the region has a great many diversities and disparities. The African region with its 8.7 million square km is marked with uneven and underdeveloped resources and low technological development low standard of living with the high annual growth rate of population. The Asian region with its 12.5 million square km of area has an uneven distribution of population, high pressure of population on its resource base, the high growth rate of population, underdevelopment nature of the economy, low standard of living, and low technology development. The Australian region is fairly developed like the South African area. The economy in the Indian Ocean region is predominantly agricultural in nature and the industrial base is weak.

Considering the population, the food production is less than the requirement, which puts a limitation on the countries in the region. The region is estimated to include more than 60 percent of the world's crude oil reserves and is an important source of raw material and strategic minerals such as chromium, bauxite, uranium, and manganese. (Secretariate L. S., Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace 1979) Most of these materials are exported to industrialized countries. The local economics lack the infrastructure necessary for the processing and industrial exploitation of these materials. The relative dependence of these countries on the developed countries for capital, technological know-how, and technology transfer, and manufactured goods is a very important factor influencing their external behavior. The vast mineral resources and commercial crops added to the Indian Ocean region's strategic importance to the industrially advanced countries in Europe, the USA, Japan, China, and Russia.

The surveys conducted in the Indian Ocean sea-bed reveal rich stocks of nodules of manganese, nickel, cobalt, copper, and molybdenum. The estimates show that one square mile of the sea-bed, where nodules are located could produce about 70,000 tons of minerals which would yield in value about $ 4, 00,000. One square mile of such nodules will yield among other minerals 30,000 tons of Iron ore, 3,600 tons of aluminum 2,300 tons of manganese, 400 tons of cobalt, 1,200 tons of nickel, and 650 tons of copper.(Secretariate L. S., Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace 1979) The Indian Ocean has got extensive marine food potentiality. The estimates show that the sea-bed can provide more than 12 million tons of catch fish every year. Again, one-fifth of the world's total arable land lies in this region producing crops like wheat, rice, tea, coffee, and cotton. In the Indian Ocean littoral and hinterland countries, huge deposits of gold and diamonds are concentrated.(Secretariate L. S., Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace 1979)

The Indian Ocean carries a substantial proportion of international trade, even though the industrial production in the Indian Ocean region is less to world production. (Suresh R. 1990) The natural resources of the region greatly contribute to this factor. Approximately one-fourth of the entire cargo carried in world marine trade and about two-third of oil is loaded or unloaded in the ports of the Indian Ocean region. Most of the countries in the Indian Ocean were colonies till 1945 and are not as developed as the countries in the west. The region could not play an effective role in world affairs because of its underdeveloped economies.

Again, unlike the developed world, the Indian Ocean region abounds with conflict situations, and unsettled borders, and bilateral and multilateral negotiation as a means to settle disputes peacefully has been rarely employed. One of the sub-regions of IOR, South Asia, particularly Pakistan and Afghanistan, remains as the epicentre of international terrorism. This has provided ample opportunities for external powers to the Indian Ocean to interfere in the affairs of the countries in the Indian Ocean region (R, NAM and Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace 1990)

India's Indian Ocean Policy

In 1947, when India became independent the cold war had already started and the world was divided into two antagonistic blocs, one led by the USA and the other by the former USSR. India decided not to join any of the blocs but to pursue an independent foreign policy (The Indian Annual Register Vol II 1947). India played a major role in the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian nations held in April 1955 which laid the foundation of the Non-aligned Movement. India was one of the founder members of the Non-aligned Movement.

In the immediate post-independence period India's interests in the Indian Ocean were largely commercial and defensive. Its economic interests in the Indian Ocean were few; largely due to inadequate technological capabilities it did not investigate and exploit its oceanic resources, except fisheries. India's commercial interest stemmed from its dependence on the Indian Ocean Sea lanes for seaborne trade. India's security interests and requirements centered mainly around its land frontiers particularly Pakistan in the North-West.

A study group of the Indian Council of World Affairs in 1957 stated rightly the importance of the Indian Ocean to India:

To India, the security of this region is of paramount importance as oceanic routes across this ocean carry the bulk of her overseas trade. If these routes come under the control of countries not friendly to India, this would threaten very seriously her economic and industrial development, in fact, her very independence. Three sides of India's frontier are bordered by water-a serious matter. This cannot be lightly dismissed… India although committed to a policy of non-alignment cannot possibly neglect her seaward defences. She has unquestionably got to think of having adequate naval forces to protect the miles and miles of her coastline (Affairs 1957).

Even though the importance of the Indian Ocean to India's security was repeatedly stressed, India was constrained to give less attention to the navy than land forces. This was due to several factors; first, the threat posed by Pakistan in the North West, second the threat posed by China in the North, third, the fact that Britain was a dominant power in the Indian Ocean which provided India some comfort because its presence was without any adverse spin-off and fourth, in the overall planning of immediate dangers the threat from the Indian Ocean appeared least alarming and hence the continued neglect of the Indian Ocean as a security threat.

The then Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru commenting upon the entry of the US Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean, said on 19 December 1963; "If anything is obviously to our detriment we protest if not we do not". He also stated; "the Indian Ocean is a vast area; we cannot say anybody cannot go round the area" (Lok Sabha L. S. Secretariate, 1963). India took such a stand because at that time India favoured the US presence as a countermeasure to the threat posed by China. This stand of India had undergone a minor change in the mid-1960s and India expressed a mild protest on the British decision to develop defense facilities in British Indian Ocean Territory along with the US in the Indian Ocean. But by the late sixties, India strongly opposed the outside great power presence in the Indian Ocean. Towards the end of 1969, India had also decided to increase its naval capability and sought the cooperation of the countries in the Indian Ocean region to take steps for making the Indian Ocean an area of peace and opposed the induction of outside forces into the Indian Ocean (R.S. Secretariate 1969).

In the cold war period, India's Indian Ocean policy has been shaped mainly on the adverse impact of external power presence. India's Indian Ocean policy during this period centered on the Sri Lankan initiated Indian Ocean Peace Zone proposal. This proposal aimed at declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace through the elimination of external power presence. The Non-aligned countries were successful in the adoption of the UNGA resolution declaring the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace (IOZP) in 1971. The ensuing three decades witnessed several initiatives by the countries in the Indian Ocean region, interpreting the UN declaration on IOZP in tune with their national security requirements. However, the great power rivalry and competition continue unabetted in the Indian Ocean till the disintegration of the former Soviet Union and thereby the end of the cold war and superpower rivalry.

Security in the Indian Ocean: The Post-Cold War Setting

The peace and security efforts in the Indian Ocean underwent a major turn in the post-cold war period. The context in which the countries in the region initiated the IOZP has considerably been changed. The superpower rivalry has come to an end with the disintegration of the Soviet Union. However, a change in the international power structure, from a bipolar system to a unipolar/multipolar system, does not necessarily ensure peace in the Indian Ocean. The threat perceived by countries in the region in the context of great power rivalry has been ended. However, the presences of the external powers continue in the Indian Ocean region. With the change in the international power structure, the security threat perceptions of the countries in the region have also undergone a marked change.

Security: Changing Dimensions

Security is one of the key concepts in the field of international relations. It is the quest for security that resulted in the origin of institutions like family, community, state, and international organizations at the micro as well as macro level. It was the feeling of insecurity which have prompted the man to form a family, and when they realized that family was not adequate to ensure security then came community or a group of families joins together to ensure security to its members. And finally, the nation-state was formed to ensure security. However, modern states are again landed up in the same problem of insecurity with the invention of sophisticated weaponry, especially weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and the arms race. The inter-state conflicts have increased and two world wars and other local wars killed many people and destroyed property. It was the insecurity feeling of nation-states that ultimately led to the formation of the UN, immediately after the end of World War II, in 1945 under the collective security principle.

The strategy to ensure national security is a very complicated issue in the modern world and it requires a tremendous amount of manoeuvring based on a thorough understanding of the strategic culture of all, friends and, foes. To understand the strategic culture of a nation one has to look into the general culture of the nation, which in turn is mostly rooted in the ancient texts, and also learn from its past behaviour. Besides national security is closely linked to human security especially in the post-cold war period. Therefore, a concerted effort, both domestic as well as external policy orientation, is required to ensure national security. Further, along with traditional threats to security, non-traditional security threats are more in quantity and complicated in nature. The sole source of traditional threat to the security of nations had emanated from the military forces of rival nation/nations. However, the source of a non-traditional threat to security is not only difficult to identify but also unwieldy to address. The existing structural mechanism at the national as well as the international level is inadequate to resolve the non-traditional threat to national security effectively and efficiently. The emergence of non-state actors such as international terror networks in the international arena poses a major threat to national security (R 2015). No nation, whatsoever powerful can singlehandedly address the threat posed by international terrorism. Also, the failure on the part of the UN to define terrorism provides ample scope for the nation-states to practice terrorism as an instrument of foreign and security policy.

Immediately after the end of the cold war, the concept of security has come under examination from scholars of international relations and other disciplines. In the conventional formulation, security is about how nation-states use force to manage threats to their territorial integrity, their autonomy, and their domestic political order, primarily from other nation-states. This traditional national security formulation has been criticized on various grounds. A nation may be secure but that does not mean that all people living in that nation are secure. The social, economic, and political orders prevalent in that nation have an insinuation on the security of the people.

The debates on security are centered mainly on the assumptions about what security is, what is being secured, the causes of insecurity, and how best to tackle the issues on insecurity. International relations theorists and policy experts have varying perspectives on these questions, which have evolved and have had changing levels of acceptance over time. The realists and neo-realists emphasize that the nation-state is the central referent of security, both as the lens through which security is understood, as well as the tool by which security is best preserved (Waltz 1959) (Morgenthau 1985). The liberal theorists recognize a wider set of values embedded in the concept of the state and state security, in the methods and means to address insecurity, and the actors involved. The critical constructivist scholars recognized that the interests and identities of nation-states are themselves constructed by the distribution of ideas and interests within the state-based system and this shapes a state's security interests and how these are conceived, and in turn impacts upon the actions necessary to ensure security (R. 2012). Thus, there are divergent interpretations about the concept of security, whose security, that is, whether the security of the nation or people, the causes of insecurity, and how to ensure security.

The Westphalia state system had made nation-states the basic unit in the international system. And nation-states are sovereign and independent. Each nation decides its internal and external policies under its sovereignty and independence. The prime responsibility of a nation-state is to promote and protect its national interests. The national interests of nation-states are mainly to ensure peace, security, and prosperity within their territories. However, they differ in the means adopted to achieve these national interests. Some nations employ aggressive means and some peaceful methods. And the foreign policy of a nation is the means to achieve their respective national interests. Therefore, though the national interests are analogous, nations frame divergent foreign policy, which in turn is conditioned by the interplay of internal and external factors. Thus, the foreign and security policy of the nation-state changes by the transformations in the internal and external conditions (R. 2012).

Since the beginning of civilization, social or political unrest and destabilization have been considered in the context of physical threats to the security of nation-states. This perception is duly supported by several historical pieces of evidence. However, some inevitable phenomena such as climate change establish that security of any geographical boundary is not prone to traditional security threats only, but also the non-traditional security threats. And these threats are not limited to any geographical delineation.

In this context the Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in 2007 listed different aspects of human life such as availability of water, food, health, and fragile ecosystems as being potentially impacted by climate change. The scarcity and demand for water in the above-mentioned areas are likely to exacerbate the non-traditional security threat. The IPCC also stated that most of the disasters will be water-related. To understand the factual picture of non-traditional security threats the instances include hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, 2005, where thousands of people were displaced and around 1,800 died and caused huge monetary losses. These non-traditional security threats in the form of disasters have been witnessed in the most populous geographical regions such as East Asia that was hit by Tsunami in 2004; and, Florida which was hit by four consecutive hurricanes in a year. Moreover, heat waves in Europe killed 38,000 people in 2003, and almost 3 million North Koreans died between 1995 and 1997 due to famine (IPCC 2007). The recent Okhi cyclone hit along the coastal Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Lakshadweep Island in India resulted in the death of nearly 400 fishermen and damage to their livelihood. Further, in August 2021Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands are hit by a flood in Europe, and at the same period, the western USA and Canada have been gripped by extreme heat. This shows that the adverse impact of climate change is visible in all parts of the world and the imperatives of multilateral climate change extenuation efforts.

The non-traditional security issues have been defined as "challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily out of non-military sources, such as climate change, cross border environmental degradation and resource depletion, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, food shortages, people smuggling, drug trafficking, and other forms of transnational crime". (Anand 2011). Thus, unlike traditional security threats that arise mainly from the defence forces of other nations, non-traditional security threats arise from non-military sources and demand a transnational approach to resolve them. Since the non-traditional threats are emerging more in number a new approach is to be evolved to address these security threats on a priority basis.

The concept of non-traditional security issues is still evolving and not defined precisely. However, there is a general agreement among scholars that the traditional concept of security, which focuses on inter-state relations, conflict, and military issues, is too narrow to fully describe the security challenges of the twenty-first century. One of the common features of non-traditional security threats is that they are transnational and thus wider international cooperation is required to tackle these threats. Any initiatives towards the mitigation of non-traditional security threats demand multilateral efforts. The non-traditional security threats to nations need to be recognized by all nations as imminent, and the cooperation of all, irrespective of their power position is a sine qua non to address these threats. Therefore, any efforts by nation-states to alleviate the non-traditional threat to security promote positive peace.

Table 1 Traditional, Non-traditional, and Human Security

Type of Security	Referent Object	Accountability to Protect	Conceivable Threats to Security
Traditional Security	State	Territorial Security of the State	Inter-state War, Nuclear Proliferation
Non-traditional Security	State, Regional Organizations, International Organizations	The security of State and regions and the whole world	Climate Change, Scarcity of Water, Natural disaster, Terrorism, Energy, Food
Human Security	Individual	Security of the Individual	Poverty, Disease, Natural Disaster, Intra State Violence, Human Rights Violations

The security discourse is dominated by the traditional state-centric paradigm which privileges the territorial defence of a country against armed attacks from foreign countries. However, for most people in Asia, a continent that counts for more than half of the world's population the greatest security threats come from disease, hunger, environmental contamination, terrorism, crime, and localized violence. The persecution of ethnic minorities, the suppression of people who oppose a particular political ideology, is also an instance of denial of freedom and thereby human security concerns. Thus, the intra-state conflicts based on ethnicity, ideology, and nation-states use of coercive methods against their people are a major source of threat to human security. Therefore, even if the national boundaries are secure in states, the nationals in the states may not be secure. In short, there exist a blurred boundary between human security, national security, and international security. And nations can ensure their security only through multilateral efforts. Thus, in the era of changing dimensions of security, it is imperative that the structural mechanism established to ensure security needs to be restructured to address the new challenges to security.

India's Security in the Post-Cold War Scenario

The post-cold war, international politics once again provided India with an opportunity to calibrate its external policy, as the nonaligned policy had lost its relevance especially in the context of the end of superpower rivalry and competition in world politics, the rationale for the emergence of such policy. The advent of the accelerated pace of the globalization process prompted India to initiate economic reforms and subsequent national security priorities' reorientation.

The emergence of non-traditional security threats as the most important challenge to national security prompted India to restructure its national security policy. The 1998 nuclear explosion and India's self-defence initiative through the declaration as sixth nuclear weapon power once again manifest the pragmatic approach rather than idealism towards national security considerations. It appears the above decision was in tune with the belief that self-reliance in the economic and military domain is the sine qua non for pursuing strategic autonomy rooted in India's age-old strategic culture.

Pakistan's clandestine warfare against India through cross-border terrorism and the overt, as well as covert nexus between Pakistan-based international terror network and totalitarian regime in China against India, are the gravest threat to India's national security (Subramanyam 1990). It appears that such threat perception has prompted India to align with major players in the Indo- Pacific region such as, the US, Australia, and Japan. Again the 'Act East Policy' in pursuance of 'Look East Policy' indicates that the post-cold war human security and national security considerations are proportionately intertwined in its security considerations.

India's national security policy is based on its firm belief that domestic strength rooted in economic and military self-reliance is a sine qua non for ensuring national security. In pursuance of this policy initiatives such as 'Make in India', Sagarmala (Blue Economy initiative), Athmanibhar Bharath are implemented. On the external front, the efforts to military self-reliance are conditioned by the threat posed to its security by the expansionist policy of the Communist regime in China (R 2020). In addition, India's policy initiatives such as SAGAR (Security and Growth for all in the Region) have been considered as a multilateral effort in the Indian Ocean region through concerted efforts of peace-loving democratic nations towards development. Unlike Communist China, the major objectives of India's multilateral efforts are towards mutual and shared benefits. This again, reflect India's civilizational connect and belief that the entire humanity is one (Vasudeva kutumbakam).

Inevitability of External Power Presence

The existence of international terrorism in the region in the post-cold war period, the shift in the international power structure from bipolar to unipolar, had also influenced the perceptions of countries in the Indian Ocean region about the external power presence. The sponsor of the IOZP, Sri Lanka now perceives the external power presence inevitable in the region. Likewise, one of the strong supporters of the 1971 UN resolution on IOZP, India has no hesitation to work in tandem with the US to monitor peace and security in the region. This change in the perception of countries in the region about the outside power presence made the 1971 UN Declaration on IOZP a dead proposal. The emerging security situation appended with the accelerated pace of globalization demand better cooperation between regional and extra- regional countries in the Indian Ocean region. It also demands ensuring national security by enhancing self-defence capability, especially in the context of the failure of the global collective security mechanism to address the threat to international peace and security posed by the state as well as non-state actors and the existence of unresolved border disputes. The emergence of non-traditional threats to security along with the traditional threats, in the sphere of security including environmental and economic, demands a multilateral approach towards security. Further, the protection of the sea lane of communication and uninterrupted free flow of international trade through the Indian Ocean is important in a globalized world. In short, a rule-based order in the Indian Ocean is the sine qua non for peace, security, and prosperity of the region.

Indian Ocean in India's National Security

The Indian Ocean is very important to India's military, economy, energy, environment, and human security. India has a coastline of 7516 km and an exclusive economic zone (EEZ) of 2 million sq km. The significance of the Indian Ocean was predicted by Sir Alfred Mahan way back in the 1890s he stated that the Indian Ocean is the Ocean which decides the destiny of the 21st century (R, Peace in the Indian Ocean: A South Asian Perspective, R 2011). The importance of the Indian Ocean to India has long been recognized. India occupies a central position in the Indian Ocean region, a fact that exercises an increasingly profound influence on India's security environment. Writing in the 1940s, K. M. Panikkar, like Mahan, stated the importance of the Indian Ocean to India that;

While to other countries the Indian Ocean is only one of the important oceanic areas, to India it is a vital sea. Her lifelines are concentrated in that area; her freedom is dependent on the freedom of that water surface. No industrial development, no commercial growth, no stable political structure is possible for her unless her shores are protected (Panikkar 1945).

In tune with the above observations, the first Prime Minister of India; Jawaharlal Nehru observed "History has shown that whatever power controls the Indian Ocean has, in the first instance, India's seaborne trade at her mercy and, in the second, India's very independence itself." (Prakash 2007). It was in pursuance of this idea India had supported the 1971 UN Declaration on IOZP during the cold war period. In the post-cold war period also, India had emphasized the strategic significance of the Indian Ocean.

This was reflected in the Annual Report (2004-2005) of India's Defence Ministry, which noted that "India is strategically located vis-a-vis both continental Asia as well as the Indian Ocean Region," (Defence Annual Report 2004-2005). Again, the Indian Maritime Doctrine asserts: "All major powers of this century will seek a toehold in the Indian Ocean Region. Thus, Japan, the EU, and China, and a reinvigorated Russia can be expected to show presence in these waters either independently or through politico-security arrangements." There is, moreover, "an increasing tendency of extra-regional powers of military intervention in [IO] littoral countries to contain what they see as a conflict situation" (Defence, Freedom to Use the Seas: India's Maritime Military Strategy, 2005). Accordingly, India framed its naval strategy in the Indian Ocean.

Maritime Security of India

Maritime security has become an important dimension of India's bilateral interaction with all Indian Ocean countries and regional organizations. Maritime security has become a multifaceted issue especially in the realm of non-traditional security threats. The challenges in the field of non-traditional security threats include maritime terrorism, smuggling transnational crime, drug trafficking, and illegal immigration. In addition, natural disasters, oil spills, and the effect of climate change are threats and challenges that impinge on the national security of the Indian Ocean countries. The economic dimension of security challenges in the Indian Ocean has become important to ensure the security of vital trade routes particularly the choke points in the Indian Ocean (R. 2015).

In the post-cold war period, nations are very careful in their interaction with one another as the bipolar system ended. During the cold war period, there was some kind of discipline among nation-states imposed by the ideological confrontation. The international politics of the post-cold war is not the same as in the cold war period. There is no ideological confrontation at the international level. Nations are more concerned about resolving their basic economic problem rather than on military competition and rivalry. It appears that nations have realized that international cooperation is imperative for the protection and promotion of national interests, concerning peace and security. No nation whatsoever powerful can protect its national interest by pursuing an isolationist policy. This understanding among nations forced them to unite and work together to resolve domestic as well as external problems through a multilateral approach (R. 2020).

India's maritime security policy also underwent a sea change in the post-cold war period. The policy of exclusive engagement and elimination of outside powers has given place to overt engagement with extra-regional powers. This has been well reflected in India's joint military exercises along with the US, Japan, France, and Australia. India no longer considers the external power presence as a threat to its security. Moderately India considers a joint effort is required to wipe out the major threat to India and the international community posed by terrorism. It is not possible for any single nation whatsoever powerful to address the menace of international terrorism singlehandedly. India began to realize the importance of a realist approach in framing its foreign policy objectives and pursuing it through increased naval power and active collaboration with extra-regional as well as intra-regional powers. This policy shift in India's stand is visible in the maritime doctrine as well as in the Navy's vision document published by the Indian Navy.

It essentially encompasses:

(i) Shaping a favorable maritime environment in the IOR for operations in peace as well as during conflict.

(ii) Preventing incursions by powers inimical to India's national interests by actively engaging countries in the IOR littoral, and rendering speedy and quality assistance in fields of interest to them.

(iii) Engaging extra-regional powers and regional navies in mutually beneficial activities to ensure the security of India's maritime interests.

(iv) Projecting the Indian Navy as a professional, credible force and the primary tool for maritime cooperation. (Defence, Freedom to Use the Seas: India's Maritime Military Strategy (MOD, 2005).

India has also earmarked the area which falls within its immediate concern. "India's growing international stature gives it strategic relevance in the area ranging from the Persian Gulf to the Strait of Malacca....” While enumerating the basic features of India's post-cold war Indian Ocean policy “India has exploited the fluidities of the emerging world order to forge new links through a combination of diplomatic repositioning, economic resurgence, and military firmness" (MOD 2005).

India's Maritime Security Interests

India's maritime security interests embrace the protection of India's vast coastline of 7,516 km. India's maritime zones, over which it has certain rights and obligations, include a territorial sea up to 12 nm (22 km) from the baseline, a contiguous zone from 12 to 24 nm (22-44 km), an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) from 12 to 200 nm (22-370 km) and a continental shelf up to 200 nm. These zones currently comprise 2.013 million sq km area of sea which is the 12th largest in the world and equivalent to two-thirds of the total land area. India has thousand-plus island territories and offshore installations. Again nearly 70 percent of India's energy requirements of crude oil are currently shipped from abroad, increased focus would be required on the ability to maintain the safety and security of energy shipments and the prevention of any disruption of supply through multilateral cooperation. Another important maritime security interest of India is the prevention of maritime terrorism through multilateral efforts.

India's maritime interests are as follows (Navy 2015)

1. Protect India's sovereignty and territorial integrity against threats in the maritime environment.
2. Promote safety and security of Indian citizens, shipping, fishing, trade, energy supply, assets, and resources in the maritime domain.
3. Pursue peace, stability, and security in India's maritime zones, maritime neighbourhood, and other areas of maritime interest.
4. Preserve and project other national interests in the maritime dimension.

India's Maritime Security - Aim and Objectives

India's maritime security aim is to safeguard national maritime interests at all times.

India's maritime security objectives are: -

1. To deter conflict and coercion against India.

2. To conduct maritime military operations in a manner that enables early termination of conflict on terms favourable to India.

3. To shape a favourable and positive maritime environment, for enhancing net security in India's areas of maritime interest.

4. To protect Indian coastal and offshore assets against attacks and threats emanating from or at sea.

5. To develop requisite maritime force levels and maintain the capability for meeting India's maritime security requirements (Navy 2015).

The task of providing security to the vast coastline, unlike the land borders, is a complex phenomenon involving multiple stakeholders such as shipping, fisheries, offshore exploration and production, tourism, and the scientific community. It is not only important to protect and promotes the multifarious interests of different stakeholders but also to involve them in the maritime security programme. Again, many external factors that condition the peace and security in the Indian Ocean region have an impact on the maritime security of India. Therefore, any policy initiative towards maritime security of India is an interplay of domestic factors and external factors. As far as the external factors are concerned it has less control. The success of India's Indian Ocean policy depends on framing a dynamic policy in tune with the external factors manifested and also considering the domestic prerequisites.

It appears that India has adopted a three-pronged strategy to ensure maritime security through a more inclusive and pragmatic Indian Ocean policy. Firstly, through diplomatic means, India has pursued a policy of cooperation with all major players in the Indian Ocean, including extra-regional powers. This policy would help India to increase its international stature. The Indo US strategic partnership in the Indo Pacific region is an earnest attempt in this direction. The alliance of India, US, Japan, and Australia, democratic countries initiative towards rule-based ocean governance and free and uninterrupted SLOC and seaborne trade also attempted to deter any potential challenge to peace and security in the Indian Ocean from any corner that pay less heed to rule-based Ocean governance. The process of globalization has also accelerated better and cordial interaction with outside powers as the movement of people as well as commodities would further cement relations between nations.

India has developed a friendly and cordial relation not only by bilateral exchange with nations but also strengthened the bilateral cooperation through interactions in regional organizations, such as ASEAN, EAS, SCO, BRICS, ASEM, IBSA, APTA, BIMSTEC, and IORA. India is vigorously pursuing the objective to become a developed nation. India has framed the "Look East" policy and later the Act East policy in pursuance of this objective. Now the Act East Policy is a vital part of India's foreign policy. More than an external economic policy, the Act East Policy was a strategic shift in India's vision of the world and its place in the evolving global economy. It was also a manifestation of India's belief that developments in East Asia are of direct consequence to its security and development. Therefore, India actively engaged in creating a bond of friendship and cooperation with East Asia that has a strong economic foundation and a cooperative paradigm of positive inter-connectedness of security interests. India becomes a member of the ARF in 1996 and considers it as an experiment in fashioning a pluralistic, cooperative security order reflective of the diversity of the Asia Pacific region. India is also a member of the East Asia Summit (EAS) which includes the ASEAN members and India, China, Japan, Republic of Korea, Australia, and New Zealand. It focuses on the energy, the environment, climate change, and sustainable development. The Act East Policy of India has included not only vigorous interaction with ASEAN but also improved relations with China.

India has also pursued a policy of strengthening its economic and military power. It appears that to increase the national power India not only declared itself as a nuclear weapon power but also augmented its non-nuclear defense capabilities manifold. The maritime doctrine of India focuses mainly on building a blue-water navy (R. 2020). India's role in ensuring the security of the Indian Ocean region has been recognized by major players in the region mainly because of the major shift in its external policy through a pragmatic approach. As a result, India was not hesitant to cooperate with any regional and extra-regional powers. India has undertaken several innovative steps towards the economic resurgence of the country.

Though India had made several strides in improving its relationship with regional and extra-regional countries, the India - Pakistan relation remains on distrust and mutual suspicion as it was during the cold war period. This shows the great power rivalry was not the sole cause for regional disputes though great power rivalry accentuated regional rivalry. Again, the India China border dispute also remains without a solution though China is India's largest trading partner. It shows that unresolved bilateral political issues are not a hindrance to economic relations and the growing significance of economic security rather than military security. India's neighbourhood first policy is also in tune with extending a helping hand to all nations in the immediate neighbourhood. This has been reflected during the COVID- 19 pandemic, as India extended all medical support to all neighbouring nations including Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka and the Maritime Security

For centuries the Indian Ocean has been part of Sri Lanka's strategic, security, and political narratives. Sri Lanka as an Indian Ocean Island country and the strategic location add to the significance of the Indian Ocean to its security. It appears that as a smaller power in the Indian Ocean and apprehensive of the adverse impact of superpower rivalry during the cold war, the proposal to declare the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace has been initiated by Sri Lanka in the early 1970s. And in 1971 UN General Assembly Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace has been the first initiative of Indian Ocean countries to highlight their common concern of superpower rivalry and its adverse impact in the region. The Declaration calls for the elimination of external power presence in the region in the context of great power rivalry and competition.

In the post-cold war period of accelerated globalisation Sri Lanka considers that the Indian Ocean as the centre of its economic development, maritime security, and defence cooperation. And the same considerations are also visible in India's major interests in the Indian Ocean. The geographic location of India and Sri Lanka in the Indian Ocean appears to have made their security considerations complementary to each other. Further, the emergence of non-traditional threats stresses their joint efforts inevitable to achieve peace and security in the region. It is rightly observed that freedom of navigation and security of sea-lanes of communication in the Indian Ocean constituted the basic element of Sri Lanka's Indian Ocean policy (Kerrawella 2021).

India and Sri Lanka: Areas of Collaboration

Though there were some misconceptions in the India-Sri Lanka relations due to the ethnic issues in Sri Lanka and also the PRC's strategic maneuvers in the Indian Ocean, it does not affect the long-term cordial relation between the two democratic countries. There are many areas in both countries that share common interests. This includes maintaining peace and security in the Indian Ocean, and also addressing the nontraditional security issues such as international terrorism, piracy as well as extenuating the impact of climate change.

At the political level, the constant interactions at the summit level between the two countries show the convergence of national interests on issues of common concern. Further the regional organizations such as BIMSTEC, IORA, also provide a platform for articulation of common security apprehensions. In this context, the solidarity visits of the Prime Minister of India Shri Narendra Modi on 9 June 2019 after the Easter Sunday terrorist attack in Sri Lanka shows the concern of India in Sri Lanka's security (India 2021).

