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Book Review

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's Economic and Political Vision for Independent India

Hari Mohan Sharma

ABSTRACT

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose played a prominent role in India's independence movement and political life after 1930. It is true that his efforts, role and contributions were not duly recognized by the Indian state in the post-independence time period. But he was one of the few most influential and fearless leaders of the time who was not only striving hard for India's complete independence by all means; but was also carrying a long term vision for India's future. He was immensely popular and holds a lot of influence due to the trust that he has earned through his resolute commitment and upright personality.The legacy of Bose is largely understood in the context of his efforts for India's freedom. He ceaselessly worked and collaborated with all the like-minded people and forces to liberate India. But, his long-term vision for an independent India was largely ignored or somehow couldn't get that much attention and recognition. The present study focuses on some of the aspects of his economic and political vision for post-independent India.

Key Words: Netaji, Economic Vision, Cooperative Federalism, Nationalism

Bose was an extremely popular leader throughout the freedom struggle of India. During the 'Gandhian phase' twice Bose was elected as the president of the Indian National Congress, the most prominent political force against the British raj at that time. He has no highest ideals attached and his only commitment was for the freedom of India. He tried to secure the support of two most powerful Axis powers- Japan and Germany both before and during the Second World War against their common enemy, the British. During the last two years of the war Japanese gave considerable support to Subhash Chandra Bose's efforts and mission of the Indian National Army (INA) to liberate India.

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Netaji was a very well-read person and his biography unfolds his unflinching zeal to learn, his ideological leanings, influences of various personalities and events that have shaped the destiny of states. He was deeply influenced by his parents and Beni Madhab Das who was the Headmaster of Revenshaw Collegiate School. Among all others the philosophy and teachings of Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Aurobindo Ghosh and the contributions of C.R. Das, Lenin, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, De Valera, Joseph Mezzini, Count Cavour, Garibaldi etc. shaped his political thoughts. He was also influenced by the freedom movements of other states such as the American War of Independence, Italian struggle for liberation and unification, liberation struggle in Czechoslovakia and Irish struggle for freedom (Roy, 2004, p. 1).

Bose was not attached to any popular ideological categorization and his ideas and action represent a fusion of opposing ideological camps. He represents a unique blend of authoritarianism and socialism. The convergence point of his ideological orientation revolves around nationalism, India's freedom and the well-being of its people. Many a time he has been opposed for becoming an ally of Axis powers; but do we really have any stakes in the ideological or political battle of dominance of the Imperialist powers? Probably, that was the guiding force behind Netaji to choose his allies in its battle for freedom. Politically, personal loss, gains or ego hardly affect his larger political goal or actions and that's the reason why he left the Congress party due to his differences with its tallest leader, Mahatama Gandhi and his followers. He left the Congress party at the peak of his popularity within and outside party ranks that establishes him as a great leader. In a conversation with Sucheta Mahajan Netaji's daughter Anita Bose Pfaff said, "A little known fact is that despite the differences of opinion between Gandhiji and Netaji, my father had the highest regard for Gandhiji throughout; and it was he, after all who later named Gandhiji 'Father of the Nation'. Even when my father was in Europe and involved with different activities, he was always keen to know how Gandhi would react. My mother very often said, 'Why do you care, he did not really treat you all that well'. But for my father he was obviously very important." (Pfaff & Mahajan 2013).

The Indian National Congress was also in dilemma whether to endorse or reject the path and means adopted by Netaji for India's freedom. Nirad C. Chaudhury has aptly underlined the Congress impasse, "For the Congress, too, the outlook would have been unpleasant. If abandonment of the cause of Bose would have invited political suicide, a decision by the Congress to champion him would not have led to anything better, since it would have ensured a relatively minor role in the new order for the Gandhi-Nehru leadership and the principles which it represented. Bose could have dictated his own terms, which, initially at any rate, the Congress would have had to accept" (Chaudhuri, 1953).

Netaji was not only concerned about India's freedom but he was carrying a long-term vision for India's unity, polity, economy, society and national security. Once India will attain freedom the goal should be how to rebuild a modern nation based on highest ideals of a strong state through dynamic patriotism. He acknowledged India's cultural diversity believes in its composite culture. The nature and organization of Azad Hind Fauz can be an excellent example of it that embodies people belonging to different religious and linguistic groups, caste, gender, regions, ethnicities etc. yet they're united as one under his dynamic leadership guided by the common mission of throwing the Britishers out of India and reclaim India's lost freedom and glory. He was able to mobilize and inspire them not just by words but also by his deeds. He busted the myths surrounding the society, clarified the doubts, gave an objective to people, provided them leadership and long-term vision to strive for after India's independence.

Economic Vision

Netaji was known for initiating economic planning in India. Netaji's roadmap for Indian economy comprised a rich legacy of ideas, ideals and dreams for a free India and how to shape up the society, economy and governance of post-colonial India.(2022) The blueprint of free India was outlined by Netaji in his presidential address at the Haripura session of the Indian National Congress in February 1938 itself. He envisaged the first task of the government of free India would be to set-up a 'National Planning Commission' to accelerate the task of national reconstruction and poverty alleviation. Netaji inaugurated the 'National Planning Committee' on December 17, 1938 and appointed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as its first its first chairman. Later in 1946, the National Planning Committee was succeeded by the Advisory Planning Board that was set up by the Interim Government. Subsequently in Free India, the Planning Commission was constituted in 1952 (Commission, 1997).

While delivering the presidential speech at the 51th session of Indian National Congress Party held at Haripura in February 1938 he said after India's independence, "the very first thing which our future national government will have to do would be to set up a commission for drawing up a comprehensive plan of reconstruction. This plan will have two parts- an immediate programme and a long-period programme. In drawing up the first part, the immediate objectives which will have to be kept in view will be three-fold- first, to prepare the country for self-sacrifice; secondly, to unify India; and thirdly, to give scope for local and cultural autonomy. The second and third objectives may appear to be contradictory, but they are not really so. Whatever political talent and genius we may possess as a people, will

have to be used in reconciling these two objectives" (Subhas Chandra Bose et al., 2009, p. 206).

Regarding the long-term programme for free India; the first problem will be how to tackle India's increasing population. Regarding reconstruction, Netaji believes that, "our principal problem will be how to eradicate poverty from our country. That will require a radical reform of our land system, including the abolition of landlordism. Agricultural indebtedness will have to be liquidated and provision made for cheap credit for the rural population. An extension of the co-operative movement will be necessary for the benefit of both producers and consumers. Agriculture will have to be put on a scientific basis with a view of increasing the yield from the land" (Subhas Chandra Bose et al., 2009, p. 207).

Bose also suggested that agricultural improvement will not be enough to deal with the economic problems. For that, he suggested a comprehensive scheme of industrial development under state ownerships and state control. The relevance and applicability of Bose's economic vision can be well understood through the economic model of Nehru implemented in the initial years after India's independence. Netaji bat for a new industrial system that will be built upon the old existing one, which has collapsed as a result of mass production abroad. It has proved to be disastrous for the rest of the world due to colonialism, imperialism and resultant conflicts and wars around the world. Domestically, in India, it failed because of alien foreign rule (Subhas Chandra Bose et al., 2009, p. 207).

Political Vision

Netaji's political vision was quite comprehensive in nature. He expressed his opinion regarding different ideologies, nature of political systems, Indian nationalism and its distinctiveness from the West, gender equality etc. Some his prominent political views are as follows:

Unconditional love for motherland

Subhash Chandra Bose was a true patriot who was ready to sacrifice anything and everything for the sake of its motherland. To him, India was not just a piece of land inhibited by people; rather it's a sacred place. He considered himself blessed to be born in India. He said that, "India is God's beloved land. He has been born in this great land in every age in the form of the savior of the enlightenment of the people, to get rid of this earth of sin and to establish riotousness and truth in every Indian heart. He has come into being in many countries in human form but not so many times in any other country- that is why I say, India, our motherland, is God's beloved land" (Subhas Chandra Bose et al., 2009, p. 17) .

Netaji believed that Indian civilization is unique in any senses. He argued that, "Civilizations grow in a cyclical fashion and each civilization has a certain span of life vouchsafed to it. The Indian civilization has been reborn over and over again at the end of each cycle and that is why India in spite of hoary antiquity is still young and fresh" (Subhas Chandra Bose et al., 2009, p. 82).

Democratic norms and polity are indigenous to India

Countering the charge of Western scholars that democracy and liberal political values are modern Westernized political ideas he argued that "Democracy by no means a western institution; it is human institution. Whenever man has attempted to evolve political institutions, he has hit upon this wonderful institution of democracy. The past the history of India is full of such examples of democratic institutions outlined beautifully by Mr. K. P. Jaiswal in his wonderful book 'Hindu Polity' that has given a reference of 81 republics in ancient India". Bose gave numerous examples of the existence of such institutions and practices in many parts of India, including among the Khasis of Assam where they have a custom to elect the ruling chief by a vote of the whole clan (Subhas Chandra Bose et al., 2009, p. 83).

Cooperative federalism and cultural autonomy in a centralized state

Netaji was a visionary political leader, who understands the political nuances of India society and numerous hurdles in the path of its emergence as a strong unified state. Way back in 1938 Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had foreseen the need for unifying India while giving scope for local autonomy. Knowing that India is culturally diverse, Netaji promoted cultural autonomy for the different linguistic areas. He strongly believed that the objective of unifying India through a strong centralized government would have to be adequately balanced. Referring to unity of India vis-a-vis scope for local and cultural autonomy, Netaji had said in his Haripura address: "These objectives may appear to be contradictory, but they are not really so. Whatever political talent or genius we may possess as a people, will have to be used in reconciling these two objectives.... While unifying the country through a strong Central Government, we shall have to put all minority communities as well as Provinces at their ease by allowing them large measure of autonomy in cultural as well as governmental affairs" (Subhas Chandra Bose et al., 2009, p. 12).

In defence of Indian Nationalism

Netaji was a staunch nationalist. He questioned the Western understanding of Indian nationalism and its criticisms. From the point of view of cultural nationalism, nationalism has been sometimes labelled as narrow, selfish and aggressive that act as a hindrence in the growth of internationalism in

domain of culture. Netaji gave a powerful rebuttal to this charge against Indian nationalism and argued that it is neither narrow, nor selfish or aggressive in nature. Rather, it is inspired by the highest ideals of the human race such as' *Satyam, Shivam, Sundaram'*. It has instilled truthfullness, honesty, manliness and the spirit of service and sacrifice among the Indian masses. It has given expression to the most creative faculties lying dormant in Indian people due to their subservient position. Nationalism has given a new lease of life that can even be termed as renaissance in the field of Indian art (Subhas Chandra Bose et al., 2009, p. 84).

Netaji also completely discarded the tirade of communists against Indian nationalism in the name of international labour or international communism. He said that, "this attack is not only ill-advised but unconsciously serves the interests of our alien rulers. It would be clear to the man in the street that before we can endeavour so reconstruct Indian society on a new basis, whether socialistic or otherwise, we should first secure the right to shape our own destiny. As long as India lies prostrate at the feet of Britain, that right will be denied to us. It is, therefore, the paramount duty not only of nationalists but anti nationalistic communists to bring about the political emancipation of India as early as possible" (Subhas Chandra Bose et al., 2009, p. 84).

Unlike many other leaders of Congress, Netaji want complete independence from the British. Netaji believes that the goal of India's freedom struggle he stood for an independent Federal Republic. "He further urged that India must fulfil her own destiny and cannot be contended with colonial self-government of dominion home rule status" (Subhas Chandra Bose et al., 2009, p. 85).

On Socialism

While delivering a speech at the All-India Naujawan Bharat Sabha at Karachi on March 5, 1931 Subhash Chandra Bose underlined his views regarding freedom and socio-economic equality. He said that he stood for "all round undiluted freedom". He expressed his desire for India to get political freedom, constitution of a separate Independent Indian state, free from the control of British imperialism. He further said that, "we want complete economic emancipation. Every human must have the right to work and the right to a living wage…there must be equal opportunities for all. Above all there should be a fair, just and equitable distribution of wealth". Highlighting his social views Netaji argued in favour of "complete social equality where there shall be no caste, no class. Every man will have the same rights-the same status in the society" (Subhas Chandra Bose et al., 2009, p. 113).

After the capture of political power, national reconstruction takes place in socialistic lines- as I have no doubt it will- it is the 'have-nots' who will benefit at the expanse of the 'haves' and the Indian masses have to be classified among the 'have-nots' (Subhas Chandra Bose et al., 2009, p. 203).

On gender equality and non-discrimination

Netaji imbibed the spirit and ideals of DeshbandhuChitaranjan and Swami Vivekanand regarding women emancipation and social status. He used to cite the examples of noble and scholarly women of ancient India. Bose wanted that woman should be given a very elevated position in the family and society. He believed in female emancipation in the true sense of the term and in liberating women from all shackles and artificial disabilities - social, economic and political. He exhorted that there must not be any discrimination on the ground of caste, race, sex, creed or wealth in free India. (Roy, 2004, p. 3) Netaji said that, "there shall be no inequality between the genders either in social status or in law and women will be in every way an equal partner with man" (Subhas Chandra Bose et al., 2009, p. 113).

Netaji forcefully endorsed the right to education for women. He spoke in favour of all-round education for women for which he formulated a recipe which included literacy, physical and vocational education or training on light Cottage Industries. He was also a supporter of widow remarriage and abolition of Purdah system (Roy, 2004, p. 3).

In one of her recent interviews his daughter Anita Bose Pfaff said that, "He was a champion of gender equality. His vision was to build a nation where men and women not only have the same rights but can also deliver same duties. It is on the women themselves to emancipate, women should win and they can win" ("Netaji Had Vision for Economic Strength of India, Was Champion of Gender Equality: Daughter," n.d.).