Sri Lanka is one of India's largest trading partners in SAARC. The bilateral trade between the two countries grew rapidly after the entry into force of the India-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement in March, 2000. The official figures of the Sri Lankan Customs department the bilateral trade in 2018 amounted to US $ 4.93 billion and the export from India to Sri Lanka in 2018 was the US $ 4.16 billion, while export from Sri Lanka to India is the US $ 767 million. India is also the largest investor in Sri Lanka with growing investments of US $ 1.239 billion (India 2021).

India has also extended development assistance to Sri Lanka and the total commitment is US $ 3 billion out of which the US $ 560 million grants. The Indian Housing Project which envisaged 50000 houses for the civil war affected as well as estate workers in the plantation areas is the government of India's leading project of development assistance to Sri Lanka. Nearly 47000 houses are already completed in the Northern, Eastern, Central, and Uva Provinces. Further India has also extended grant assistance in a large number of High Impact Community Development projects in areas of education, health, transport connectivity, small and medium enterprise development, and training across Sri Lanka, the provision for livelihood assistance to 70000 people from the fishing and farming community in Hambantota and Mulaithivu. (India 2021).

Conclusion

It appears that in the post-cold war period military security considerations have been surpassed by economic security. Further, the existence of non-traditional threats to security demands better cooperation among nations. The blurred boundary between international security and national security on the one hand and the national security and human security demand better interaction among nations. To address the basic problems related to human security, the countries in the Indian Ocean region have to come out of their cold war period mindset. This has been reflected in the recent spread of the COVID - 19 pandemic and the united efforts of all nations to contain it. The solution to multifarious issues before nation-states demands multilateral efforts. No single nation, whatsoever powerful, can address these issues singlehandedly; Thus, peace and security in the Indian Ocean region depend largely on better interaction among countries in the region and extra-regional countries to ensure human security. In the post-cold war period, any initiatives towards peace and security in the Indian Ocean region are dependent more on collaborations in economic security than onmilitary security. The Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC) though a feeble attempt to establish an economic community in the Indian Ocean, is a welcome step towards a stronger regional economic forum.

It appears that in the post-cold war period the initiative towards peace and security in the Indian Ocean is to be undertaken at three stages;

1. At the initial stage, greater transparency is required in the economic and security relations among Indian Ocean countries.

2. In the second stage, confidence-building measures are to be undertaken at the bilateral and multilateral levels with the active involvement of extra-regional countries. And also, a commitment on the part of both regional and extra-regional countries for a rule-based order in the IO.

3. Towards the final stage organizational set up to maintain peace and security through greater interaction among sub-regional forums such as SAARC, ASEAN, IORA, and BIMSTEC.

Ultimately maritime security of India and Sri Lanka depends largely on the security situation prevalent in the Indian Ocean region. Both can influence the security situation in the Indian Ocean region, and play a leading role through joint diplomatic manoeuvring. With the advent of an accelerated pace of globalization, the emergence of non-traditional threats to the security of nations, the growing significance of human security concerns, it is imperative to address issues related to maritime security in a comprehensive manner. The blurred boundary between human security concerns and national security concerns once again necessitates such an approach. In short, the maritime security of India and Sri Lanka depends largely on the interplay of their domestic as well as external policy preferences and responses. A mutual effort towards maritime security would be advantageous to both due to their strategic location in the Indian Ocean. Thus, the Indian Ocean offers both a challenge as well as an opportunity to India and Sri Lanka in framing a common maritime security policy. And the convergence of maritime security interests, in addressing non-traditional security threats, especially international terrorism and climate change, provides ample opportunities for these two Indian Ocean countries to collaborate, and the age-old cultural ties and the existence of a democratic system of government further solidify their cooperation in the Indian Ocean.

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Belt and Road Initiative (BRI): Modernisation of China, Mao to Xi Jinping

Binesh Bhatia & Bikram Singh Rana

Abstract

The strategic forces in twenty first century have mounted a sphere of critical *geo-politics* in almost every domain of strategic affairs. *Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)*launched in 2013 proposed the global interests of China seeking economic and territorial expansion while pursuing its concerns of supremacy. After Mao, initial economic reforms in the late 1970's by paramount leader Deng Xiaoping helped its economy and technological progress to modernise China. The territorial expansion of China under the leadership of President Xi Jinping has made difference of opinion across its borders enticing regional concerns. Today the quest of superpower status with China has advanced its geo-political dimensions and vested strategic interests in emerging world order. The study focuses on new dimensions of ruling foreign territories with a comparative analysis of Chinese policies and expansionist framework of Xi Jinping under its Debt Trap *Diplomacy* of Belt and Road Initiative. Paper further examines, how financially weak countries targeted under China's *Neo-imperialism* for its huge investments in various infrastructure development projects of BRI. The inferences of study argue contrary model of new colonisation for non-payable debt countries, highlighting the greater need of joint efforts by global powers for an alternate to BRI project.

Keywords:*Geo-politics, BRI, Diplomacy, Neo-imperialism.*

Background

The history of China has observed a long imperial rule for centuries. One of the famous trade route in the main land of China was known as Old Silk Route for

Er. Binesh Bhatia, Research Assistant, Conflict Resolution and Peace Building (Research Unit), IDC India, Chandigarh, 160014 Email ID:erbineshbhatia2012@gmail.com

Prof. Bikram S. Rana, Former OSD-Education, O/o Director Higher Education, Chandigarh Administration, 160008 Email ID:bkrmrana@yahoo.co.in

its superior Silk trade across the world. The ruling dynasties in China witnessed time to time invasions and expansion for better economic resources and territorial claims. The end of Ming dynasty in seventeen century was succeeded by Qing dynasty in 1622 AD until 1911. Qing dynasty was the last dynasty and known for its cruel acts in Peking among the ethnic groups of China. The notion of China in twentieth century (1839-1949) termed as a*"Century of Humiliation"*ended by winning the civil war in 1949 for exploiting China (Kaufman 2011: 1-3). Sun Yet Senbeing contemporary to these humiliations led several revolutions but didn't succeed that easy. In 1911, the collapse of Manchu dynasty led to creation of a republic and soon disintegrated into warlordism (Barnett 1986).The end of dynasty revolutionized the freedom movement led by Sun who witnessed the cruel acts in-person. His vision of democracy for Republic of China based on three pillars for freedom struggle: Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood. Nationalism helped to unite China for the freedom struggle whereas democracy motivated them for their well-being and livelihood. With the death of Sun Yet Sen in 1925, possible democracy in China lost its ground in the quest of power. In 1920's the Kuomintang (KMT), or Nationalist initiated reintegration process and made progress. The vacuum and struggle to attain power was accomplished by Chinese Communist Party (CCP) established in 1921 who is also a present ruling party."The central theme that has been unfolding China since the mid-nineteenth century has been the search for 'wealth and power' and a respected role of China in modern world" (Barnett 1986). China acknowledged three main architect of China; Mao Zedong (1949), Deng Xiaoping (1978) and Xi Jinping (2013) present President in evolution of modern China. Notably, in 2021 People's Republic of China accomplishes its 100th anniversary of Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under President Xi Jinping.

The revolutionary Mao-Tse-Tung (also named as Mao Zedong) was born in the Hunan province of China on 26th December, 1893 to a peasant family. His academics made him a keen reader to history of China and thinkers like Clausewitz, Jomini etc. The initial grooming of Mao was influenced by revolutionary thought written by Sun Tzu in the historic 'Art of War', Confucius, Marxism etc. Over the period of time, Mao developed an idea to form a new China based on the elements borrowed from doctrine of Marx and Lenin. Later, his ideology was termed as Maoism being different in culture and circumstances of China as compared to European countries. By 1920's, Mao actively engaged himself in the communist activities and later became the founding member of Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Historically, the imperialism in China largely impacted low wage class by a virtue of exploiting their human resource. During the proletariat revolution, Mao established his grassroot networks in China while progressing for Long March Campaign to end the civil war. Communist revolution against the Nationalist led by Red Army recognised Mao as a paramount leader for the people of China. Although, it appears like Marxism but actually influenced to adopt its basic principles in China being in different situation than Europe and Russia (Adhikari 2004: 267-288).

The victory of proletariat revolution led by Chinese Communist Party (CCP) marked independence of Communist China in 1949 by renaming Republic of China (ROC) to People's Republic of China (PRC) under the leadership of Mao Zedong (Barnett 1986: 37-65). Later, Maoism emerged as a largely practiced ideology in China under communist Mao Zedong. Based on the ancestor preach 'wealth and power', China was influenced with an idea of Middle kingdom for its territorial expansion across the adjoining borders. The territorial claims over independent Tibet despite of all cultural differences adjoining its borders and even the North East part of India has created regional differences. The strategy ultimately helped to develop nationalism among their community and united China to expand more in acquiring Tibetan home land under Communist rule. Maoist under Chinese Communist Party (CCP) tried to revive its economy in pushing nationalism on board. Whereas being a conservative, Mao was unable to open its market for foreign investments and technological advancement. Once Mao Zedong said, “We communists are like seeds, and the people are like the soil. Wherever we go, we must unite with the people; take root and blossom among them” (Xi 2014). Under his leadership, 'Great leap forward policy' in 1958-1962 for economic and social campaign introduced mandatory agricultural collectivization which exploited its peasants with minimum dividend distribution. The reflection of failure resulted into India-China war in 1962 after the war Zhau Enlai line of 1959 in acquiring Indian Territory. The forcefully occupied territory of 43,180 Sq. Kms. in the Aksai Chin area of Jammu and Kashmir was ceded to China by Pakistan in 1963 under Sino-Pak Boundary Agreement (Thakur 2020).The acquisition for highlighting its expansionist policy of Mao was followed by 'Cultural Revolution' in 1966 76, to cover-up the failure of earlier policies to push forward his political will. Notably, Mao policies were termed as complete failure to accomplish its economic reforms for People's Republic of China (PRC).Although, Mao-Tse-Tung had proactive worldwide influence over contemporary strategists and political thinkers for decades. His notion of nationalism has received extraordinary response to begin Communist revolution in China as well as renowned influence for Maoism (Adhikari 2004: 267-288).

Foundation of Economic reforms in China

After the death of Mao in 1976, Deng Xiaoping emerged as a paramount leader to People's Republic of China (PRC). Under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, who returned to the political arena with open-door policy began to pursue and achieve economic growth. He introduced foreign capital and technology while maintaining its commitment to socialism. The obvious policy shift aimed to rebuild its economy and society which was devastated by Cultural Revolution. Deng Xiaoping was born on 22ndAugust, 1904 to a landlord family as Deng Xixian in the heart of China's most populous province, Sichuan. Mr. Deng joined Communist Party of China Youth in Europe during his academics in 1922. Mr. Deng being among top officials in Mao regime identified weak policies resulting in economic failure of the country. The policy shift also appeared for low income of ordinary Chinese in comparison to incomes of other Asian economies. The communist regime accepted that future of China would be in jeopardy unless something was done to raise the living standards of its people with the help of economic growth. Notably, many times Mao sent Deng to the custody but every time he was expelled from power, he fought his way back (Barnett 1986: 37-65). "In 1973, after the worst impact of Cultural Revolution, Deng was again ousted. Mao himself ordered that Deng should be dismissed of all his posts. He lived under house arrest for approximately a year until one of his old military associate, Marshal Ye Jian-ying, get involved after the death of Mao, insisting that Deng's voice must reach the leadership. It was described that Mao had preached "Communes are good," whereas Mr. Deng simply preached "Markets are good" (The New York Times 1997).

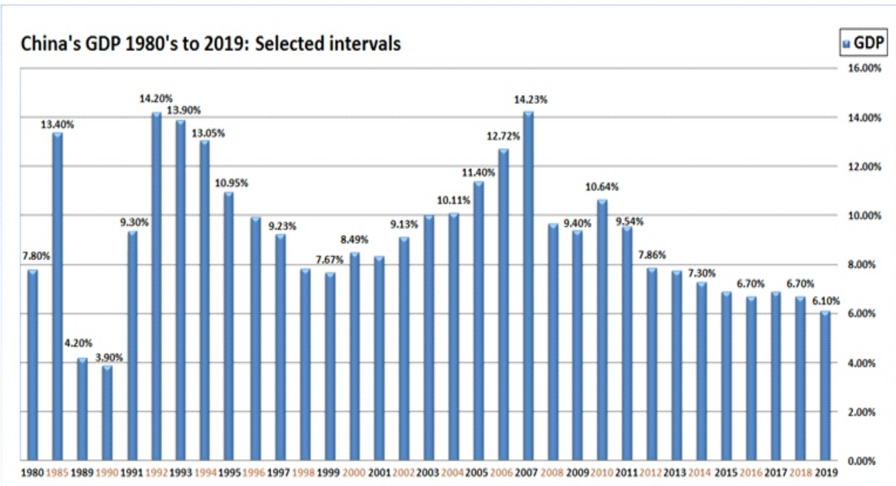
In December, 1978 Deng took charge for the development of China and has influential role in decision making process of PRC. Initial 1980's witnessed policy reforms for modernisation of agriculture, science and technology, industry, and defense under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping. Being a long association to Communist Party of China (CPC) he was familiar with shortcoming and strengths of the system. The Chinese celebrated the comeback of Mr. Deng and all set to steer China on a new economic course. On the rise of economy, Deng admitted that he has witnessed the Chinese history rather being an architect. "I am a layman in the field of economics," he said in 1984. "I proposed China's economic policy of opening to the outside world, but as for the details or specifics of how to implement it, I know very little indeed," he added. (The New York Times 1997)

The reforms undertaken by Mr. Deng changed the foreign policy of People's Republic of China. He became the first leader of independent China to visit United States in 1979. Deng leadership visualized a new revolution under

Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in developing economy of China. The regime established number of areas for foreign investment, including the special economic zones (SEZ), the economic and technology development zones, the peninsula open zones, the open border cities, and the high-tech industry development zones etc. By establishing these zones a gigantic inflow of foreign investment, primarily from companies in Hong Kong and Taiwan triggered. The inflows of foreign capital, technology, and management services has enabled China, how to turn its surplus labor resource and space for rapid development of economy. The shift to an open-door economic policy ushered in a period of high economic growth in the first half of the 1980s. Although, the dark phase in history of China: Tiananmen Square massacre, 1989 to led down its youth protest has received worldwide criticism and community support for compromising human rights and bloodshed. This incident also raised tensions among US-China relations for using bullets and arms on its own citizen to banish its internal problem (Small 2015: 48).

This is a historic fact that economy of China stagnated during the Tiananmen Square Incident in 1989, but later in the 1990s, China bounced back with unstoppable growth rates (see Figure 1). Rapid economic growth was accompanied by a rise in per capita income and GDP of China. In 1998, per capita income though still only about US$770, was 14 times higher than in 1980. Therefore, it can be reasonably concluded that Deng's first goal to improve the economic status for the people of China has been accomplished as shown in statistic data of World Bank.

Figure 1: Statistical GDP graph of China extracted from World Bank Database



Source: World Bank

The foundation of economic reform by Deng was carried forward by succeeding regimes led by Jiang Zemin (1993-2003) and Hu Jintao (2003-10)in achieving a progressive GDP until the global slowdown witnessed in 2008. After Hu Jintao, President Xi Jinping took charge in 2013 propagating its idea to emerge as a super power in foreign affairs. The expression of China for regional power to emerging global power has pushed forward Chinese foreign policy to rise as an economic giant in twenty first century. *Figure 1 shows the consistent decline in the growth of Chinese economic since 2013 while propagating its superpower interests.*

President Xi Jinping in 2013 under the ambitious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)launched infrastructure development project for global connectivity. As per www.yidaiyilu.gov.cn (Chinese website), by the end of 2020 nearly 140 countries have joined BRI by signing a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with China. With a trillion dollars BRI project, China has proposed its interest in territorial expansion beyond its borders. The footprints of Chinese expansion could also be spotted in the expansion policy of Mao-Tse-Tung for their ancestor's ruling territory in the past. The quest of territorial claims and expansion has remained the same from historical prominence for ruling regime across the world whether its United Kingdom or today's China.

The rise of Communist China

In 1990'swith the efforts of Deng Xiaoping, China and United State of America (USA) came together for development agenda which influenced the global leaders. Mr. Deng knew the importance of foreign investments in economic growth of China whereas Mao was focused to strengthen its agriculture commune for uplifting its economy. Modernisation of China liberalised economic reforms at policy level to take full advantage of global markets in foreign investments. Deng's reforms achieved success only after exploring global demand by visiting major economies for better understanding of markets and futuristic ties of China (The New York Times 1997). Although, Deng was well versed with the Mao tactics but his prime focus was economic growth and skill development of his community. His reforms to upgrade skill education in learning technical expertise for available human resource were remarkable along with investment in research and development (Barnett 1986: 37-65). Deng became the driving force and motivation for the students to study abroad and come back to make China self-reliant. After industrial revolution, China focuses on how to emerge as a manufacturing hub for world. The transfer of technology with foreign investment made it easier for China to adopt and replicate foreign technology. By 2000, Chinese economy witnessed gradual surge in its GDP as a global player for high growth rate due to its manufacturing hub. The rise in economy not only helped to modernise China but also contributed in gradual military modernisation to strengthen its security aspects. In 2007-08, global recession observed worldwide impact which eventually slowdown domestic growth of China where it responded to re-plan economy stratagem of China. This period of time hinted to revive China's Old Silk Route in reaching out world economy with BRI project. Although, the researchers across the world have categorised BRI initiative as a geopolitical tactic for new colonisation under Chinese diplomacy (Subramaniam 2019). Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) of China has targeted financially weak nation states to seek its own national interest by offering economic development projects.

Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) road map

The term Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has been derived from the popular Chinese route 'Old Silk Road'.The ancient route connects west to east with both land and maritime route. It connects East Asia and South East Asia to South Asia, Arabian Sea, East Africa and Southern Europe. The major cities Samarqand and Bukhara presently located in Uzbekistan were most popular route being central point of the trade in Central Asia where Gold, horses etc. were the major imports in the trade. Silk was also used as a currency in China to pay soldiers through silk where the popular barter system of silk trade named this as Silk Route. The idea to restore its existence was led by President Xi Jinping in 2013 and named the project to revive its roots established by Han dynasty during 202BC-220AD (Ebrey and Patrica 1996). It was the second imperial dynasty of China which survived approximately 2000 years ago. During the Tang dynasty, Silk route reached the golden age and maritime silk route was developed in this period. The route of ancient trade network connected China to Mediterranean via Eurasia. BRI has ambitions to boost China's economy with the help of regional connectivity. The belt route under Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has been termed as a *New Silk Road Economic Belt of 21st century*. The 'belt' in BRI defines the land route from China to the Central Asia, touching Russia, and the Middle East to Europe. With reference to Old Silk Road, 'New Silk Road Economic Belt' in BRI believes to construct transport corridors based on the ancient trade routes. The route describes major corridors of contemporary China highlighting mainland roots connecting its main land in the region. initially, the BRI project was also referred as One Belt, One Road (OBOR) initiative.

Map 1: Belt and Road Initiative launched by PRC

Source: Loly Institute for International Policy

The other part of BRI is the road component which has been named as *'New Maritime Silk Route'*. Here, the 'road' is defined as the maritime route which passes from the South China Sea to Indian Ocean and hence connects the East Africa and the Mediterranean Sea. By 1995 China was dependent on the Middle East and the Southeast Asia (largely Indonesia, whose total imports alone accounts for around one-third of total imports in China) for 82% of its crude oil imports. Majorly, China truly for its oil imports banked upon the Middle East (Zhang 2011).The BRI project identifies five key BRI regions as Central Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, and Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) (Garlick 2020).The Maritime Silk Road of 21st century included most of the strategic littoral states in the Indian Ocean to spread its network through sea route. The important ports covered under maritime silk road contributing in the 'String of Pearls' strategy of China follow as:

- Kyaukpyu in Myanmar
- Chittagong in Bangladesh
- Hambantota in Sri Lanka
- Male port in Maldives

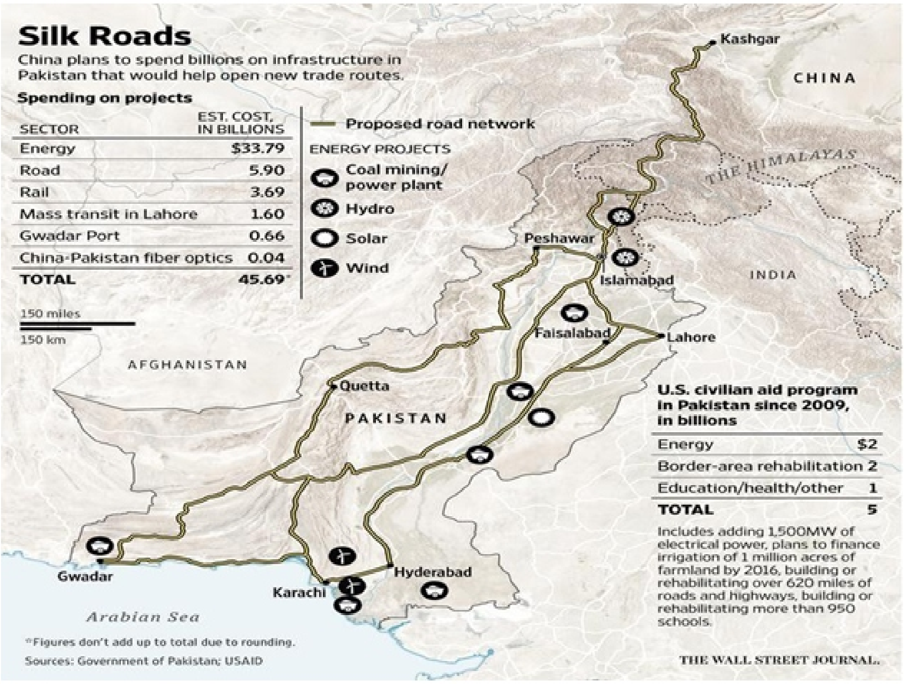
- Gwadar in Pakistan
- Djibouti in Horn of Africa
- Nairobi in Kenya
- Athens in Greece
- Venice in Italy

Under the maritime route of Belt and Road Initiative (also known as 'One Belt One Road', OBOR initiative), the strategic ports unlocked the maritime access of China. BRI also expanding the economic interest of China by increasing trade capacity to utilise global resources. In officially endorsed texts, the BRI has been portrayed as a revival of the ancient 'Silk Roads' which linked China with Europe via Central Asia (Fallon 2015).The importance of Maritime route was also described by American geo-strategist Capt. Alfred Thayer Mahan in the seventeen century. Alfred Mahan has been renowned as a pioneer to maritime policies on sea power in the strategic affairs. While serving as President of the United States Naval War College, he published his book entitled *"The Influence of Sea Power upon History"* in 1890. He mentioned in his book the importance of Sea Power highlighting the rise of British Empire (1660-1783) and ruling world economy through sea trade. He stated that world in the coming years will be ruled by those who will rule the maritime routes. This is the reason why most of the choke points across the globe are ruled by the presence of USA in maintaining the status of superpower. Following the foot prints, China came forward with its maritime policy to strengthen its navy (PLAN) for more engagements in strategic partnership under Maritime Silk Road. BRI offer huge investments in building infrastructure with a quest of maritime access seeking national interest for growing demand of energy consumption. Although, the largest funded project under Belt and Road Initiative; China Pakistan Economic Corridor with mutual interest of Sino-Pak relationship has raised geo-political concerns in the region.

Sino-Pak nexus over CPEC and strategic investment

The twenty first century witnessed the growing dominance of China while portraying its self-interests for growing economy. Belt and Road Initiative of China is more or less rendered in the tactical projects working to get operational at most calculated locations. China focused its economic growth by asserting its manufacturing sector and emerges as a production hub for many industries across the world. The dependency of Chinese raw material for economical manufacturing goods and its trade heavily rely on its maritime routes passing through several choke points. Most of these locations have strategic influence of regional power and allies like in the Gulf, Arabian Sea, India Ocean and Strait of Malacca connecting South China Sea. China has taken great efforts to cope with the perceived "Malacca dilemma" and to enhance its energy security (Zhang 2011).The launch of BRI was opportunity for the China to counter '*Pivot to Asia*' strategy of United States of America. Its huge investment in the financially weak countries helped the strategic rise of China in occupying strategic locations and resources under BRI. The strategic rise of China has been echoed across the world in various sectors including its exports, imports and also claiming its national interest by deputing People's Liberation Army, Navy(PLAN) etc. China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) the flagship project of Belt and Road Initiative has been recognised as its main venture involving global politics. CPEC is the key project of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) as a framework of regional connectivity with an investment of $62 billion in Pakistan. Economic corridor not only benefits China and Pakistan but also impacting neighboring countries like India, Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asian region. China initiated the project with the investment of $46 billion for building roads, pipelines and infrastructure development etc. in the region.

Map 2: China Pakistan Economic Corridor



Source: The Wall Street Journal

CPEC project lies in the North-West region of India with a huge investment in the economic corridor based on the mutual interest of Sino-Pak relationship. CPEC has proposed China's interest in the Central Asia region through its all-time friend Pakistan, to seek economic growth. China developed most of the eastern part whereas the western provinces of China hardly find any significant development as compared to coastal China. China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is one of the strategic partnerships to develop its least developed part which ultimately impacts the geo-politics of South Asia (Bhatia 2019: 81-89).

The projects in BRI helps to deeply understand highly funded economic corridor in Pakistan by People's Republic of China. The project has been doubted as a grand strategy of China in dwelling its economic roots by connecting Asia to Africa, Europe, and Russia for vested strategic interests. As Ye Zicheng, author of a treatise on Chinese grand strategy observes, "there is a close connection between the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and China's becoming a world power. If China does not become a world power, the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation will be incomplete. Only when it becomes a world power can we say that the total rejuvenation of the Chinese nation has been achieved." Similarly, CPEC route provides an alternative not only to the Strait of Malacca through Gwadar Port but also benefiting China to engage in the regional geopolitics of South Asia. CPEC has raised geo-strategic implications to the national security of India where the presence of People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) on the bank of Arabian Sea, and illegal infrastructure development in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) against the claimed territory of India. China has repeatedly ignored the security concern of the project knowing the presence of 'Aka's of Terror' in the Pakistan. The announcement of complete withdrawal of US forces by11thSeptember, 2021 from Afghanistan has great security threat to the Chinese citizens involved in CPEC. In the middle of 2017, the BRI was declared as a project of the century (Ang 2019).

Content analysis of BRI policies in Eurasia region

Belt and Road Initiative a master plan for modernisation of China seeking economic expansion as well as strategic apprehensions blowing geo-political turbulence in the era of globalisation. China's intents to rise as a global power and challenged the greater presence of United State of America in South China Sea, Indian Ocean engaging USA into critical geo-politics across the globe. The proposed Silk Road in South Asia under BRI, Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar (BCIM) Economic Corridor, and plans for a Central Asian heritage corridor involving Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan directly align with the China-Central Asia-West Asia Economic Corridor (Winter 2016).

The strategic expansion of BRI in China Pakistan Economic Corridor has raised not only sovereignty issue to India but also set example of antagonistic growth in fulfilling self-interest. At the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) summit, 2018 Prime Minister Narendra Modi said “India welcomes the new connectivity projects that are inclusive, sustainable and transparent, and respect countries sovereignty and territorial integrity” (Modi 2018). The economic corridor CPEC passes through the integral part of India in the illegally Pakistan occupied Kashmir (POK). Moreover, the huge investment for the infrastructure development in Sri Lanka under BRI has already lost Hambantota port for a lease time period of 99-years due to non-payable debts and gaining full Chinese control over the port (Tiezzi 2015). Hence, the previous Chinese investments in Sri Lanka have cleared the covert intentions which strengthen the principles of neo- imperialism and aka Chinese model. Pakistan being financially weak tries to influence its own policies and domestic projects as per directions of China to expand its economy and simultaneously having vigilance eye on India in South Asia. It has been stated by many International journals that ambiguity has long been a key asset of Chinese diplomacy, from grand strategy to even small territorial claims. The possible strategic area of interest for China while influencing Sino Pak relationship under BRI follows as:

1. To seek untapped oil and mineral wealth of the Caspian countries.
2. To acquire control over the resources and transit areas of the Central Asian region.
3. To have control over the connection between Central and South Asia through Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The CPEC passes through the heartland of the Balochistan while the Gwadar port acts as an alternate route for the Chinese energy. Having established this, China presumably sought to initiate CPEC to counter the strategic balance of United States in South Asia, and Act East Policy in order to gain itself a prominent role in the region. China Pakistan shares realist calculations for the mutual interest. Moreover, China ceded the POK territory to make its base near Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJ&K) violating the sovereignty of Indian constitution (IDSA 2017). On the other side, China claims the CPEC as a project of development of South Asia while disrespecting own 'One China Policy' marking double standards. The China's influence over POK has pushed forward Pakistan to declare Gilgit Baltistan as its fifth province for better execution of BRI as an alternate to describe it as a Pakistan decision. On the other hand, Ministry of External Affairs, G.O.I. under Modi regime has given memorandum to Pakistan in vacating the POK. The geopolitics in the region is going to get more and more complex in the coming days for LAC standoff & POK. China has been threatening India's national interest by superimposing its regional presence to emerge as a super power across the Himalayas whether it's Nepal, Bhutan, J&K or Arunachal Pradesh in India. The United State of America in a collective memorandum notified to warn signatories of Belt and Road Initiative across the world to refrain from huge investments by China in a letter published by US Congress. The Senatorial letter reads, "US Senate expressed their concern over the bailout requests to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) by countries who have accepted predatory Chinese infrastructure financing. In 2016, the IMF agreed to a $1.5 billion bailout loan with Sri Lanka due to unsustainable debts to China. Recently, it has been reported that the incoming government of Pakistan will pursue an IMF bailout in part due to rising current account deficit and external debt obligations caused by the China Pakistan Economic Corridor"(US Senate Letter 2018)

The heavily funded project and acquisition of Hambantota Port in Sri Lanka highlighted the growing concerns from the Chinese investment for infrastructure developments under Belt and Road Initiative resulting into debt trap diplomacy for Neo-imperialism in twenty first century. Hence, the role of greater economies is the need of hour to come forward with an alternate to the debt trap under Belt and Road Initiative.