Conclusion

Carrying the vision of Netaji forward India has entered the 75th year of its independence and the entire country is celebrating it as 'Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav'. Recently, on the occasion of dedicating a grand statue of the iconic freedom fighter installed at the India Gate his daughter has remembered the legacy of Netaji. She said that, "Netaji lived, lives and will continue to live in the hearts of the Indian people. Though my father was a devout Hindu but he had respect for all religions, and he dreamt of an India where all religions coexist peacefully". ("Netaji Had Vision for Economic Strength of India, Was Champion of Gender Equality: Daughter," n.d.) Netaji's leadership was the cementing force which brought all Indians together to fight for India's freedom. Netaji set a living example of Indian National Army where people of different castes, religions, regions,

languages, ethnicity and gender came together under one slogan- the freedom of India. Today we have Netaji's shining example and inspiration to build a united India where not only the Hindu majority but all other communities can enjoy equal rights and opportunities under the constitution of India and no appeasement for any particular community. ("Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's Ideology Will Help Keep India United," n.d.) Netaji's vision for independent India kept on inspiring the younger generations to shape up the destiny of this great nation.

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Gandhi and Nai Talim: Assessing Gandhian influence on New Education Policy

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ABSTRACT

We have a new Education Policy (NEP) 2020 which proposes some significant changes in the Indian education system. Without doubt the policy bears the influence of Gandhian ideas about education manifested in the new *Nai Talim*. Current paper aims at underscoring the Gandhian influence on NEP and its future repercussions on the Indian educational system. How the new generation maintains a balance between the Gandhian values and the new technological flow is an interesting area to be examined and underlined.

Key words: New Education Policy, Gandhian Influence, Nai Talim.

New Education Policy (NEP) 2020 proposes changes in school education. The ideas resonate with Mahatma Gandhi's ideas of education (Nai Talim). It aimed at eliminating distinctions between academic and vocational streams, encouraging multilingualism, providing flexibility to students to opt for courses as per their choice and efforts to encourage participation of local community. The NEP aims at imparting 21st century skills to children in which creativity, scientific temper, multilingualism, social responsibility among others is important so that children evolve as engaged, productive and contributing citizens for building equitable, inclusive, and plural society as envisaged by our Constitution (Thakur, 2020). The young generation of today is a victim of an education that gives a scroll certifying him to be worthy of the market and fending for himself. They have become socially, morally, ethically and spiritually more adrift in the present globalized world. The paradox of such a calibration of a student's intellect is questionable in itself. The simple reason for such confusion is a disparity in the process of teaching. Issues like disparity in education and unemployment among the

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youth are a matter of real concern. Modernisation and globalisation has changed the life style of the youth in particular. Gandhi dreamt of an education system that would make the youth self reliant and not dependent on their employer. The present education system lack this quality and value in it. The current education system segregates and creates a big gap between public and private schooling. It is universally known that students educated from private schools are mostly comfortable placed in all spheres of life in comparison to those who have been educated in other simple schools. Healthy competition is always a good option but the present system of education is churning out competitors of uneven academic prowess (Ganguly, 2019,150).

The Gandhian principle of education may help resolve this kind of disparity to a large extent. Gandhi always aspired for value based and mass oriented education. He always wanted to develop students and youth morally and spiritually. He aimed at inculcating these moral values in them since their childhood. He was critical of such education system which lack moral and spiritual growth of the students and youth of the nation. He insisted on imparting vocational training to youth so that they can become self reliant with such training, with education linked with practical experience. Probably the disparity reflects upon our inability to make education truly national in nature and spirit. Gandhi always aspired and advocated for a true, national education (150). According to Gandhi, true education develops a balanced intellect and a balanced intellect presupposes a harmonious growth of body, mind and soul. He firmly believed that an educated youth is the heart and soul of a nation. To make them truly educated, the curriculum needs reorientation at this juncture. The Gandhian spirit of overall development of the youth comprises education that stressed on mental, physical, spiritual, social and economic values of life. Today's education system is contrary to that. Gandhi always used to say that education should not end with childhood as adult education plays and equally vital role in the development of an individual. According to him, a regular learning habit not only helps a man to negotiate with the ups and downs of life.

Gandhi said that his educational ideas had been developing since the time of the founding of the Phoenix settlement in South Africa in 1904.In Hind Swaraj also he discussed about it, though not in a developed form. Gandhi dreamed of finding out by experience and experiment "a true system of education" which would put into practice the ideal he had put forward in *Hind Swaraj.* Gandhi was clear about three things, first the children should live at home, second, they should not be separated from their parents and sent to a residential school and thirdly, they should learn in their own mother tongue. Gandhi believed that children should not have any privileges which other Indian children could not share. He was already sure that the family

was the starting point and Tolstoy Farm was being run like a big joint family. There was a common kitchen, which was possible because those who were habitual meat eaters voluntarily gave up meat during their time there. The women took charge, and the children regularly helped them by turns, while Gandhi himself came frequently to assist. Everyone shared in the sanitation work (The Story of Nai Talim, 10). On his return to India he expressed his views on education occasionally. But it was not until 1937, when he called a conference of educationists at Wardha to discuss his educational ideas that a complete picture of his educational programme was available. For many years this Wardha scheme remained the basis of the Gandhian programme of education for India. Even after the independence of India Gandhian advice to the Education Ministers of the Indian provinces remained consistent with his earlier views. (Bandyopadhyaya, 1969, 182) There was common kitchenGandhi pointed out, "As to the necessity and value of regarding the teaching of village handicrafts as the pivot and centre of education I have no manner of doubt. The method adopted in the institutions in India I do not call education, i.e. drawing out best in man, but a debauchery of the mind. It informs the mind anyhow, whereas the method of training the mind through village handicrafts from the beginning as the central fact would promote the real, disciplined development of the mind resulting in conservation of the intellectual energy and indirectly also the spiritual" (Gandhi,1961).

He considered education as a medium to combat the dominant societal malice of 'untouchability' associated with caste-based vocations, such as spinning, weaving, basket-making, leather-work, and pottery. Gandhi firmly believed that separation between education and work has led to the birth of many social injustices in the society. Thus, he felt a urgent need to reject the education system at the time of British Raj. It tried to create distinctions between knowledge and work, teaching and learning and also among other social, political and economic evils. According to Gandhi, "NaiTalim was popularly and correctly described as education through handicrafts. This was part of the truth. The root of this new education went much deeper. It lay in the application of truth and love in every variety of human activity, whether in individual life or a corporate one. The notion of education through handicraft rose from the contemplation of truth and love permeating life's activities. Love required that true education should be easily accessible to all and should be of use to every village in his daily life. Such education was not derived from nor did it depend upon books. It had no relation to sectional religion. If it could be called religious, it was universal religion from which all sectional religions religions were derived. Therefore, it was learnt from the book of life which cost nothing and which could not be taken away from one by any force on earth" (Gandhi, 1962).

He envisioned his scheme of education as the one that would lead to silent social revolution by eradicating poisoned relationship between classes. He was a believer in the power of education and wanted education to be accessible to all. This, he thought, would then help changing the dominant mindset that considered (Thakur, 2020) Gandhian philosophy is spiritual and non materialistic. According to him, the existing social order must facilitate and support the development of individual otherwise the individual has the right and duty to revolt. Individuals must work towards perfection in a spiritual society with the principles of love, non-violence, truth and justice. He believed that a social order based upon the above virtues, removes all sorts of exploitation i.e., economic, social, political and even religious. Gandhi asserted that there is an intimate connection between matter and spirituality. Material positions are merely a means and never an end in themselves. Material pursuits for mere sense of enjoyment are harmful and lead to ever growing desires, greed, passion, love of power and abstention. Desire and appetite after certain well-defined limits work for the slavery of the individual, therefore, all the material positions/ tools must be strictly regulated. Thus the education system must address all of the above, especially material concept of life for a happy and peaceful community life (Experiential Learning- Gandhi's NaiTalim). Gandhi said, "I hold that true education of the intellect can only come through a proper exercise and training of the bodily organs, e.g. hands, feet, eyes, ears, nose etc. In other words, an intelligent use of the bodily organs in a child provides the best and quickest way of developing hid intellect. But unless the development of the mind and body goes hand in hand with a corresponding awakening of the soul, the former alone would prove to be a poor lop-sided affair. By spiritual training I mean education of the heart. A proper and all round development of the mind, therefore, can take place only when it proceed *pari passu* with the education of the physical and spiritual faculties of the child. They constitute an indivisible whole. According to this theory, therefore, it would be a gross fallacy to suppose that they can be developed piecemeal or independently of one another" (Bandyopadhyaya 1969, 182).

Gandhi favoured an education system which encouraged and believed in the dictum that education and labour should go together. This would help in eliminating unnatural division between haves and have-nots, rural-urban divide through equitable balances. The dignities of labour and skill-based learning were the hallmarks of the Gandhian approach (Thakur, 2020). Gandhi further added, "By education I mean an all round drawing out of the best in child and man-body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of education nor even the beginning. It is only one of the means whereby man and woman can be educated. Literacy in itself is no education. I would therefore begin the child's education by teaching it a useful handicraft and enabling it to produce

from the moment it begins its training. Thus, every school can be made self supporting, the condition being that the state takes over the manufactures of these schools" (Kripalani, 1960,193). Gandhi believed that real education consists in drawing the best out of our self. He regarded humanity as the best book, as he said, "By education I mean an all round drawing out of the best in child and man-body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of education or even the beginning. It is only one of the means whereby man and woman can be educated. Literacy in itself is no education. I would therefore begin the child's education by teaching it a useful handicraft and enabling it to produce from the moment it begins its training. Thus, every school can be made self supporting, the condition being that the state takes over the manufactures of these schools" (Kripalani, 1960, 194).

According to Bandyopadhyaya, the entire syllabus of Gandhian basic education is to be centred round some handicraft. Gandhi preferred hand spinning to be universally adopted for this purpose, but did not exclude the knowledge of other subjects like history, mathematics, geography and science. The knowledge would be imparted by explaining the origin and the manufacturing process of the tools, the source, supply and processing of the raw materials, the amount of goods produced etc. These handicrafts must become source of national wealth by yielding profits. As he said, "As against this, take the case of a child in whom the education of the heart is attended to from the very beginning. Supposing he is set to some useful occupation like spinning, carpentry, agriculture etc., for his education and in that connection is given a thorough comprehensive knowledge relating to the theory of the various operation that he is to perform and the use and construction of the tools that he would be wielding. He would not only develop a fine healthy body but also a sound, vigorous intellect that is not merely academic but is firmly rooted in and is tested from day to day by experience. His intellectual education would include knowledge of mathematics and the various sciences that are useful for an intelligent and efficient exercise of his avocation. If too this is added literature by way of recreation, it would give him a perfect well balanced, all round education in which the intellect, the body and the spirit have all full play and develop together into a natural, harmonious whole. Man is neither mere intellect, nor the gross animal body, nor the heart or soul alone. A proper and harmonious combination of all the three is required for the making of the whole man and constitutes the true economics of education'' (Gandhi, 1962). The state is to purchase the produce of the schools and guarantee the employment of the students in the crafts which they have learnt at school. Similarly, such basic education is to be self supporting. While land, buildings etc. need not be covered by the value of a school's produce, the recurring expenses, including the salary of the teachers, ought to be met from the earnings of the students. Even after independence,

Gandhi insisted on the self sufficiency of the schools for educational reconstruction of free India. Further, Gandhi insisted on religious education to be compulsory, but the religious instructions shall consist of common fundamental ethics. He also asserted that instruction pertaining to denominational religions is to be left out of the syllabus of schools and to be imparted by the parents at home. Similarly the medium of instruction is to be the mother tongue and no foreign languages must be taught in the basic schools. According to Gandhi, children are not to begin their education by learning the alphabet. In fact they should have basic knowledge of history, geography, mental arithmetic and a craft. This would go on for about six months, after which the children are to be taught how to draw rather than write the alphabet. Gandhi advocated for co education and the schools will be coeducational as a general rule (Bandyopadhyaya, 1969, p.184). While replying an answer on education, Gandhi added, ''I do not for one moment believe that my life would have been wasted, had I not received higher or lower education. Nor do I consider that I necessarily serve because I speak. But I do desire to serve and in endeavouring to fulfil that desire, I make use of the education I have received. And, if I am making good use of it, even then it is not for the millions, but I can use it only for such as you, and this supports my contention. Both you and I have come under the bane of what is mainly false education. I claim to have become free from its ill effect, and Iam trying to give you the benefit of my experience and in doing so, Iam demonstrating the rottenness of this education...As an ornament it is likely to sit well on us. It now follows that it is not necessary to make this education compulsory. Our ancient school system is enough. Character building has the first place in it and that is primary education. A building erected on that foundation will last". (Narayan, 1968, Vol. IV, p.184)Gandhi preferred the use of mother tongue for education. Replying an answer to the question that whether he would consider English education necessary for obtaining Home Rule, he said, is it not a painful thing that, if I want to go to a court of justice, I must employ the English language as a medium, that when I become a barrister, I may not speak my mother tongue and that someone else should have to translate to me from my own language? Is not this absolutely absurd? Is it not a sign of slavery? Am I to blame the English for it or myself? It is we, the English knowing Indians that have enslaved India. The curse of the nation will rest not upon the English but upon us". (Narayan, 1968, Vol. IV, 186) Gandhi further added, "Why should every lad have to know English? Is it not enough if some men are specially trained in English in each province so that they may diffuse among the nation through the vernacular knowledge of new discoveries and researches? So doing, our boys and girls will become saturated with the new knowledge and we may expect rejuvenation such as we have never witnessed during the past sixty years. I feel more and more that, if our boys are to assimilate facts of different sciences, they will only do

so if they receive their training through the vernaculars. No half measures will bring about this much needed reform. Until we attain this state of things, I fear that we shall have to let the Englishmen think for us and we must continue slavishly to imitate them. No scheme of self government can avert the catastrophe if it does not involve this much needed change" (Narayan, 1968, Vol. V., p. 440). While talking about giving education to his children he said, "I could have sent them to the schools for European children, but only as a matter of favour and exception. No other Indian children were allowed to attend them. For these there were schools established by Christian missions, but I was not prepared to send my children there, as I did not like the education imparted in those schools. For one thing, the medium of instruction would be only English, or perhaps incorrect Tamil or Hindi; this too could only have been arranged with difficulty. I could not possibly put up with this and other disadvantages. In the meantime I was making my own attempt to teach them. But that was at best irregular, and I could not get hold of a suitable Gujarati teacher" (Narayan, 1968, VoL.I, p. 296). According to Gandhi, basic education links the children, whether of the cities or the villages, to all that is best and lasting in India. It developed both the body and the mind, and keeps the child rooted to the soil with a glorious vision of the future in the realisation of which he or she begins to take his or her share from the very commencement of his or her career in school. Congressmen would find it of absorbing interest benefiting themselves equally with the children with whom they come in contact" (Gandhi, 1941, p.18).

After independence many notable attempts were made by governments to improve the education system of the country. Many schools, mandated to promote *NaiTalim,* were set by the government across the country. However, over a period of time these schools lost their vigour and vitality to the changing dynamics of the society. In 1978, the Ministry of Education limited the role of *NaiTalim* in the form of craft-work alone to be covered through the Socially Useful Productive Work - or SUPW. Later, National Curriculum Framework 2005 included 'work and education' section, highlighting its utility in knowledge acquisition, skills formation and value creation. However, *NaiTalim* always remained a peripheral system and could never integrate with the mainstream education till recently (Thakur, 2020). However, the NEP (New education policy) 2020 brings in a new hope that Gandhi's vision would be fulfilled if the policy is implemented with the same intent with which it was drafted. *NaiTalim* approach emphasised on the importance of education through any productive work that we do in our everyday life (learning by doing). However, with the changing dynamics of the society, work itself got categorised into many categories. The macro and micro-level factors such as social, economic, political, cultural factors led to change in connotation of work itself. The hierarchy

within the work systems became more rigid than what it was earlier. Manual work continued to remain inferior to mental work. NEP 2020 rectifies this by proposing importance of making children 'learn how to learn'. It also mentions the exposure of skills and use of one's hand to learn skills such as gardening etc.

It suggests having 'no hard separation' of contents between curricular versus extra-curricular or co-curricular and emphasises treating all the extra-curricular subjects-yoga, woodwork, gardening and electric work as subjects per se (Thakur, 2020).

Similar to Gandhian formula of using mother tongue for education, the NEP emphasises the importance of three-language formula for every child and encourages children to be multilingual. Gandhian *NaiTalim* focussed on nurturing multiple skills in a child based on her/his interest. The NEP addresses this concern and suggests providing flexibility to students in choosing courses based on the interest of the child. It proposes flexibility in the assessment methods used by the schools. It also proposes promoting 'gifted/special children' through different scholarship programmes.The NEP 2020 acknowledges the role of a teacher in shaping the future of the nation. The *NaiTalim* approach advocated for participation of the local community and visualised communities as primary owner of schools. Similarly, the NEP 2020 talks of developing mechanisms to incentivise local residents to join the education system and contribute to the nation building exercise through education (Thakur, 2020). Nevertheless, the vision of education laid down in the NEP 2020 suggests that Gandhian ideas on education are relevant even today as it attempts to bring in some key elements of *Nai Talim*. The next generation needs to be capable of using new technological equipments and they should be savvy with modern science and technology to keep pace with modern day development. On the other side, they should acquire those social values for which Gandhi fought throughout his life. Youth of the nation should inculcate moral values and the education system of the nation should promote these values in them since their childhood. They should have regard and respect for elders. At the same level they should retain the values of existing social institutions as institutions are the scaffolding of any culture. They should be above petty gains on the basis of caste or creed. In order to make the youth of modern India more actively engaged in nation building, the present education system needs be able to move with the young and old with the right perspective. Youth of the nation need to become the engine of change. Similarly it is all the more essential that Gandhian values are inculcated among the youth in earnest so as to make them more active for nation building. Gandhi suggested that the youth should take into consideration various dimensions of their conduct such as the social, cultural and religious and they should also make sure that they are meaningfully

engaged with the welfare of society. The youth is very vibrant, energetic, dynamic and capable of achieving big goals, provided that they remain on the right direction. Thus it becomes essential to provide good education system to make them positive towards lives and also to the overall well being of the society.

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Terrorism and Internal Displacement of Kashmiri Pandits: A Historical Analysis

Malkit Singh

ABSTRACT

The Kashmiri Pandits (KPs) have been the largest internally displaced group in India. The rise of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism in Kashmir in 1980-90's and the prosecution of the Kashmiri Pandits by the fundamentalists resulted into the internal migration of the Kashmiri due to fear of violence. The Islamic terrorists want to establish the *Nizam-e-Mustafa* (Islamic rule) and KPs were taken as the big hurled in the way of *Nizam-e-Mustafa*. The open attempts were made by the terrorists to cleansed Kashmir from the KPs by murdering them brutality, raping their women and looting their property. It was just within a year or in 1990's that more than 90% Kashmiri Pandits were forced to flee from Kashmir under the fearful environment leaving after everything they had. They are living in the temporary accommodations since the last three decades and lack the basic facilities of life. The main reason for the internal displacement and persecution of Kashmiri Pandits is their Hindu identity and from the middle Ages they have been persecuted and displaced many times by the Islamic rulers.They would have never thought that they will face the same faith in the independent and secular India that happens to be a Hindu majority country.This paper presents a comprehensive analysis of the internal displacement of Kashmiri Pandits after the terrorism in Kashmir by connecting it with the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits in past and also narrates the marginalization of the aboriginal inhabitants of Kashmir at the hands of the followers of radical Islam.

Keywords:

Introduction

The beautiful valley witnessed the unexpected exodus of the Kashmir Pandits from the valley in the freezing night of 19 January 1990.It was second such exodus after the Independence and Kashmiri Pandits were once

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again forced to flee from their homes within a few hours by Radical Islamist. Though People in Kashmir were living in harmonious symphony but overpowering Islamic Radicalism if kept spreading hate and anguish against them among the locals. Declaring the KPs as unbeliever and great hurdle in the way to establish the Islamic state, so an atmosphere of fright and panic was created. KPs never thought that the age-old relations and cultural bounds can be broken within few months by the outsiders' interference in the name of *Nizam-e- Mustafa* (Islamic rule).It was viewed that the cultural ties among the Hindu & Muslims are older than the introduction of Islam in Kashmir and despite of theforced conversion to Islam by the Arabs, Turks and Mughals, the Kashmiri Muslims were following the similar cultural practices and traditions as the Hindus were following. Moreover, they were confident that secular and Indian state is there to protect them even if the violence and threats of the terrorists comes to them at mass. However, all of their hopes failed as they were forced to flee in the freezing night of 19 January, 1990 to save their lives and honour from the terrorists.

The sudden developments and threatening announcements through the loudspeaker from Mosques for Hindus and Sikhs to flee from Kashmir was not a single day development.Definitely it has been evolved through the time and space which was provided by the explained and unexplained political reasons and policy failure at state and central level. No sovereign nation will tolerate any challenges and threat to its sovereignty and the life of its citizens if it has the power to defend it. The mass violence of the foreigner Islamic machineries posed a very serious challenge to the sovereignty and integrity of India and as a country India was in a very good position to defend it. The failure of the state forces and the state might to save the lives and honour of the KPs despite of good presence of the forces in the Kashmir valley poses very serious questions to the political set-up of the time at the Kashmir as well as at the Centre.

The Political History of Islamisation of Kashmir and the Saga of Kashmiri Pandits

The 1990s flight of Pandits from the Kashmir valley was the eighth evacuation of KPs till date.They are the aboriginal inhabitants of Kashmiri valley and associated with society culture, civilization, customs, traditions, myths and the realities of Kashmir since the pre-historic times.The prehistoric era recounted in both Rajatarangini and NeelmatPurana shows that Kashyapa brought the Brahmins here after the valley was drained. They were philosophers and penitents who lived a life of contemplation and practised living a pure life, living aloof from the world

and its temptations and being completely absorbed in the pursuit of knowledge (Kaul, 1991).

The history of the oppression of Kashmiri Pandits began with the tragic death of Kota Rani, the last Hindu queen of Lohara dynasty in 1339.According to Jonaraja, Shah Mir from Swat arrived in Kashmir in the year of 1313 A.D along with his family and took shelter from King Suhadev (1301-20), who employed and utilized his services. By his courage, services to the kingdom and cunning tact Mir soon gained prominence and established himself as one of the prominent functionaries of Suhadev Kingdom.The fall of Kota Dynasty began with the death of King Suhadev and his brother Udaydeva, to whom Rani Kota married after the death of Suhadev.The news of the death of Udaydev was hidden by Rani Kota until she declared her son the heir to the royal throne and become regent of the minor king.Kota Rani knew the intensions of Shah Mir and she was sure that Shah Mir will attempt to seize the power.However, despite of the alertness of the queen and the preparation that she made to put off the Shah Mir from seizing the power, Rani failed as Shah Mir killed the minor King and his Prime Minister Bhikshan Bhatt and captured Kota Rani, who killed herself to save her honour (Singh, 1972).

When Shah Mir ascended to rule Kashmir in 1339, the evangelising effort that Bulbul Shah had started in 1302 escalated.After he rose to the throne of Kashmir, Shah Mir changed his name as *Sultan Shams-ud-Din* (Light of Islamic Religion). During his reign, a number of preachers of Islamic missionaries, Sayyids and saints entered the valley. To evade Timur's planned execution, the Sayyids fled to Kashmir. Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani (also known as Shah Hamadan) along with his son (Mir Mohammed Hamdani) brought 700 Sayyids to Kashmir. He preached Islam in Kashmir under royal patronage which led to his enmity among the Brahmins and Brahmins opposition to his mission of conversion at the time of Shihab-Ud-Din (1354-1373A.D). To terrorize the Hindus, Sultan vandalized all temples in Srinagar and implemented a 'policy of extermination' to eradicate all Hindu traces. Kashmir was completely Islamized in this period. All this process was done by the Sultan due to the influence of the Sayyids to strengthen Islamic rule (Ganjoo, 2006).

Kashmir's multicultural diversity progressively hit a roadblock. In the country that was known for openness and free interchange of ideas, religious orthodoxy and cultural conservatism began to take root. Conversion, which was promoted by Sultan Sikandar, was accompanied by religious prejudice (1389-1413). Shia and Sunni groups combined with Malik Saif-ud-din include the Sayyids, the Magreys, the Chaks and Dars, the Mughals, and the

Afghans. Sikandar's intolerance is explained by T.N. Madan: "A small number of Brahmins were still present in Kashmir at the time of Sikandar's passing in 1414 (Madan, 2008). Around 1671–1675, Hindus were also forcibly converted to Islam during Aurangzeb's rule, particularly under his governor Iftikar Khan (Jagmohan, 2019). It is essential to mention that conversation that was initiated by the Bulbal Shah through preaching of Islam initially and forced conversation by the various rulers of the Arab, Turak and Mughal dynasties had been continued over a period of 400 years or until Ranjit Singh annexed Kashmir in 1819 (Dutta, 2019). When a non-Islamic monarch took over Kashmir after 500 years of Islamic control, it was a highly significant time in Kashmir's political history. The government of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was made up of Muslims, Sikhs, and Hindus.He introduced number of measures to stop cow slaughter, call for public Azan and congregational prayers were prohibited an environment for the progress of all was created" (Singh, 2017).

Under the leadership of Hari Singh Nalwa, a prominent military General Maharaja Ranjit Singh, removed all the restrictions which were imposed on the Kasmiri Pandits under the Afghan rule. In 1822, Maharaj Ranjit Singh found his General Gulab Singh as a very suitable and visionary ruler of Jammu and Kashmir and throne him as the King of Jammu and Kashmir.Following his ten years in power, Raja Gulab Singh cut taxes in half and granted farmers interest-free loans. Because of the restrictions imposed by the Treaty of Amritsar (1809), which prevented British soldiers from marching toward Punjab and beyond, Maharaja Ranjit Singh was unable to capture the east bank of the Sutlej River in Kashmir. As a result, the only option left was to extend his kingdom from northern Kashmir to Ladakh. General Zorawar Singh led the expedition to Ladakh in 1834 (The Sikh & Dogra rule, internet source).

The British Intervention and Communalization of the Kashmiri Muslims

Although British had a commitment with the Dogra's that they will not intervene in their Kingdom under the Amritsar Treaty of March 16, 1846. However, the patriotism of Maharaja Hari Singh for India during the freedom struggle of India was not digestible to the British and moreover, the British interest in the Central Asia and the emergences of Russia as a powerful socialist state were against the British interest. To deal with both the socialist Russia and Maharaja Hari Singh who prefer to be patriot citizen of India than to be a Maharaja. British designed the way to intervene in his state through the polarization of the Muslims subjects of Maharaja and Muslim Leagues helped the British in their divisive policy (Agnihotari,

Kuldeep Chand, 2013). Within a few days after the speech of Maharaja Hari Singh in London at Round-Table Conference in 1930, British purchased the loyalty of Urdu press and some other Muslim firms form Lahore that launched a wide and furious campaign against Maharaja Hari Singh and projected him as Hindu King and as suppressor of the Muslim subject. The Muslim youth who wereinfluenced by the Pan-Islam and were also connected with Muslim League become the instrument in the hands of British and Muslim League to create hate against Mahraja among the Muslim subjects.

Islamization efforts can be seen even during the Dogra era withinstigation of communal violence in Srinagar against the Hindus in 1931 and the foundation of the All–Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference in October 1932 by Sheikh Abdullah alongside Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah and Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas.The violence and hate against the Hindus and Maharaja in Jammu and Kashmir were supported by the Muslim League and British during the freedom struggle. After sowing the much seeds of communalization and Islamization, Sheikh Abdullah realized that he cannot make his way to power until he declares himselfa secular and supporter of secularism. So, he left the All–Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and established All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference in 1939. To get the attention of the Congress leaders Sheikh declared that the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference is the party for all people of Jammu andKashmir irrespective caste, creed and faith.As soon as Seikh Abdullah declared that he is a secular and for secularism he becomes a brand ambassador of secularism and patriotism of the Congress for Jammu and Kashmir.

The promoter of Sheikh Abdullah and Congress leadership failed to understand that Sheikh was selling his old wine in the new bottle furthermore, the Congress and League's plans for the future political structure of the Princely kingdoms exacerbated the Kashmir problem. The interpretation of the princely states' rights by Congress and the League was at conflict, and its leaders voiced heated disagreement in a conference convened by the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, on June 13, 1947. Nehru maintained that the princely states had no choice but to join one of the dominions; Mohammed Ali Jinnah claimed that they might alternatively choose to remain independent. Indeed, Travancore and Hyderabad have already declared their will to be separate and sovereign nations. Congress leaders were concerned that if this occurred, it will result into the balkanization of India. Jinnah has planned to get the maximum territory for Pakistan from India, to execute his plan he made a deal with the British and

promised to protect their interests in Asia after the partition and Independence of India (Nicholes, Meansergh and Penderel, 1970).