Conclusion

For centuries, Old Silk Road has remained a matter of pride in the eastern world for its effective cooperation and trading capacity. It was a challenge for the western world being superior in trade with advanced methodology as compared to eastern world. The New Silk Road of twenty first century portrayed Chinese dominance in countering USA ignoring the great success of Old Silk Road which was all due to effective cooperation. Today, China's Belt and Road Initiative has been turned into a new geopolitics across the globe. The transparency measures and exploitation of resources in critics have raised many questions over the territorial expansion of China. Moreover, the countries under Belt and Road Initiative are financially weak with a threat perception of debt trap diplomacy for heavily doped infrastructure investments. On the other hand, Sino-Pak nexus over China Pakistan Economic Corridor has raised greater concerns for India under key project of BRI. China undermined the sovereignty issue of India over Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) where India has rejected CPEC for its dual standard against its own 'One China Policy'. Another factor in BRI for regional connectivity and development has threat of terrorism from actively operational terror outfits in the Pakistan and Afghanistan. It has not only challenged regional stability but also compromised many Chinese lives working under various projects of BRI. Moreover, the decision of previous US regime, Trump administration for complete withdrawal of US armed forces before 11th September, 2021 from Afghanistan has potentially exposed millions of human lives to a new danger under 'Aka's of Terror' in Asia. Considering the example of Syria, a hot spot of terror outfits in Afghanistan is going to threaten peace and harmony in South Asia. A new great game over Afghanistan for a new Syria in South Asia could compromise human existence in near future. The decision could have a potential impact over Belt and Road Initiative with its futuristic implication over China Pakistan Economic Corridor and South Asia. The opportunistic projects under BRI with a quest of attaining super power status for China is highly demanding an alternate from greater economies of the world to balance the equation of Belt and Road Initiative.

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Brexit and its Implications On 21st Century European Union

- Bhawna Sharma

Abstract

European Union is supranational organization and it is one of the examples of the first wave of regionalism in modern era. The old or the first wave of regionalism of 1960's was restricted to Europe. It was protectionist in nature and the purpose was mainly few economic gains. Later on, it develops it become role model for other regional organisations. The second wave of regionalism in modern era comes in late 1980's, this time regionalism changes its nature and become more global and made its scope much wider as far as purposes were concerned. European Union is the world's largest trading bloc. EU also got Nobel peace prize in 2012. At present European Union is a unique economic and political partnership between 27member states. United Kingdom joined EU in 1973 in the first wave of enlargement and left the EU on 31st January 2020.

Introduction

A strategic partnership is a long-term interaction between the two countries based on political, economic, social and historical factors. Such a partnership manifests itself in a variety of relationships. For instance, India has strategic partnerships with the United States, Russia, China, Japan, United Kingdom, France and others. It is basically a relationship in which both nations have common interests of security, defence and investment. Bilateral relationship is generally having economic purpose. They may exchange different product like electricity, general commodities, or any defence equipment but purpose will be economic benefit of both countries only. ... Pakistan and India can have bilateral relationship but cannot become strategic partners. India is having strategic partnership with European Union as well as with United Kingdom.

***Dr. Bhawna Sharma**, Associate Professor, Department of Political science, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla -171005 drbhawnasharma402@gmail.com +91 81188 59096*

European Union is supranational organization and it is one of the examples of the first wave of regionalism in modern era. The old or the first wave of regionalism of 1960's was restricted to Europe. It was protectionist in nature and the purpose was mainly few economic gains. Later on, it develops it become role model for other regional organisations. The second wave of regionalism in modern era comes in late 1980's, this time regionalism changes its nature and become more global and made its scope much wider as far as purposes were concerned. European Union is the world's largest trading bloc. EU also got Nobel peace prize in 2012. At present European Union is a unique economic and political partnership between 27 member states, up to now six waves of enlargement took place. Sixth enlargement was in 2013 with the addition of Croatia. Past enlargement has brought membership from six to twenty-eight.

United Kingdom joined EU in 1973 in the first wave of enlargement along with Denmark and Ireland. The future enlargement of the European Union is open to any European country which is democratic. The term European combines geographical, historical, cultural elements which all contribute to the European identity. Primary requirements for a member state of European Union are democracy, free market economy, the respect for human Right and the acceptance of the Union acquis i.e. the legal, economic and political framework of the European Union. We can say the European integration since 1950's has always been a political economic process. Enlargement has been the permanent feature of the development of the European Union. Each successful enlargement broadened its membership and on balance strengthened its economic and political role in the governance of Europe. Successful enlargement is likely to strengthen the supranational tendencies of the European Union.

Relevance

The proposed study is undertaken to focus on the major problem of the European Union since its inception that is of Brexit. As a researcher my attempt is to study the problem in the broader perspective. It is the modest attempt to understand it from the academic point of view. As well as to learn that how they mean, both European Union and United Kingdom are dealing with the situations arising. The proposed study is relevant as what is going on in one regional organization can be a lesson to other regional organizations.

Exit Right from EU

Any member state of the European union if wants to withdraw from the Union, it can, then it will no longer be a member of union and according to Article 50 of the binding arrangements between EU and its members it is legal and political process. This Article 50 was originally drafted by the member of the European Convention, Lord Kerr of Kinlochard, and introduced by Treaty of Lisbon, which was signed in 2007 by member countries and came into force on 1st Dec.2009 (Independent 2009). The article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty displays that how a member state of EU might voluntarily leave the union. Article 50 says: “Any member state may decide to withdraw from the union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements.” However, there are few withdrawals from EU but no country has ever invoked article 50 before UK (Guardian 2016). Before the introduction of art. 50 there was no formal provision of withdrawal or right to exit from EU Greenland had joined the European Community in 1973 as a dependency of Denmark. In 1979 it gained its autonomy and in 1985 it left the community after a consultative referendum in 1982 on membership on the agenda of membership in European community. Participation in that referendum was 74.9%and 47% voted Yes means they wants to stay in the European community and 53% voted against the stay in European community (English.eu).

Entry of UK in Community

European Union since its invocation ready to accept new members and develop as an association of European States that have demonstrated their willingness and asserted their right to join. The UK originally refused to play any part in the ECSC and the EEC (Eurostat 1993). Later on, UK got impressed by the initial success of the European Economic Community (EEC) and started rethinking on its stance. In August, 1961 United Kingdom move forward it's application for the membership along with Denmark, Norway and Ireland. However, accession was blocked in 1963 when General De Gaulle abruptly broke off the negotiations because of his deep mistrust of UK intension. The United Kingdom again moved second application for membership in 1967 with Denmark, Norway and Ireland. This time period is of Détente and European integration was very smooth during this period. But even after this, move of second application by UK was failed to make any headway in the face of French reservations. As clear by the book “American Challenge” written by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber who was the editor of French newspaper L'Express. This book ignited the debate that United States in protection of its national interest influencing public life of Europeans by interfering in European development (Pant 2008: 22).

Compelling events that prompted United Kingdom to move for membership were

- Reduction in its relations with the common wealth.
- South Africa leave the common wealth due to Britain's apartheid policy.
- Former colonies become independent and less inclined to British leadership.
- Sharp deterioration in economic position of the UK.
- It was realised that British would have better chance to influence international affairs after joining the union than a single state of her own (Pinder1985: 47).

In spite of all this attempt of Britain's entry failed because President De Gaulle vetoed entry of UK in the European community. De Gaulle considered Britain close to USA. His belief was that French influence will be diminished by the entry of UK. When the French president departed from the political scene in 1969 the stage was set for the re-opening of entry negotiations (Bromley 2000: 33).

At the end accession treaties were eventually signed on 22nd January 1972. And UK become the member from 1st January 1973. So, in this manner the accession of UK proved to be long and exhausting.

Exit of Britain

UK become the first country to formally leave the EU which we called as - British Exit or in short as Brexit. In 2016 debate raises in UK whether the country should be a part of EU or not. Both the sides have their own views. Those who are supporting Brexit have an opinion that Britain is held back by EU, as EU impose too many rules on business and charges billions of Pounds a year as a membership fees for a small return. Immigration affecting UK hard so Britain should take back full control of its borders and reduce the number of people coming in to work. Further UK can better deal with issues such as mass migration, terrorism, extremism. People were interested for another referendum because the argued that EU has changed a lot over the past 40 years. There is too much red tape in EU which hinders the progress of UK Further Britain could reinvent itself as a Singapore-style supercharged economy. They begin to organise rallies for Brexit means pro Brexit rallies and hate speeches trigger on social media. On the contrary, remaining others had a believe that Britain gets a boost from EU membership because due to membership selling things to other EU countries becomes easier, travelling is easy. The flow of immigrants fuels the economic growth, as most of them are young are keen to work, and helps pay for public services. UK is more secure as a part of 28 nation club because it gives UK bargaining power at world table. They begin to organise anti Brexit rallies.

This all turn into a big debate which resulted in a promise by David Cameron for referendum. The debate was so fierce that the traditional party lines of Right and Left diminishes. The debate raises to an extent that some in David Cameron's own party begin to support the exit of Britain. The whole world was watching and still today watching; towards EU and UK that how EU will deal with this jerk and how UK will articulate with its new role. Finally, there was a referendum on 23rd June 2016 by the British government led by David Cameron. In this 72% people participated and there was a huge regional disparity in the results of the referendum. 51.9% voted for leave and 48.1% supported to stay in EU. Then UK split over the voting but finally the difference of 3.8% decided the future prospects of new generation (BBC News). Debate was so fierce that Nigel Farage who was leading Brexit campaigner stepped down as leader of the UK Independence Party (UKIP). Farage said that my political ambition has been achieved.(The Times of India:5 July)

The challenges arise on multiple fronts for people in UK. Theresa May took the office as Prime Minister and invoked Article 50. Theresa May wrote a letter to the then President of the European Council, Donald Tusk. But still opponents want second referendum giving voters option to remain in EU. Scottish politicians argued before the European court that the British parliament should have power to unilaterally halt the countdown to Brexit. Prime minister Theresa May government argues it has no intention of halting Brexit, any way and that the case has been brought as a political tactic by pro-European opponents (The Tribune 2020)

German Chancellor Angela Merkel told Britain in clear and bold words that it will not able to cherry-picking… there should be noticeable difference if a country wants to remain as a member of the European Union family or wishes to stay out of the family. Whoever wants to leave this family can't expect to do away with all of its responsibilities while keeping the privileges (The Times of India 2016). This means EU was also vigilant that UK may not walk away with all kind of benefits leaving others in an awkward situation. Brexit is perceived by many as the voice of dissatisfaction with EU more than the internal need of EU, it is going to impact government working in all sectors and almost every people's daily life. American president Barak Obama while speaking at the Global Entrepreneurship Summit at the Stanford university campus said that the world has shrunk and become inter connected in addition to bring extraordinary benefits there are many challenges too, the Brexit was reflective of the fears and changes brought about by globalisation (The Times of India 30 June 2016).

When Theresa May resigned in 2019, Boris Johnson was appointed as Prime Minister of Britain. He came with the promise of getting Brexit done, it had to happen in March, 2019 but the deadline was extended twice. Finally, Britain exit as the Britons get fed up due to never ending debate (Deccan Herald 2019: 3 February). Boris Johnson proved that strategically his leadership is good enough to get the promise accomplished, and the ultimate resultant is that UK left EU on 31st January 2020 under the leadership of Boris Johnson. When Britain exit few people must have become nostalgic as they have feeling of anxiety and loss and the outcome was against their wish, for others it is an astonishing moment as they have hope for future because what they wanted, they get it done.

Implications of Brexit

With the exit of Britain, EU shrank and this time it is visible worldwide. With this question arises that is their voice of dissatisfaction with European Union? On the other hand, Scotland is pro EU so, the voice against Britain started raising in Scotland. Andrew Hammond who is an Associate at The Centre for International Affairs, Diplomacy and Strategy at the London School of Economics. Said that 2016 is a terrible year, leaving of EU by UK may cause Scotland leave Britain. This may cause a move by non-permanent members of the UN Security Council to move a proposal for review of UK's seat as a permanent member of security council (The Times of India,14 January). As reform in the UN is the desired change by many developing Countries. Free trade pact as an add-on to the Brexit deal between UK and EU ensured there would not be any tariffs and quotas on each other's goods. And it was ensured that competition rules will be fair and remain so. The European Commission president Ursula Von der Leyen Ursula von der Leyen stressed that the deal was “fair” and “balanced” and it was now “time to turn the page and look to the future” (Orfonline.org).

Brexit gave rise to a feeling of oneness, in the 27 members of EU to make sure that in near future no other member state exit from the EU family. Throughout the process of Brexit from referendum in UK in June 2016 till exit on 31st January 2020 a hardening of attitude towards Britain is natural, as UK has a bond of almost about five decades with EU. The UK has entered uncharted waters and searching new partners for trade deal (Orf.org). But now it's time to reroute and pay heed away from this because of the ongoing pandemic Covid-19. The National Health Service has been deadly affected by the pandemic. This has reflected very harsh image of the UK. The effect of the pandemic is highly extensive and because of this other political as well as social issues entangled with it. The worse condition of the UK in terms of handling with pandemic is because the British leadership was very much concerned with getting the deal for Brexit done. For this, lengthy negotiations were done on number of issues to reach up to the final set up, as this is going to affect the different sectors in government to the daily bread of an ordinary people.

The rise of Trump in the US was one of the visible forces behind the Brexit in UK. It is indeed evident that those who are doing pioneering effort for the movement against the EU were in touch with Trump and his administration. Usually, people compare the two leaders Boris Johnson and Donald Trump. In January 2021, when Joe Biden become the president of the US the scenario takes the twist (Orf.org 2021).

US President Donald Trump while on his three-day state visit to UK from 3rd to 5th June 2019 promised Britain a "phenomenal" post Brexit trade deal and he promised to work out any differences with London on role of China's Huawei in building 5G networks. On Brexit Trump said "Britain's EU divorce would happen". "I would say… I would think it will happen and it probably should happen. This is a great great country and it wants its own identity; it wants to have its own borders; it wants to run its own affairs and this is a very special country."(The Tribune: 05 June) Since World War it is perceived that UK turns its neck in the direction where the US looking. The Northern Ireland which is the part of the UK shares the land border with the Republic of Ireland. This is known as Irish border or British Irish border, it is 499km in length. This British Irish border is only the land connectivity between the UK and the EU. If UK creates border check post on this British Irish border then it would mean to disregard the Belfast Agreement, which is also known as the Good Friday Agreement. This agreement was designed to stabilize peace in Northern Ireland on 10th April 1998. After Brexit it is challenge to UK to install border checks in Great Britain, because it may cause separatist tendencies in Northern Ireland. In deal it was finalized that invisible borders without checkpoints will be maintained between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland (bbc.com).

Conclusion

The relationship between Britain and the EU was of almost of half century. It is really appreciable that they sort out the issues related to Brexit peacefully through debates and discussions. UK have done right or wrong that will be decided in near future. Brexit is always a memorable incident not for EU or UK or for scholars but it is unforgettable for the whole world. Euroscepticism was in UK since the seed for European integration started germinating. Member states of EU remain together when the global financial crisis hit in 2008. Rise of Donald Trump influenced Brexit. Since, the outbreak of the financial crisis in

2008, the migration crisis in 2015 and the Brexit vote in 2016 a new phase of the anti-EU sentiments have emerged in UK. Europe is growing because of the integration project that is EU. There cannot be a single-formulae to predict the future of UK after Brexit in terms of border control, foreign policy, intelligence sharing arrangements and threats related to extremism. The only option available is to wait and watch; and this situation becomes tactically different due to Covid-19, pandemic. The outcome will set an example for other EU members too. History always has lessons for those who want to learn.

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Recognizing the Contributions of Babu Jagjivan Ram in Post-Independent India: Some Reflections

Hari Mohan Sharma & Hari K. Sharma

Abstract

Contemporary modern Indian history has witnessed several great social reformers, political leaders, philosophers and thinkers. They have played an important role in shaping the Indian mind and society. They've provided leadership at a critical juncture when the society and nation need them the most, lead the people through freedom struggle and contributed immensely in the nation building process in the Post-Independence phase. Babu Jagjivan Ram was one such personality who has significantly influenced Indian polity; but unfortunately, not much quality research work has been done to uncover his multifaceted personality. His unprecedented works and contribution in the field of community empowerment, labour laws, agriculture, defense and security has been largely overlooked and not been thoroughly recognized. It has even been argued that it is probably because of lack of research material available on Babu Jagjivan Ram. The present study strives to cover some of his major contributions in some of the critical sectors of Indian politics. His towering and inclusive personality, his scholarly works, and his immense contribution to India's policies have largely not been recognized and in the last 75 years not much research work is available to gauge and highlight his influence in modern day India. The present research is an attempt to analyze his contribution beyond any ideological or community commitments that may guide others scholars to further explore the subject.

Keywords: Jagjivan Ram, Freedom Struggle, Defense, Agriculture, Community

Introduction

Twentieth century was a century of turbulence. It was a century marked by colonialism, imperialism, world wars, some of the greatest revolutions, collapse

Dr. Hari Mohan Sharma Associate Professor in Political Science, Satyawati College (Evening), University of Delhi.

Hari K. Sharma Assistant Professor in Political Science, Lady Shri Ram College for Women, University of Delhi.

of empires, nuclear weapons, ideological rivalries, cultural divisions, international organizations/treaties/conventions, North-South divide, disintegration of Soviet Union, globalization and so on. The beginning of the twentieth century has witnessed numerous transformations from the North to the global South. Imperialist powers built global colonial empires from 17th Century onwards, which ultimately culminated in two World Wars that led to their decline of colonial empires and the emergence of many new states around the world.

Apart from all other negative impacts one of the crucial legacies of colonialism was that it gave birth to colonial leadership and many global leaders emerged that have considerably influenced the political discourse. In India also several leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, V.D. Savarkar, Vallabh Bhai Patel, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, J. L. Nehru, S. P. Mukherjee and other great revolutionaries etc. have played a key role in India's freedom struggle. They have a lasting impact on the emergence and nature of the post-colonial state in India. Recognizing and honoring the contribution of all was probably not feasible due to their sheer number; but this is also true that even some of the very well-known personalities and their contribution was either overlooked or not adequately honored.

Jagjivan Ram, also popularly known as 'Babuji', entered India's political space and influenced key areas of policy making. He has played a central role in India's decision making and influenced the nation in a big way, for which he should always be remembered. It is stated of him that "as national leader, parliamentarian, Union Minister and champion of depressed classes, he had a towering presence and played a long innings spanning half a century in Indian politics" (Lok Sabha Secretariat (LSS) Vol. 2010: 1). It demonstrates how his long experience as an efficient administrator and social reformer benefitted India. The present study seeks to evaluate his contribution in various fields from social reforms and community leadership to certain highly specialized domains like labor, agriculture, defense etc. It is also an attempt to see him beyond community perspective and recognize his contribution in a broader framework.

Babu Jagjivan Ram was a fighter throughout his life who fought fearlessly with a caste ridden society and social discrimination; but never deviated from his path or commitment to change the society. As a victim of caste discrimination, unlike Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who chose a different path and converted to Buddhism, Babuji continued with his deep faith in Hinduism and strive for the equality and dignity of the depressed communities within the Hindu fold. It was his firm belief that caste based discrimination within the Hindu society is a social evil that must end and reform itself from within to provide equal space and respect for all. It was therefore stated that "Jagjivan Ram was able to find a peaceful and non-confrontational way within the Hindu caste establishment to protest against discrimination against Dalits in India and work for their emancipation" (Peter 2020: 02).

It was his non-confrontational approach and commitment for reform in Hinduism that was also accommodated under the various provisions of the constitution. It was the outcome of his unique personality, fighting spirit and social approach that "A man who had experienced the brutality of the caste system, he came close to creating history by becoming the first Dalit prime minister in 1977" (Rajesh 2012).

Some scholars are also of the opinion that his contribution and works were not duly recognized due to his caste and incremental approach towards change. Babu Jagjivan Ram was progressive, reformist and staunch constitutionalist while Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was quite a revolutionary in his approach regarding when and how the society should be transformed. Dr. Ambedkar's passion, aggression and radical reformist agenda somehow overshadowed the commitment and patience of Babu Jagjivan Ram.

Recognizing the Contribution of Babu Jagjivan Ram

Scholars have seen Babu Jagjivan Ram from different perspectives. Some recognize him scantily while others tend to overlook his contribution due to various political concerns and compulsions. During the freedom struggle, truth and non-violence were the key mantras to get freedom from the British Empire. Babu Jagjivan Ram had played an effective role in facilitating the process to improve the life of the marginalized community by providing capable leadership. He played an important role in incorporating the people of depressed communities in the freedom struggle, thereby ensuring inclusivity and participation of different sections of the society in the national movement. Therefore, he has been remembered as, "An ardent supporter of independence movement participated in Civil Disobedience Movement and the Quit India Movement and in December 1940, who was arrested by the British Raj" (Chatterjee 2020).

However, he could not emerge as a notable public figure due to lack of recognition of his enormous contribution or probably his personality has been subdued due to the widespread recognition and incredible popularity of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in post-independent India. His works and speeches largely remain hidden from the mainstream academic discourse. Therefore, it became even more important to recognize and highlight his contributions in the nation building process.

There is no doubt that he "holds the world record of an uninterrupted legislative career for half-a-century1936 to 1986" (Chaudhary 2019). Before focusing on his achievements, it is imperative to explore and understand his background that shaped his perceptions. Babu Jagjivan Ram was born in a scheduled Caste family in the village of Chandwa on April 5, 1908. He got his education from Banaras Hindu University. He was a compassionate person who knew his duties and responsibilities towards society. In 1934 he rushed back to North Bihar to organize the relief work after an earthquake. He worked tirelessly to arrange food, shelter, clothing, medical aid and other relief material for the helpless people affected by the calamity. It was during his work in the relief camps when he met Mahatma Gandhi for the first time and got deeply impressed by his personality and commitment towards the society. Inspired by his deeds he develops this firm opinion that Mahatma Gandhi was the only leader who was not only fighting for India's freedom; but also for the emancipation of depressed classes whom he used to refer as 'Harijans'. Gandhiji was fighting both an external battle against British imperialism and an internal battle against the socio-cultural divisions and discriminations within the larger Indian society.

Babu Jagjivan Ram played an important role in the formation of 'All India Depressed Classes Leagues' in 1935. "During his initial years as a political activist he had organized a Mazdoor Rally at Wellington Square in 1928, in which over 50,000 people participated. In 1935 he voiced his support in the Hindu Mahasabha for the rights of Dalits to enter temples and drink water from public wells" (The New Indian Express 2017: April 5). Later, he was elected to the Bihar Legislative Assembly and after independence he became a young minister who joined the cabinet of Pt. Nehru. He has greatly contributed in the making of the Indian constitution and he was seen "As one of the founding fathers of the Constitution and as an important leader of the Constituent Assembly he ensured the importance of social justice as one of the ideals enshrined in the Constitution" (LSS: 6). Like Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, he has also devoted his entire lfe for the cause of social justice. They have similar goals and objectives; but different paths and strategies to achieve them.

His contribution was lauded by former Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh on April 5, 2008 when he stated that "Babu Jagjivan Ramji was one of the tallest leaders of post-independence India and…his stellar contribution to our nation's development and the empowerment of our people". As a minister he performed extensively well. For example, "Nationalization of air transport was one of the most significant developments of his term. He piloted the Air Corporation Bill, 1953 amidst great opposition and ensured its successful enactment" (LSS: 17). Likewise, as the Communication Minister (1952-56) he sought to expand key services, such as post and telegraph offices to remote areas to connect people with the mainstream. To enhance external trade and shipping, Jagjivan Ram was credited for the modernization and redevelopment of major trading routes and ports, such as "Cochin, Visakhapatnam, Kandla, Tuticorin, Mangalore, Calcutta and Haldia Dock Projects" (Lok Sabha Secretariate:2018).

Recognizing and honoring his contributions Prime Minister Narendra Modi has launched a programme called "Stand Up India scheme" on April 5, 2016 to commemorate the birth anniversary of Babu Jagjivan Ram (Business Standard 2016: April 5). This program aims to empower the people belonging to the SC and ST communities and Women by enacting provisions of financing loans up to 1crore rupees.

Babu Jagjivan Ram as a Reformer

In post- independent India the leadership of the country was facing numerous challenges. India's traditional economy was totally shattered; the agriculture sector badly needs reforms, infrastructural development, transportation and issues relating to health, education, housing, electricity, clean drinking water demands an integrated approach towards development. Nation building was a herculean task for a poor country like India. At this crucial time the country desperately requires visionary and committed leadership. Babu Jagjivan Ram was entrusted with this crucial responsibility and his ever- dependable leadership and parliamentary experience make him one of the most suitable persons to handle various key ministries. That was also a time when people had very high hopes and aspirations and they looked towards governmental assistance for their sustenance.

As a Labor Reformer

The colonial period had damaged the Indian economy to a large extent and made India dependent for the finished goods manufactured in the United Kingdom. It has also impacted the labour class in India. Therefore, restructuring the labor sector after independence was one of the key challenges and priorities of Babu Jagjivan Ram as Union Labor Minister. He has worked to improve the livelihood conditions of people and also ensure their social security and protection. It was a major milestone in the nation building process and achieving the broader goals and objectives of the constitution. In order to effectively deal with the challenge in the labor sector he has introduced reform in the existing laws and also brought new acts in order to fulfill the objectives of a welfare state. It is recounted that "he was instrumental in enacting some of the important legislations for labour sector such as the Minimum Wages Act, 1946; the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947; the Indian Trade Union (Amendment) Act; the Payment of Bonus Act, etc…laid down the foundation of social security by way of enacting the two important acts, namely the Employees State Insurance Act, 1948 and the Provident Fund Act, 1952" (LSS: 6).

The time period of Babu Jagjivan Ram is recalled as a period of radical labour reforms. He has served as Labour minister twice and worked for their welfare. For instance, "during his second tenure as the Labour Minister in 1966, he brought the Contract Labour Bill that was aimed at the abolition of contract labour from certain categories of trade unions and for regulating working conditions where the total abolition of contract labour was not possible" (LSS: 17). As the first Asian-Indian who was elected as the chair to the International Labor Organization conference in 1950. He played a pivotal role there by addressing key employment and labour challenges while focusing on peace and harmony in the industrial sector. Therefore, as the non-controversial leader and policy maker, "Jagjivan Ram's term as Labour minister was indeed a boon for the working class in the country" (LSS: 17).

Reforms in Agriculture Sector and Food Security

For India, at least in the initial years after its independence, the agriculture sector was the backbone of its economic model and industrial growth. Food security was one of the primary concerns of India after independence and without growth and development in the agricultural sector India can't even think of planning its economy. It was the biggest employment providing sector. Even now, when the contribution of the agriculture sector in the GDP is constantly declining it can't be ignored due to critical importance in rural areas. Like other sectors, reorganizing and boosting productivity in the agricultural sector has been a key obstacle in the post-independence era. As India's Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, 1967/1970 and Union Minister of Agriculture and Irrigation, 1974/1977, Babu Jagjivan Ram's main focus was "the growth of agriculture, food production and public distribution system (PDS)" (Lok Sabha Secretariat Vol. 2010: 20). To increase the output in agriculture and food production he had taken several initiatives, such as "acceleration of irrigation programmes, resolving inter-state water disputes, National Seeds Programme for production of quality seeds, promotional campaign for fertilizer use" etc. (LSS: 20).

Moreover, it was due to his sheer commitment as the Agriculture Minister to bring radical reforms in the agricultural sector that led to the first Green Revolution in India that has changed India's food grain production capability drastically and enabled it to reduce its dependence on other countries. During his Presidential Address at the 73rd Session of the Indian National Congress in December 1969, he has highlighted that reorganization of agriculture and rural economy should be the starting point of economic reform because without agricultural reforms economic reforms can't be imagined. Agricultural reform should primarily focus on land reform and for this it is imperative to eliminate intermediary tenures, sealing on land holdings and distribution of surplus and government land among the landless agriculture labour class. While outlining the elements of reorganization of rural life he has emphasized on “service cooperatives, cooperative farming, better seeds, irrigation, fertilizers, prize stability storage and marketing, animal husbandry, poultry and fishing”.

According to MS Swaminathan, “Babu Jagjivan Ram ensured that Indian agriculture moved from a state of dependence to one of proud sufficiency during two very critical periods: first, from 1967 to 1970 and second, from 1974 to 1977” (Swaminathan 2013). Likewise, with given the agrarian crisis facing India, Babu Jagjivan Ram has demonstrated his capabilities “As Food and Agriculture Minister during 1967-70, he pulled the country out of the clutches of a severe drought, heralded the Green Revolution and for the first time made India self-sufficient in food” (LSS: 6). At present India at some extent is self-sufficient in food production and exporting to other countries.

As an administrator, he deliberately sought to manage the key challenges, therefore, it could be stated as the famous scientist believed, “We were lucky during 1964-1970 to have had strong public policy support from Ministers Mr C. Subramaniam and Mr. Jagjivan Ram and Prime Ministers like Mr Lal Bahadur Sastri and Mrs. Indira Gandhi” (Swaminathan 2013).

As Defense Minister of India (The Indo-Pak War of 1971 and the Liberation of Bangladesh)

The decade of 1970s was crucial for several reasons in the domain of international relations and foreign policy as far as India's relations with its neighboring countries are concerned and with other superpowers during the Cold War. After the war of 1962 and 1965, once again India was compelled by the circumstances to respond to West Pakistan's atrocities and attack on East Pakistan. As the Defense Minister of India (1970-1974, 1977-1979) at that time Babu Jagjivan Ram has ordered early strategic military deployment in crucial areas to push back the enemy as an unprecedented tactical measure. The defeat of Pakistan and the liberation of Bangladesh were some of the much celebrated outcomes of that war. Babu “Jagjivan Ram was the Defense Minister of the country at an important juncture and proved to be a tough taskmaster” (LSS: 21). His leadership during the war was praised by the international community at large.