Kashmir after Independence

After the partition of India, Pakistan leadership realized that they are forced to settle for a smaller country than they demanded and expected from the British in frustration they adopted the policy of invasion, fundamentalism and pan Islam to add more territories to the Pakistan (Jalal, 1985). It is pertinent to mention that Maharaja Hari Singh wants to sign an Instrument of Accession with India as soon as he heard that the Pak supported tribal invadinghis state but this Instrument of Accession was delayed for four days by the Jawaharlal Nehru as he wants the release of Seikh Abdullah from the prison and also of handing of all the power of the state to him before signing the Instrument of Accession and sending the Indian Army to help Maharaja. Being the son of the soil Maharaja Hari Singh agreed to all the conditions of Jawaharlal Nehru and signed an Instrument of Accession with India for the full merger of his Princely State with India. It is pertinent to mention that Maharja has refused any kind of merger of his state with Pakistan despite of the surety of Jinnah and Lord Mountbatten to protect his interests and privileges in the Independent Pakistan, if he opts to the merger of his Princely state with Pakistan (Tripathi).

Kashmir Politics and Kashmiri Pandits

Jawaharlal Nehru created a permanent room for Sheikh Abdullah's demand for Kashmiri autonomy. Sheikh Abdullah voracity for controlling the power of Kashmir couldn't be possible until and unless there was room for it in India's political and socio-cultural life. On the name of uniqueness of the Kashmiri culture, history and minority rights and autonomy, Sheikh demanded special protection and constitutional security. Article 370 and Article 35-A were the best constitutional safeguards which provides the way-out to Kashmir politicians to deny the Central laws and runs the administration of the state according to their whims. The constitutional and legal barriers which were created by Article 370 and Article 35-A resulted into the rampant corruption and denying of the basic amenities and democratic rights to the common citizens, which alienated the people from the state and government. Simultaneously the dominance of the inherited politics or controlling of the political and administrative sphere by some prominent families from the Kashmir valley has not only created the regional imbalance in the three regions of the state but further deteriorated the situation as these families lost their connections with the people and state.

The vacuum created by the inherited politicians and corruption was filled by the Pakistan propaganda for the Islamization of the State and the state politicians who were not concerned about the people got trapped into agenda of Pakistan for short-term gains. The consequence of partition and Indian independence on Kashmiri Pandits was that they were demoted to the position of second-class citizens of the state overnight. Unjustly, the Muslim authorities of Kashmir saw them as hostile. The post-independence authorities re-enacted the heinous narrative of discriminating against and marginalising Pandits. They were publicly labelled as traitors, informers, and operatives of the Indian state (Pandita).

The failure of the central government or Congress government to adopt a permanent and comprehensive policy and adopting the adhoc measures to tackle the problem of Islamisation and violence against minorities has further deteriorated the situation in Kashmir. The political vacuum which was created by the local and central politics was filled by the Islamic fundamentalists supported by Pakistan and Kashmir witnessed the radical form of Islam which does not tolerate the other beliefs and practices.Pakistan doctrine of "thousand years war" or "bleeding India through a thousand cuts" by employing clandestine and low-intensity warfare, as well as militancy and infiltration also took shape (Ashley J. Tells).

Islamisation of Kashmir and Internal Displacement of Kashmiri Pandits

The end of the Cold War and the rise of Islamic radicalism at the international level along with some special operations of the Pakistan created an illusion among the localsof Kashmir that Indian state can't handle the Islamic terrorists. The rise in radicalism in the valley is also linked with the some International happenings and the Islamization of some Central Asian countries. The decade of the 1970s saw two significant events in the world, including the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan (1979) and the Islamic Revolution (1979) in Iran. Jihad in Afghanistan and later Pakistan's affiliation with the fundamentalist groups in Kashmir strengthened religious tendencies in the Kashmiri Muslims (Basit. Ali Shah, 2016). Internationally linked Islamic fundamental institution, *Jamaat-e-Islami (*JeI) and other fundamentalist groups in Kashmir organized youth activists to achieve complete Islamization of Kashmiri society. The international funding to the educational institutions for preaching of radical Islam across the Valley and in some parts of the Jammu has contributed to disturb the lifelong communal harmony and creating hate against the Indian and Hindu values of the society (Warikoo, 2006). The funding from the Islamic countries to the Islamic fundamental groups was initiated in 1978-79 and soon it becomes the issue of public debate. The Chief Minister of the state openly charged JeI for

getting funds from the West Asia and Pakistan to fuel communal disharmony and fundamentalism (Shah, 2016). It was within the decade of 1980, that the Islamization of Kashmir and hate against KPs was increased and many organized riots have happened in Kashmir. The government failedto respond the Islamic and anti-national forces in an appropriate manner. The lack of the permanent policy framework in response to anti-India or terrorist activities has increased the confidence of Islamic radicals in Kashmir. It also, establishes the Hindu and Indian state as weak identity (Whitehead, 2007).

Night of Terror and Exodus of Kashmiri Pandits

It was in the view of above narration and facts that the situation of Kashmir deteriorated to an extent that the Governor K.V. Krishna Rao was replaced by Jagmohan on 17 January, 1990. This appointment irked Farooq Abdullah and he resigned as Chief Minister (Bamzai, 1994). Throughout 1990s Pandits were selectively picked and killed in order to clean Kashmir and establish *Nizam-e-Mustafa.* The blood game of the numbers was started and Kashmiri Pandits who were killed by the terrorists were highlighted in local media and through the public information system in Kashmir. The strategy was that if one killed then thousand will flee (Pandita, 2017). On the one hand the exodus of the KPs from Kashmir was creating the lifelong destitute and miseries for KPs as they were selling their properties on the throw away prices.

In the changed circumstances, the concept of *Nizam-e-Mustafa* and separation of Kashmir from India became a dream of every Muslim living in Kashmir. The local masses were absolutely collaborating with the foreign missionaries by providing them shelter, protection, money and all help and support they needed (Gigoo, 2018). The threats to the Kashmiri Pandits for fleeing the Kashmir valley had been coming in for a long time, but in the night of 19[th]January, 1990 is said to have seen a demented assault from all levels. The KPs were listening screaming of loud speakers in their neighbourhood and the streets were crowded by the Islamic terrorists to send the message of threat to the Sikhs and Hindus living in Kashmir that they can be killed at any time (Anand, 2017).

 "They were presented with three choices: *Ralive, Tsalivya, Galive*" that mean they were given a choice to convert to Islam, leave, or otherwise get killed (Tikoo). For the first time since India's independence, Pandits found themselves abandoned to their destiny, trapped in their own homes surrounded by furious mobs. It was the longest coldest and most dreadful night experienced by KPs in their life. The central government did nothing to stop this exodus and state forces were standing as the mule spectators as they didn't get any order to take action against the foreigner machineries. The frightened KP families left themselves at the mercy of God and they found the best

security in being indoors and frozen in fear. They were left with no option but to leave the valley to save their honour and life. Radical Islamists had planned it so carefully. They left the valley, penniless and with minimal clothing, to an uncertain future. The displaced Pandits had become refugees within their own country. Kashmiri Pandits were reminded of Islamic ruler and the Middle Ages when their identity and religion becomes the target of the rulers and they were given the same choice by Islamic rulers then (Kaul, 2018).

The brutality did not end with killing of KPs, their killings were celebrated also. The very neighbours, who assured these families that they would protect them, watched them die and did nothing. Many Pandits were strangulated to death with steel wires openly in the streets of their own vicinity. Women were stripped and molested and there was a rise in kidnappings and merciless killings (Gigoo, 2018). Even after the passing of more than three decades Kashmiri Pandits who are living the life of destitute and remained internally displaced no comprehensive efforts have been made by the government till the date to resettle and rehabilitate them. The government claims that 250,000 KPs evacuated the Valley during the 1990s, whereas Pandit organisations say that at least 350,000 people were uprooted. Today, over 100,000 people dwell in the capital, New Delhi, and approximately 240,000 in the Jammu city.

During the time of migration of Pandits from the valley, there had been reports from the various places that mobs had beaten up the fleeing families and looted their belongings. This was a very common scenario those days. Pandits were killed brutally in the name of Azaadi (Freedom). It was not just limited to armed terrorist who was felling pride in such killings; the common man was also feeling proud of being the part of such heinous murders. There were also many cases where doctors refused to give the treatment to injured KPs targeted by militants (Zutshi). Press release of *Hizbul Mujahidin published in Aftab* of 1 April 1990 proclaimed "Kashmiri Pandits responsible for duress against Muslims and they shall leave the valley within two days".*Alsafa* of 14 April 1990 carried the news "with Kalashnikov in one hand and Quran in the other hand. The mujahids openly roam the streets singing the 'Tarana- e- hind'. In the aftermath of the exodus of KPs from the valley 18,000 houses were torched about 150 places of worship and temples were desecrated, damaged and demolished. Numerous temples were burnt down and destroyed in 1992 as revenge against the demolition of Babri Masjid (Kaul, 2018).

Panun Kashmir, a political group of displaced Pandits, has produced a detailed list of about 1341 Kashmiri Pandits who have been murdered by Jihadi armed men during the Valley of Kashmir's armed uprising in 1990 and

subsequently. This covers the missing and apprehended Pandits, whose identities were never confirmed and for whom the police kept no record. Surprisingly, the state authorities of J&K decreased the number of Pandits executed by terrorists to less than 200. As the Jihadi conflict spread throughout the Kashmir Valley and its surrounding areas, Kashmiri Pandits were targeted in groups as well as individually. A chart with information regarding mass massacres of Kashmiri Pandits in post-exodus days is included.

(The Exodus of Kashmiri Pandits)

Massacre	Date	Deaths
Wandhama Massacre	25/01/1998	23 Hindus
Prankote Massacre	17/04/1998	26 Hindus
Chapnari Massacre	19/06/1998	25 Hindus
Amarnath Massacre	1/08/2000	30 Hindus
Khishtwar Massacre	03/08/2001	19 Hindus

Sources : *https://www.efsas.org /publications/ study-papers/the-exodus-of-kashmiri-pandits/*

Terrorism in Kashmir was inspired by an ideological commitment to the Islamic jihad that led to the exodus of KPs. There are many dimensions of Jihad in Kashmir. The militarization of pan-Islamic fundamentalism in South Asia, including Afghanistan, opened the way for the eastward expansion of Islamic fundamentalism in India. Terrorist operations are committed to Islamization of Kashmir. Terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir is a religious war committed to politically separate Jammu and Kashmir from India. The terrorists launched and organized operations to eliminate the KPs, the ultimate resistance to Jihad in the Valley (Mandal, 2009).

Conclusion

Kashmir valley has remained a safe home for Kashmiri Hindus (Pandits) till the end of fourteenth century.With the advent of Islamic rule Kashmir was dominated by foreign rule, rarely did the invaders and misadventures leave Kashmir alone without invasion that changed the demography and ripped the fabric of its society. The forced conversion of the Kashmiri Hindus/ Kashmiri Pandits in the first quarter of fourteenth century and at time of the end of Afghan rule in Kashmir there were several Hindu departures from Kashmir. The dictates of the Islamic Jihadis and Pak sponsored terrorists were similar for the Pandits even after the passing of the four hundred years

When Sikandar converted all inhabitants of the valley into Islam and used brutal force against the Hindus and destroyed their religious places. The same attempts were made by the other Islamic rulers irrespective of their origin.

The facts and the narration regarding the prosecution and displacement of Kashmiri Pandits came from the valley proves that the only reason for the prosecution and displacement from the Kashmir is the intolerance of the followers of the radical Islam towards the followers of the other religion. Even in the era of democratization and multiculturalism, when the whole world is witnessing the triumph of democracy and the globalization of the liberal values the followers of the radical Islam have forced the minority community of KPs to flee from the valley by using violence at mass against them.It is worth mentioning that KPs are only 5% of the population in Kashmir and the other parts of the state Jammu and Kashmir are dominated by other religion. Moreover, the valley of Kashmir is inseparable part of India that is also a Hindu majority country.The tolerance and the political patience and the responses of the Indian state to the Islamic Jihadis and the followers of the radical Islam has created a multi-layered problem which is required to respond adequately and timely. The problem of the violation of the human rights and their displacement of KPs from Kashmir is not the problem of Kashmiri Pandits it poses a serious challenge to the sovereignty and integrity of India by the Pakistan sponsored Islam Jihadis. Theresettlement and rehabilitation of the Kashmir Pandits in their inherited land will not only provide them relief and dignified life it will also give the Indian state an opportunity to prove its commitment for justice and law of the land against any incursion by the majority community in any part of India.

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Geopolitical Significance of Afghanistan in the Context of South Asia

Joginder Singh Saklani & Ritesh Kumar

ABSTRACT

Geo-graphical location of Afghanistan makes it a pivotal point in the global politics, as neighbouring countries of Afghanistan depends on it to conduct trade and reach out to Central Asia and Middle East region. Purpose of this paper is to make an attempt to understand the geopolitical significance of Afghanistan in South Asia, and also to know that how the politics of South Asia mainly India and Pakistan are affected by the geopolitics of Afghanistan. It also sheds light on the China's strategic interests in Afghanistan, expansion of its dream project BRI, desire of market for its huge manufacturing industry and access to Central Asian and West Asian countries through the territory of Afghanistan. Thus, this paper describes that Afghanistan is instrumental for South Asian countries to expand their trade toward Middle East and Central Asia. The geopolitics of Afghanistan can be seen as positive and negative for South Asian countries. Positively it affects the region by facilitating trade among countries through its territory and by providing a gateway to Central Asia and West Asia helps South Asian states to have access in these countries. Negatively it impacts South Asian countries, when illicit drug trade takes place from Afghanistan's territory to rest of the world including India. Along with this, terrorist promoted from the territory of Afghanistan also affect the politics of South Asia negatively.