Babu Jagjivan Ram was“also instrumental in the creation of a 'joint command' of Bangladeshi and Indian forces for the final assault which led to the victory”

(Goswami 2019). It was the historic victory of India, which liberated Bangladesh from mainland Pakistan. Being the Defense Minister "Jagjivan Ram is credited for India's victory against Pakistan. The war that led to the creation of Bangladesh was also the first war that India won…the morale of the forces had to be boosted and critical deficiencies were to be made up" (Goswami 2019).

Another major historical milestone that has shifted the balance of power in the region was the pragmatic decision of signing the 'Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation' with the former Soviet Union and also securing US assurance to help India if China engages in war with India directly or implicitly from the side of Pakistan. In order to deal with the post- war scenario and families of the martyred soldiers he comes up with several measures to help and facilitate them. "His 'warrior with a humane face' image is still fondly remembered by the armed forces…took steps for the rehabilitation of the families of the jawans who had laid down their lives to uphold the honour of the country, or sustained grievous injuries, a new scheme of family pension for widows of the deceased officers and 'sheltered' appointments for the disabled jawans and officers" (LSS, Vol. 2010: 22).

Upliftment, Empowerment and Development of Marginalized Communities

Babu Jagjivan Ram and his life has been an inspiration for all Indians who did not make merely efforts to improve the life of marginalized communities, but also set his personal example, motivated them to become an administrator with merits. He contributed in multiple domains and in multiple ways and surely, he was not merely "a Dalit icon who dedicated his life for betterment of the untouchables" (Taneja 2018). Likewise, his religious beliefs make him a strong social reformer in society. According to Peter Friedlander (2020), "Jagjivan Ram's career shows how political and religious beliefs led to him favoring a non-confrontational approach to conflict resolution in order to promote Dalit rights" (Peter 2020: 01).

Moreover, "Babuji symbolized the dawn of a new era of assertion, equality and empowerment for the depressed classes…was instrument in the making of the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955" (LSS: 10). His personality inspires and encourages others for social services. It is argued that "Despite being continuously in power for decades, he was never infected with intellectual arrogance, intolerance of power or inaction. He was accommodating, responsive and always strove towards consensus" (Rajesh 2012).

Keeping in view of his contribution a lot more research work needs to be done and he and his immense contribution deserve more recognition in the wider academic and public domain. He has widely contributed in the national development and the nation building process. According to Tarun Vijay, Jagjivan Ram was that "the man who stood firm on faith and the values of equality, and led an entire section of our society to newer goals with enhanced confidence was never even considered for that coveted award (Bharat Ratna)" (Vijay 2016).

Conclusion

Babu Jagjivan Ram remains an unfamiliar personality for a long time, even after he became the first Deputy Prime Minister (1977-1979) who comes from the Scheduled Caste community. Literature that bears the mark of his dedication, commitment and hard work has been isolated rather getting wider public attention and recognition. His works and contribution in critical times such as war, his reforms, policy initiatives didn't get much public attention. As a parliamentarian he held key ministries of national and international importance. He had played central roles and brought up a dramatic transformation in labor, agriculture, defense and security sectors, in the empowerment of marginalized sections and so on. "His strategy and approach to the scourge of casteism was based on his abiding faith in the values of a democratic society and the process of transformation through constitutionally established system" (LSS: 11). Also, He "was a hero, calm and strong as a rock. He chose the route of harmony and peace and was never angry and never spread hatred against anyone" (Vijay 2016).

Acknowledging his contribution while speaking on the occasion of the Fourth Babu Jagjivan Ram Memorial Lecture, Lok Sabha Speaker Mira Kumar has rightly said that, "it will be a distortion of history, if we reduce his stature to only that of a leader of the Scheduled Castes. No doubt, he was uncompromising in his advocacy of their cause and throughout his illustrious public career; he fought for the eradication of evils of casteism and for mitigating the sufferings and deprivations of the erstwhile untouchables. But his concern and canvas were much wider".

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People's Participation in Local Self Governance: An Observation of Gram Sabha Meetings (GSMs) in Himachal Pradesh

- Baldev Singh Negi, Rattan Singh Chauhan & S.S. Chauhan

Abstract

Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of Nation, dreamt of 'Gram Swaraj' or village self-governance and the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1992 is replicating this dream in to reality by empowering the local self governance. The democratically constituted Panchayats to functions as local self-governance is the nearest and the most accessible institutions of governance and service delivery for the rural population. These Constitutional provisions provide for devolution of powers and responsibilities to different tiers of PRIs with respect to preparation of plans and programmes for economic development and social justice and their implementation in relation to 29 Subjects listed in the Eleventh Schedule. The Gram Sabha is empowered under the 243A of the Indian Constitution to function at the village level as the Legislature of a state may, by law provide. The participation of all persons registered as voter in the electoral roll related to the village within the areas of panchayat at the village level. Present paper aims to analyse the people's participation in gram sabha assuming this platform as key for local level planning with community participation. The data was collected from the panchayat register of the respective office of the Gram Panchayats. Author argue that without the participation of gram sabha members in its meetings, the planning at local level, implementation of rural development schemes is jeopardised. The government, Panchayati Raj Institutions representative and members of Gram

Dr. Baldev Singh Negi, Project Officer cum Faculty, Rural Development, Department of Interdisciplinary Studies, Institute of Integrated Himalayan Studies, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla HP-171005, Email ID: bsnsinc79@rediffmail.com, Mobile No: +919418485352

Dr. Rattan Singh Chauhan, Senior Research Officer cum Faculty, Rural Development, Department of Interdisciplinary Studies, Institute of Integrated Himalayan Studies, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla HP-171005

Dr. S. S. Chauhan, Professor and Head, Department of Public Administration, Himachal Pradesh University Shimla-171005

Sabha must have to take sincere and innovative steps to ensure the participation and strengthen the grassroots democracy in real sense.

Keyword: Gram Sabha Meetings, People's Participation, Panchayati Raj Institutions, Himachal Pradesh

Introduction:

Gandhiji envisaged that each village in India would be a republic, where the village Panchayats would have the full power of managing its affairs, including defence. He expected the Panchayats to perform the legislative, executive and judicial functions necessary for a smooth functioning of the village economy. Various developmental activities such as education, health and sanitation would also be taken up by the village Panchayats. It is good, and in conformity with Gandhiji's views, that India now has made Panchayati raj institutions statutory bodies by passing the 73rd and 7th (Constitution) Amendment Acts. It is hoped that Gandhiji's dream of local self-governance through village Panchayats would now be fulfilled (Singh 2009).

Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) have become an integral part of rural life in India and provide the institutional framework for the concept of democratic decentralisation. India's Constitution Act 1992 (hereafter cited as 73rd Amendment) is indisputably a watershed in the history of democratic decentralisation. It gave constitutional status and devolved 29 subjects to Panchayati Raj Institutions at the village, intermediate, and district levels, and also provided the mechanism for regular elections and raising financial resources, for Panchayats to function as institutions of local self-government (Okabe & Bakshi 2013).

Part IX of the Constitution of India provides for setting up of three tiers of Panchayats (only two tiers in case of States or Union Territories having population less than 2 million): (i) Gram Panchayats at village level (ii) District Panchayats at District level and (iii) Intermediate Panchayats at sub-district level in between Gram Panchayats and District Panchayats. It also provides for Gram Sabha (general assembly of registered voters who reside in the area of Gram Panchayat) as a forum for direct participation of villagers in local governance. In India there are 630 District Panchayats, 6614 Block Panchayats and 253268 Village Panchayats comprising of a total of 3100804 elected representatives. Among these elected representatives there are 93.6 per cent at village Panchayats levels and 5.8 per cent at block levels and 0.6 per cent at district level (MoPR, GoI 2019).

Gram Sabha characterised as an institution of direct democracy through which rural people participate in the decision-making process. The 73rd Constitutional

Amendment accorded constitutional status to the Gram Sabha. Gram Panchayats are responsible for identifying and prioritizing development projects within their areas of jurisdiction. Gram Panchayats need to identify beneficiaries of projects and decide on project locations. Some of the projects identified will be included in the Panchayat "Shelf of Projects" and implemented with local resources, while others will be forwarded to higher level institutions with a request for funding. Development projects include projects in the areas of education, health, water supply and transport (Donnges & Pattanaik 2004).

Participatory Planning

The Gram Panchayat is responsible for the socio-economic development of its people's and the territory. This means that the Gram Panchayat needs to address a host of issues such as drinking water, sanitation, village roads, public health, livelihood resources etc. The planning exercise should be participatory. In other words, the plan should be prepared through the active involvement of the residents of villages. This can only be ensured if all sections of the local population, especially the poorest, women and other vulnerable groups, are consulted during GP plan preparation and their active involvement in the *Gram Sabha Meeting* (MoPR, GoI 2014).

Constitutional Provision for Gram Sabha:

Article 243A of the Indian Constitution provides that a Gram Sabha may exercise such powers and perform such functions at the village level as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide. Article 243G provides that subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the Legislature of a State may, by law, endow the Panchayats with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self-government and such law may contain provisions for the devolution of powers and responsibilities upon Panchayats at the appropriate level, subject to such conditions as may be specified therein, with respect to- (a) the preparation of plans for economic development and social justice; (b) the implementation of schemes for economic development and social justice as may be entrusted to them including those in relation to the matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule (Panchayatgyan 1993).

Panchayati Raj Institutions in Himachal Pradesh

Panchayats in conformity with the provisions of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, the Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act 1968 was repealed and the Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act 1994 was enacted w.e.f. 23rd April 1994. Since the enactment of the HPPR Act 1994, it has been amended 16 times (Panchayati Raj Department 2018-19). As per Census 2011 the rural population in Himachal Pradesh is 90 percent. A total of 3226-gram Panchayats in the state are spread over 78 Block and 12 Districts Panchayats. In these PRIs, at all the levels there are 28723 elected representatives out of whom 44.37 per cent are women. Among the total elected representatives 94.3 per cent (26800 representatives) are working at the Panchayats levels in different capacities such as *Pradhan, Up-Pradhan* and *Ward Members* (MoPR, GoI 2019). The key functionaries or manpower other than the panchayat representatives available at gram panchayat level in all the districts are 211 *junior engineer*s, 658 *takniki sahayak*, 2556 *panchayat secretaries*, 1182 *tailoring teachers* and 3226 *panchayat chowkidars* (Department of Panchayati Raj, GoHP 2019-20).

Meeting and Quorum of Sabha - Every Sabha shall hold four general meetings in each year and every meeting shall held [in the months of January, April, July and October. It shall be the responsibility of the *Pradhan* to convene such meetings, provided that the general meetings of Gram Sabha shall be held in such a manner that all the Gram Panchayats are covered in a District in each of such months. The District Panchayat Officer concerned shall notify Gram Panchayat-wise dates for the Gram Sabha meetings within the district. Apart from four-gram sabha meeting in a year, there is provision for the Constitution of Mahila Gram Sabha in Himachal Pradesh, as there shall be a Mahila Gram Sabha in every Gram Sabha. The Mahila Gram Sabha shall hold two meetings, first on 8th March and second on first Sunday of September in each year which shall be convened by the Mahila *Pradhan* or in her absence by the Mahila Up-*Pradhan* and in the absence of both, by the senior Mahila Member of the Gram Panchayat (Department of Panchayati Raj 1994).

To ensure the people's participation there is provision of constitution of an Up-Gram Sabha for each ward of a Gram Sabha in which all members of the Gram Sabha residing within the area of the ward shall be members of the Up-Gram Sabha. Every Up-Gram Sabha shall hold two general meetings in each year, and it shall be the responsibility of the member of the Gram Panchayat representing the ward to convene such meetings. The meeting of the Up-Gram Sabha shall be presided over by the member of the Gram Panchayat representing the ward, who shall also record the proceedings. The time and place of the meetings of the Up-Gram Sabha shall be fixed and notified by the member of the Gram Panchayat representing the ward. The Up-Gram Sabha shall nominate its members to represent it in the general meeting of the Gram Sabha and these members shall be nominated in a manner so that [50%] of the total families residing in the area of the ward get nominated provided that [one-half] of the nominations shall be of women: Provided that this nomination shall not debar any member of Up-Gram Sabha from attending the general meetings of the Gram Sabha. The Up-Gram Sabha may deliberate on issues relating to its area and make recommendations to the Gram Panchayat or Gram Sabha (Department of Panchayati Raj 1994)

Provision of Mahila Gram Sabha- Women participation in development and planning at grassroots level is important as 50 per cent seats in Panchayati Raj Institutions are reserved for the women. Therefore, to ensure their maximum participation there is provision for the constitution of Mahila Gram Sabha in every Gram Sabha, which shall hold two meetings, first on 8th March and second on first Sunday of September in each year which shall be convened by the Mahila *Pradhan* or in her absence by the Mahila Up-*Pradhan* and in the absence of both, by the senior Mahila Member of the Gram Panchayat. In these meetings, the issues relating to women and children and issues pertaining to overall development of Gram Panchayat shall be discussed and decision taken in the meeting shall be placed in the meeting of the Gram Sabha for further appropriate action.

Gram Sabha Meeting: The survey

In view of the above role of Gram Sabha at the grassroots level the present survey was conducted after holding the fourth (2^{nd} October, 2019) and last gram sabha meetings as per the provision under the Himachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act. The survey was carried out in 100-gram Panchayats in the state to have the first-hand information about the status of people's participation in Gram Sabha meetings, fulfilment of the Quorum in latest gram sabha meetings (2^{nd} October) and previous too.

Results

In the present survey total 59-gram Panchayats were selected purposely throughout the state and majority 54.2 percent from Chamba districts, 20.3 per cent from Kinnaur, 16.9 per cent from Shimla, 5.1 per cent from district Solan and 1.7 per cent each from Kangra and Una. A questionnaire cum format was prepared and communicated to the field investigators from the mentioned gram panchayat during and after the gram sabha meeting held on 2^{nd} October. As per the provision and rule Panchayati Raj Department the Gram Sabha Meeting there are four meetings to be held on the month of January, April, July and October, besides this there two special gram sabha meeting for women called 'Mahila Gram Sabha' to be held on 8^{th} March and on the month of September. Therefore, this October Gram Sabha meeting was the last one.

Table:1 Population wise size of the Gram Panchayats

Sr. No.	Size of Gram Panchayats (population wise)	No. GPs	Percent
1.	Upto 1000	1	1.7
2.	1001 -2000	32	54.2
3.	2001 -3000	19	32.2
4.	Above 3000	7	11.9
	Total	59	100

Source: Primary Survey, 2019

The population wise size of majority of the gram Panchayat was 1001-2000 members in a 54.2 per cent of Gram Panchayats followed by 2001-3000 with 32.2 per cent Gram Panchayats, above 3000 members in 11.9 per cent Gram Panchayats and upto 1000 members in only 1.7 per cent Gram Panchayats.

Table: 2 Household's participation in Gram Sabha Meetings

Sr. No.	GSM	Household attend GSM
1·	Last GSM	23.6
2.	2nd October GSM	10.9

Source: Primary Survey, 2019

As per the provision every adult member in household of the gram panchayat area is the member of their respective gram sabha. The data collected from the sample gram Panchayats reveals that in the previous gram sabha meeting held on the month of July in the same year, only 23.6 per cent took part in that gram sabha meeting. This data further decreased in the 2nd October gram sabha meeting as it was just 10.9 per cent. This percentage was calculated by the total attendance in the meetings divided by the total number of households in the gram Panchayats.

Fulfilment of the Quorum in GS meeting:

As per the rule of Panchayati Raj Department there should be 1/3 presence of the total households in the gram sabha meeting and it is not fulfilled then the gram sabha could not pass any resolution.

Table: 3 Status of Quorum in Gram Sabha Meetings

Sr. No.	Size of Gram Panchayats (population wise)	Population wise size of the GPs*Fulfillment of the Quorum			
		2nd October GSM		Previous GSM	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
1.	Up to 1000	0	1.7	0	1.7
2.	1001-2000	10.2	44.1	15.3	39.0
3.	2001-3000	6.8%	25.4%	11.9	20.3
4.	Above 3000	0	11.9	0	11.9
Total		16.9	83.1	27.1	72.9

Source: Primary Survey, 2019

As per the data collected shows that only 16.9-gram panchayat fulfilled the quorum in gram sabha meeting held on 2nd October and 83.1 per cent gram panchayat could not managed this required number of participations. The record of previous gram sabha shows that 27.1 per cent gram Panchayats were succeeded to bring the required number of people for the fulfilment of the quorum however, the majority 72.9 per cent gram Panchayats cancelled or postponed their gram sabha meetings.

Special Gram Sabha Meeting:

The initiative to ensure the women participation in the gram panchayat development affaires, the government of Himachal Pradesh has amended their PRIs rules and made compulsory to hold two special gram sabha meeting for women only. In these meetings to be held on the day of *'International Women Day'* i.e., 8th March and second on the month of September, the issues related to women and children are to be discussed.

Table: 4 Status of special gram meetings for women

Sr. No.	Size of Gram Panchayats (population wise)	If held the Special Gram Sabha meeting?		
		Yes	No	Total
1	Up to 1000	1.7	0	1.7
2	1001-2000	50.8	3.4	54.2
3	2001-3000	27.1	5.1	32.2
4	Above 3000	11.9	0	11.9
Total		91.5	8.5	100.0

Source: Primary Survey, 2019

The majority 91.5 per cent gram Panchayats are holding these special gram sabha meetings in their gram Panchayats. However, there are around 8.5 per cent gram Panchayats who are not able to conduct these special gram sabha meetings.

Table: 5 Status of women participation in Special Gram Sabha

Sr. No.	Size of Gram Panchayats (population wise)	If any of the due the shortage of participation		
		Yes	No	Total
1.	Up to 1000	1.7	0	1.7
2.	1001-2000	18.6	35.6	54.2
3.	2001-3000	16.9	15.3	32.2
4.	Above 3000	6.8	5.1	11.9
Total		44.1	55.9	100.0

There is no condition of quorum for holding the meeting of special gram sabha but if the participation is too low, in those conditions these meetings are also been cancelled. The data shows that there are a significant numbers of *gram* Panchayats who reported that 44.1 per cent gram Panchayats have to cancel one among these two special *Gram Sabha Meetings* in this year.

Reason for declining people's participation: Apart from the primary data collected from the offices of the selected gram panchayts, the efforts were made to know the reasons for declining or less people's participation *Gram Sabha Meetings* a powerful platform for decision making known as gram assembly. For this purpose, views of the officers & officials (panchayat secretaries) involved in the PRIs, representatives' *pradhan, up-pradhan and ward members* were recorded. Among the PRIs representative views were recorded from the both categories of Gram Panchayats where the last two meetings were held with or without required quorum.

Official views: The officers were of the viewed the reasons that the people's sometime do not take interest in the gram sabha due to their seasonal agricultural & horticultural activities and some time due to the lack of awareness about the importance of gram sabha meeting. Moreover, they are well aware about the non-fulfilment of the quorum in gram sabha meetings as narrated that more than 80 per cent gram panchayats do no fulfil this quorum in first attempts but in next date it is there as there in this meeting the $1/3^{rd}$ is relaxed up to $1/5^{th}$ attendance to the total households.

Secretaries: The experiences of secretaries were little different and narrated that the people are fed up with many gram sabha meetings. Such as four compulsory *Gram Sabha Meetings*, two special *Gram Sabha Meetings* and many special gram sabha started in the last five years on the name different schemes-based *Gram Sabha Meetings* such as swachhta, social audit, fit India, election etc. People generally do not take interests. Decision to hold the *Gram Sabha Meetings* remains always top-down approach on compulsory based which eventually become formality.

President's views where the quorum was not fulfilled in Gram Sabha Meetings: They shared their experiences that people always shirk from attending the gram sabha meetings giving the different excuses. However, they always inform each and every member well in time about the date and venue of gram sabha. They shared that people generally attend the *Gram Sabha Meetings* when there is selection or election of beneficiaries under different rural development schemes such as: Below Poverty Line families, distribution of gas connections etc.

President's views where the quorum was fulfilled in Gram Sabha Meetings: The experience of the *pradhan*s where the people's participation was proper as per the requirement as quorum, shared that, though all members contribution in the development of gram panchayat is important but two people i.e., *pradhan* and secretary are very important. When they two are committed to ensure the participation of the members then there is no question of less or decreasing participation of the people in gram panchayat affairs be it *Gram Sabha Meetings* or else. The activities of these two people (*pradhan* & secretary) should be transparent and full of participation with up-*pradhan*, ward members and members of different committees only then the people will feel participative and concerned and will always eager to contribute. They further narrated that the shortage of supporting staff in gram panchayats such as Gram Rojgar Sevak (GRSs), Takniki Sahayak (TAs), Junior Engineer (JEs) and Panchayat Secretary (PSs) is a problem because of this sometime developmental works get delayed and sometime denied due to its timeframe. Because of this common members of gram sabha some time get frustrated and annoyed which ultimately contribute in the less people's participation. But the most of the time where the gram panchayat are facing the shortage of people's participation in gram sabha, there the working of the *Panchayat Sahayak & Pradhan* remains contentious. Some times in those panchayats' panchayat register is being taken to door to door for signature so that the resolutions could be approved or passed.

Suggestions

On the basis of above discussion, to ensure the maximum participation of the people in the Gram Sabha Meetings the action is require from all the stakeholders such as: department concerned, Gram Panchayats representatives and the people's or the members as well.

Government Level:

- Government through the various responsible department be it rural development or the Panchayati Raj should take necessary measures for the people's participation such as ensuring the active involvement of sub-committees at panchayat level and specify honorarium or incentives to different sub-committees' members at panchayat level if possible.

- Government should incentivise under different awards programmes only to those gram Panchayats where the condition of quorum is fulfilled in the all-Gram *Sabha Meetings.* Awards programme such as *nirmal panchayat, excellent Work Performance prize in* Mahatma

Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) *etc.*

- Government should document the experiences of the development works of those gram panchayats and their functionaries where the quorum in all four gram sabha meetings is fulfilled.

- The non-availability of the staff at the grassroot level is a major problem e.g., in a big panchayat both area of population wise, there are number of works sometimes 60 to 90 works remained in progress. A *gramin rojgar sevak* or panchayat secretary will not be able to measure in a month even if he/she is available in the panchayat. The conditions and level of works will be worse if the Panchayat Sahayak/Technical Assistant is having addition charge of any panchayats, in that case there will be the greater chances of corruption and sub-standard quality of work.

- The Department of Panchayati Raj must intensify the awareness campaign for people's participation in *Gram Sabha Meetings* and realising their contribution in local planning, implementation and monitoring all the developmental projects at village level.

Gram Panchayat Representative Level

- The panchayat representatives chiefly the role of *panchayat pradhan* is important to consolidate the support of other members such as *up-pradhan, ward members and members of different sub-committees*.

- This coordination with the *panchayat pradhan* is only possible when his working is transparent not suspicious in nexus with the panchayat sahayak in accumulating the wealth unethically at the cost of panchayat development works.

- There is example of gram panchayats in the south Indian states where 23 various committees are actively functioning with the help of members. Likewise, to ensure the support from the all the members by way of participation in gram sabha meetings, panchayat can constitute committees comprising of maximum members in as much as numbers of committees such as: sanitation committee, youth development committee, Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) work verification committee, domestic violence prevention committee, forest committee, environment committee, school management committee, education development committee, village dispute redressal committee etc.

- Holding of special gram sabha meetings for women actively and ensure the participation of maximum women. Then proving proper space for their decision in main gram sabha meeting in democratic process.

Member or the people's level:

- As per the provision of 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act (73rd CAA) and Panchayati Raj Institutions rules, every adult member residing in the respective panchayat who is in the elector list, is member of that gram sabha. Not only this, being the citizen of the India has he /she derived some fundamental rights along with the duties and therefore, they should participate in their local level planning process by attending gram sabha meetings.
- The role of individual member is important in gram sabha, all the power is vested in the public provided they are taking part in the process. The participation of gram sabha members in different committees or the up-gram sabha could helpful in strengthening the local self governments.
- The role of individual member in monitoring and implementation of the rural development schemes can strengthen the local assets created under different schemes.
- The members of the panchayat should be active in different social audit committees only then one can

Conclusion:

The People's participation at grassroots level is one of the key objectives of 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act or the amended Panchayati Raj Acts. Peoples' involvement from every ward or the social groups of respective gram panchayat in up-gram sabha then gram sabha is crucial to identify the right beneficiaries for different poverty alleviation programmes, planning various development jobs under different schemes, ensure transparency, monitoring of ongoing programmes. The decreasing people participation in the gram sabha meeting as has been observed in the paper is not a good sign in local self-governance. Gram Sabha is the only authentic platform for each adult residents of gram panchayat where villagers can ensure their local development by harnessing their resources financial as well natural. Ensuring the peoples participation at grassroots level is not herculean task provided government department especial Panchayati Raj and Rural Development, representatives of Panchayati Raj

Institutions as well as common members work in tandem to strengthen the rural local bodies.

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Joining Hands to Countering Terrorism and Ensuring International Security: India and Canada Relationship

Pavithran Nambiar

Abstract

Khalistan movement is still simmering in Canada, like in several other countries. The Canadian government, with the objective of gaining political mileage, removed the reference of Sikh extremism from '2018 Public Report on the Terrorism Threat to Canada', and was replaced by "Extremists who Support Violent Means to Establish an Independent State Within India". This was expected to be a moral boost to the Sikh militancy leaders and their sympathizers, especially in Canada. On the other hand, it was a threat to India's national security. However, dealing this situation diplomatically helped to straighten the situation. India and Canada signed several agreements that enabled strengthening the bilateral ties, including the Framework for Cooperation on Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism, wherein the role of Global Counter terrorism Forum, Financial Action Task Force, and the G-20 is significant. There is a need to work furthermore to reinforce the relationship. Another important area where India and Canada can play significant role is the South China Sea region, where China has been expanding its mighty power, and even violating international law. India and Canada, along with other countries, could design certain strategies that can, in the long run, possibly help arrest the unquestionable command of China in the region.

Key words: India, Canada, Khalistan movement, South China Sea

Introduction

Foreign policy depends on the need and interest of any nation and it is always dynamic. The relationship between two nations depends on how far they could meet each other's interests and mutually beneficial. In today's globalized world,

Dr. Pavithran Nambiar *Fellow, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla*
E-mail : drpavit22@gmail.com

no nation can survive without looking across its borders. This is not restricted only to the neighbouring countries, but to the far away nations too. Immigration, import-export, disaster mitigation, global warming, contagious disease, national security everything needs mutual cooperation of different nations. Every nation strives for development and security is a prerequisite for this. India and Canada, though geographically at far distance, have many things in common, and strengthening their bilateral relationship is beneficial to both. This can be in any field like immigration, business, energy, education, culture, space, security and so on.

While progress is being made in all the domains, security is an area that needs furthermore understanding, cooperation and constructive actions.

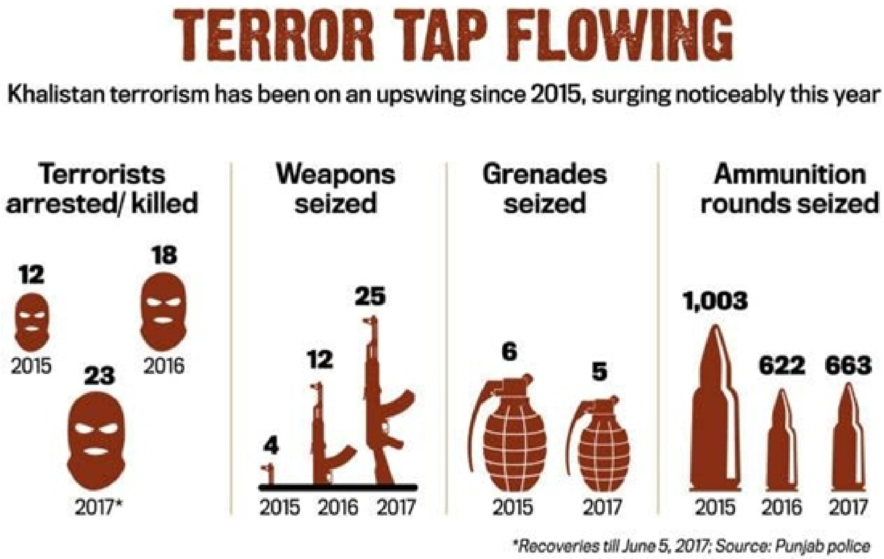
India witnessed the Khalistan movement and the cruel consequences of militancy that claimed thousands of lives in the 1980s. One of the reasons that this movement could gain so much of momentum was the support that it got from foreign countries, including Canada. The changing governments of different political parties in both these countries had affected the activities of militant groups and its sympathizers in Canada, and hadits grave impact on India's national security. Strengthening the Indo-Canadian ties would help improve the security scenario that would boost the development of both these nations. Additionally, reinforcing this bilateral relations, along with the participation of other nations, would help reducing the tension prevailing in the South China Sea region too.

Objective: This paper attempts to analyse the Indo-Canadian relationship in the context of energized activities of Khalistan movement leaders and sympathizers in Canada, and how both these nations could reinforce ties that is mutually beneficial. The paper further examines the role both these nations could play in lessening the tension in the region of South China Sea.

Khalistan Movement Still Simmering

Khalistan movement in India demanded an independent Sikh state that resultantly claimed thousands of lives. “The Khalistan movement peaked in the 1980-90s and the violent campaign included bombing, assassinations, kidnapping and selective killing and massacres of civilians. The movement resulted in nearly 22,000 deaths of Sikhs and Hindu alike”(Brainwave Science 2020). Several Khalistan movement leaders had already shifted their base to Pakistan, UK, US and Canada.

Though the security agencies could contain the militancy, it raised its head very often. The BSF arrested two Sikh militants and seized close to 500 rounds of ammunition and firearms that include Chinese-made AK-47 and modified MP9 rifles, 7.62 mm pistols, a .32 bore revolver and a sack full of hand grenades on 21st May 2017 from Amritsar's Ramdas sector. Their interrogation led to the arrest of further 3 Khalistani hitmen on 4th June 2017. Of these, one Gurdial Singh was in touch with International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF) chief Lakhbir Singh Rode and his cohorts in Canada and Germany (Jolly 2017). These and several other incidents show that Khalistan militants in India and Pakistan are in continuous contact with their counterparts in Canada. With the number of Khalistan militants arrested and weapons seized going up, it can be certainly argued that efforts are being made to revive Khalistan militancy in India. This is evident from the below chart.



Source: Jolly 2017.

Strengthening Indo-Canadian Relationship Recent Developments

Canada hosts one of the largest Indian diasporas in the world, numbering 1.6 million (PIOs and NRIs) which account for more than 3% of its total population. In the field of politics,the present House of Commons (total strength of 338) has 21 Members of Parliament of Indian origin. The state heads of India and Canada visited each others countries and signed various agreements. PM Modi's bilateral visit to Canada in 2015 resulted in the elevation of the bilateral relationship to a Strategic Partnership. He met his Canadian counterpart Justin Trudeau on the margins of the Nuclear Safety Summit in Washington D.C. on March 31/1st April 2016. PM Justin Trudeau paid a state visit to India in February 2018, and several agreements were signed in different fields viz., Information, Communications, Technology & Electronics, Petroleum & Natural Gas, Commerce & Industry, Sports, Higher Education, Atomic Energy, Science, Technology and Space, and so on. There were high-level visits from India to Canada and vice-versa. India-Canada Strategic Dialogue was held in February 2018 in New Delhi (MEA 2018).

Support to Khalistan movement in Canada

Despite the mutual visits and signing of agreements between India and Canada, the Khalistan militancy supporters in Canada never missed a chance to raise the issue at any platform. The department of Public Safety Canada removed the reference of Sikh extremism from '2018 Public Report on the Terrorism Threat to Canada'. Earlier in 2018 the report had listed Sikh extremism as one of the five terror threats to Canada (Sehgal 2019). The section pertaining to incidents of terror by members of the Sikh community has now been renamed "Extremists who Support Violent Means to Establish an Independent State Within India"(Dhyeyaias). This was done during the tenure of the PM Justin Trudeau, belonging to the Liberal Party, to woo Canadian Sikhs and thus gaining political mileage. However, his attempt attracted criticism from different quarters, including pro-Khalistani group in Canada. According to Punjab Chief Minister Captain Amarinder Singh, "the Trudeau government has taken this decision under political pressure and is targeted to woo Sikhs in the election year. Removal of Sikh extremism will also pose a threat to India's national security" (Sehgal 2019).

Here the important point to note is that the politicians use various 'tricks' to woo the people for their vote bank. By showing lineancy towards the demand for an independent state in India by the Sikh militants in Canada, the Trudeau government is indirectly supporting their claim. Creating such a favourable political atmosphere would encourage the militant groups to involve in any activity that could adversely affect India's national security. So, could this be amounting to spoiling another nation's security for remaining in power?

For strong bilateral relationship both the nations need to recognize each other's sovereignty, and take all possible measures to ensure that one's own soil is not being (mis)used by any militant outfit or any element to create disturbance to the other nation's security. This assumes high significance especially when the Khalistan movement has always been thriving in Canada. To quote (Pandya 2019), "the Sikh separatist sentiment was still flourishing among the Sikh diaspora in the US, UK, Europe and Canada due to permissive political climates". Providing any kind of support to disruptive activities considering own vested interests would one day destroy the supporter. We already had the example of Indira Gandhi v/s Bhindranwale.

There is a need for politicians to divise certain measures that could enable them to get public support, whereas at the same time does not interfere in any other nation's internal matters. Policies can be introduced for better integration of Sikhs with other populace, special welfare programs for people belonging to different communities according to their needs. It may be remembered that 'all minorities and people of colour in Canada faced some form of discrimination or exclusion due to their race, ethnic origin, religion or skin colour' (Nachiappan 2017). At the same time, the government should send a clear message that the land would not be allowed to be used for any kind of wrong actions. This is what people expect from better educated, cultured and progressive societies and governments.

When militant activities against India is growing on Canadian soil, India cannot take any direct action, but can only persuade Canadian government to act, and this is possible through diplomatic channels by strengthening the relationship. For this, the confidence building has more importance, which can be proved through real actions. It is a fact that violence and security cannot go hand in hand.

In February 2018, both the Prime Ministers of Canada and India reaffirmed the breadth and scope of Canada-India relations, based on the fundamental principles of respect for sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the two countries. The leaders agreed to invest in mutual growth, work together on climate change, oceans, space and clean energy, advancing gender equality and empowerment of women and girls, and enhancing people-to-people contacts. Further, both the dignitaries agreed building a more peaceful and secure world, and towards this objective emphasized that no country should allow its territory to be used for terrorist and violent extremist activities. They welcomed the meetings of their national security advisors and of the bilateral counter-terrorism working group, which focused on practical measures to enhance cooperation in that sphere. In this regard, the leaders greeted the agreement on a bilateral Framework for Cooperation on Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism. They also reaffirmed the importance of lawful commerce and the freedom of navigation and over-flight throughout the Indo-Pacific region, in accordance with international law, including the rights and jurisdiction of states under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). The leaders supported bolstering regional connectivity through transparent development of infrastructure and use of responsible debt financing practices, while ensuring respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, the rule of law and environment.

Moreover, the two leaders discussed several security issues realated to Afghanistan, Korea's continued enhancement of its nuclear and ballistic missile program, recent developments in Maldives, security crisis in Rakhine State of Myanmar and across the border in Bangladesh, coordinating and addressing cyber security issues at bilateral and multilateral forums, and stressed the importance of integrating gender perspectives into peace and security activities and interventions in line with the women, peace and security agenda (pm.gc).

Bilateral Framework for Cooperation on Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism

In furtherance of the Prime Ministerial agreements, under the bilateral Framework for Cooperation on Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism, the National Security Advisor of India and the National Security and Intelligence Advisor of Canada reaffirmed the shared resolve of both India and Canada to combat terrorism and violent extremism in all their forms and manifestations. To fulfil this objective, they reviewed the ongoing collaboration between the law enforcement and security agencies of both countries and resolved to step up their bilateral cooperation under the supervision of the National Security Advisor's (NSA) Dialogue, the Joint Working Group on Counter-terrorism and its Experts' Sub-Group. For this purpose, it was necessary to disrupt recruitment, terrorist movements and the flow of Foreign Terrorist Fighters, address the threat posed by cross-border and state-sponsored terrorism, stop sources of terrorist financing, dismantle terrorist infrastructure and prevent supply of arms to terrorists and counter violent extremism and radicalization to violence. Both the NSAs agreed to work together and neutralize the threats emanating from terrorist groups such as Al Qaida, ISIS, the Haqqani Network, LeT, JeM, Babbar Khalsa International, and the International Sikh Youth Federation. To this end, they committed to further develop exchanges and facilitate effective cooperation in the fields of security, finance, justice, and law enforcement, including at the operational level. They also acknowledged their commitment to strengthen cooperation in counter-terrorism capacity-building according to the UN mechanisms as well as groupings such as the Global Counter terrorism Forum, the Financial Action Task Force, and the G-20 (pm.gc).

Global Counter terrorism Forum (GCTF)

GCTF is an international forum of 29 countries and the European Union with the mission of reducing the vulnerability of people worldwide to terrorism by preventing, combating and prosecuting terrorist acts and countering incitement and recruitment to terrorism. Launched in 2011, the GCTF is an informal, a-political, multilateral counterterrorism (CT) platform that has strengthened the international architecture for addressing 21st century terrorism. The GCTF develops Good Practices and tools for policy-makers and practitioners to strengthen CT civilian capabilities, national strategies, action plans and training modules. It provides a forum for national CT officials and practitioners to meet with their counterparts from different regions to share experiences, expertise, strategies, tools, capacity needs, and capacity-building programs. One of the important goals of the Forum is to support the implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy-2016 (GCTF).

Financial Action Task Force (FATF)

FATF is an inter-governmental body established in 1989 by the Ministers of its Member jurisdictions. The objectives of the FATF are to set standards and promote effective implementation of legal, regulatory and operational measures for combating money laundering, terrorist financing and other related threats to the integrity of the international financial system, and hence is a policy-making body.The FATF has developed a series of recommendations for combating of money laundering and the financing of terrorism and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. They form the basis for a co-ordinated response to these threats. First issued in 1990, the FATF Recommendations were revised in 1996, 2001, 2003 and most recently in 2012 to ensure that they remain up to date and relevant, and they are intended to be of universal application.The FATF monitors the progress of its members in implementing necessary measures, reviews money laundering and terrorist financing techniques and counter-measures, and promotes the adoption and implementation of appropriate measures globally (FATF).

G-20

The Group of Twenty, or the G20, is the premier forum for international economic cooperation. The G20 brings together the leaders of both developed and developing countries from every continent to discuss financial and socioeconomic issues.Collectively, G20 members represent around 80% of the world's economic output, two-thirds of global population and three-quarters of international trade. Throughout the year, representatives from G20 countries gather to discuss financial and socioeconomic issues (G20.org).

Lawful commerce and the freedom of navigation and over-flight throughout the Indo-Pacific region - The South China Sea and Security

The South China Sea is fast becoming the world's most important waterway. As the main corridor between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, the sea carries one-third of global maritime trade, worth over $5 trillion, each year. The sea's large oil and gas reserves and its vast fishing grounds, which produce 12 percent of the world's annual catch, provide energy and food for Southeast Asia's 620 million people (Ratner 2017).

The claim of China in the South China Sea has become a big threat to the surrounding islands. Additionally, imposing its authority and forcefully carrying out operations on the marine resources have resulted in to disputes with the lawful claimants of the area. It may be recalled that the international tribunal constituted under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea had ruled in 2016 that the claims and the forceful activities of China in the region were illegal. However, China was very adamant, disregarded the ruling, and continued with its obstinate actions.

China's unilateral actions in the South China Sea, which include claims of sovereignty of the islands reaching back to ancient times, the construction of artificial islands in the Spratlys and Paracels, airfield extensions, and deployments of surface-to-air and anti-ship missiles, do not bode well for any future peaceful settlement of South China Sea disputes in which Taiwan, Brunei, Vietnam, Malaysia and the Philippines are also claimants (Marius 2016). There is a possibility that the situation could lead to a US-China military clash.

While expanding its influence and demonstrating power in the region, several times, China had created blockades in the function of different nations. To cite a few examples, in 2009, Chinese ships harassed the U.S. ocean surveillance ship Impeccable while it was conducting routine operations in the area, Chinese patrol vessels cut the cables of a Vietnamese ship exploring for oil and gas in 2011, the Chinese navy and coast guard seized and blockaded Scarborough Shoal, a contested reef in the Philippines' exclusive economic zone in 2012, and China sent an armed coast guard ship into Indonesian waters to demand the return of a Chinese crew detained by the Indonesian authorities for illegally fishing around Indonesia's Natuna Islands in 2013. In 2014, Chinese ships began massive dredging projects to reclaim land around seven reefs that China already controlled in the Spratly Islands, an archipelago in the sea's southern half. In an 18-month period China reclaimed nearly 3,000 acres of land (Ratner 2017). All these illegal actions prove that China wanted to coerce its mighty power on the region, and all the countries should act according to its tune.

In spite of the fact that China has always given the assurance that it did not want to militarize the region, its actions spoke otherwise. The artificial islands have been transformed into military bases with military infrastructures like runways, airfields, ports and so on with powerful antimissile and antiaircraft systems.

Absence of any stern action and the approach of 'avoiding risk' by the US have enabled China to strengthen its hold on the South China sea.

As the situation may turn aggressive and hostile with the enormous powers of China, there is a need for all stakeholders to come together with the support of the US. The military capabilities of these small nations need to be strengthened 'to deter Chinese military coercion in and around the area' (Ratner 2017). Such concerted efforts could force China to think twice before entering in to the jurisdictions of other nations. Because these nations are small, weak, and dependent on China on certain aspects, this is not an easy task. “In June 2018, at the Shangri-La Dialogue, the Western officials strongly condemned China's illegal activities in the South China Sea. Then US warned of grave 'consequences' should Beijing continue to violate international law. France and Britain also called for a joint task force to ensure the freedom of navigation in the contested water” (Yar 2019). The tactics of the nations, diplomacy, and creating international pressure on China could, in the long run, help reducing the aggression.

Joining Hands by Canada and India Indo-Pacific Context

It is in Canada's highest interest to ensure that the South China Sea indeed remains a zone of peace, stability, prosperity and open international passage. Canada can contribute to these goals by showing the flag through participation in various multinational maritime exercises in the region in support of UNCLOS, by demonstrating through diplomatic means that it is closely following the situation and actually has a national position on the issue, and by contributing to its resolution through renewed involvement in Track Two dialogue by Canadian Law of the Sea experts (Marius 2016).

There is a need for Canada to join the call of 'Freedom of Navigation (FON) by the US within the 12 nautical miles of the islands, not as 'presence patrols' as being done now, but as operation mission.

In 2018, India, USA and Japan had emphasised on the freedom of navigation and overflight along with unimpeded lawful commerce in the South China Sea region. All the three nations highlighted the growing convergence of their respective countries' interests in the Indo-Pacific region and underscored the importance of international law and peaceful settlement of disputes; freedom of navigation and overflight; and unimpeded lawful commerce, including in the South China Sea (Chaudhary 2018). There is a need for every nation lying in the Indo-Pacific region as well as the countries that are using this water for transit have to devise certain measures that could have impact on the 'uncontrolled activities' of China in this region.

As of late, in September 2019, India and Russia have signed a memorandum of understanding to extend a new Indo-Pacific sea route that would partly go through the hotly contested waters of the South China Sea from the port city of Vladivostok, in Russia's Far East, to Chennai, on the Bay of Bengal in eastern India. This would be a challenge to the Chinese influence in the South China Sea (Zhau 2019).

With the aim of strengthening Indo-Canadian relationship, the India-Canada Track 1.5 Dialogue was launched in February 2018 during the visit of Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau to Mumbai. The first meeting was held in Ottawa in October 2018, and the second India-Canada Track 1.5 Dialogue with a focus on innovation, growth and prosperity was hosted in Mumbai in November 2019 (Chaudhary 2019).

At another level, trilateral dialogue between Canada, India and ASEAN in the strategic, security, and economic areas would help evolving new approaches for enhanced cooperation and maintaining the balance of power in the South China Sea.

Coordinated efforts by different nations and putting pressure on China through purpose-specific diplomacy only can contain the 'wielding off renzied authority' of China in its South Sea.

Conclusion

India-Canada relationship is on the track of improving, which needs further push and reinforcement to contain the revival of Khalistan movement in Canada. Similarly, the relationship with other nations also has to be enhanced, where Sikh militancy is raising its head. This will correspondingly help to arrest the growth of certain groups in India that are putting efforts to resuscitate this movement. Politicians need to keep in mind that their policies and actions should not give any kind of support to the militant groups. Canada and India have agreed that they will not allow their territory to be used for terrorist activities. Both the countries appreciated the agreement on a bilateral Framework for Cooperation on Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism.

Strengthening ties between Canada and India will be highly useful to keep a balance against the wielding of mighty power by China in the South China Sea region. No doubt, this requires the coordinated efforts of the islands in this region, the US, and other stakeholders that are using this water for transportation of goods. Thus, strengthening relationship between Canada and India is not only mandatory for their own security and development, but for ensuring safekeeping in the Indo-Pacific region too. The earliest serious thoughts are given to this urgent issue and prompt steps are taken, the better the human race could avoid a war like situation and establish peace.

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Evolution of Healthcare System and Practices: A Saga of Success in Kerala's Response to Pandemic Risks

Molly K.A.

Abstract

Kerala has a long history of well-organized health care system. The provision to good healthcare services without alarming financial hardship has become a compelling priority for Kerala's sustained economic and social development. Its uniqueness lies in integrating traditional healthcare practices hand in hand with mainstream conventional medicine forming a basis for strong, people-centred primary healthcare in Kerala. It is rooted in the local communities, and is focused on preventing and treating disease and illness, with an aim to improve well-being and quality of life of the people. The world has been facing a series of crises and challenges due to the Covid-19 pandemic that began in end of 2019 affecting every single living being in the universe. While taking multiple issues into consideration, this paper explores the evolution of healthcare system in Kerala starting from indigenous medical practices to the universal health coverage aiming at the well-being and quality of life. The public healthcare system, education, social capital and the active involvement of the people through local governments all through the years in the history of Kerala played a significant and successful role to face pandemic risks.

Key Words: Healthcare, Evolution, Practices, Success Kerala, Pandemic risks

Introduction

Kerala has the distinction of being a historic state in the educational map of India owing to its highest percentage of literacy amongst the states of India. The uniqueness of Kerala's progress lies in the exceptional social development and quality of life.The 'Kerala model of development' and its achievements in terms

Dr. Molly K.A. *Department of History, Jesus and Mary College, Delhi University*

of good health with the educational and health achievements of Kerala became the stimulus for higher economic growth and increased per capita income in the state(Kannan and Pillai 2004). Kerala attributes its better health outcomes to its focus on high quality of healthcare services, equity and access to education, poverty reduction strategies and the priority placed on child welfare. Public health involves in the protection and updation of the healthcare system of a community through an organized and systematic effort (Chauhan 2011).

Various treatment methods were in existence from ancient times in Kerala. Modern Medicine and other medical services entered Kerala, during a period when people were dependent on Ayurveda and indigenous medicines. At present, Kerala has a strong healthcare system which comprises Ayurveda, Modern Medicine, Homoeopathy, and other indigenous practices. They continue to be an integral part of health care for around eighty percent of the world population (WHO 2002). Kerala has been able to attain achievements comparable to those existing in the developed countries. In this context of Covid 19 pandemic, it is relevant to look into the historical evolution of health system in Kerala, starting from indigenous systems and moving towards universal health coverage in the contemporary Kerala. This paper attempts to illustrate the progression of healthcare system aiming towards universal coverage which ensures the quality healthcare and the well being of the people in Kerala. The paper also illustrates the evolution of healthcare system identifying specific areas and their contribution to the high health status in the State. In doing so, it explores how it equips the people to face the challenges of the pandemic risks.

Evolution of Healthcare system : A Historical overview

Kerala has been known for its herbal plants, medicines and spices for many centuries. Human and veterinary hospitals existed in Kerala region during BCE period of Emperor Asoka (Panikkasseri 2006).The period of colonial rule, marked by tremendous socio-political upheavals and cultural breakthroughs, had tremendous impact on healthcare systems in India. The Dutch were the first Europeans who tried to strategically introduce Western medical practice in Kerala. Hygiene and control of contagious diseases were their concerns. The hygienic conditions were so poor and they asked the people to keep their premises clean so that the spread of epidemics could be prevented in the coastal areas. With the conquest of the East India Company in the late 18th century, a permanent place to meet the medical needs of the company servants and the members in the Army was established. The natives were more vulnerable to sickness than the Europeans, therefore they introduced vaccines to control epidemics among the native people (Saini 2016).

In 1879, the vaccination was made compulsory for public servants, prisoners, and students for the first time in Kerala. The missionaries set up hospitals and schools extended their medical services. At the same time in Travancore, the traditional healers often relied on magic and superstition for their cures (Payyappallimana 2010). It was assumed that the colonial missionaries as well as administrators retained and represented the various healing traditions which existed in Kerala. The healing practices prevailing in pre-colonial and colonial Kerala were seemed to be more of a superstitious in their approach as the procedure of treatment. There were attempts to reduce the whole traditions of indigenous treatment in a single word 'barbarous' and this 'barbarous' treatment then was contrasted with the scientific, rational, civilized, and modern treatment, associated with western medical practice. In their view unhygienic lifestyle, lack of professional physicians, ignorance of the value of medicines and the elementary laws of sanitation, reluctance to submit to rational method of treatment are said to be the causes of the poor health of the indigenous people. (Kawashima 2000). Besides health concerns, such labeling had social implications for the communities who were not accepting the colonial norms. From this point of view, health is not perceived merely a matter of well being but of social stratification.

Impact of the Colonial Rule on Healthcare Practices

At the same time, there existed certain fundamental differences between the native physicians and western doctors. If the former were considered superstitious, living in the medieval world, the latter had scientific training and were always logical and modern at every stage of the diagnosis and treatment of a patient. In the early colonial period, the Ayurvedic physicians were respected. But by the late 19th century the ayurvedic practitioners too were considered as possessors of crude knowledge and unscientific in practice. They observed that medicine was one of the means through which missionaries tried to convert upper castes. They valued medical service as more effective than education as a means to win over the native populations. For them, the modern education was the means to make them to reflect on their superstition and liberate themselves from the barbaric practices. The colonial notions of western medical practice in Kerala projected indigenous healing practices as irrational, unscientific, and barbaric in comparison with western medical practice. For them, the western medical practice was civilized, objective and scientific and a symbol of modernity and progress (Prakash 2000). Along with this, the western medical practice introduced in Kerala developed a newly-created notion of hygiene and their approach to human body, especially through the writings of Christian missionaries, colonial administrators and the native elite communities.

Making of the Healthcare Institutions in Kerala

The deliberate idea that the indigenous healing practices as barbaric, unscientific and irrational went hand-in-hand with the establishment of hospitals, dispensaries, medical training schools and government departments to look after the health of the native people (Payyappallimana 2010). Following the formation of Kerala state in 1956, a health service department came into existence. Super specialty hospitals like Sree Chitra medical college and Regional Cancer Centre were started in the 1970s. A considerable amount of progress was made in reducing the number of malaria and parasitic disease cases. Kerala was the first of the Indian states which could eradicate malaria by 1965 (Vinayachandran 2001). Regardless of the political parties, the government consistently supported the healthcare services. By 2004, the infrastructural development in the state was on a par with the United States and other developed regions with around 33 beds per 10,000 populations (Dilip 2007). The bed-population ratio improved due to several new in-patient care units under the traditional medical systems.

High Educational Status and Healthcare

Through Kerala's highly developed healthcare infrastructure and hygienic practices, they could control of many infectious conditions. They are the reflections of an efficient public distribution system, high literacy and education and other cultural upheavals (Singh 1991). Literacy and education has contributed immensely to the present Kerala's health status (Positive Outlier 2018). It was in the year 1845 that the first public hospital was opened at Calicut followed by other hospitals in Palaghat and Cochin. In the 1860s, municipal towns were powered with similar institutions, and the hospital at Calicut, Tellicherry, Palaghat and Cochin were handed over to the respective municipalities. Government paid the salaries of the medical officers out of regional funds. The local boards also opened hospitals or dispensaries gradually at all taluk centres and at important villages (Prakash: 42).

The Indian Medical Service began to function in the early years of the 19th century and it got established as a part of colonial service for the military and administrative needs of the colonial state. It staffed almost exclusively by Europeans, that too specially recruited for the purpose. The Travancore government was keen on institutionalizing western medical practice from the very beginning of its propagation and established departments with appointed officials. The first allopathic hospital, with an appointed Durbar physician, was opened in Travancore in the year 1817. The medical department developed gradually and by 1860 there were seven medical institutions in the

State(Arnold, 28). In Cochin, State vaccinations was introduced in the year 1802 and there after regular vaccinators were employed to control the spread of small pox. The first government hospital, the Charity Hospital of Ernakulam, was opened in 1848 and by successive stages it developed into the present General Hospital, with its 48 beds, along with its out-patient dispensaries, operation theater, contagious ward, etc. Along with the establishment of healthcare structures in the colonial Malabar and the two princely states of Travancore and Cochin, there were attempts to create a network of institutions to conscientize the people of Kerala and to follow the Allopathic/Western mode of treatment. Gradually the people of Kerala in general began to uphold Allopathy as a true medical knowledge on a par with the other existing conventional medical practices (Velupillai 2001).

Western Medical Practices and their Influence on Healthcare

From the early 19th century onwards a series of rules and regulation were enacted by the colonial government to make the Western medicine the official system of healing practice in Kerala. These regulations were focused directly or indirectly towards forcing the native people to follow Western medical practice. It had the effect of belittling the importance of various native healing practices and practitioners. The 'Travancore Medical Practitioner's Act of 1944' is another important rule enacted in the State. The Act intended to formulate the qualifications of practitioners of various systems of medicine through the registration procedure to encourage the study and spread of those systems. Accordingly, the Travancore Medical Council was established for carrying out the provisions of this Act. Similar Acts and Regulations were also introduced in the Princely State of Cochin and Malabar (Samuel 324). Overall, the colonial medical policies and programmes articulated through various Acts and Regulations were meant to control epidemics, sanitary reforms, propagation of modem medical practice, documentation of vital statistics and so on. It created a notion of public healthcare system in the minds of the people and it was understood as more of a curatory practice and as an attempt to erase all other healing practices through the established institutions and regulations.

Healthcare system, during the colonial period, through its ideological and administrative mechanisms, extended itself to the indigenous society. In this process, there were attempts to construe indigenous healing practices and its practitioners as irrational, unscientific in contrast to the seemingly scientific and rational western healthcare system. Such representations created sufficient space for the entry of western allopathic practicesand its impact in varied form for public welfare. Even in the year I951, Kerala had the highest literacy rate in India. Kerala'sindependent regions had better outcomes in healthcare with

50% less infant mortality than its two northern British controlled provinces(Samuel 310). Increase in literacy rates and high social and political awareness increased the demand for health services and increased cognizance of the people about the need and right to use medical facilities. In comparison with other states in India, health and education has utmost priority in Kerala. Immunization services, infectious disease care, health awareness activities, and antenatal and postnatal services became more widely available in Kerala. In 1959, the number of hospitals and dispensaries per capita in Kerala was more than double in comparison with all India average. Increasing literacy, dispersed and accessible health facilities contributed to people seeking prompt medical care for illnesses. Decentralization of certain state administrative functions and local self governments in 1996 made local services more responsive to community needs.

Local Self-Governments and Healthcare System in Kerala

Local self-governments supported construction of new sub-centres and public healthcare center buildings. In the year 2009, 73% of community health centers and public hospitals, and 44% of community health centers and public hospital beds, were in rural areas (Review of Primary Health Care 2003). Schools and hospitals were common in rural areas and villages in Kerala. Kerala's public health system and its infrastructure consisted of sub-centers, primary health centers, secondary care community health centers and taluk or sub-district hospitals, district hospitals, regional, specialty and medical colleges. Medical colleges were the most prestigious public health care facilities and they extended facilities for healthcare and medical education. (Review of Primary Health Care 2003). Kerala has the best human resources in terms of highly qualified physicians and nurses from the medical institutions in Kerala. Their dedication and reputation have been known all over the world. The State could adapt the ASHA workers' involvement to address specific health needs. In Kerala, duties of ASHA workers included mental health screening and referrals. Their services have been appreciated well in Kerala (Payyappallimana 2010).

New Strategies and Initiatives in Healthcare

In 2011, Kerala state's priorities were to identify the main causes of maternal and infant mortality and address them on emergency basis. It was found that a good number of maternal deaths were caused by postpartum hemorrhage, preeclampsia, and sepsis. Many of them were preventable if attended in time (Payyappallimana 2010). With physicians from Kerala working in the UK, the health department could prevent many of such deaths. It helped to improve the public sector primary health care by reducing the utilization of secondary and tertiary facilities. At the same time, the rise in the infant mortality rate of six per 1,000 live births in Kerala caused great concern and resulted in protest against the conditions prevail in government health facilities. As a result, attempts were made to approach a non-governmental agency, though the estimated costs were too high. In February 2017, the health department launched Mission Aardram, a new initiative, to make Kerala's health system more people friendly, and to strengthen quality and expand capacity in government health facilities. It also implied that the increase in utilization of the government facilities would force the private sector to lower its prices (Lakshminarayanan 2011).

Aardram activities facilitated Kerala's 848 primary health centres into more efficient Family Health Centers with longer hours of work and developed individual care plans for patients. It gave priority to pregnant women, infants along with people aged 30 and older at higher risk for lifestyle diseases. It was directly helpful for the people with diabetes, hypertension, and other disorders related with depression. Under Aardram, a new healthcare program, hundreds of professionals were added to each of the 170 Family Health Centers (Lakshminarayanan 2011). Increase in number of sub-specialties in district hospitals, including cardiology, neurology, and nephrology proved to be effective. It also had its focus in developing palliative care capacity in district hospitals and increasing coverage of cancer care centers in primary healthcare centres. The training to frontline service providers to use technology to collect health data proved to be effective. In l2017, the State also passed legislation empowering it to regulate all hospitals and laboratories, including private ones (Lakshminarayanan 2011).

Health Status in Kerala and Universal Health Coverage

Currently, Kerala has a strong health system which comprises Ayurveda, Modern Medicine, Homoeopathy and other medical systems. Kerala is a model to other States of India in the Health sector. Kerala has been able to attain achievements comparable to the achievements that of the developed countries. The health indicators like the child mortality rate, maternal mortality rate and life expectancy highlights this achievement. Kerala is on its way to Universal health coverage, a term used for the first time in 2010 by WHO (World Health Report 2010), ensuring that all people to have access to needed health services including prevention, promotion, treatment, rehabilitation and palliation with sufficient quality without the user having the financial hardship. One of the important components of universal health coverage is strengthening primary care services through improved manpower, infrastructure, and the active role of health workers in the community. In general, universal healthcare is a development process and a journey toward achieving the right to health (Universal Health Coverage in Kerala 2016). Access to needed health services is crucial for maintaining and improving health. At the same time, people need to be protected from being pushed into poverty because of the cost of health care. It has, therefore, become a major goal for health reform in many countries and a priority objective of WHO. With centuries-old indigenous medical systems with the combination of a strong presence of modern biomedicine, Kerala is uniquely placed to pioneer such a medical revolution.

The idea that primary care institutions were the place where universal health coverage could be initiated with maximum impact was taken seriously. These institutions have a large amount of under use of their resources. For the public, the primary care institutions are commonly understood as centers of immunization and ante-natal care. At the same time the primary care centers are not where people go to seek treatment for common health conditions. The Department of Health and Family Welfare made the primary care institutions to become the places where clinical treatments could be delivered for a wide range of conditions, particularly for noncommunicable diseases. The department implemented the Universal Health Coverage Primary Healthcare Pilot Project in the state in2012 (Universal Health Coverage in Kerala 2016).To build up effective linkages between different levels of healthcare became a challenge to the efficiency of the health system. The lack of standard protocols for referral and followup of cases were obvious. Inefficiency in the primary care system has led to a culture where patients bypass basic facilities and approach specialist institutions directly, even for minor ailments, straining available resources further. Even for a follow up and continued treatments, patients go to the secondary and tertiary care centers. As a result, the primary care centers are underused and the secondary and tertiary care centers are overused, forcing them to offer poor quality services.