Keywords: Afghanistan, Geopolitics, India, South Asia, Central Asia

Introduction

South Asia is the southern region of Asia which consists of eight countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri

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Lanka. The term South Asia is often used synonymously with Indian subcontinent as well (Jain & Singh 2009, pp. 73-117). Geographically South Asia is surrounded by the series of mountains and rivers, and in the north it is surrounded by Hindkush, Karakorum, and Himalaya mountains and in the south it is surrounded by the Indo-Gangetic plains. Most of the countries of South Asia share their land surface with neighbouring countries, such as Afghanistan shares border with Central Asia and South Asia. Likewise, India, Bhutan and Nepal share border with North East Asia (Kher 2012, p.11).

All the eight South Asian countries are the member of SAARC which is an economic organization and was established in 1985 primarily for economic cooperation among the member countries. South Asia covers the 11.71% of the Asian continent or 3.5% of world's surface area. Population of South Asia is 1.891 billion which is 23% of the world population and of which 19% is only contributed by India and Pakistan (Khalid, 2011, pp. 241-257).

South Asia is also well known for the home of religious diversities and major religions in the region are Hindism, Muslim, Sikhism, Christianity, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism. Apart from religious diversity, there is significant ethnic overlapping in the South Asia which brings countries culturally closer to each other. There are many ethnic overlappings between the countries such as Pashtoon, Tamil, Madhesi and Gorkha etc. So, the people of region are unified by a common culture and ethical outlook. Many dialects and languages are spoken in South Asia and some official languages in the region areEnglish, Hindi, Urdu, Pashto, Nepali, Tamil, Sinhala and Bengali etc. (Snedden, 2016, p.4).

Geopolitics of Afghanistan

Afghanistan is geographically, politically and strategically part of Central Asia. (Kumar 2017, p. 13) Political and religious proximity groups it with South Asia and Middle East. Afghanistan is a landlocked country and it depends on its neighbouring countries to reach out other countries (Khan 1998, pp. 489-502). Afghanistan is located at the crossroads of Central Asia, South Asia and West Asia which further magnify its importance in the South Asia. Due to geographical location of Afghanistan, it acts as an instrumental for South Asian countries if they wish to expand their trade toward Middle East and Central Asia. Afghanistan occupies a unique geostrategic placement in South Asia region, which is an important element and helps to shape its history, economy, ethnic diversity and political situation in the region (Bird & Marshall 2012, p.23).

From security point of view in South Asia role of Afghanistan is very important because, except Taliban there are numerous other radical and

terrorist outfits' active in the Afghanistan like Haqqani Network, Khorasan group, TTP and Al Qaeda Islamic State and these terrorist groups poses threat to security of the region ("*We all Know Taliban*" 2021). Therefore, there is also a probability of spreading of radicalization and terrorism from Afghanistan to other South Asian countries and can generate threat to peace and tranquillity of the region. Thus, from this angle Afghanistan plays key role in the region (Harpviken, 2010, pp. 10-11).

How geopolitics of Afghanistan is significant for India

India does not share direct border with Afghanistan anywhere, except in the PoK region, which is currently under the occupation of Pakistan. Besides this, India and Afghanistan enjoy cordial cultural, diplomatic and trade relations with each other and that is why both countries are significant for each other. In the perspective of India, Afganistan provides an important route to enter Central Asian Republics CARs. In these Central Asian Republican countries, India has always been trying to access the oil and gas rich region especially in the period of post Cold War (Bhonsley& Manoharan, 2011, p. 167). Apart from this, Afghanistan also has very wealthy natural and mineral resources. 'Hijigak' mines of Bamyan province has iron and different minerals. Due to immense natural resources Afghanistan has always been a key to the rivalry for pipeline routes. There has been enormous competition for the control over the Afghan territory and which is still leading towards geopolitical conflict (Zaman, 2021, p.968).

India's archrival Pakistan and China try to downgrade India's relations with Afghanistan, and Pakistani presence in Afghanistan may hinder India's connectivity to the mineral rich Central Asian Republics (Paliwal, 2017, p.13). China is also a neighbour of Afghanistan, and in the post-cold war period it has been keen to establish cordial relations with Afghanistan to achieve its objectives like: security, economic and diplomatic. In terms of its external balancing policy, China always leverages its relations with Pakistan to counter India's rising influence in the south Asian politics. China is also looking for trade and economic possibilities in central Asia via Afghanistan. To counter Chinese with Pakistan in South Asia India needs healthy relations with Afghanistan (Clarke, 2013, p.7).

Another geo-political significance of Afghanistan in the context of India is Afghanistan's connectivity with Iran. Through Afghanistan India imports crude oil from Iran and other Middle Eastern countries. Afghanistan shares no direct border with India but in POK region India shares approximately 105 km border (Jafri, 1976, pp. 41-42). Due to its border closeness with Pakistan, Afghanistan becomes the safe haven for Pakistan backed terrorist outfits, which is always a threat for India especially in Jammu and Kashmir

there are several instances which have taken place in the past like Kargil war, Jammu and Kashmir legislative assembly car bombing in 2001, Budgam district blast in April 2014, Uri attack 2016, Pulwama attack in 2019 (Khalid 2011, pp. 241-257). Significance of Afghanistan for India in the context of trade with CAR's nations is highly accepted because strategically Afghanistan is gate way to oil and pipeline rich CARs. Strategic relations of India with Afghanistan will collectively help in achieving the target of connection with Central Asian countries. India is signing many deals of Energy-Industrial Corporation. Thus, from energy point of view India has to maintain healthy relation with Afghanistan (Chatterji, 2020).

Besides this, India has several strategic interests in Afghanistan due to its geographical location in Central Asia. Top most interest of India in Afghanistan is security and stability in Afghanistan, which affects India's internal security (Dar, 2014, p.10). More than 100 Indian companies have invested in Afghanistan in the various sectors like: education, health, capacity building, mining and infrastructure development projects, which also reflect India's soft power approach to Afghanistan. One of the major infrastructural projects constructed by India in Afghanistan Delaram and Zaranj highway which has constructed by the Border and Road Organization (BRO) (Nath, 2019, pp. 472-476). 'Delaram to Zaranj' Road connects Afghanistan to Iran and which ensure transportation facilities between Chabahar port of Iran and Afghanistan and the restoration and inauguration of 'Star Palace' in 2016 by India with the collaboration of Afghanistan government was another crucial project of India (Das, 2021). India has also invested in 'Satpayev' oil field in Kazakhstan. Which is largest producer of uranium and is one of the significant reserves of the minerals, TAPI gas Line, a natural gas pipeline will also transport the natural gas from the 'Galkyansh' gas field of Turkmenistan through Afghanistan into Pakistan then India (Basu, 2022) .

Other side in South Asian region, Pakistan is the only country who feel worry fromIndia's presence in Afghanistan. Pakistan never wants India's closeness with Afghanistan and she considers the India's growing presence and dominance within the Afghanistan as a strategicloss for itself. From Pakistan's point of view, India's presence in Afghanistan can generate insurgency within Pakistan especially by promoting Baluch nationalists through Afghanistan channel (Javaid & Aslam, 2016, pp. 669-680). Another reason of Pakistan's fear from India-Afghanistan cordial relation is decreasing of Afghanistan's dependence on Pakistan to access Indian Ocean and South Asia region especially after the construction of Chabahar port of Iran (Ganguly & Howestein, 2009, pp.133-134). Besides strategic aspects, drugs trade is a vital factor and is also part of geopolitical significance of

Afghanistan to India. This drug is also smuggled into India through Wagah border from Afghanistan. Ultimately, Indian youth in Punjab and adjacent states get addicted to this, which affects their health. This trade is illegal and unethical thus it encourages black marketing, sometimes murder also in India and impacts environment of country (Jha, 2020, pp.287-292).

Geopolitics of Afghanistan and its relevance for Pakistan

Relations between the two countries have been strained since 1947 and in the historical context Afghanistan has long history of its involvement in instability of Pakistan with its collaboration with India. Despite all this, there are so many reasons which make Afghanistan and Pakistan closer to each other like geographical proximity, border closeness, cultural, and religious proximity (Hanif et al., 2021, p.1). The emergence of new countries in Central Asia region in 1991 highlighted the extensive accessible hydrocarbon natural resources. To access these countries Afghanistan is a gateway and also provides a route to rest of the world. TAPI gas pipeline from Turkmenistan first enters war torn country Afghanistan and then to Pakistan. Thus, all these points reflect a major geopolitical significance of Afghanistan to Pakistan (Khan & Shiraji, 2021, pp. 137-153).

From Pakistan's perspective Afghanistan is also significant because Afghanistan shares a long border with Pakistan. Besides this, their cultural and religious identities have many similarities (Mishra, 2014, p.130). Despite this, Afghanistan and Pakistan have experienced strained relations since 1947 when Pakistan came into being. Some terrorist outfits like Tehrik-i- Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) have been also responsible for soured relations between two countries. The relationship has sometimes soured so much that it has reached on the brink of war. The strained relations and border skirmishes between two countrieshas resulted on few occasion in the blockade of Afghan trade with other south Asian countries (Noor, 2021, pp.14-18). But geographical proximity of Pakistan and Afghanistan forces both to establish better relations in terms of trade and cultur (Ahmad & Moorthy, 2017, pp.1-3). Pashtun tribe in Afghanistan and Pakistan is significant linking factor between the two countries. People of Pashtun tribe residing within both countries have good cultural relation with each other but Pakistan considers this as a threat to Pakistan's national interest (Nadiri, 2016, p.33). On the other hand, 'Durand line' is still a bone of contention between two countries, and divides this tribe in two segments. Thus, Pashtun tribe and Durand line between two countries is a major geo-political factor (Kaur, 1985, p. 46).

Form Pakistan's perspective, Afghanistan has been close to her culturally, traditionally and religiously. But mostly both have enjoyed hostile

relationship with each other, except during Taliban regime from 1996 to 2001 when they were very close. Pakistan considers Taliban as Pakistan friendly and it is backed by Pakistan's intelligence agency ISI. Rise of Taliban in 2021 in Afghanistan will considerably boost relations with each other. Meanwhile, it will be tough time for India to develop good diplomatic relations with Afghanistan (Sethi, 2020). Pakistan sees the Afghan territory crucial from its Indian angle because Pakistan often uses Afghan territory to train militant and then sent them to Kashmir to unsettle peace in India. Its premier intelligence agency ISI has also played crucial role by using force inside Afghanistan through proxy warriors like Mujahidin, Haqqani Network etc. in unsettling the peace within Afghanistan (Malik & Shah, 2017, p. 207).

Its involvement in training of Taliban militant in tribal region of Afghanistan is the major reason of tension in India and South Asian region as well. Terrorist activities in the border area of Afghanistan running under the cooperation of Pakistan's army are also responsible for the growth of non-state actors in the region (Brown 2018). After the post-cold war and dissolution of Soviet Union, Central Asia region has become an opportunity for Pakistan from the trade and strategic interest point of view because central Asia region has immense natural resources and Pakistan can fill its energy demands from this region. Afghanistan provides gateway to Central Asia that is why Afghanistan is significant for Pakistan (Khan, 2014, pp.489-502). For India cordial relation between Afghanistan and Pakistan can evolve challenges and implications. The cordiality in Pakistan-Afghanistan relations can affect Afghanistan's relations with India as we have witnessed during the reign of Taliban in 1996 to 2001 when relation between India and Afghanistan were stagnant. Pakistan always wants to curb India's influence in Afghanistan and she vastly misreads and exaggerates India's activities in Afghanistan. Pakistan can create distrustful environment against India within Afghanistan and it also wants to grip India diplomatically with its all-weather friend China through Afghanistan (Constantino, 2020).

Geopolitics of Afghanistan and China's Interests

Besides India and Pakistan, China is also a stakeholder in the South Asian politics because China has geographical closeness to the South Asian region and any event either in China or South Asia affects each other's politics. Through several means of soft power approach policy and financial inclusion like establishment of SCO and AIIB for its loan requirement in mega project like Border and Road Initiative (BRI) China is trying to grip the South Asian countries without any interventions especially through its policy of debt trap. China views Afghanistan as a bridge for increased economic influence in the

central Asia region and has planned to develop the Silk Road Economic Belt which connects China with Europe and Central Asian region (Niazi, 2016, p.7).

China's rapid growth on the world map has been seen over the past decades and along with its economic rise China is also trying to avail its strategic interest in South Asia (Bharti, 2009, p. 42). In 2011 Chinese National Petroleum company signed contract with Afghanistan government for exploring both oil and gas field in Amu Darya basin. Besides this, China made a significant commitment to Afghanistan in which it agreed to invest 3 billon US dollars in Afghanistan's Ayank Copper mines. The deal is expected to generate around thousands of jobs in Afghanistan and it will also develop infrastructural projects in the country (Kullab, 2022). China's economic presence in Afghanistan reflects Afghanistan's economic geo political significance for China (Aziz ,2012, p.11). In contemporary politics China is trying to make south Asia a part of its greater regional domination, for that Beijing has initiated many projects in its neighbouring countries to establish its image as a super power in the region. Among China's initiative, China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is major one which widely impacts the politics of South Asia. China has initiated projects like Maritime Silk Route and String of Pearls (SoP) to counter India in South Asia region (Snedden, 2016, pp.18-19).

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a collection of infrastructure projects that are under construction throughout Pakistan.Vast network of highways and railways are to be built under this project in Pakistan (Menon, 2021, p.332). In order to become a global power China wants to develop itself as being a strategic player in Indian Ocean region in relation to protection of sea lines of communications and safeguarding maritime supply routes. China wants to ensure its connectivity in Indian Ocean through Gwader port to make it powerful in the region from security point of view (Hussain & Jamali, 2019, pp. 303-326). China and Pakistan, want Afghanistan to join the CPEC project because China is to extract the unexplored natural resources in Afghanistan, and Pakistan is keen to access the reserve of natural resource in CARs countries. CPEC is raising apprehensions from neighbours in the region especially by Indian. China is predominantly worried about destabilizing Afghanistan which could affect the strategic participant of CPEC prospects (Hussain et al., 2021, pp. 3235-3243).