The healthcare system needs mechanisms to regulate the flow of patients from primary to secondary and tertiary levels of care, depending upon the complexity of the situation. In order to ensure proper referrals and reduce overload in the secondary and tertiary care centers, the state of Kerala aimed to strengthen its primary care centers. An appropriate health promotion and prevention strategies are to be implemented in the healthcare system. In order to coordinate the health needs of the population, various sectors must be fine-tuned effectively (Kerala Development Report 2008). The state must reorient primary care teams on health promotion and preventive care issues. The resources of primary care centers need to be improved through collaborative efforts with relevant agencies.

In order to address the needs in the primary healthcare system and to fill the gaps in the knowledge and skills of the primary healthcare staff, a combination of strategies needed to be identified. The system needs trained personnel who can take responsibility for the health needs of the families in the area of their primary healthcare centers. The primary healthcare teams should be equipped with the skills to assess individual and family health needs during their home or clinic visits. The instructions to change in lifestyle, screening and medication for clients are to be ensured by primary healthcare teams. The primary healthcare teams should attend the outpatient clinics and provide full range of services appropriate to the primary care level. They have to refer cases that need higher levels of care to the appropriate facilities, and make arrangements for their follow up. It would strengthen the relationship with the local authorities to develop the environmental interventions necessary to promote good health (Universal Health Coverage in Kerala 2016). The state needs access to electronic platform to interact with the people, and provide proper documentation of data under the care of the primary care provider. Public health interventions through active collaboration with allied health departments should be taken care of with the support of the local self government institutions.

The potential of the primary care institutions to achieve better healthcare coverage for the rural population has been made practical through a primary healthcare project under universal health coverage. It can improve the credibility of primary care center staff and to build up confidence in the population to make use of the resources in the primary healthcare centeres. The public response and involvement would help the local self government institutions and the health sector to invest on social welfare, housing, drinking water supply programs and sanitation. Along with that small and medium sized private hospitals owned and run by doctors, missionaries and other agencies provide services at reasonable price to the people of Kerala. Private hospitals are present all across the state along with primary healthcare centers and community health centers. The health centers are often located far away from residential areas or townships. At the same time, the overall expenses of using the services of private facilities is not very different from the cost of seeking care at distant primary healthcare centers or community healthcare centers. With the establishment of corporate multi specialty hospitals and escalating costs of the services they offer, these small and medium private facilities are slowly disappearing (Kerala Development Report 2008).

Owing to environmental and socio-economic changes along with large amount migrant population, there is an emergence of new infectious diseases. The potential threats like Dengue fever, Chikungunya, H1N1 etc. have cause heavy burden on the health system in Kerala. In addition, malaria and vaccine preventable diseases, such as measles and diphtheria, are re-emerging posing threat to the wellbeing of the people. These developments alert a need for vigilance and to change the mechanisms of the systems in the state, and regular training of field workers and medical officers at the primary and community healthcare centers. With the increase of lifestyle diseases as well as diseases linked to poverty and malnutrition, including waterborne and other infectious diseases, the people are to be made aware of the awaiting health crisis.

With the launch of the National Rural Health Mission, health sanitation and nutrition committees formed in all rural and urban wards in Kerala state. The sanitation and nutrition committees engage in health promotion activities at the community level (Nair and Naidu 2016). There is ample scope to improve further the overall health promotion, prevention, and disease control activities of these committees, and rehabilitative and homecare activities, as part of a holistic primary healthcare system. The universal health coverage was initiated to address problems across primary healthcare, to improve the health system, and to improve the health status of those living in rural areas. It was also meant to strengthen the infrastructure and human resources of existing primary healthcare centers and community healthcare centers. It aimed at reducing infant mortality, maternal mortality, and the incidence of several communicable diseases. It recognized the importance of primary care as a means to improve access to healthcare and to accelerate progress toward the universal health coverage (Universal Health Coverage in Kerala 2016).

In spite of all these, the health sector is facing many challenges. Increase in lifestyle disorders, emergence of new infectious diseases are some of the major challenges. The increased access to the public health centres facilitated by the department of AYUSH along with local self-government bodies is one of the major achievements of Kerala (Local Government Responsibilities in Health Care 1994). AYUSH systems which include Ayurveda, Yoga& Naturopathy, Unani, Sidha and Homoeopathy, effectively utilised the decentralisation of power through the local self-governance bodies. The AARDRAM mission which is intended to give service in a public health friendly model is one of the positive changes came out in the health sector of Kerala. Increased life expectancy and diminishing birth rates, resulting in increase in the ratio of senior citizens in the society is a reality of present-day Kerala. AYUSH initiatives in palliative care are exemplary for the approach towards the marginalized population. Yoga, Naturopathy, Siddha etc are all striving to prevent lifestyle disorders which are emerging as a result of the current lifestyles full of competitions and daily routines devoid of any exercises. The State Health Systems Resource Center took charge as the coordinating agency in order to monitor and evaluate the activities. In spite of quality improvements in health services, challenges in the healthcare system are many (Nair and Naidu 2016).

Kerala's Response to Pandemic Challenges

It is interesting to note when the world struggles to cope with COVID -19, how the princely state of Travancore, in Kerala tackled the outbreak of cholera in the early 1800s. Cholera started wreaking havoc in Bengal in 1819 and soon spread to Bombay and Bangalore. When it was felt that the disease would soon reach Travancore, the ruler of Travancore, Maharani Gouri Parvathy Bai, sought the help of the English East India Company to contain the scourge. (Lifestyle and Health, Manorama 18 March 2020) As the epidemic arrived in Travancore the rulers realized the local treatment methods were ineffective against the combined threat posed by the epidemics. As a result various army hospitals offering free allopathy treatment in various parts of the princely state. The state government's prompt response to COVID-19 is the result of investment made both in terms of personnel and other resources to face the NIPAH outbreak in 2016 (WHO news on South-East Asia 2 July, 2020).

It gave Kerala's health system valuable lessons in order to be prepared for facing further challenges. The training of frontline workers and development of infrastructure in the healthcare system gave confidence to the staff to handle COVID-19. It trained experts in related fields to estimate a threat, identify resources in the system that could be capitalized to deal with an emerging crisis, and to use data analytics to manage the crisis. The skills of tracing and tracking, supportive services to highly critical patients, analysis of data to determine how the epidemic is progressing, prevention of health-care- associated infections, psycho-social support to persons who are under quarantine or on treatment, working with media to avoid panic, and managing misinformation campaigns were picked up by the system during the first outbreak (Managing Covid-19, 2020). Their success gave confidence in their ability and made the decision-makers to implement policies and gain public trust in the healthcare system. The healthcare, with its supportive systems, proved to be successful in managing the first wave of COVID-19.

Owing to its migrant population and dependence of the economy on international tourism, Kerala has been open to the threat of disease from any part of the world. With proper ground work, Kerala started preparations to face the threat when the epidemic was reported in China and South East Asia in the middle of January 2020. Since it hastened its wave from Wuhan, the epicenter of the pandemic, to the coasts of Kerala on 30 January, the health department focused on people traveling from Asian and gulf regions (Richardson 2020). Health kiosks were arranged appointing healthcare and safety personnel at the airports and returnees were examined and put on home quarantine, followed up twice a day through phone calls. If they proved symptomatic, they are removed to isolation in designated COVID hospitals, tested, and if positive moved to COVID wards for further treatments. The number of persons health department had placed in home quarantine went up from 1471 on January 31 to 171,355 on April 4. Thereafter the numbers started declining. Most of the persons who turned positive were from the persons already under observation, thus preventing an uncontrolled community spread (Managing Covid-19 2020).

India's first COVID-19 case was registered in Kerala on 30 January 2020, and when two more cases were confirmed on February 2 and 3, 2020, the Government declared a health emergency in Kerala state. The initial response was focused on surveillance and screening of all incoming passengers from China and other countries. People who were in contact with these travellers also kept under surveillance. The State Emergency Operations Centre (SEOC) and the office of Kerala State Disaster Management Authority extended their assistance to the Health Department in order to expedite its services. The social ambience owing to the high literacy rate in the state and high-level political and administrative commitment provided motivating energy to the frontline workers to fight against this pandemic (Lifestyle and Health, Manorama 18 March 2020).

It opened up plethora of problems causing stark inequalities and vulnerability to infectious diseases in India. There has been tremendous support from the people who are involved in preventive measures to face the pandemic. The sudden strategy of lockdown prompted the state to effectively trace, track, and quarantine high-risk population. But the poor, especially migrant labourers, who could not stock up essentials, could not reach their families, and could not maintain social distancing suffered beyond measure. Kerala promptly intervened to mitigate their hardship of such slice of population through the distribution of free rations and distribution of cooked food. Local governments also set up Community kitchens were another attempt to show the human face ensuring that no needy person went hungry. Kerala accounted for 65% of the total 23,567 camps opened in India for migrant workers. The local governments raised most of the food materials through donation, Kudumbashree and other women's self-groups. They also managed food for the needy, including palliative care patients confined to homes (Managing Covid-19 2020). Counselling service is also provided to frontline workers working in corona outbreak control activities. The government has adopted an inclusive approach and addressed the special needs of mentally- ill patients, children with special needs, migrant labourers and elderly people living alone. The counseling services have reached out to millions of people in the state by providing them support and confidence to deal with stress related problems (Sadanandan 2020).

The Government of Kerala has been providing accurate information every day by the chief minister through his reviews and reports synchronized from different departments involved in controlling the epidemic. Early release of technical guidelines on contact tracing, quarantine, isolation, hospitalization, infection prevention and control played a critical role in managing the situation. An awareness drive 'Break the Chain' was successful in promoting the importance of hand hygiene, physical distancing and cough etiquette. Hand washing stations were installed in strategic locations, including exit and entry points of railway stations etc. to conscientize the people. The Kerala Arogyam portal was launched by the Department of Health and Family Welfare with right information on COVID-19. Covid Jagratha portal and Directorate of Health Services website was launched by the Department of Health and Family Welfare as a part of conscientization of the people(Sadanandan 2020).During the pandemic, the state government set-up COVID-19 dedicated hospitals in each district to treat the positive cases with well-trained staff and team from all specialties. State and District Medical Boards were constituted to bring out treatment and discharge protocols and assess each positive case (WHO Report, Responding to COVID-19 2020).

This strategy helped the government machinery to build up confidence and gain trust of the people and it made them partners in controlling the disease. When the services of its frontline workers have been adequately valued in the past ensuring their safety, quality healthcare culture would prevail the society (Kutty 2006).The provision for free testing and good quality treatment, low mortality rate proved to be successful in controlling the first wave of pandemic. This also proved to be the successful strategy at the face of a bigger threat of infection with the return of expatriates from almost every country in the world. The government instituted a longer quarantine of 28 days initially and built thousands of shelters for migrant workers stranded by the nationwide shutdown. Further, COVID Care Centers have been established in all districts to accommodate non-residents such as tourists, people in transit etc. Adequate infrastructure has been provided at all designated isolation facilities for accommodating residents returning from other states. As on 29 June 2020, 180 617 people are under surveillance out of which, 177 955 are under home and institutional quarantine, and 2662 are in designated isolation facilities. Regular monitoring, phone calls and home visits were conducted to ensure strict adherence to the protocol (Sadanandan 2020).

Conclusion

Radical changes in public healthcare services through a wide network of public healthcare interventions, health awareness and high education level of the people are the remarkable factors responsible for the better health status in Kerala. The high health status achieved by Kerala is unique even in the global context of the healthcare development. Different states in India have adopted their own strategies for tackling the corona virus pandemic. The quality of healthcare system in every state will ultimately determine how successful the nation is in addressing infections and deaths from the outbreak. A Healthcare system cannot withstand the test of time at the moment of crisis, unless it is valued and supported by the community. Only a public healthcare system which gained the confidence of the people can show commitment in the crisis. Kerala has been successful in encompassing COVID-19 to a great extent and in achieving a low rate of spread, high recovery, and low fatality. The public healthcare system, education, social capital and the active involvement of the people through local governments all through the years in the history of Kerala played a significant role in Kerala's success.

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Understanding the Absence of State Level Parties in Himachal Pradesh

Shashi K. Palnata

Abstract

This endeavour is to analyse the party system in Himachal. It highlights the region-specific characteristics of the party system in the state, special emphasis on the study of non-development of state-level parties and stable two-party system regulated by the national parties in the state. The main research question of the study is 'Why state level parties have not succeeded in Himachal Pradesh whereas they have emerged in India in large numbers in the last three decades and have become electorally relevant/winnable parties? Numerous external factors have been found which influenced the politics in the state. Meantime the political environment of the state has shaped the party system in the state and provide not so favourable conditions to the state level parties.

Keywords: State Level Parties, Old Himachal, New Himachal, Two Party System, Post Congress Polity.

Introduction

The emergence of the state level parties in the decades following independence in India was arguably "natural consequence" of federal-democratic political system (Pai 1990:396). The forces unleashed by Market, Mandir and Mandal in the nineties led to an upsurge of the state level identity-based parties under what has been dubbed as the "third electoral system" (Yadav 1999: 2394). Amalgamation of these multiple forces that accompanied the unprecedented level of participation and contestation in electoral terms ultimately led to a definitive shift from the "Congress era" to "post-Congress polity" (ibid: 2395). Coalition politics was 'new normal' and most of the time these coalitions were formed at the centre by the two polity-wide parties i.e., the BJP and the Congress with the help of regional and state level parties. But at state level

Shashi K. Palnata, *Assistant Professor, Department of Poltical Science, Govt. College, Jainagar, Solan, H.P.*

politics, these changes were more glaring because now many state and regional parties were able to emerge as winning parties. Emergence of state parties as major players in most of the states in India has led to the relative decline of the national parties' (Suri 2005: 24).

However, there were few states which were observing the shift from one national party to another national party and not shifting to the state level parties. In these states, state parties failed to fill in the gap that was created due to the decline of the Congress. Himachal Pradesh is such a state where state level parties have not succeeded in the 'post-Congress polity'. In Himachal Pradesh the decline of the Congress monopoly led to a relative success for the BJP and the "single party dominant system" in the state shifted to the "two-party rotation" (EPW 2008 : 6).

Making of the State

Himachal Pradesh is a tiny hilly state sharing its borders with five constituent states of Indian union, i.e., Jammu and Kashmir (now a Union Territory), Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand. Demographically, 60 percent of the state constitutes the non-tribal belt and accounts for 96 per cent of its population; whereas the remaining 40 per cent area constitutes the tribal belt and accounts for only 4 percent of the population of the state (Sharma 1999: 2465). As per the 2011 census 50.72% of the state population belong to higher castes (32.72% Rajput and 18% Brahmin), 25.22% Scheduled Castes (SCs) 5.72% Schedule Tribes (STs), 13.52% OBCs and 4.83% belong to other communities (Thakur 2018 EPW). Himachal Pradesh had a long political journey before it could be recognised as a full-fledged state on 25 January 1971. Initially On 15 April 1948 the erstwhile princely hill states were clubbed under the name of Himachal Pradesh as Chief Commissioner's Province. Himachal Pradesh was upgraded to the status of Union territory in 1956.After seven years on July 1 1963, the Government of Union Territory Act was passed and a popular government was once again formed in Himachal Pradesh and the territorial Council was upgraded to the Vidhan Sabha (Parmar 1970). On first November 1966 the hilly areas of Punjab were transferred to Himachal Pradesh. Areas such as Kullu, Kangra, Lahaul-Spiti, parts of Solan and Una and many other enclaves were merged with Himachal as a consequence of the linguistic reorganisation of Punjab. All this period it was the Congress which remained the dominant party.

Himachal Pradesh under the 'Congress-Opposition' Party System

1990s saw the arrival of the Congress-opposition party system in the Indian states as the electoral contests remained mainly between the Congress and the state level parties or in some cases even triangular contest between the Congress, BJP and state level parties. Unlike many states the politics in Himachal Pradesh has been "Bipolar for about 40 years with the Congress and BJP being the chief protagonists" (Thakur 2017a). Though there are some "instances of sporadicsuccesses" of the state level parties but they have not been able to sustain the momentum and failed (Thakur 2017a). Some of the state level parties which followed this pattern were the Lok Raj Party Himachal Pradesh (LRPHP) in (1972), Himachal Kranti Party (HKP) in (1993), Himachal Vikas Congress (HVC) in (1998 & 2003), LoktantrikMorchaHimachal Pradesh (LMHP) in (2003), Himachal Swabhiman Party (HiSP) in (2012), Himachal Lokhit Party (HLP) in (2012) and Bhartiya Himachal Jan Vikas Party (BHLJVP) in (2017).

As far as the regional and some other national political parties are concerned, they have also shown the same trajectory of performance (Table. 1). For example, "National Parties such as the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), CPI and CPI (M)put up a decent performance in the state legislative elections but with no significant gain" (Thakur 2017a).

Table 1: Party-Wise Performance in State Assembly Elections HP 1951-2017.

Years of assembly elections	Party Name and Vote Share										Total Seats
	INC		BJS/BJP		Independents (IND)		State Level Party(s)*		Other Parties		
	Seat (s) won	Vote share %	Seat (s) won	Vote share%	Seat (s) won	Vote share %	Seat(s) won	Vote share %	Seat(s) won	Vote share%	
1951	24	47.25	0	3.35	08	26.60	Not exist	------	04	22.80	36
1967	34	42.19	07	13.87	16	38.10	Not exist	------	03	5.84	60
1972	53	53.24	05	7.75	7	28.27	02	5.02	01	5.72	68
1977	09	27.32	#	------	06	21.10	Not exist	------	53	51.58	68
1982	31	42.52	29	35.16	06	14.23	Not exist	------	02	8.09	68
1985	58	55.46	7	30.61	02	8.28	Not exist	------	01	5.65	68
1990	09	36.54	46	41.78	01	6.10	Not exist	------	12	15.58	68
1993	52	48.82	08	36.14	07	9.76	0	0.05	01	5.23	68
1998	31	43.51	31	39.02	01	4.18	05	9.63	0	3.60	68
2003	43	41.00	16	35.38	06	12.60	02	8.04	01	2.98	68
2007	23	38.90	41	43.78	03	7.97	Not exist	------	01	9.35	68
2012	36	42.81	26	38.47	05	12.14	01	2.59	0	3.99	68
2017	21	41.68	44	48.79	02	6.34	0	0.01	01	2.28	68

Note: *State level parties are those parties which find their roots in Himachal Pradesh. #In 1977 assembly elections BJS have not contested state assembly elections individually as party was coalition partner in JNP.

Source: Statistical Report on General Election, 1951-2017 to the Legislative Assembly of Himachal Pradesh, Election Commission of India(Compiled by Author).

Research Question

In this paper the central question that is taken up for the discussion is why state level parties have not succeeded in state whereas they have emerged in India in large numbers in the last three decades and have become electorally winnable parties? To find the answer of the question following factors seem electorally relevant in the state.

Stable Two-Party System

In 1990, for the first time the BJP on its own was able to form the government in Himachal Pradesh. Consequently, the BJP all these years have been seen as a viable alternative to the Congress party and two-party system started in the state. This stable two-party system not only meant an alternative in front of the state's people, but it also effectively blocked the new parties to be relevant in the state. From the electoral data of the state, it is evident that the dissatisfaction with the Congress which was at its blatant display in 1967 state assembly elections, when 16 independent candidates were successful to win the fray was later channelized in the favour of the Bhartiya Jana Sangha (BJS)/BJP. In other words, until the BJP was not a stable alternative in the state, there were greater possibilities of the emergence of state level parties as compared to what were thereafter.

Table 2: 'Two Party Rotations' in Himachal Pradesh

Assembly Elections	Seats Won by Two National Parties		Government Formed by
	INC	BJP	
1990	09	46	BJP
1993	52	08	INC
1998	31	31	BJP+HVC
2003	43	16	INC
2007	23	41	BJP
2012	36	26	INC
2017	21	44	BJP

Source: Statistical Report on General Election, 1990, 1993, 1998, 2003, 2007, 2012 and 2017 to the Legislative Assembly of Himachal Pradesh, Election Commission of India.

Influence of the National Politics on the State Assembly Outcomes

It has been observed that the party, either a ruling party on its own like the Congress in 1991-1996 or coalition-makinglike the BJP and the Congress as the coalition-making party in the central government at the time of the assembly elections in the state has mostly emerged as the winning party in the state as well. The only exceptions are the elections of 2003 and 2007 assembly elections (Table.3). This correlation is strong to the extent that in the 1990 assembly elections Janata Dal (coalition partner in the Centre at that time) won 11 assembly seats in the state. While explaining this trend, most assign it to theclose dependent economic relations that the state has with the Centre. The state is, in other words, directly dependent on the central assistance. This economic aspect of the picture puts state parties at a distinct disadvantage and makes people to opt for national parties over the state level parties

Table 3: Schedule of Himachal Pradesh Assembly Elections and the Then Central Governments.

Himachal Pradesh Assembly Elections	Party Won in the State	Ruling Party in the Centre at the Time of Assembly Elections.
1951	INC	INC
1967	INC	INC
1972	INC	INC
1977	JNP*	JNP
1982	INC	INC
1985	INC	INC
1990	BJP	NF@ (Led by JD)
1993	INC	INC
1998	BJP+HVC	NDA Ω (Led by BJP)
2003	INC	NDA (Led by BJP)
2007	BJP	UPAπ (Led by INC)
2012	INC	UPA (Led by INC)
2017	BJP	NDA (Led by BJP)

*Janata Party (JNP). @: National Front (NF). Ω: National Democratic Alliance (NDA). π: United Progressive Alliances (UPA).
Source: Statistical Report on General Election, 1951-2017 to Lok Sabha and the Legislative Assembly of Himachal Pradesh, Election Commission of India.

National Parties Acting Like State Parties

Both national parties i.e., the Congress and the BJP have identified themselves with different sub-regions of Himachal Pradesh. These sub-regions are popularly called as 'old Himachal' (Himachal before 1966) and 'new Himachal' (parts added after 1966 merger) respectively. Sharma (1999) construes that both national parties (Congress and BJP) in the state have developed some sort of local chrematistics i.e., local leadership and region-specific identity. For instance, the Chief Ministers from the Congress i.e., Y.S. Parmar from Sirmaur district, Ram Lal Thakur and Virbhadra Singh from Shimla district hail from old Himachal. Similarly, the BJP also developed its key leadership from new Himachal only, like Shanta Kumar from Kangra district, Prem Kumar Dhumal from Hamirpur district both falling in lower Himachal region of the state. However, there is a recent dilution in this leadership recruitment pattern. For instance, the leadership of the BJP is shifting towards the 'Old Himachal' the present Jai Ram Thakur (incumbent Chief Minister) is an example in this regard.

Both parties adopted this strategy and filled the vacuum which otherwise provides space for the growth of region-specific parties and which was evident in the 1970s and 1980s assembly elections. Especially BJS and Later BJP's strategy of identifying itself with the 'new areas' was successful to counter the potential growth of the state level party in this region by addressing the then regional issues.

The Emergence of the Independents as the Third Front

In Himachal Pradesh, Independent candidates have almost always outnumbered the minor/small state level parties (Table. 4). However, the 1990 and 1998 state assembly elections were exceptions in this regard. This success of the independents in Himachal had deprived the state level initiatives in two ways: first, the place for the emergence of the state level parties as third alternative had already been occupied by the independents. Second discouragement is more psychological, as independent candidates have always performed well in the state assembly elections, subsequently many of these candidates joined the winning parties and get benefits. So, the electoral performance of the independent candidates is always tempting for the new leaders of the state. It is evident from the past assembly elections data that no state party have ever contested elections on the full available number of seats in the state. The number is even worse, when we exclude the HVC and HLP, no state level enterprise has contested not even on half of the assembly seats in the state. On other hand, independents have always outnumbered these parties in respect of contesting the seats in state assembly elections. In 2017 state assembly elections, the number of independent candidates contesting the elections were 112.

Table 4: Performance of the Independent (IND) Candidates in Himachal Pradesh Assembly Elections

Assembly Elections	Four Leading Parties/Fronts* in Assembly Elections							
	I		II		III		IV	
	P/F®	SW©	P/F	SW	P/F	SW	P/F	SW
1951	INC	24	IND	08	KMPP¥	03	SCF€	01
1967	INC	34	IND	16	BJS	07	CPI	02
1972	INC	53	IND	07	BJS	05	LRP	02
1977	JNP∞	53	INC	09	IND	06	CPI	00
1982	INC	31	BJP	29	IND	06	JNP	02
1985	INC	58	BJP	07	IND	02	LKD π	01
1990	BJP	46	JD Ω	11	INC	09	IND	01
1993	INC	52	BJP	08	IND	07	CPM	01
1998	IN C	31	BJP	31	HVC	05	IND	01
2003	INC	43	BJP	16	IND	06	HVC	01
2007	BJP	41	INC	23	IND	03	BSP	01
2012	INC	36	BJP	26	IND	05	HLP	01
2017	BJP	44	INC	21	IND	02	CPM	01

*: Fronts Includes All Pre-Poll Alliances and Independent Candidates Together.

®: P/F Stands for 'Party/Front'. ©: SW Stands for'Seats Won'.¥: Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (KMPP). €: All India Scheduled Caste Federation (SCF). ∞: Janata Party (JNP). π: Lok Dal (LKD). Ω: Janata Dal (JD).

Source: Statistical Report on General Election, 1951-2017 to the Legislative Assembly of Himachal Pradesh, Election Commission of India.

From above points it become clear that party system in the state was inclined by the national polity. But it is not sufficient for explaining the failure of state level efforts in Himachal Pradesh when these efforts were successful in the neighbouring states. So here it become important to discuss the status of the state level parties in the neighbouring states.

State/Regional Parties in Neighbouring States

While understanding the party system in the neighbouring states of Himachal we have found that at least one state level party is successful to survive and recognised state level party in these states.

Uttarakhand

Efforts to accumulate the interests of the people residing in hills of Uttar Pradesh were first started in 1979 with the formation of Uttarakhand Kranti Dal (UKKD). Main agenda of UKKD was the separate state for the hill districts of Uttar Pradesh. First assembly elections party contested was in 1980 and secured one seat. First assembly elections after Uttarakhand's statehood in 2002 UKKD won 4 seats out of total 70 and in 2007 elections it secured 3 seats in 2012 bagged only 1seat and in 2017party failed to win any seats.

However, it is true that UKKD never won assembly elections nor emerged as coalition partner in the state. But the party was able to survive in the fray and attained the status of state party in Uttarakhand.

Uttar Pradesh

In Uttar Pradesh (UP)many state level parties emerged at different point of the time and become electorally relevant. Bahujan Samajwadi Party (BSP) and Samajwadi Party (SP), were emerged as most successful parties. BSP later attained the status of the national party.SP was formed in1992 and secure 109 of total 422 seats and form coalition government in the state in1993 assembly election. Thereafter in 2003 and 2012 assembly elections were also bagged by the SP. Social and religious division of the state emerged as a welcoming factor for these state level efforts.

Haryana

After the decline of the Congress partyin 1980s and 90s first attempt to form state party was made by Bansi Lal (a former Congress leader) by forming Haryana Vikas Party. It was successful to win 1996 state assembly elections. Similar attempt was made by Chaudhary Om Prakash in 1998 namely the Indian National Lok Dal (INLD). It was successful to win state assembly elections in 2000 secured 47 seats out of 90 and formed government. Later in 2005 assembly election secured only 9 seats, in 2009 elections secured 31 seats, in 2014 only 19 seats and recently in 2019 state assembly elections the party won one seat only.

However, INLD was able to win only one state assembly elections the party was successful to secure the tag of state level party in the state.

Punjab

Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD)was formed in December 1920 as a task force of the Sikh religious body, the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee. In initial years after independence the Congress was successful to form the government in the state. After 1966 state reorganisation of Punjab Sikh dominated regions were separated. Which Provide a conducive electoral platform for the SAD. Resultantly in 1969, 1977, 1985, 1997, 2007 and 2012 the party was successful to form the government in the state.

Jammu and Kashmir

J&K (now Union Territory) successfully nurtured multiple state level organisations. Jammu and Kashmir National Conference (JKNC) is oldest one which was formed in October 1932. JKNC formed the government in the state in 1962, 1977,1983,1987,1996 and 2008 state assembly elections.

Other state level parties are the Jammu and Kashmir National Panthers Party (JKNPP) and Jammu and Kashmir People's Democratic Party (JKPDP) formed in 1982 and 1999 respectively. TheJKNPP won its first assembly seat in 1996, later in 2002 secure 4 seats and 3 seats in 2008 elections. Other hand the JKPDP was formed by the factional leader of the Congress, Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, emerged as more successful party in the state. JKPDP mark its entry in assembly elections in 2002 and secured 16 seats, win 21 seats in 2008, and 28 seats in 2014 assembly elections. After 2014 assembly elections JKPDP form a coalition government with the BJP in the state.

Emergence of these parties in the state was on the issues like regionalism and on the ideology of moderate separatism. Except JKNC other two parties succeeded in the state were formed by the factional leaders of the National Parties.

Why State Parties Failed in HP

State parties in Himachal Pradesh were infected with some internal limitations. These parties did not come up with their independent and separate electoral agendas as most of these parties were the product of splits in national parties. The major attempt, for instance, made by Pandit Sukh Ram (factional leader of the Congress party) to come with a party primarily to oppose the Congress. Before 2003 state assembly elections LMHP was formed by the Mahender Singh, a former HVC member, later before the 2012 state assembly elections two parties HLP and HSP were formed by the breaking away leaders from the BJP are other example in this regard. HVC came up with single agenda of opposing the Congress feudal leadership and it was successful to embitter the 1998 state assembly elections for the Congress party. Same was the case of HLP in 2012, in this case, disappointed from then chief minister Prem Kumar Dhumal's party management; few members contested 2012 assembly elections and criticized incumbent BJPs' policies, which ended with the defeat of the BJP in 2012 state assembly elections. From the above examples now, it is clear that the majority of the attempts to form state-level parties were nothing but the attempt by erstwhile leaders to act as spoilers for their parent parties and favoured another party be it the Congress or the BJP.

Another structural aspect that has contributed to the disappointing performance of the state parties is the timing to appeared when the state assembly elections were around the corner. For example, no state party contesting in assembly elections for the first time has been more than two years old at the time of their first exposure to elections (except LRPHP). Resultantly, these parties lacked a stable support base. On the other hand, the two national parties (the Congress and the BJP, from which state party(s) had to snatch the electoral space) already had strong support base in the state as these two national parties have been in the electoral fray for many decades.

Thirdly, most of these state parties were initiated only by one or two leaders. The electoral statistics of assembly elections reveals that no party except HVC and HLP had been contested their candidates on at least half of the state assembly seats. Since most of these parties were formed by one or by only a small group of the leaders, and were formed exactly before the state assembly election, these two patterns in the origin of state-level parties restrain these parties to create a cadre in the state. This is the reason sometimes these parties were not even able to find the candidates for representing the party in assembly elections.

Apart from these yet another factor which is notable is the unstable nature of these parties. Except the HVC no state level party were not able to contest for two consecutive state assembly elections. Most of the leaders of these parties re-joined their parent organization after not getting expected results. For example, founder of HVC Pandit Sukh Ram re-joined the Congress in 2004 after a disappointing performance of the party in the 2003 state assembly elections. Similar was the case of the founder and state president of the HLP Maheshwar Singh, a BJP rebel, in 2012. This instability and uncertainty about the commitment of these person-centred small parties formed by the political entrepreneurs made it difficult to build the trust among the people for these parties.

Conclusion

The fierce competition and electoral dominance of the two coalition-making national parties and consequent scarcity of political space for the state level parties has made it difficult for any state party to perpetuate itself. Absence of glaring faultiness in the socio-economic fabric of the state means the corresponding absence of the fodder on which state political parties could feed on. For now, the politics in Himachal Pradesh revolve around the issues like "governance, development, livelihood and demands of the employees" which provides no space for factors like "old and new Himachal, horticulturist divide and caste patterns" (Thakur 2017 b).

However, to argue that there is absolutely no scope for the state level parties to have electoral presence in the state might be bit hasty and unreal. With the deepening and widening of democracy there would be possibility of the emergence of identity-based state parties. For now, the case of Himachal Pradesh has added a 'contextual clause' and helps us to understand that how the change in political environment and the specificities of an area determine the course of trends of the party system in that region.This study departs from the widely accepted understanding which claims that the growth of state level parties in the Indian states, have increased uniformly across the states after the decade of 1980.

Our argument is that party system in Himachal Pradesh would continue to have a stable two-party system. This is because in the last state assembly election held in 2017, state level parties once again failed to mark their presence and ended up winning no assembly seats. Whether 'two-party rotation' will sustain and strengthen itself in upcoming assembly elections in the state is of course the moot question, which would only time would tell.

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'Adequate Expression and Control of Emotion' Dimension of Emotional Competence of Senior Secondary School Students in relation to Gender and Family Environment

Rajender Singh
Surender Kumar Sharma

Abstract

The present study investigated the 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence and family environment of students of Govt. Sr. Sec. schools of four districts of Himachal Pradesh. The study was conducted among Govt. Sr. Sec. Schools situated in Himachal Pradesh affiliated to HP Board of School Education Dharmshala. For this research work the researcher used emotional competence scale (EC) for students invented by Sharma and Bhardwaj and Family Environment Scale (FES) by Bhatia and Chadda. Researcher finds out Mean, Median S.D., Two way ANNOVA and't' value for testing null hypothesis and find that there is significance difference among both variables.

Key Words: Emotional Competence, Family Environment, Senior Secondary School Students.

Introduction

Life is becoming fast with the advancement of cyber, science and technology. Though man has conquered time and space to great extent by the present level of scientific and cyber advancement, yet there is great threat to his existence. The Indian society is becoming increasingly materialistic. Emotional and social pressure is increasing day by day especially among students of Senior Secondary schools. Unrest, anxiety and frustrations are gradually increasing in all the spheres of life. Parents have no time to spend and guide their children.

Rajender Singh, *Assistant Professor, Department of Education, VGC Mandi, H.P.*
Dr. Surender Kumar Sharma, *Associate Professor, Department of Education, H.P. University, Shimla, H.P.*

Students are frequently confronting with their daily problems because they do not have the capacity and orientation to solve the problems. Academics have become an important factor as far as emotional competence is concerned. Each student wants to excel in every sphere of life. This voyage of excelling requires a child to be emotionally competent. The role of family also becomes prominent in the emotional competence of the child. Many researchers have explored Anxiety, family environment and academic achievement from time to time. Nowadays, with the frequency and intensity of the changing family environment plying vita role in the development of emotion competences among the children. The patterns and the increasing difficulty level of the examination is resulting in emotional anxiety and frustration amongst the students. Therefore it is of utmost importance to study these variables in the present context. One of dimension that is 'adequate expression and control of emotion' of emotional competence among senior secondary school students not only enhance innovative idea to foster active learning among students in a conducive environment in school, home and a society and it also made students to control emotion, adequate expression of emotion and they would be accepted by parents and teachers as well as the society.

It helps students to keep a lid on their emotions whenever there is a situation to fled away with the instant motions. An emotionally competent student can handle various pressures and tensions his own. He can understand individual differences and his capacities n comparison to other students. It would help in cultivating emotionally healthy home and school environment .It help not only in achieving educational objectives but also develop harmonious personality of the students.

Pamela and Kimberly (2001) conducted a study on emotional competence, emotional socialization and young children peer-related social competence. In the study, the emotional competence measure included situation knowledge, children explanations of emotions and positivity of emotional expression during peer-play and emotional intensity. Results revealed that the emotional competent variables were meaningfully related to the peer variables and for non-constructive anger reactions, maternal reports of anger explained unique variance. Results are discussed in terms of how emotional competence and importance of designing and implementing affective intervention programs for youth children and their families. In “Emotional maturity of Male and Female of Secondary school teacher of Dhule District” Date (2006) observes that there is a significant difference between male and female teachers with respect to emotional maturity. Among secondary school teachers males were found to be unstable in emotions while females are found to be stable in emotions. Rana (2011) found that level of emotional competence and other variables i.e. sex, stream, family type and type of school do not interact significantly with respect to their combined influence on aggression among senior secondary school students. Sharma and Tahira (2011) investigate the influence of parental education, parental occupation and family size on science achievement of the secondary school students in western Uttar Pradesh in India. 1500 students were selected as a sample for the study and data was collected through a questionnaire that assessed personal information and science achievement test developed by the researchers themselves. The results indicated that family variables including parental education had significant relationship with the achievement of their children.

Objectives

1. To compare the 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence of senior secondary school students with respect to
   i. Gender
   ii. Family Environment
2. To study the interaction effect of gender and family environment on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence of senior secondary school students.

Hypotheses

1. There will be no significance difference in 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence of senior secondary school students with respect to
   i. Gender
   ii. Family Environment
2. There will be no significance interaction effect of gender and family environment on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence of senior secondary school students.

Method

For conducting the present investigation, Survey technique under 'Descriptive Method of Research was used.

Delimitation of The Study

1. The study will be limited to the government schools of four districts of Himachal Pradesh.
2. The study will be limited to 12th class Himachal Pradesh board of School Education Dharmshala.

Sample

The population for the present research paper is the students studying in class 12th class of government schools of Himachal Pradesh. In the present study a representative sample of 540 students (boys and girls) of 12th class from 23 government senior secondary schools of Himachal Pradesh was collected randomly. The schools were selected randomly and 270 male and 270 females students. The data was collected from the selected schools after getting the permission from the school authority.

Tool

In the present study the following standardized tools are used:

1. Emotional Competence Scale developed and standardized by Dr. H. C. Sharma and Dr. R. L. Bhardwaj (2007).
2. Family Environment Scale (FES) by Bhatia and Chadha (2009)

Statistical Techniques Used

The statistical techniques employed to concise picture of the whole data, so that it can be easily comprehended. Mean, standard deviation, analysis of variance and 't' values are calculated in the present study.

Result Analysis and Findings

Effect of Gender and Family Environment on 'Adequate Expression and Control of Emotion' Dimension of Emotional Competence of Senior Secondary School Students.

In order to study the main effect of gender and family environment and their interactional effect on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence scores of Senior Secondary School students Analysis of Variance (2X3) factorial design involving two levels of gender i.e. male and female, three levels of quantitative norms of family environment that is high, average and low was applied. The categories wise mean and standard deviation of secondary school students has been given in Table 1 as follows:

TABLE 1.1

Mean and Standard Deviation of Emotional Competence of Secondary School Students with Respect to their Gender and Family Environment

Levels Emotional Competence	Measures	Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
High Family Environment	Means	94.066	94.500	94.283
	& S.D	22.04	20.056	
Average Family Environment	Means	99.830	95.633	97.731
	& S.D	16.646	18.111	
Low Family Environment	Means	100.233	93.233	96.777
	& S.D	17.496	18.199	
Total	Mean	98.043	94.544	

The summary of 2x3 Analysis of Variance is given in table 1.2 as follow:

TABLE 1.2

Summary of Analysis of Variance of 'Adequate Expression And Control of Emotion' Dimension of Emotional Competence Scores on Senior Secondary School students with respect to Family Environment and Self-Concept

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
Family environment(B)	23.744	2	11.872	.550**
Self-concept(C)	173.478	2	86.739	4.020*
Family environ X Self-concept (AXB)	21.778	4	5.444	.252
Error	11456.250	531	21.575	
Total	208329.000	540		
Corrected Total	11675.250	539		

*Significant at 0.05 level of confidence

**Significant at 0.01 level of confidence

Main Effect

Family Environment (A)

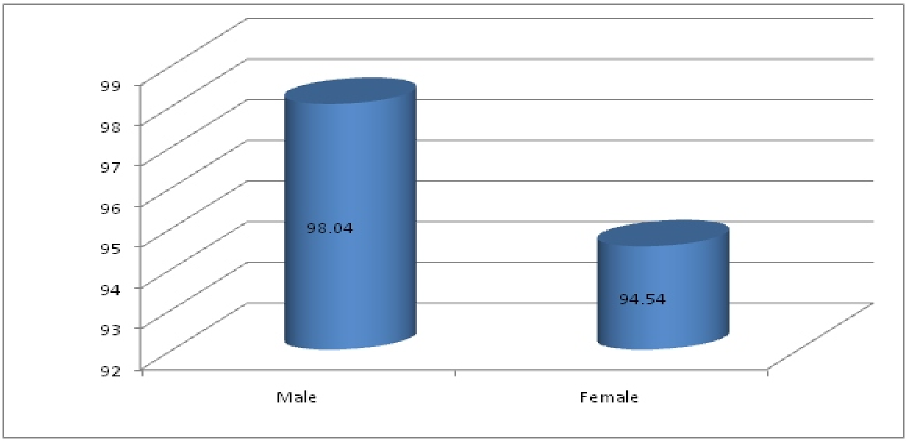
Table 1.2 reveals that the F-value corresponding to the main effect of gender on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence among senior secondary school students has come out to be0.55

which is not Significant at level of 0.05 level of significance for 1/534 df. In the light of this, hypothesis 1 (i) (b) stated as, “There will be no significant difference on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence among senior secondary school students with respect to family environment was accepted. This mean there does exist significant difference in 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence of male and female senior secondary school students. The fact that the family environment (B) mean square (20.161) is insignificant, leads to conclude that these two means does not differ significantly.

Further, it may be seen from Table 1.1 that mean score for male and female senior secondary school students on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence is 98.04 and 94.54 respectively. Although there is no statistical significant difference, yet the trend of the mean shows that The higher mean score male senior secondary school students have better adequate expression and control of emotion as compared to female senior secondary school students.

Figure 1.1

Mean Value of Male and Female on 'Adequate Expression and Control of Emotion' Dimension 0f Emotional Competence.



From the above analysis it may be interpreted that there is no significance difference in among male and female students on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence. However the trend of mean show male senior secondary school students has better adequate expression and control of emotion as compared to female senior secondary school students.

Self-Concept (C)

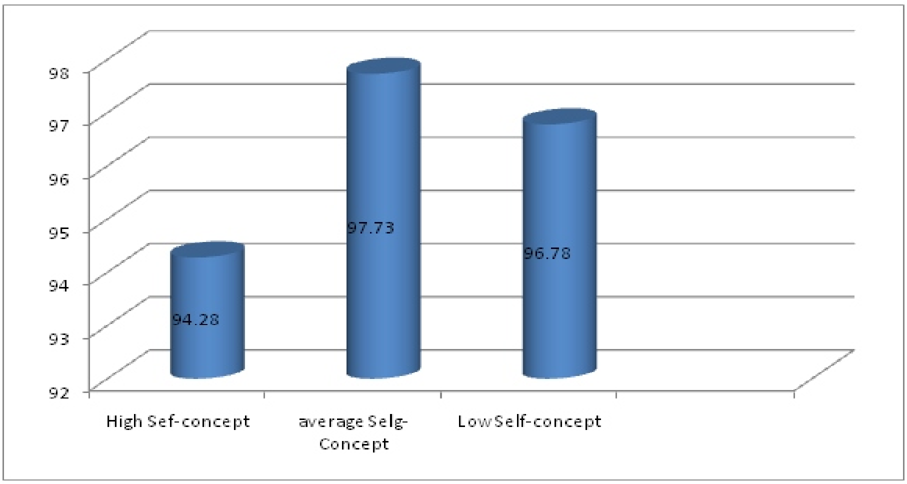
Table 1.2 reveals that the obtained F-value for the main effect of self-concept on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension emotional competence among senior secondary school students has come out to be 4.02, which is significant at 0.05 level of significance for 1/534 df. In the light of this, hypothesis 1 (ii) (C) stated as , "There will be no significant difference on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence among senior secondary school students with respect to self-. Concept", was not accepted. This is indicative of the affect that high, average and low self concept of senior secondary school students show significant difference in their 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence.

The fact that the mean square (86.739) is significant, leads to conclude that the three groups of senior secondary school students differ significantly from each other.

From Table 1.1, it can be seen that the mean value of 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence obtained by high, average and low quantitative norms of family environment students have 94.28, 97.73 and 96.78 respectively. The mean value shows that there is significant difference in high, average and low quantitative norms of family environment. It can be seen also in figure 1.2 as follow:

FIGURE 1.2

Mean, of 'Adequate Expression and Control of Emotion' Dimension of Emotional Competence on High, Average and Low Qualitative Norm of Family Environment Senior Secondary School Students.



Further to locate the significant difference among in high, average and low Self-Concept senior secondary school students 't' test was employed, the detail of which are given below:

(i) Comparison of Emotional Competence of High and Average Quantitative Norms of Family Environment Senior Secondary School Students.

To compare the emotional competence of high and low Self-Concept senior secondary school students means, standard deviation, standard error of mean and 't' -value were calculated and given in Table 1.3 as under:

Table 1.3

Mean, Standard Deviation, Standard Error of Mean and T-Value of 'Adequate Expression and Control of Emotion' Dimension of Emotional Competence of High and average Quantitative Norm of Family Environment Senior Secondary School Students.

Comparative groups	N	Mean	S.D.	S.Em	Df	't'
High Family Environment	180	19.26	4.63	0.34	358	0.771
Average Family Environment	180	18.78	4.21	0.31		

*Significant at 0.05 level of confidence

Table 1.3 indicates that the calculated 't' value for the caparison of high family environment and average family environment on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence, has come out to be 0.771.Which is insignificant at 0.01 levels of confidence for 358 df. From it can be said that there does not exist significant difference in high Family Environment and average Family Environment on 'adequate expression and control of emotion 'dimension of emotional competence of senior secondary school students.

From above analysis, it can be inferred that the average Family Environment senior secondary school students and High Family Environment senior secondary school students do not differ from each other on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence .

(ii) Comparison of Emotional competence of average and low Family Environment Senior Secondary School Students.

To compare the emotional competence of high and Self-Concept senior secondary school students means, standard deviation, standard error of mean and 't' -value were calculated and given in Table 4.8 as under:

TABLE 1.4

Mean, Standared Deviation, Standred Error of Mean and T-value of 'adequate Depth ofeeling' Dimention of Emotional Competence of Average and Family Environment Senior Secondary School Students.

Comparative groups	N	Mean	S.D.	S.E.M	Df	't'
Average Family Environment	180	18.78	4.41	.31	358	5.95
low Family Environment	180	19.20	5.08	0.37		

*Significant at 0.05 level of confidence

Table 1.4. Indicates that the calculated't' value for the caparison of average Family Environment and low Family Environment on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence , has come out to be 5.95 which is significant at 0.01 levels of confidence for 358 df. From it can be said that there exist a significant difference in emotional competence of average Family Environment and low Family Environment senior secondary school students.

Further, Table 1.4. Also reveals that the mean score for average Family Environment senior secondary school students is 18.78 and that for low Family Environment senior secondary school students is 19.20. The mean score shows that low family environment students has more emotionally competent on ' adequate expression and control of emotion dimension' of emotional competence.

(iii) Comparison of Emotional Competence of High and Average Quantitative Norms of Family Environment Norms of Family Environment Senior Secondary School Students

To compare the emotional competence of high and low quantitative norms of family environment senior secondary school students means, standard deviation, standard error of mean and 't' -value were calculated and given in Table 1.5 as under:

TABLE 1.5

Mean, Standared Deviation, Standred Error of Mean and T-value of 'Adequate Depth Ofeeling' Dimention of Emotional Competence of Average and Self-concept Senior Secondary School Students.

Comparative groups	N	Mean	S.D.	S.Em	Df	't'
Low Family Environment	180	19.20	5.087	0.37	358	2.094
High Family Environment	180	19.26	4.634	0.34		

Significant at 0.05 level of confidence

Table 1.5. Indicates that the calculated'- value for the caparison of low and high Family Environment on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence, has come out to be 2.09 which is significant at 0.01 levels of confidence for 358 df. From it can be said that 'adequate expression and control of emotion' that there exist a significant difference in emotional competence of low Family Environment and high to senior secondary Family Environment School students.

Further, Table 1.5 also reveals that the mean score for high Family Environment senior secondary school students is (19.26) and that for low Family Environment senior secondary school students is (19.20) The mean score shows that high Family Environment students are less emotionally competent and have less adequate expression and control of emotion as in comparison of low Family Environment Senior Secondary School students.

2. Interaction Effect of Gender and Family Environment (AxB) On 'Adequate Expression and Control Of Emotion' Dimension Of Emotional Competence:

It also indicates that the calculated value of 'F' for the interaction effect of gender and family environment on 'total' emotional competence of senior secondary school student has come out 2.84 which is lower than 'F' table value 3.86 at 0.05 level of which is significance at 0.05 level of confidence for 2/594 df. In the light of this, hypothesis-2 as "There will be no significant interactional effect of gender and family environment on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence of senior secondary school students" was retained.

From the above analysis, it can be said that gender and family environment taken to gather have no significant international effect on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence of senior secondary school students.

Summary

I. Male and female senior secondary school students does not statistically on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence. Regardless the levels of family environment male senior secondary school students have significantly higher mean value than the female senior secondary school students. The trends of mean show male senior secondary school students has better adequate expression and control of emotion as compared to female senior secondary school students.

II. High, average and low family environment senior secondary school students differ significantly in their on 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence.

III. There exist significant difference in on their 'adequate expression and control of emotion' dimension of emotional competence of high family environment and average family environment senior secondary school students. In other words, it may be said that high family environment student have low mean value and average family environment senior secondary school students have high mean value. It can be inferred that average family environment students have more adequate expression and control of emotion and are more emotionally competent than the students have high family environment.

IV. High levels family environment senior secondary school students have significantly higher mean value than lower family environment students. . It may be said that high family environment senior secondary school students have more adequate expression and control of emotion than low family environment senior secondary schools students.

V. There exists no significance difference in emotional competence of average and low family environment senior secondary school students. It may also concluded that, average and low family environment senior secondary school students do no differ significantly in emotional competence.

VI. There is no significant interactional effect on gender and family environment taken to gather on 'adequate expression and control of emotion 'dimension of emotional competence' of senior secondary school students.

Educational Implications

Any research work can be considered effective only when the corpus of knowledge generated through it, can be applied to improve the existing practices of education. The finding of the present study reveal some important implications for students, teachers, administrator , policymakers , heads of institutions and principals which are given as under;

1. In the findings of the study reported that demographic variable i.e. gender

have significant effect on emotional competence of senior secondary school students. The male students possessed significantly higher emotional competence than female students. In the light of study, special workshops, lectures, guidance & counseling programs and refresher courses should be organized time to time for both male and female students to discuss their problems, causes of dissatisfaction and their solutions. An orientation for ineffective students may be useful for improving their emotional competence.

2. The study also reveals that family environment exerts significant effect on emotional competence of senior secondary school students, the results of the study also indicated that the students of high family environment are better in their emotional competence than the students of low family environment. Parents of low family environment should be oriented to cultivate healthy environment at home so that child may get opportunity to explore his or her full capacities and potentials.

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Perception Regarding Whistle-blowing Policy at Workplace: Evidences from Indian Industries

Praveen Kumar & Deepika Gautam

Abstract

The word whistle blower originates from 'whistle' as used by are free to indicate an illegal or foul play. It was coined by civil activist Ralph Nader in early 1970's so as to avoid any negative Connotations. Whistle blowing is officially defined as "makinga disclosure that is in the public interest". It will usually occur when an employee discloses to a public body, usually the police or a regulatory commission that their employer is partaking in unlawful practices. A whistle blower discloses information about misconduct in the workplace that he feel violates the law or endangers the welfare of others and speaks out with an intention to expose corruption or dangers to the public or environment. Whistle blowing is the act of drawing public attention, or the attention of an authority figure, to perceived wrongdoing, misconduct, unethical activity within public, private or third-sector organizations. Corruption, fraud, bullying, health and safety violation, cover-ups and discrimination are common activities highlighted by whistle blowers. A healthy organization is one which is free from unhealthy practices. The long term success of an organization depends not only on its strategic management practices but also with better corporate governance practices. Whistle blowing is the act of making disclosure of unethical, illegal or corrupt practices to those who may affect an action in this regard and with an objective to serve greater interest. The purpose of the present study is to analyze whether whistle blowing is a fact among employees when there is a serious wrongdoing at the workplace. In this paper, an attempt has been made to know the respondent's level of awareness on whistle blowing and organization factors having influence on whistle blowing. The result of the study could help the

Dr. Praveen Kumar *Assistant professor, Department of Management, Himachal Pradesh National Law University, Shimla Email: praveenkumar@gmail.com*
Dr. Deepika Gautam, *Assistant professor, Department of Management, Himachal Pradesh National Law University, Shimla. Email:drdeepgautam83@gmail.com*

management of the organization to understand the kind of whistle blowing mechanism to be developed.

Keywords: Whistle Blowing, Organisation, Employees and Protection Act, 2011

Introduction

Whistle blowing is the act of making disclosure of unethical, illegal or corrupt practices to those who may affect an action in this regard and with an objective to serve greater interest. Whistle blowing can certainly impact the lives of employees, employers and the overall organizations. Wrong doing in the organizational world is often discovered only if someone on the inside of the organisation takes a stand and voice it out A whistle blowing mechanism not only helps in detection of fraud, but is also used as a corporate governance tool leading to prevention and deterrence. The term "Whistle blower" was first applied to government employees who "go public" with complaints of corruption or mismanagement in the public or government organizations. It is now used in connection with similar activities in the private business sector as well. Business history is replete with the cases of corruption and mismanagement and, in turn, cases of whistle-blowing. Whistle blowing is when a worker reports suspected wrongdoing at work. Officially this is called 'making a disclosure in the public interest'. Whistle blowing making means exposing an employer's wrong doing to outsiders such as the media or government regulatory agencies. The term whistle-blowing is also used for internal reporting of misconduct to management, especially through anonymous reporting mechanism, often called hot lines. The blowing of the whistle would alert both law enforcement officers and the general public of danger. Since the time big corporate houses have collapsed due to unethical practices, a pro social organization behavior namely, whistle blowing has gained its momentum.

One feature that is common in most of the big corporate frauds such as Enron, World.com, Satyam etc. was that those working in the organizations were aware of the unethical conduct but only a few of them reported the matter before the whole system collapsed. According to ASSOCHAM and Grant Thornton corporate frauds in India have risen by over 45 % since 2012. Financial frauds, money laundering, corruption and trafficking of organizational resources have become a regular phenomenon in Indian corporate houses where as the number of whistle blowers has not increased proportionately. Whistle blowing acts as a control mechanism which helps in minimizing the cost of silence for the organization and for the society at large. It is often said that wrongdoings are no longer uncovered by traditional ways of audit reports but by high signs given by employees. However, it is only occasionally that organizational members come out of the closet to report illegitimate practices. A plausible reason for this reluctance is the consequences that follows whistle blowing. Whistleblowers have quit often experienced retaliation in form of loss of job, physical or mental torture or harassment. Therefore, this study attempts to study the factors which influence the willingness of employees to blow whistle on wrong doings in Indian organizations. The main focus of this study is on corporate whistleblowers and to explore legal awareness among employees.

Theoretical Background

According to Rongine (1985), one of the first definitions of whistleblowing was given by consumer activist Ralph Nader in 1972. In Nader's words "whistleblowing in an act of man or women who, believing that public interest overrides the interest of the organization he serves blows the whistle that organization is in corrupt, illegal, fraudulent or harmful activities." Further, many has defined the act of whistleblowing as an act of pro-social behavior. Brief and Motowidlo (1986) defined pro-social behavior as "a behavior practiced by members of an organization, directed towards an individual, group or the organization with whom [s]he interacts while carrying out organizational duties and the behavior is performed with an intention of promoting the welfare of all stakeholders." Weiss (2006) added that whistleblowing is an important tool which guards against the unethical practices undertaken by multinational corporations in these modern technologically driven and turbulent economic times. Also, Draft (2006) claimed that code of conduct and ethical structures exclusively cannot be relied upon to prevent all the wrongdoings and unethical behavior. Organizations today have to depend upon individuals who are willing to blow the whistle on detecting illegal, dangerous or unethical activities. In words on Weinstien (1979) a single whistle blower has the power to affect the fortunes of a billion-dollar company. According to Collins (1989), the decision to report or whom to report the wrong doing depend to a greater extent on the nature and type of harm involved in wrong doings.

The existing body of literature also claimed that culture influences whistle blowing by influencing people's perception atleast in three ways: what all is included in wrong doings; what is considered the appropriate response to wrong doing i.e. To ignore, to confront the perpetrators, or to report the wrongdoing; and if blowing the whistle is anappropriate action in a particular situation then what form of whistle blowing is considered to be appropriate. Whistle blowing like any other ethical act is cultural specific. Whistleblowers are appreciated in some cultures and are criticized in other.

Developing and maintain a sound whistleblowing policy requires utmost care and continuous efforts. According to Lachman (2008), "to manage whistle blowing, an ethical culture and infrastructure are needed to communicate the values and principles to the employees." Perks and smith (2008) while proposing a model of whistleblowing, concluded that young employees are more likely to whistle blow than to the older ones. Similarly, employees are more inclined to undertaking whistle blowing as compared to mangers. N. Dorasamy (2012) recommended that an organization culture that institutionalizes whistleblowing practices and procedures can promote whistle blowing without the fear of retaliation. Management should establish clear communication channels to foster a culture of disclosure reflecting accountability and transparency. Thus, whistle blowing is an extensively researched topic though the findings reported previously are lacking concrete empirical evidences. Plethora of studies can be found discussing different aspects of the issue. However, Indian literature on the whistle-blowing is still in growing phase.

Objectives of the Study

1. To examine the respondent's perception about whistle blowing
2. To study the factors encouraging and discouraging whistle blowing policy

Research Methodology

Whistle-blowing as a control mechanism can play a significant role in preventing any serious harm to the organisation, its employees and the society at large. Whistle blowing mechanism is highly recognized in curbing the corrupt practices in both public and corporate sectors. But there is requirement for support and protection of whistle blowers. Therefore, in this connection it becomes crucial to understand the concept of whistle blowing. The present study makes use of the data obtained from both primary and secondary sources. For secondary sources, a large number of articles published in reputed research journals, books, newspaper, websites and notifications etc. The primary data collected through the questionnaire has been analyzed using appropriate statistical tools. The close ended questionnaire includes statements about the opinions of the respondents and was rated on a 5-point Likert scales ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. A significant level of 5% has been used for the purpose of analysis in the present study. The findings from the study provide insights into the perception of those working in various organizations about whistle blowing and that how various demographic characteristics affect their whistle blowing intentions. Further, this study is consistent with the recent steps being taken by the government and regulators to ensure the existence of a sound whistle blowing policy in every organisation for its effective management.

Results & Discussion

The perception of the respondents about the concept of whistle blowing has been tested to find out how this policy is being perceived by the employees.

Socio-economic Profile of Respondents

Table 1 highlights the socio-demographic profile of the 120 respondents on the basis of gender, age, type of education, year of service and annual salary package. The effect of these demographic variables has been checked on their perception about whistle blowing. The sample comprised of 58.3 percent Male and 41.7 percent of females. 67.5 percent of the respondents were married. Majority of the respondent falls in the age group between 30-45 years (44.2%).