'One Belt One Road' (OBOR) now known as Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) was adopted in 2013 by Chinese government. It is China's dream project of 21st century.It is, the brainchild of Chinese president Xi Jinping, is an economic development and commercial project that focuses on improving connectivity and cooperation among multiple countries spread across the

continents of Asia, Africa and Europe approval (Seth, 2020). China's development and reform commission in March 2015 released the blueprint of the OBOR project's strategy. 'Silk Road Economic Belt' refers to land route for road and rail transportation through Central Asia to western region, while 'Maritime Silk Route' refers to Indo-Pacific sea route through South East Asia to Middle East Asia, Europe and Africa. Afghanistan is a major stake holder of this dream project in central Asia, because the road passes through Afghan soil and then to Central Asian Republics, Western Asia and MiddleEast countries. The execution of this grand project of 21st century depends on Afghanistan's approval (Clarke 2016, p.3).

From security point of view Afghanistan's geo-politics play a crucial role for Chinese security. China's Xinjiang province is adjacent to Afghanistan border and any radical or separatist activity in the Afghanistan could spill over to Xinjiang province or can incite separatist tendencies in China (Bekkevold&Engb, 2017, 154). Historically, Xinjiang have witnessed ethnic riots in the past. These include 2009 riot, 2013 and 2014 terrorist attacks in Beijing, Kunming and Guangzhou. This explains that China always wants peace in Afghanistan because Chinese peace or tranquillity is affected by the terrorist activities in Afghanistan (Ali, 2020, p.5).

On the other side Chinese growing presence and influence in the Afghanistan and South Asiaregion can stir the politics of South Asia. Through CPEC which is the core project under the mega project Border and Road Initiative (BRI) China is intent to make connectivity with Gwader port of Pakistan and ensure its presence in Indian Ocean region (Chakervarti, 2021). China along with other South Asian countries like Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Maldives, seeks to leverage BRI development and port access in the future. Likewise, China could impose its expansionist policy on its neighbouring country in South Asia as China has done in the past on its neighbouring countries (Grossman, 2020).

Conclusion

Afghanistan is a landlocked country which is surrounded by Central Asian Republics (CARs), Iran, China and Pakistan. Due to its geographical location Afghanistan is focal point in the regional and world politics, because it provides access to South Asian countries to Central Asia and Middle East countries, and Middle East to South Asia. From the trade point of view, it works as a bridge among these regions because trade among these countries is done through Afghanistan's territory. It also sheds light on the significance of Afghanistan's geopolitics to India in multiple ways such as, from the perspective of TAPI gas pipe line, India's access to minerals and gas rich Central Asian Republics, India's access and trade with Middle East countries

and Iran, from the perspective of India's security concern in the region etc. This paper discusses the significance of Afghanistan's geographical mporanceto Pakistan especially in the context of peace establishment within the Pakistan, the influx of refugees to Pakistan from Afghanistan, use of Afghan territory by Pakistan against India for illicit drug trade and terrorist activities and Pakistan's access to gas and oil rich CARs countries. China being a neighbouring country of Afghanistan is one of the largest stakeholders in the region as well. This paper has alsounderscorced China's penetrating and expansionist policy or stance in the region through its projects like CPEC and BRI.

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Mid-Seventeenth-Century Mughal Bengal: A Study of Social Transformation and Narratives from Syncretism to Conflict

Imon-ul-hossain

ABSTRACT

The history of medieval Bengal can be traced from the 12th century AD, especially after the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in India. This region inherited a distinctive territorial consciousness in the sphere of political outlook, and diverse traditional perspectives by incorporating both indigenous and Indo-Islamic elements. On the other hand, of that time, Bengal developed a dynamic pluralistic background with the presence of different faiths, linguistics, and ethnicity. The period of the great Mughals marked the beginning of a new era in the entire socio-cultural life of medieval India. During that time, Bengal emerged as an important province in terms of an administrative unit and generated a composite nature in each aspect of religion, culture, society, and literary practice, which was seemingly rare comparedto other contemporary Mughal provinces. As a transitional phase, the period of the last mighty Mughal emperor Aurangzeb experienced the decay of the Mughal empire and theemergence of regional powers. The seventeenth-century history of Mughal Bengal has hardly been visited in terms of the social aspects and counter identities. So many authors who have widely worked in this fielddidn't adequatelyemphasizethese facets.This paper is an analysis of the transformation that occurred in the diverse social profiles of mid-seventeenth-century Bengal, simultaneously, a discourse to observe the conflict of this centuryagainst the long-established historical model known as 'syncretism' in Medieval Indian history.

Keywords: Society, Bengal, Mughal, Narrative, Medieval, Syncretism, Conflict

Introduction:

Politically, the Mughals begin their rule over Bengal after the defeat of Daud Karrani by Munim Khan in the battle of Tukaroi, in 1575 AD. This province witnessed many battles, rebellions, and internal disputes among viceroys till

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1757. However, such political events had no proper influence on the daily life of common peoples as they had no direct involvement either in royal activities or military campaigns. Even, they had not been the major subject of discourse in the contemporary court chronicles generally written in the Persian language. In our period of study, we can observe the presence of three dominant religions-Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. Simultaneously, so many local beliefs and folk worship also existed with the varied form of regional diversity and geographical factors. The study of Mughal Bengal incorporated multiple forces of society, such as the rise of Vaishnavism, the process of Islamization, and the beginning of European settlements. Within Hinduism the most vital force was neo-Vaishnavism from here the Vaishnava Sahajiya movement had regenerated as a strong Yogic-Tantric practice. The entire structure of its thought system consisted of an inexorable faith in the superiority of devotion to knowledge, bhakti was the only acceptable creed among the people. The journey of Islam in Bengal was followed by two factors -one was the rise of the Sultanate and Mughals as political power and another was the spread of Sufi Khanqahs. That's why the question of Islamization was also raised as the basic phenomenon of Bengal which was said to have partly continued by the local Muslim clergies although it was not implemented as a policy of government even during the time of Aurangzeb. Over time, a complete difference appeared between the foreign-originated Muslims and indigenous newly converted Muslims because mere conversion from Hinduism to Islam did not alter their customs and practices which they had inherited from their forefathers. Thus, it created the 'son of the soil' identity among the indigenous Bengali Muslims since medieval times. Bengal at the time of the Mughals witnessed the advent of many Europeans which gave a new shape to composite identity.

Review of Primary Sources

This work is based on contemporary primary and few secondary sources. Primary sources are divided into two categories-Bengali literature and accounts of foreign travellers. It is necessary to mention that Persian sources have little to do with this theme, therefore, only one of these sourcesisused here. Regarding Bengali sources we have *Manasamangal*of Ketakadas, edited by Sri Bijan Bihari Bhattacharya, a mid-seventeenth century work as per the argument of Sukumar Sen is concerned, which extensively depicted the society, religion, caste and position of women of that time. Perhaps, this literary text was the first to drastically signify the goddess' paramountcy against the male god. Secondly, the *Dharmamangal* of Ruparam Chakrabarty, edited by Sri Sukumar Sen and Panchanan Mandal. This work is said to have been completed in 1650 AD. The central figure of this literature is Lausen around whom the whole story continued. The basic

reflections of this text are folk worship and the picture of rural society. Thirdly, the *Anadi Mangal* of Ramdas Adak, edited by Sri Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay, was written in 1662 AD. His work was an imitation of Ruparam's Dharmamangal. But it supplied much information about the contemporary religious centres, various folk castes, and Pir eulogy. Fourthly, we have *Brahman Roman Catholic Sambad* by Dom Antonio, edited by S.N.Sen, this Bengali historical text was the most important theological discourse between Hinduism and Christianity of seventeenth-century India in which it not merely expounded the superiority of Christianity over Hinduism but also thematized it as a mutual understanding between these two religions through their debates over different issues like- the concept of God, Avatar (incarnation), karmafal, sin, and destiny. Fifthly, we have *SaptaPaykar* of Syed Alaol, edited by Munshi Saidar Rahman. This is a genuine literary work of the mid-seventeenth century that defined the composite identity of that time by amalgamating the Hindu-Muslim themes with a linguistic perspective. The accounts of foreign travellers provided many valuable sources on contemporary Bengal. Firstly, we have *Storia do Mogor* of NiccolaoManucci, translated with an introduction and notes by William Irvine. He visited the cities, and European factories, and described the condition of people, and their residence of living. Secondly, we have the account of J.B. Tavernier, translated from the original France edition by V.Ball. He chiefly narrated the practice and customs of Bengal's society. Thirdly, we have the account of Thevenot edited by S.N.Sen entitled "Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri". He enumerated the communities, towns, and places of worship. In this work, one Persian source has been used as others have no better conjunction except the military and administrative history, that is Tarikh-i-Bangala of Salimullah, translated by Francis Gladwin as 'A Narrative of The Transactions in Bengal during the Soobahdaries'. The only fact of prince Azim-us-Shan's discourse with the Sufi saints is used here.

Social Transformation and the Syncretistic Profiles

As we are relating this study to deal with the social aspects, so we should provide a complete picture of the peoples of mid-seventeenth-century Bengal depending upon the sources. In this regard, it is necessary to mention that Persian sources have little to do with this theme due to their court-centric nature, therefore, we have to conduct this task based on indigenous Bengali texts and accounts of foreign travellers. Through an overall assessment of our period, it is clear that three major communities had occupied prominent positions in contemporary Bengal-the Hindus, the Muslims, and the Christians.The prospects of Hindu life were distinctiveon the ground of faiths which can be divided into multiple dimensions, such as idol worships, local cults and devotional sects. We found the enumeration of this term (Hindu) differently because both Tavernier and Thevenot regarded them as 'idolaters'while Manucci identified them as

'Hindoo' (Niccolao M., 1907, p. 93). We have instances of idol worship from the account of Thevenot who enunciated the Jagannath temple to be much morepopular among the dwellers near Ganga. In the 'Dig Vandana' section of Anadi Mangal Kavya, written in this century, we have noticed various places of worship in Bengal like Ranaghat (present Nadia district) Tarakeswar (present Hoogly) for Shiva worship, Burdwan for Devi Sarbamangala worship (Ramdas A. 1345, p.6). Bengal was the heartland of Vaishnavism for a very long time, the emergence of the Chaitanya movement in the mid-fifteenth century gave it a fillip for wider spread from rural to urban life through the Sankrittan movement. But many contemporary Mangal Kavyalike- Ray Mangal, Shasti Mangal, Sitala Mangal, Kamala Mangal of Krishna Das and Dharma Mangal of Ruparam Chakrabarty indicate the transformationof the Hindu faith in which Vaishnavism seems to have lost its prior influence over the society (Shah N.R., 2012, p 54), although we have seenthe verses of 'Chaitanya Vandana' in bothAnadi Mangal of poet Ramdas Adak (Ramdas A. 1345, p.7) and Ruparam's *Dharmamangal* (Prabab R., 2000, p.350). Also, we have an example of a petty Zamindar Sobha Singh who gave land-grant to Parasuram Brajabasi of NimtalaVaishnavite monastery (Pranab R., 2000, p.350).

One of the most remarkable features of this period was the prevalence of folk beliefs among a large number of the rural population. We have Manasa Mangal of Ketakadas written in the mid-seventeenth century which described the story of goddess Manasa and Chand Saudagar in which Chand was a Bengali merchant and fond of Siva who denied the worship of snake deity Manasa, as a result of this he suffered bitterly. Manasa Mangal Kavya delineated the superiority of the Goddess above the God Siva and even regarded Manasa as Visva-Mata[7], which signifies the transformation of faith among the peoples. In every section of this literary text, we can trace a constant clash between goddess and God in which goddess Manasa was the winner, and she punished the Siva follower Chand to establish her paramountcy. Along with this, we can add Durga Mangal of Rupnarayan Ghosh, Kalika Mangal of Kalidas, and Sasthi Mangal of Krisnaram Das of that time which glorified the figures of female goddesses like Durga, Kali, and Sasthi, respectively.

We have several contemporary pieces of evidence to focus on the condition of Muslims in Bengal's society, who were the dominant community of that time. Since the days of the Delhi Sultanate, there had been many misunderstandings from the writings of a few European foreign travellers in their identification of Bengali Muslims. Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese traveller who visited Bengal in the 15th century, used the term 'respectable moors' to refer to the Muslim inhabitants of Gaur (Richard, 1993, p. 80). Simultaneously, in our study period, we can locate the same defects in most

of the contemporary accounts.Thevenot mentioned in his account about the Muslims -

"The Country was kept in far better order under the Patan Kings, (I mean) before the Mahometans and Moguls were Masters of it because then they had Uniformity in Religion. It has been found by experience, that disorder came into Mahometan- it with, and that diversity of Religions there caused corruption in Manners" (Thevenot,1949, p.95). His remark for Mohammedan and Mughal or Patan seems to be equal, and no proper difference he made between the two i.e., the former is religion and the other two means royal dynasties.

In Muslim society, Sufism was a pivotal forcethatcreated a new dimension in the field of religious syncretism in Bengal's society. It was analteration towards the liberal ideas from the hide-bound ritualistic approaches of Islam. The Sufis seek to discover the spiritual world through their mystic path rather than the fundamental law of Islam i.e Shariah, and emphasized love for God as the only medium of salvation. However, the advent of Sufism in the Bengal frontier conveyed two significant historical facets -one was the considerable mystic preaching of Sufi saints facilitating the process of Islamization and mostly the localization of Islam in Bengal, while another was the growth of harmonious relationships in every sphere of society. The most important characteristic of the Sufi movementin Bengal was its native nature than that of the dominant mode of Sufism that prevailed in other parts of India. Such distinction in Bengal gave birth to a new offshoot which is popularly known as 'Pirism', a form of joint worship of the Hindus and the Muslims in Medieval Bengal. The popularity of the Sufi faith in Bengal can be traced from two contemporary examples. There was an established belief among the rulers that the blessings of Sufi saints bring prosperity, durability, and peace to their reign. In that case, we can mention prince Azim-us-Shan's visit to the tomb of Sufi saint Shah BehramSakka at Burdhwan after the death of Raheem Khan, a rebel chieftain. We have also another interesting story about the discourse between Azim us Shan and another Sufi Bizeed of Burdwan (Salimullah, 1788, p.25). We have evidence from contemporary Bengali texts that ascertained the purview of Sufism andreflected the composite identity of the society. Ruparam Chakrabarty in his Dharmamangal expressed his adoration for Pir Ismailii, who was said to have been the protector of jungle and destructor of robbers, and Daria Pir Kalu Ray for river worship (Chakrabarty,1351, p.16). We also found the same instance of Pir eulogy in the Anadi Mangal of Ramdas Adak, like-Pir Ismaili and Rasuvi Kha Pir (Ramdas, 1345, p.7). In all the above cases, we can indicate the folk figure of Pirs who were different from the dominant Sufi orders and merged with ordinary local faiths.