Table 1 Socio-demographic Profile of Respondents

Demographic Variables	Category	Frequency	
		Count	Percentage
Gender	Male	70	58.3
	Female	50	41.7
	Total	120	100
Marital Status	Single	39	32.5
	Married	81	67.5
	Total	120	100
Age	Less than 30	34	28.3
	30-45	53	44.2
	Above 45	33	27.5
	Total	120	100
Educational Qualification	Up to 12th	24	20.0
	Graduation	49	40.8
	Post Graduation	28	23.4
	Doctorate & above	19	15.8
	Total	120	100
Length of Service	0-5 Years	56	46.7
	6-10 Years	40	33.3
	11-15 Years	11	10.8
	More than 15 Years	13	9.2
	Total	120	100
Annual Salary	Up to Rs 5,00,000	48	40.0
	5,00,000-10,00,000	56	46.7
	Above 10,00,000	16	13.3
	Total	120	100

Source: Primary Probe

As far as educational qualification of the respondents has been concerned, 40.8 percent of the respondents were graduate whereas 15.8 percent of the respondents were doctorate and above. Similarly, on the basis of years of service, the sample comprises of 46.7% employees who have been serving for up to 5 years, followed by employees falling in 6-10 years of service (333.3%), and 10.8% having 11-15 years of experience while 9.2% of the total sample have been working for more than 15 years.

Table2: Perception Regarding Effectiveness of Whistle Blowing Policy

The perception of the respondents about the whistle blowing policy was tested to find out how this policy is being perceived by the employees. Table 2 represents the results of perceptions of respondents about the effectiveness of the Whistle Blowing Policy.

TABLE .2

Demographic Variables	Mean Score		P-Value
Gender	Male	4.025	0.073
	Female	4.100	
Educational Level	Academicians	4.059	0.528
	Professionals	4.038	
Age	Less than 30	4.171	0.004
	30-40	4.048	
	40-50	3.958	
	Above 50	4.077	
Length of Service	Up to 3 Years	4.160	0.000
	3-5	3.945	
	5-7	4.040	
	More than 7 years	4.015	
Annual Salary	Less than 3,00,000	4.173	0.002
	3,00,000-5,00,000	4.022	
	5,00,000-7,00,000	4.075	
	Above 7,00,000	3.925	

Source: Primary Probe

It has been analyzed from the table 2 that there exist no significant difference in the perception about the effectiveness of Whistle blowing policy on the basis of Gender and Education of the respondents. On the basis of age, length of service and annual salary package of the respondents, the results of the one-way ANOVA reveal that there exists a significant difference among the respondents with respect to the perception about the effectiveness of Whistle blowing policy. It is also worth noting that the mean score is high for young respondents as compared to older ones.

Table 3: Factors Encouraging Whistle Blowing

An analysis has been done to find out how each of these factors (stimulator and preventers) differs among respondents on the basis of demographic variables. It has been analyzed that there is no symmetry in the factors that encourage whistle-blowing intentions of respondents on the basis of their gender, age, length of service and annual salary.

TABLE-3

	Gender	Age	Length of Service	Salary
Factors	**P-value**	**P-value**	**P-value**	**P-value**
Anonymity	0.211	0.121	.001*	.021*
Severity of the incident	0.245	.030*	.000*	0.055
Positive perception of the whistle blowing	.014*	.000*	.000*	.000*
Protection from reprisal	.012*	.005*	.006*	.016*
Personal conflict of interest	0.889	0.573	.005*	0.155
Monetary reward	.011*	.008*	.002*	0.014*
Encouraging ethical behaviour	.023*	0.618	.000*	0.000*
Unfair working conditions	.007*	.0463	.000*	0.235
Job security	.704	.000*	0.116	0.156
Job Satisfaction	.002*	0.92	.001*	.000*

Source: Primary Probe

*The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

It can be revealed from the Table 3 that male and female do not differ significantly in their perception of Anonymity, Severity of the incident, Personal conflict of interest and Job Satisfaction. However, there exists a significant difference among different age groups regarding Severity of the incident, Positive perception of the whistle blowing, Protection from reprisal, Monetary reward and Job security. Further, the results reveal that there is a significant difference among various years of service groups in the perception of job security. The results also shows that there is no significant difference among annual salary groups in the perception of factors such as; Anonymity, Positive perception of the whistle blowing, Protection from reprisal, Monetary reward, Encouraging ethical behavior and Job satisfaction.

Table 4: Perception Regarding Factors Encouraging Whistle Blowing Policy

The perception of the respondents regarding the factors encouraging whistle blowing was tested to find out how employees perceive these factors as stimulators that encourage them to undertake whistle blowing. The factors include; wrongdoing characteristics, contextual variables, personality variables and organizational characteristics.

TABLE- 4

Demographic Variables	**Mean Score**		**P-Value**
Gender	Male	4.439	0.038*
	Female	4.567	
Educational Level	Academicians	4.458	0.075
	Professionals	4.549	
Age	Less than 30	4.596	0.015*
	30-40	4.513	
	40-50	4.346	
	Above 50	4.322	
Length of Service	Up to 3 Years	4.640	0.000*
	3-5	4.372	
	5-7	4.306	
	More than 7 years	4.607	
Annual Salary	Less than 3,00,000	4.623	0.050*
	3,00,000-5,00,000	4.447	
	5,00,000-7,00,000	4.511	
	Above 7,00,000	4.355	

Source: Primary Probe

*The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 4 shows that there exists a statically significant difference in the perception of factors encouraging whistle blowing on the basis of gender, age, length of service, age and annual salary package of the respondent. Further, it was found that there is no significant difference about factors encouraging whistle blowing on the basis of education of the respondents.

Table 5: Factors Discouraging Whistle Blowing

An analysis has been done to find out the factors that discourage whistle-blowing intentions of respondents on the basis of certain demographic variables.

TABLE- 5

Factors	Gender	Age	Length of Service	Salary
	P-value	P-value	P-value	P-value
Long term impact on organization	001*	0.121	0.013*	.021*
Negative publicity	.000*	0.535	.000*	.000*
Social obligations	0.51	0.236	0.074	.005*
Internal control system	0.393	.005*	.006*	0.573
Possibility of loss of job	0.155	0.573	0.196	.008*
Demotion	0.014*	.008*	.002*	.000*
Monetary Loss	0.000*	0.009*	0.000*	0.000*
Dismissal of whistle blower	0.086	.0463	.000*	0.235
Retaliation from wrongdoer	0.156	.020*	0.116	0.156
Fear from Media	0.258	0.033*	.001*	.000*

Source: Primary Probe

*The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

It has been analyzed that male and female respondents do not differ significantly in their perception of factors like Long term impact on organization, Negative publicity, Demotion and Monetary Loss. It can be seen that there is no significant difference among various respondents on the basis of their age in the perception of factors like Internal control system, Demotion, Monetary Loss, Retaliation from wrongdoer and Fear from Media. However, on the basis of length of service there is a significant difference on certain factors like Social obligations, Possibility of loss of job and Retaliation from wrongdoer. On the basis of salary employees have different opinion as far as Internal control system, Dismissal of whistle blower and Retaliation from wrongdoer factors are concerned.

Table 6:Perception Regarding Factors Discouraging Whistle Blowing Policy

The perception of the respondents regarding the factors discouraging whistle blowing was tested to find out how employees perceive these factors as preventers that discourage them to undertake whistle blowing. Three main factors which have been identified are fear of retaliation, victimization and publicity

TABLE- 6

Demographic Variables	Mean Score		P-Value
Gender	Male	4.472	0.000*
	Female	4.673	
Educational Level	Academicians	4.602	0.004*
	Professionals	4.415	
Age	Less than 30	4.669	0.058
	30-40	4.565	
	40-50	4.484	
	Above 50	4.383	
Length of Service	Up to 3 Years	4.647	0.003*
	3-5	4.557	
	5-7	4.346	
	More than 7 years	4.368	
Annual Salary	Less than 3,00,000	4.729	0.001*
	3,00,000-5,00,000	4.566	
	5,00,000-7,00,000	4.519	
	Above 7,00,000	4.284	

Source: Primary Probe

*The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 6 shows that there exists a significant difference in the perception about factors discouraging whistle blowing on the basis of gender, type of education, length of service and annual salary package.Further, the study reveals that there exists no significant difference among the age groups with respect to the perception about the factors discouraging whistle blowing.

Table 7:Perception Regarding Recommendations for Effective Whistle Blowing Policy

The perception of the respondentsregarding the various recommendations for making effective whistle blowing policy has been tested on the basis of various demographic variables and it has been revealed that there is no significant difference in the perception of respondents on the basis of their type of education, age, years of service and annual salary package.

TABLE- 7

Demographic Variables	Mean Score		P-Value
Gender	Male	4.927	0.011*
	Female	5.106	
Educational Level	Academicians	4.952	0.056
	Professionals	4.083	
Age	Less than 30	5.026	0.545
	30-40	5.034	
	40-50	4.933	
	Above 50	4.919	
Length of Service	Up to 3 Years	5.070	0.218
	3-5	4.926	
	5-7	4.919	
	More than 7 years	4.058	
Annual Salary	Less than 3,00,000	4.058	0.12
	3,00,000-5,00,000	5.047	
	5,00,000-7,00,000	4.909	
	Above 7,00,000	5.096	

Source: Primary Probe

*The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Further, on the basis of hypothesis testing it can be deducted that whistle blowing intentions of females are more likely to be increased by these stimulators and are more likely to be reduced by these preventers.

Conclusion:

The perception with regard to effectiveness of the whistle blowing policy differs on the basis of the demographic profiles of the respondents. Young, short tenured and employees with lower incomes are more appreciative of such an short tenured and employees with lower incomes are more appreciative of such an enactment which will promote transparency and ethics, may reduce the risk of retaliation and lead to termination of wrongdoings which they directly may not effect due to lesser power possessed by them. On the other hand, older and long serving employees are not highly positive about the Whistle Blowing policy as it does not provide any real protection because of the absence of anonymity and definition of victimization. The result suggest that there is a need to make people aware of the importance of whistle blowing and how to avoid reprisal as its consequence efforts need to be made to make the employees practice whistle blowing in the greater interest of the society without fearing the consequences that follow. Every organization should develop a sound whistle blowing mechanism which will encourage all employees in the organization and steps should be taken to effectively communicate the whistle blowing policy across all levels of the organization. Whistle blowing would not only help to reduce white-collar crime but also to deter the collapse of the organization which is detrimental to the society and country.

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BOOK REVIEW

Harish K. Thakur 2020. *Tribes of Ladakh: The Beda Estrangement and Survival*. New Delhi: Khama Publishers.

Abha Chauhan Khimta

Studies on tribes of India are abundant now. However, the tribes, who constitute about 8.6 % of Indian population spread over 18 states, have attracted attention differently. For example an enormous bulk of literature exists on tribes of North-East, Orissa, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh but the tribes of North-West India have not received that much attention. The literature on the tribes of Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh is also insignificant.

The earliest studies on tribes could be traced to the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. The earlier notable works are Edward Tuite Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872), H.B. Rowney, *Wild Tribes of India* , London 1882. Herbert Hope Risley's *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (1891), Edgar Thurston and K. Rangachari's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (1909), P.R.T. Gurdon's *The Khasis*. London: Macmillan & Co. 1914; Robert V. Russell and R B Lal's *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* (1916) and G S Ghurye's *The Aborigines "So Called" and Their Future* (1943) and D.N. Mazumdar and T.N. Madan's *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, Asia Publishing House (P) Ltd. Bombay Calcutta, Etc. 1956. Later on anthropologists like Elwin Verrier, K.S. Singh, B.K. Ray Burman, Sachidnanad, Vidyarthy, R.S. Mann and Virginius Xaxa also contributed significantly o the studies on tribes of India. The Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir Scheduled Tribes Order was issued as late as in 1989 that declared 12 tribes in the state i.e. Balti, Beda, Bot, Boto, Brokpa, Changpa, Garra, Mon, Purigpa, Gujjar, Bakarwal, Gaddi and Sippi. While the inclusion of the tribes was quite late as compared to the rest of the states due to special status under article 370 there were not much studies done on the tribes and backward groups of the states earlier except the volumes of K. S. Singh in 1971.

The study employed a comprehensive, structured household questionnaire for collecting data. This included focus group discussions and interviews with household heads, students, instrumentalists and old aged members of the family. Ladakh offers fertile issues of discussion and study for historians, sociologists,

Dr. Abha Chauhan Khimta, *Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, H.P. University, Shimla-171005.*

social anthropologists, economists, health and environment activists and political commentators on account of different reasons. Ladakh has startled the world over its mammoth vast expanse of barren landscapes, lofty mountain ranges, myriad coloured topography, frightening climate and above all strategic location. It is strategically of great significance for the states that share territorial connection with it. It conjoins the ever sensitive borders between India and China, India and Pakistan and the territories of Tajikistan too are not far from the borderline of Ladakh. Before its capture by China in 1950 it remained part of Tibet and its cultural flourishing derived a lot for centuries from the capital of Lhasa. If viewed from the point of human development index the people of the region are significantly underdeveloped and deprived. Contrary to the benefits expected from the special status of the state under article 370, the article proved to be a hurdle in the extension of the Scheduled Tribe status to the people inhabiting the remote areas and leading a poor, nomadic or isolated life. This was done quite late by the government of India in 1989.

The tribes in Ladakh have over the centuries undergone stages of unplanned developments and exploitation of natural resources which have resulted in several problems at social and economic levels. Even the planned efforts lacked, at times, the deeper insights of tribal life and hence, did not produce the desired results. Consequently, a large number of tribes are losing their identity, traditionality and distinctivity and are at the verge of extinction. *The Tribes of Ladakh: The Beda Estrangement and Survival* is a volume that offers some deeper insights in to the tribal life of Ladakh especially the Beda.

While the territorial neglect of remote areas has been one dimension of the tribal people the intra-tribal relations and group identities have their own zones of conflicts and cooperation. The author observes that the concentration of different tribal groups in a particular region leads to the processes of assimilation, integration or social exclusion of the weaker groups by the dominant ones. Social exclusion or marginalization of a group is the social disadvantage and relegation to the fringe of society. In this process the disadvantaged people are denied access to government resources by the ruling elite mostly controlled by the dominant groups. Alienation or disenfranchisement resulting from social exclusion can be connected to a person ís social class, race, skin colour, religious affiliation, ethnic origin, educational status, childhood relationships, living standards, and or political opinions, and appearance.

The society in Ladakh too offers some critical issues to be explored on account of these theories. Beda is one such tribe of Ladakh which has witnessed a drastic dilution over the decades. The Census of India Report 1931 registered about 400

Beda while their number got reduced to 319 in 1991 and a meagre 200 according to the Census report of 2001. In 2011 they numbered 420 only. Beda is a small community of Ladakh known for its musical performances and begging to earn livelihood. They normally play on Surna (flute), Daff (a one sided drum) and Daman (twin drums) to entertain people and make earnings. The social apathy and continuous neglect of Beda has forced them to opt for better sources of livelihood. Most of them are now deviating from their traditional occupation and customs because of different reasons. Today the community of Beda is largely scattered over the territories of Ladakh region of Union Territory of Ladakh and some areas of Himachal Pradesh, the state considered to be the actual home of the tribe. The current study largely focuses on the prime factors behind the Beda estrangement and consequent reduction in the total number of the tribe. There is no literature available on Beda tribe except few small papers, hence the task of collecting first hand information has been a challenging one. However, the ever docile and cooperative Ladakhis made the job of field investigations easy against the oddities of climate and geography. It also endeavours at finding out the ways and the means to address the chief issues related with the tribe so that a better, prosperous future could be ascertained to the community. The book is divisible into five chapters. The introductory chapter introduces the nature of the problem, the research methodology, the study area and a brief discussion of some significant works over the problem under study. The second chapter provides a historical description of the land and the territory of Ladakh and Jammu & Kashmir. The society, culture and economy of the Beda is also discussed in this chapter. Third chapter examines the socio-economic, religious, cultural and political factors behind the Beda estrangement, cultural decline and numerical reduction. Application of Factor Analysis and preferential statement of chief variables regarding the Beda alienation and decline are discussed in fourth chapter. The last chapter presents the findings of the study and registers certain recommendations in the belief that they would be carried to the concerned authorities for consideration so that the problems of the Beda could be addressed.

The study underlines the dichotomy between the Beda adherence to their culture, traditions, values and festivals and the affirmation of the change in their current habits and practices. This is noteworthy that in the changed global scenario Beda people still cherish their customs, cultural values and occupation and herein lies the significance of a people struggling to survive against the oddities of time. They deserve special attention from the state so that their separate identity and cultural heritage could be protected. The fear of loss of identity, cultural values and traditions further aggravates as majority of the Beda admit that the social structure of the region is undergoing change. It ís not necessarily *Sanskritization* since it occurs within a system of belief or religion rather the gradual waning away of the numbers of the tribe in search of better or dignified social status, which the researcher noticed was not even available in Islam for them. The marginalization of the Beda people from the social order has forced them to seek alternate ways to earn dignified place in the society. The prime reason which has led to the dilution in number of Beda people seems to be the change of faith of the members from Buddhist social order which is discriminatory to the Islamic one that offers more equality and consequently a better dignified place in the society.

It is unfortunate, notes the author, that the Buddhists refuse to relax the social distances even after the consistent appeals by Dalai Lama which further alienates Beda. The situation is just akin to the Indian dalits who, even after promulgation of end of discrimination and untouchability still face the same in their daily lives. The low placement of the Beda people, by the higher social order and the non-acceptance of the Beda on egalitarian basis at different social, economic, political and religio-cultural levels has led to the Beda estrangement from the larger order and disenchantment from the whole system. The occupational deviation is but natural when a plethora of new avenues open up in front of a comparatively literate people who want to achieve better standards of life and a dignified place in the social order. While the social change is a process of all the times the advent of modernization forces, industrialization and communication revolution penetrate deeper into the societal veins and more the people become literate and exposed to the outer world more they open up from the barriers of traditionality and conventions to adopt newer values and versions of life.

Since Globalization annihilates localism and culture of closed societies it endangers the very existence of tribes and remotely inhabited autonomous cultural groups which have sustained through centuries with their close relationship with geography and environment. Globalization not merely marginalises people but unleashes a multifarious assault on the very roots of the indigenous people. It annihilates the rich cultural heritage and values, indigenous knowledge, customs, traditions, occupations and myriad ways of livelihood which are mostly associated with nature, geography and forests brought forward by members through centuries.

Economic reasons are found mostly at the root of social problems. They not only cause social disorder and structural derangement but an utter chaos too leading to the reformulation of lines of social mappings. Most of the revolutions were the outcome of such causes. However, the change always need not be revolutionary or instantaneous rather it occurs, at times, gradually for years and decades, even centuries. Many groups deliberately do away with their traditonality to the extent it falls as a hurdle in between their current status on the one hand and development and advancement on the other. This seems to be true about Beda too who are disinterested in their traditional occupation since it doesn't fetch much monetarily. Many of them had been doing kuligiri (labour work) with construction companies or army that help them earn more. Lack of government jobs on permanent basis is another area of complaint for Beda and they regard unemployment as one of the major reasons behind decline of their traditional role and culture.

The fusion of the east and the west has led to the creation of several novel instruments representing the fineness of the hybridity of the instruments and modernity of sound thus affecting the habits of audience too. Many of the Beda today perform in hotels and restaurants and have opted for better instruments like sexophones, clarionets, trumpets etc. against Surna, Dhaff and Dhol. This is because of the altered demands of the tourists and visitors. The wide array of tourist arrivals in Ladakh especially foreigners look for modern performances and it is not necessary that the Beda performers are always welcome. It doesn't bring adequate money to sustain their livelihood. Beda Dhap and Surna players have been marginalised by the performers of the modern instruments like Tabla, Guitar, Dholak, Harmonium, Sexaphone, Trumpets and Clarionets etc. and Beda people no more get regular work at hotels and clubs as they used to get earlier. The hotel jobs are cornered by those few Beda or Mon players who are also able to play upon the modern instruments. The impact of the modern means and changed taste of the tourists has definitely worked upon the income sources of the Beda people. They are still the prime players at social, cultural and religious functions where certain rituals, hymns and songs are traditionally associated with Beda community.

One factor that speaks of Beda decline in number is low fertility rate. Census Report of 2011 shows that the number of Beda tribe has decreased dramatically to 420. Low fertility rate seems to be one cause behind the lower population growth rate. However, the study reveals that all the respondents have denied the argument that decline in their population is on account of low fertility rate. But at the same time they admit that mortality rate is more since they lack proper dwellings and nomadic hardships of life. The study has something more to reveal. Census reports apart which declare Beda population about 420 by 2011, the actual number of Beda population may exceed even 800 which is based on field engagements of the author and team. The anomaly might have crept due to the nomadic nature of the tribe which keeps them unavailable to the census officials too.

The author strongly recommends that the Beda should be encouraged to get their wards registered in schools which could be achieved by effectively utilizing different scholarship schemes, provision of free uniforms and mid-day meals to children. Education should be made free till the matric level to remove the financial burden of the parents. Modern day education has felt the need of its linking up with vocations, career and job opportunities. This has been part of our national education policy. Different long and short term career oriented courses (diplomas and certificates) should be introduced according to the actual requirements of the state in general and region in particular. The fee structure should be liberalized to promote the access of the community in educational stream. They also need to be made aware of different tribal welfare programs and schemes through school and college education. Governmental services in India have earned the reputation of being the prime factor behind the socio-economic and political development of people. A government servant not only works as the chief source of livelihood of a household and a link between the political system and the citizenry in general but also as a significant agent in the socio-economic-politico development matrix. The inclusion of marginalized people, especially of an area that carries a strategic importance, becomes more significant on account of national development and security. In order to safeguard the cultural heritage of the Beda and check the gradual extinction of the tribe it is strongly recommended that at least one member of every Beda household (the total number of posts required may not exceed 100) should be ensured in a governmental or semi-governmental job. This is the first genuine demand of the Beda that they should be provided government jobs or jobs in army so that they don't have to struggle from village to village in search of livelihood. Similarly jobs regarding Beda music and practices could be reserved in the departments of Youth and Services, Cultural Affairs, Information and Broadcasting, Drama Divisions, Radio Stations, Public Relations etc. The distribution of land to the landless Beda would bring greater relief to the community and if the measures are taken seriously the existential crisis of the community could be duly met.

Ashu Pasricha (ed.), *Sustainable Development, Gandhian Legacy and 21st Century Challenges.* SLM Publishers. Patiala. 2020, pp. 552.

Joginder S. Saklani

Sustainable development is the possibility that human social orders should live and address their issues without compromising the capacity of people in the future to address their own issues. ... In particular, sustainable development is a way of organising society with the goal that it can exist in the long haul. Considering early the dangerous results of modern western development on the inevitable destiny of humanity, Gandhiji in his sly perfection, Hind Swaraj published in 1908 uncovered the difficulty and irrelevance of present-day western development and the materialistic perspective it propounded in presenting an empathetic world order and civilization. Gandhian critique of modern industrialism, technology, centralization of political and economic power and value free way of life involves the fundamental premises of the Gandhian concept of sustainable development. The spiritualistic perspective advanced by Gandhiji investigated the essential premises of the sustainability of the lifestyle and life vision developed in the present-day cultures established in the materialistic perspective that has trusts in limitless development, contest and individualism. The lifestyle and life vision that Gandhiji rehearsed himself and he tried to advance in all domains of socio-economic and cultural life constitute the future sustainability model to address the 21st century difficulties of violence, environmental misfortune, religious enmity and conflict, and in developing global alternatives.

The present volume of the author Ashu Pasricha purported to review the present global initiatives in addressing the adverse repercussions of the modern industrialism on nature, in the way of life of humans with the objective of identifying the limitations these efforts are confronted with. The book further seeks to evaluate the concept of sustainable development as visualized, promoted and practiced by government and global institutions in the wider settings of Gandhian vision of human sustainability and its legacy. The major focus of the book is on examining the feasibility and practical relevance of Gandhian vision and mission of human sustainability in the context of scientifically validated irrelevance of modern western developmentalism in its two forms of capitalism and communism in achieving human sustainability and in promoting human welfare. The book also examines the relevance of the

Joginder S. Saklani, *Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, ICDEOL, HP University, Shimla, H.P.*

Wisdom Tradition of India from where Gandhiji ever drew insight and strength for his life mission with the objective of shedding new light in resolving the human predicament that recedes solutions.

The book is divided into the four main related themes. For the First Part main focus is on Revisiting Modern Developmentalism. Harish Thakur, Ghanshyam Dev, Suresh, Kanika Sharma highlighted that 'Gandhism' as a body of ideas is primarily associated with truth and non-violence but it has economic dimension too that differentiates it from liberal capitalist school and socialism alike. *Swadeshi was the economic foundation of Indian nationalism.* Ashu Pasricha in her paper highlighted that *the developmental state stays one of the main perspectives, both analytical and political, for the individuals who reject the current neoliberal global order.* The third way arose from the internal developments within the hearts.

Vaishali Jain, *Sanjeev Sharma* has mentioned that *Globalization is a process that has embodied the transformation of world in terms of economic, social and cultural, an instrument in flow of capital and ideas, a linkage between people, organizations and nations. Unprecedented changes in technology, open borders have made the world more interdependent and integrated.* While Alok Tandon explored the normative and conceptual context of the modern framework in order to determine whether the concept of sustainability fits into freedom dominated framework. Monica Bedi and Pooja Chopra in their joint paper *provided a basic understanding of the relationship between marketing and sustainable development by examining the implications of sustainability for marketing.*

Second part of the book dealt with Ecology, Sustainable Development and Gandhian Legacy. Rajesh Kumar Chander, *Kusum Solonky* and Richa Singh argued in their papers that Gandhiji's vision to the contemporary discourse on the environment conservation with a gendered lens that the model of environmental governance be able to ensure gender equality for women in the Indian society. Gandhi'*s vision of women cannot be dismissed as problematic nor can he be equated with someone who advocated equality of the genders unequivocally.*

Anshul Jain, Anamika Girdhar, Satbir Yadav, Supreet Kaur in their papers highlighted that n*atural maintainability is the most consuming issue with which each one of us is connected intently. Ecological Sustainability intends to manage capacity, both the capacity of the earth to recover and the capacity of individuals to hold control over their living conditions.*

Ashu Pasricha in her another research paper highlighted that even after fifty years of progress in different fields economic, industrial, scientific, educational it is doubtful if we are moving towards creation of a just society, a happy society, a good society. The promises of the 'tryst with the destiny' and the dreams of prosperity, social wellbeing and human happiness are proving to be false.

Ms. Pratiyogita and Neeta Rani both focused on the strength of democracy and water respectively which are an important component of sustainable development. *Countries with acute water deficiency along with its poor quality bring negative impacts affecting their water security. It hampers livelihood of the people.*

Mr. Tashi Namgyal in his paper gives a brief review of the important initiatives made during over last 100 years to pursue the objective of sanitation, including its hygienic, social and economic aspects, in India. *Swachh Bharat Abhiyan*, inspired by the Gandhian movement for sanitation itself, comes as a message of hope and a very timely initiative taken by the Government of India. The first set of goals of the Swachh Bharat mission rightly cover provision of toilets in every home and in public places and treatment of human waste, wastewater and refuse.

The Third part of the book focused on Gandhi in the 21st Century Challenges and Emerging Alternatives. Mr. Priyavart Sharma emphasised in his paper that a*ccording to Gandhi, Education was a means to achieve perfection of individuality on the one hand and an instrument of service to the nation on the other. While* Vijay Srivastava and Ms. Shobhita Srivastava in their joint paper explored the Gandhian idea of democratic decentralization in Vinoba's and J.P's political philosophy with the special focus of historical development of panchayati raj and 'Gramdaan' and 'Bhoodan' movement and Manoj Rajan highlighted in his paper that Gandhi was a great leader, a saint and a great social reformer. He was pious, truthful and religious. He believed in simple living and high thinking.

Abha Chauhan Khimta highlighted that over the decades the life and teachings of mahatma became focus of the academia and a shift was observed over the discussions on Gandhi from his political achievements to the theoretical contributions. She explained with the help of Gandhi's 19-point Constructive Programme which became his framework for the new India he wished to see after Swaraj.

Fourth part of the book dealt with Human Security and Non-Violent Movements after Gandhi. Seema Malhotra in her paper highlighted that human security organizes non-military strategies as a method for accomplishing security without bargaining the needs agreed to conventional security dangers. It requires the satisfaction of individuals' fundamental needs and rights. She further said, fearlessness, great discipline and ready willingness to die in their respective causes are essential requirements for both types of warriors. “He who fears fails” Gandhi affirmed, adding “Better far than cowardice is killing and being killed in battle.” Gandhi's approach, both to national and international security was rooted in his principles of Truth and Nonviolence and his fundamental belief that “the dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law, that of the spirit…and the mankind has to get out of violence through non-violence” He often quoted the Bhagavad Gita's injunction 'Satyanasti paro Dharma' (there is no greater duty than adherence to truth) and affirmed “peace will come when truth is pursued, and truth implies justice”

Parveen Kumar in his paper highlighted the issue of Food Security by highlighting that India has made quick walks in improving rates of under-and ailing health while Krishan Kumar and Mr. Manish Kumar in their paper highlighted another important issue on human security by saying that in the present-day world community, the term 'terrorism' has drawn the attention of all people across the world. It is because of its deep-rooted effect on the social set up. Lastly, Ranjan Garg in her paper focused on the current situation and said that the moment a child takes birth, his/her search for security begins.

The current book by Ashu Pasricha is an interesting to read as it covers the mission of human sustainability in the context of attaining and promoting human welfare. The work would provide a significant reading to the students, scholars and others interested in sustainable development studies and Gandhian Legacy.

HIMACHAL PRADESH UNIVERSITY JOURNAL (Humanities and Social Sciences)
ISSN : 2277-1425; e-ISSN: 2277-1433

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- Multiple authors: (Singh 1996: 56–58; Sharma and Rawat 2010; Almond, Easton and Boltz 2008; Wilson 2012)
- Within a sentence: As Berkley (2003: 33) observes…

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References should be given alphabetically based on the last name of the first author. The use of "et al." in references is not allowed. For accepted but not yet published materials use "Forthcoming" in place of the date. For unpublished works like raw manuscripts, dissertations, papers etc. cite the date and place where the document is available or presented. In case of non-availability of the date, use "n.d." in place of the date. The data sets references may include a persistent identifier, such as a Digital Object Identifier (DOI), if possible.

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Harish K. Thakur
Editor HPUJ
Department of Political Science,
Himachal Pradesh University,
Shimla, H.P. India – 171005.
Mob: 94180-08900.

Published by:
Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla-5

Printed by:
Design India, Power House, New Totu, Shimla-171 011
Mob.:93180-17070, 82190-58913