In this period, we have noticed numerous advents of Europeans in Bengal, basically on two purposes- one was commercial and another was Christian missionary work. In terms of regional identity, they were Dutch, Armenian, Portuguese, and English, while Christianity was common faith for all of them despite remaining in different schools of thought, among them some settled in the 16th century and some in the 17th century. Such a long-lasting presence of European settlements in Bengal gave new outlooks on social scenarios that can be regarded as the historical phase of foreign Bengali interaction.

We have many examples of European settlements from contemporary sources.Manucci visited two factories, – one of the English and another of the Dutchat Dhaka metropolis (Niccolao, 1907, p.83). Simultaneously, Thevenot while describing the European residence at Dhaka, raised a comparison that the English and Dutch houses were more solid than the native peoples (Thevenot, 1949, 95). The gradual advent of Europeans led to the settlement of various Christian monasteries in Bengal which considerably resulted in the outcrop of a new affluent of foreign-Bengali discourse. We have the instance of Manucci who compromised with Mirza Gul, a governor of Bengal province, on behalf of the Jesuit father to build up a church at Hugli; even though he noticed at Dhaka that there were many Christians, white and black Portuguese, with a church served by a monk named Agostinho (Niccolao, 1907, p.86). Thevenot while talking about Dhaka mentioned the existence of an Augustine monastery (Thevenot, 1949, p. 95). In the account of Manucci, we have seen that there was a prominent group of Christian monks whom he mentioned as 'friars. Although we don't know much about the Europeans from contemporary Bengali texts except the "Brahman Roman Catholic Sambad" of Dom Antonio, who himself was of Bengali origin and said to have been a prince of Bhusana which is originally located inthe Jessore-Faridpur area of present Bangladesh. Perhaps, this Bengali historical text was the most important theological discourse between Hinduism and Christianity ofseventeenth-century India in which it not merely expounded the superiority of Christianity over Hinduism but also thematized it as a mutual understanding between these two religions through their debates over different issues like- the concept of God, Avatar (incarnation), karmafal, sin, and destiny (Antonio, 1937, p. 59).

There was a long tradition of caste in the history of medieval Bengal. The literary works of the mid-seventeenth century refer to three major castes, the Brahman, the Kayasthas and the Vaishyas. Although we have no strong evidence to elucidate the caste stratification in Muslim society in our period, few Bengali texts, like Manasa Vijaya of Bipradas and the Chandimangal of the late fifteenth and sixteenth century speak about many Muslim functional castes such as Sayyids, Mullahs, and Qazis holding social position in Bengal

(Chatterjee, 1967, p. 201). In our period, the caste origin could be defined in both occupational and hierarchical ways. There was no strict basis forthe fourfold caste order in Bengal of that century rather it was more centred on a professional layout. The Brahmans were a reverent caste in Bengal's society who enjoyed much priority everywhere. We have seen that before the arrival of the Turkish, Brahmanas used to have mastery over Bengal's society which had been crushed due to the increasing interference of localized Islam. Meanwhile, during the fifteenth century various new anti-Brahman forces were amplifying within Hinduism, as mentioned earlier the minor cults, prominently Vaishnavism. The existing ruling groups of the Delhi Sultanate probably sheltered them to annihilate their major Brahmin opponents. In due circumstances, the Brahmans tried to revive their glory which can be exemplified by the foundation of the *Nyaya* school and the composition of Smriti texts by Raghunandanand his contemporaries (Momtazur, 1965, p.190). Some prominent scholars sought to identify another aspect through the rise of Raja Ganeshamidthe 15th century, which they have promulgated as the rejuvenation of Hindu power, even a trend had been inculcated among the Brahmanas of Navadipato occupy the throne of Gaur that is reflected in the work of Brindabanadas and Chaitanya Mandalof Jayananda. It is also argued that the ruling groups adopted the policy of Kayastha's appeasement to curtail the power of Brahmans. Abul Fazal witnessed in the 16th century that many Zamindars flourishing in different Sarkars of Bengal were Kayasthas (Allami, 2018, p.143-145). Whether the rulers had any objective to support the Kayasthasor to prevent the Brahmans is not certain still, but due to their growth, the Brahmans must have suffered a setback from social pre-dominance. Equally, thesame things of lucid Brahmanical influence have been reflected in Rashikamangal, a contemporaryVaishnavite text of our period in which we have seen that Brahmans despite being the prestigious section of society didn'thesitate to accept 'Prasad' from Rasika who was a Vaishnava fellow. Although Tavernier narrated an incident witnessed by him in which we can notice the despicable work of a Brahman for an ordinary person to protect his caste identity-

"Here is yet another somewhat curious custom. When an idolater loses a coin or a sum ofgold, be it by mistake or that he has been robbed, he is bound to take as much as he has lostto the chief Brahmin, and if he does not do so and it gets known he is driven with ignominyout of his caste, through policy, to make people careful." (Tavernier, 1889, p.255).

The Brahmans were engaged with religious duties and played significant roles as teachers by opening many rural schools popularly known as 'Tol'. The author of Dharmamangal, RuparamChakrabarty (himself was a Brahman) belonged to a highly traditional educated family who mentioned his father as a famous scholar who had his own 'Tol' in which many students used to study

but after the death of his father, his elder brother became the master of this institution which compelled himto become homeless. In due circumstances, he left his own home because of the constant quarrels with his brothers and shifted to the nearby 'Tol' of Raghuram Bhattacharya (Chakrabarty, 1351, p.18). However, on account of a growing intensity between them, he again left Raghuram's 'Tol' and went to Nabadwip (Chakrabarty, 1351, p.19). Brahmans had their huge erudition in religious scriptures, examples can be enumerated from a contemporary source 'Brahman Roman Catholic Sambad' in which an anonymous Brahman debated over the issues of his religion with a native Catholic Dom Antonio (Antonio, 1937, p.1). Along with these the Brahmans were also respected for being the ritualistic head, as we have seen that rich families had their appointed 'Purahita' for the ceremonial task. In the Manasa Mangal of Ketakadas when Chand was preparing for his last son Lakhindar's marriage he summoned his family Brahman who not merely suggested caste marriage but also played the role of marriage broker on behalf of his family (Khemananda, 2018, p.23). Anadi Mangal gives us an example of Rajpurahit belonging to the 'Ghosal' class, named Binod Ghosal (Ramdas, 1345, p.26).

Although contemporary Bengali sources providea no better description of the Khshtriyas, but we can shed light on this aspect depending ona few primaryand secondary works. During the last decades of Aurangzeb's reign, one of the most momentous facts was Sobha Singh's insurgency, who was a petty ijaradar of Midnapur district, revolted against his master Chaudhuri Krishnaram Roy as he obliged him to pay a huge tax of 22thousand annually. Indigenous sources of that time bear witness that both Krishnaram Roy and Sobha Singh might have been born of a Kshatriya caste (Pranab, 2000 p. 347). Similarly, another contemporary Zamindar of Mahmoodabad Parganah, Sitaram can be regarded as a Kshatriya, who had a short skirmish with the army of Jaffar Khan (Salimullah, 1788, p.89). In this period the significant position of Vaishyas was most noticeable as merchandise class. The Manasa Mangal Kavya of Ketakadas mentioned the term Sadaghar for Chand who used to trade by sea voyages (Khemananda, 2018, p.7). Even, we can trace their existence from Anadi Mangal of Ramdas Adak in which we have seen a daughter of the head of Vaishyas (Ramdas, 1345, p.25). As per as the contemporary English factory records are concerned these merchants wereknown as Sahas who had a proper business deal with the Europeans (Chatterjee, 1967, p. 207). Since the fifteenth century of the Bengal Sultanate, we have seen the incorporation of adequate numbers of *Kayasthas*in the court of Gaur. Examples can be marked in the field of literature-Vijaya Gupta*,* Yashraj Khan*,* Shrikara Nandi, and Kavindra Parameshvara were all vernacular Kayashta poets. Most of our contemporary poets were too belonged to this caste, exclusively emerged as a club 'literati persons' theirworks serveas valuable pictures of society and culture of that

time. Ketakadas Khemananda, the author of Manasa Mangal Kavya was a Kayastha (Sen, 2012, p. 226), also Sitaram Das, author of Ray Mangal was a Kayastha (Sen, 2012, p.140). Maintaining caste identity was the elementarymode of this society, which can be observed in Manasa Mangal where Chand proposed to his Brahman marriage broker to search for a daughter of a merchant (Vaishya) (Khemananda, 2018, p.23). Now, outside the principal caste identity, we found numerous information about several folk castes which were not formally affiliated with the hereditary orders but seems to be professional by nature. Among them, the most remarkable was the 'Vaidyas', actually known in rural Bengal as the reliever of someone who has either been suffering from a snake's bite ornearly half death. We noticed in Manasa Mangal Kavya the role of a Vaidya, who wanted to save the life of Behula's husband by his lustful offer (Khemananda, 2018, p.73). Similarly, Anadi Mangal mentioned 'Ojha' (Ramdas, 1345, p.31), a local group of people, especially associated with the tasks of treating snake diseases and controlling the snakes. Here we have also seen that Som Ghosh (a character of this kavya) and his father Kanu Ghose bothbelonged to the 'Goala' or dairymen caste. Even, we have evidence of 'Kamar' or blacksmith caste (Ramdas, 1345, p.14). The author of this Kavya (Anadi Mangal), Ramdas Adak was a Kaivarta whose chief occupation wasthe fishery (Sen, 2012, p.137). Ruparam Chakrabarty mentioned in his poetry that he went to the resident of 'Tati' or tailor for having food after being set out from his own home Chakrabarty, 1351, p. 21).

Practice and Customs of Mid-Seventeenth Century Mughal Bengal

Contemporary sources of our period give us ample evidence regarding the practice and customs of that time. The indigenous Bengali literature and the foreign traveller's account help us totrace this theme. In Manasa Mangal Kavya of Ketakadas, we found the custom known as 'Saadh' among the Bengalis of present days. It is a name of a ceremony for giving desired articles of food to a pregnant woman or entertaining a pregnant woman with choice dishes. We have seen here that Sanaka, the wife of merchant Chand desired to have the foods of 'Saadh' at the time of her last pregnancy after the death of her six sons by the curse of Manasa Devi Khemananda, 2018, p. 15). Similarly, the mother of Lausen (the central figure ofAnadi Mangal kavya), performed 'saadh' duringher five months of pregnancy (Ramdas, 1345, p. 58). Another most horrible practice can be traced to that isknown as 'Narabali'or human sacrifice it was a popular custom in which it conducts an act of killingone or more humans as a part of the ritual, which is naturally intended to please gods or goddess. In this text, we have seen that Karnasen killed ten little children to satisfy his favourite goddess Chandi (Ramdas, 1345, p.17).

The foreign travellers of our period supplied much information about several customs of that time which they had witnessed during their journey. But there are several shortcomings with the travelogues because of the absence of credibility in their observations, and another is the misunderstandings of those narrators in several cases about Indian society, culture, and heritage because of their scarcity of acquaintance with this exotic sub-continent. The problem is that their narrations are mostly based on observation. Even, in this regard we have two categorizations, -one is eye-witnessed while another is hearing from someone else. Also, one more thing we must intertwine is that they have merely enunciated those which seem to be strange to them on the special ground. Despite their descriptions are worthy to depict this aspect.

We have to conduct the first discussion based on Jean Baptiste Tavernier's travelogue. He enumerated an incident of female infanticide, although he knew nothing about this practice, precisely what the Bengali peoples called 'Sati' or 'Sahamarana'. But he provided an unblemished eye-witnessed picture in his writing that in the kingdom of Bengal women are burnt in another manner. He observed that a woman in that country (Bengal) must be very poor if she didn't come with her husband's body to the margin of the Ganges to wash it after he is dead and bathe herself before being burnt. He saw them come to the Ganges more than twenty day's journey, by that time the bodies being altogether putrid and generating unbearable smell. He wrote "I was there at that time. As throughout the length of the Ganges, and also in all Bengal, there is but little fuel, these poor women send to beg for wood out of charity to burn themselves with the dead bodies of their husband. The woman who intends to burn herself, preceded by some drums, flutes, and hautboys and dressed in her most beautiful ornaments, comes dancing to the funeral pile, and having ascended it she places herself, half lying, half seated. Then the body of her husband is laid across her, and all the relatives and friends bring her, one a letter, another a piece of cloth, this one flower, that one piece of silver or copper, saying to her, give this from me to my mother, or my brother or to some relatives or friends, whoever the dead person may be whom they have most loved while alive. When the woman sees that they bring her nothing more, she asks those present three times whether they have any more commissions for her and if they do not reply she wraps all they have brought in a *taffeta*, which she places between her lap and the back of the body of her defunct husband, calling upon the priests to apply fire to the funeral pile…" (Tavernier, 1889, p. 213-214).

Secondly, he witnessed another inhuman practice of Bengal about how a newborn infant was treated to verify his/her human existence to differentiate from demon origin. Tavernier explored this incident on account of his curiosity, as many times he saw that there were people who had one eye, while

another one had either been injured or altogether gone. He observed that when a woman gave birth to a child, and if the infant is unwilling to take to its mother's breast to suckle, it is carried outside the village and placed in a cloth, which is tied by four corners to the branches of a tree, and is thus left from morning to evening. In this way, the poor child is exposed to the crows, which come to torment it, and some have been found whose eyes have been torn out of their heads, therefore, it is the reason why idolaters are seen in Bengal who has but one eye. Again, in the evening the infant is taken to see whether it is willing to suckle during the following night, and if it still refuses the breast, it is taken back on the following day to the same place. This is done for three days in sequence, after which, if the infant is finally unwilling to take the breast, it is believed that it is a demon (Tavernier, 1889, p. 213). He also experienced at Hugly that the English, Dutch and Portuguese inhabitants took care of these misfortune children by fostering them at their factories.

When we are talking about rituals and customs, it would not be wrong to claim that all such practices have their legacy even in recent times. One of them is called Charak Puja or Charak Mela, also known as Nil Puja and Hajrha Puja, a popular folk festival in both West Bengal and present Bangladesh. The followers believe that it is to say God Siva, by whose blessing they will bring prosperity by eliminating the sorrow and sufferings of the previous year. It is also to note that women fast before this festival. Sometimes men devotees swing from the pole by hooks thrust through their backs, the hooks being attached to the pole by ropes. We can relate one fact from Tavernier's account who mentioned about this practice happened at Maldah (present district of West Bengal), although he had no idea regarding its exact name, even his remarks are silent in its proper identification. He said-

"On the 8th of April, when I was in Bengal at a town called Maldah, the idolaters made a great feast which is peculiar to the inhabitants of that place. They all leave the town and attach hooks of iron to the branches of trees, to which many of these poor people hook themselves, some by the sides and others by the middle of the back. These hooks enter their bodies, and they remain suspended, some for an hour and others for two, till the weight of the body drags the flesh… I asked some of these people wherefore they made this feast and these penances, and they said it was in memory of the first man, whom they called Adam like us" (Tavernier, 1889, p. 254).

Although Tavernier misunderstood the faiths of Hindus and mistakenly assimilated Adam of Abrahamic religion with 'the first man' of Hinduism, known as Siva or Adi Purush. Another contemporary account of a French traveller, Jean de Thevenot, and Tavernier who visited Bengal and provided an elaborate description of the incident in which they observed that there was a super-dominance of the notion of Penance over the psyche of Bengalis.

Thus, we have seen that notable changes in people's perception can be observed in Bengali literary texts like, - the Goddess's paramountcy in the place of Gods, and the transformation of dominant worships into rural folk beliefs. Similarly, at the indigenous level, we have seen the harmonious social relationship among the ordinary peoples, but we are unable to identify because of the paucity of sources how much the Muslims modified their lifestyle due to conversion. Regarding caste yet our sources supplied abundant descriptions of Hindu society, but no broad overview is explorable of native Muslims. It can be said beyond dispute that the beginning of European settlement must have created a model of foreign-Bengali discourse in the fields of culture, religion, and society. Along with this, it cannot be denied that it gave a new shape to composite identity in Bengal by imparting Christianity inclusive of Hinduism and Islam.

Identities of Conflict

Now we are turning to another aspect of this paper which is the conflict in the place of syncretism, on which we have done a discussion earlier. Before the beginning of this analysis, we should know that conflict exactly means the related counter-narratives which has not been promptly emphasized earlier by the 'medievalists' of the present time. Hence, we must also define what counter-narrative means in this study. Commonly narrative refers to stories, telling, and accounts of connected events mostly derived from the past. Post-modernist scholar Michel Foucault widely insisted on narrative studies by challenging the traditional historiographies. Although, this paper is not a kind of that academic exertion. Here 'counter-narrative' refers to an alteration of medieval Indian history writings that are not formally oriented to any school that had been in the line of pre-conceived notions. Such allegations can be directed to the earlier Hindu and Muslim nationalist historians, and similarly to the Marxists or left linear authors who tried to establish their respective approaches depending upon the specific sources. In this respect, several common generalizations have been settled for medieval Indian history viz,-1. the Sultanate and the Mughals were invaders who had no contribution to India, 2. the medieval rulers were not always intolerant in their treatment of infidels, 3. the conflicts between the Hindu and Muslim ruling houses were not political but religious 4. The action of temple demolition and policy of conversion was not taken by the ruling house and had no impact on the larger society, 5. Emperor Akbar was always great and Aurangzeb was only a fanatic. It is clear from those above-mentioned facets that either these conclusions were made depending upon specific sources or there was an invisible crisis of scientific historical perception.

The condition of writing a true history lost its basis since the beginning of colonial historiography who has although a great contribution to the

formation of professional historical studies in India but generated many more negative impressions for India. As a counter-reaction, therefore, nationalist historians went to illustrate the great heritage of India to refute the colonial thoughts. Nevertheless, there was also some disease among nationalist scholars that cannot be denied who were indirectly influenced by the colonial model of Indian history, precisely, in the context of periodization, like Hindu, Muslim and British periods. Even, sometimes they grouped themselves as Hindu and Muslim nationalists which later inspired the communal 'two-nation theory. The advent of Marxist historiography revolutionizes the academic circle imparting new modes of authorship in the post-independence period. No one can indeed reject their relevance if it's concerned with the materialist interpretation of Indian history even today. But being the dominant writers of Indian history, they have always assessed every aspect of medieval India either in economic perception or as a dynamic model of politics and socio-cultural relationships. Hence, they have disregarded many essential subjects which are controversial. It is high time when we must save history from the tussles of different schools by insisting more upon scientific historical study for every period so that we can present an unblemished picture of our past to the forthcoming generation. However, we know that it is quite a difficult task for us because we are born as human beings, we are made of bone and blood, and it is very difficult to be unbiased because we are bounded by various psychological behaviours on account of our diverse environment. At least, we can try our best to reach the very approximation of truth in our pursuance of history.

The beginning of the viceroyship of prince Azim-us-Shan in Bengal witnessed so many rebellions or skirmishes that took place in different corners of Bengal. We have instances of discontent by Shobha Singh, a petty zamindar of the Chandrakona subdivision of Midnapur who with the assistance of Rahim Khan, an Afghan chief, revolted against Krishnaram Ray, the zamindar of Burdwan. However, the Dutch were also involved in this clash to subdue the rebellion. The actions of Shobha Singh seem to be very much aggressive in this condition. In this regard, we have a long terracotta inscription from the eka-ratna brick temple of Gopinath of the Das family, which speaks of Sobha Singh as more than a cruel zamindar. He mercilessly ordered his men to cut off the head of Shyama Das who was said to have been the founder of this temple (Pranab, 200, p.345-351). We can observe that this fact contradicts the common explanation given by a group of authors who claims that oppression in this period always occurred from the Mughals to non-Muslims. Undoubtedly, it is true that so many incidents are like that. But, very surprisingly we have another piece of evidence from a contemporary Bengali poet, Krishnaram who wrote panegyrize of emperor Aurangzeb-

"Aurangzeb, the ruler of the land, is more dreadful than the fiercest enemy. And his kingdom is said to be Ram-Rajya" (Shahidullah, 11374, p. 24).

Here we can see that the notion of power and exploitations are varied from one to another, and one common justification for selective circumstances is not historically appropriate as per as the above two motives are concerned.

In this discourse, we have to examine Azim-us-Shan's policies during his Bengal Subahdari. After fixing his residence at Burdwan he built a palace and a mosque as the symbol of royalty. By imitating emperor Aurangzeb, he used to attend Islamic theological discourses gathered by scholars on this subject. He resumed the collection of taxes which was remitted from many articles before. But in this regard, he promptly initiated discriminatory policy among the Muslims, Hindus, and Europeans, and directed that "Muhammadans (Muslims) should pay two and a half percent, and the Hindoos and Europeans five percent" (Salimullah, 1788, p. 24). We have noticed in this period that the Sufi saints played vital roles in the formation of any ruling house or accession of monarchs to the throne. There was an established belief among the rulers that the blessings of Sufi saints bring prosperity, durability, and peace to their reign. Hence, Azim us Shan got the same opportunity at Burdwan when he came in contact with Sufi Baizeed (Byazid), at that time who was very popular for his sanctity. An interesting story is that Azim sent his two sons Sultan Farrukhsiyar and Sultan Karimuddin (Muhammad Karim Mirza) to invite him to his court. Being proud of his superior status, Karimuddin did not descend from his horse, on the contrary, Farrukhsiyar eagerly went to visit him with huge respect and veneration. The Sufi placed him in the palanquin with the hand of Farruksiyar and said "you are a king, seat yourself; and may the almighty prove favourable to your wishes" (Salimullah, 1788, p. 26). Farruksiyar and the Sufi together reached the court in one palanquin, and Azim us Shan took him to his chamber. Here Azim sought his blessing so that he could be the next successor after the death of the present emperor. The Sufi answered, "that which you require, I have already bestowed upon Farruksiyar; my prayer, like the arrow which has left the bow, cannot be recalled". Hearing these unexpected words from the Sufi, Azim us Shan was bitterly dissatisfied, but he controlled himself knowing the further effect of Sufi's anger and bid him farewell with great honour.

Yet, we have seen various dealings of Azim us Shan, such as his discriminatory manner of tax collection, fondness of Islamic seminary, and patronage of Sufis. But we also have an alternative experience from Azim: his liberal participation in many Hindu ceremonies like, playing Hooly and wearing a yellow or crimson turban during Basant (spring) festival (Salimullah, 1788, p. 29). Emperor Aurangzeb was very much disappointed

by such an act of his son Azim us Shan and wrote a strict letter to him saying "to wear a yellow turban, and a crimson robe at the age of forty-six is making a blessed used on your beard" (Salimullah, 1788, p. 29).

We can draw Azim us Shan's tolerant aspiration through another of his act. It was a case of Murshid Quli Khan's time. A Fakir asked for charity from Brindaban, a Talukdar, having been displeased by his manner he drove the Fakir away from his house. Later, the Fakir collecting together several bricks constructed a petty mosque on Brindaban's road and called the people for prayer. Whenever he saw Brindaban passing the way he used to vociferate Azaan, thence, he became enraged and throw down some of the bricks from the wall and abused the Fakir. This Fakir submitted a complaint to Murshid Quli Khan also known as Jaffar Khan to punish Brindaban by death sentence (Salimullah, 1788, p. 118). Although Murshid Quli was not willing to do that and asked the Qazi whether there was any provision to save this person, all his efforts were futile. However, Brindaban was given mercy by Azim us Shan on behalf of emperor Aurangzeb's recommendation. Regretfully, Brindaban was already killed by the Qazi's arrow. Azim us Shan was bitterly displeased by this wrong doing and wrote to the emperor that Qazi Mohammad Sharif killed Brindaban out of his madness. But the emperor replied, "Qazi Sharif is on the side of God" (Salimullah, 1788, p.119).

In that case, we should make one generalization between the approaches - firstly, we must admit Azim us Shan's liberal involvement with regional culture is contradictory to his father's expectation of adopting the above practices, and secondly, we should not refute his narrow policy of taxation in which he gave much exemption for Muslims and less for the infidel Hindus and Europeans.

Now we have another most prominent figure of Bengal of this century known as Murshid Quli Khan. Sir Jadunath Sarkar informed us that he was actually born as a Hindu but later converted to Islam. Over time, he had become the endeared associate of emperor Aurangzeb because of his role in Shariah-based instruction on imperial finance strategies. Murshid Quli Khan's fame lies in his dynamic initiative of revenue system for Bengal province as he replaced Jagirdari with the Malzamini system also he was the founder of the famous city of late Mughal Bengal 'Murshidabad'. But in previous works, many things have been unnoticed about Murshid Quli Khan which provides both positive and negative viewpoints on him.

At the very beginning of his rule, he advised several strict orders for the Zamindars, examples can be taken from the course of his actions, like-he displaced the less trusted Zamindars, he did not allow the inferior Zamindars in public access, neither he permitted the local Rajahs nor any of his officers to be seated in his presence (Salimullah, 1788, p.57). One fact of his

narrowmindedness appeared when he forbade the riding of Zamindars and Hindus in a palanquin and merely allowed them to use the straight bamboos for their travels (Salimullah, 1788, p.58). Being expertise in revenue administration Murshid Quli Khan knew that the Hindus had hereditary experience in revenue administration, in this regard we have seen emperor Aurangzeb was also much more dependent on his Hindu chief finance minister Raghunatha (Audrey, 2017, p. 58). The same goes for Murshid Quli Khan as well because he employed none but Bengali Hindus in the matter of revenue collections (Salimullah, 1788, p.61). Here the reasons were two in which one was convenient power dominance and another was the theocratic approach, as he understood that they could easily be discovered from malpractices in the name of punishment. But we have a very bad impression about him when he detected that a Hindu Amil or Zamindar dissipated the revenue and failed to balance the report properly, at that time he forced this perpetrator, his wife, and children to be converted to Islam (Salimullah, 1788, p.61). Many times, we have noticed in former scholarly works of reputed historians who have often rejected this forceful process of conversion or skilfully tried to overlook them through multiple exaggerated historiographical dimensions which have meant to please a particular group of dominant readers who are controlling our academia. Upholding this above evidence, we cannot just deny the 'forceful conversion' entity in our period of study equally with other good circumstances.

We can regard another most remarkable divine orientation of Murshid Quli Khan from one of his conducts which happened during his first phase of Subedari; the Katwal of Hoogly forcefully abducted a girl from her father's house but unfortunately, the faujdar of this place named Ahsanullah was unable to take action on its behalf. The father of this girl being helpless carried the complaint to Murshid Quli khan, hearing this from him he promulgated that the criminal should be stoned to death by the ordinance of the Holy Quran (Salimullah, 1788, p.117).

One of the most sensitive issues of medieval Indian history is the temple destruction or building of mosques after ruining the temples, which has inadequately been studied in our modern historical writings to emphasize more upon economic and political aspects. We have a wonderful scientific work by Richard M. Eaton entitled "Temple Desecration and the Indo-Muslim States" in which he explained the modes of temple demolition from early medieval to late Mughal times. He defined the instances of temple destruction in early medieval Hindu kingdoms where he has shown how conflicting Hindu kingdoms attacked the temples of each other and plundered the 'Rastra Devata" (state-deity) which symbolize their hereditary worship (Richard, 2009, p. 303). Here Eaton tried to identify the cause of the

attack was to diminish the enemy state's glory. In his study of both the Delhi Sultanate and Mughal period he interpreted this process on two grounds – firstly, temple desecration and state-building where he described the same reason for raiding temples as mentioned in the case of early medieval India was to curb the authority of respective Hindu state. Secondly, he also analysed another facet of temple protection and state maintenance in which he enumerated how the medieval ruling house conserved many temples under their care. But Eaton has not properly defined the manner of replacing the temples with a mosque in this period, even though no such case has been adequately cited in his work from the later Mughal period. As we are working on Murshid QuliKhan, we have some notable examples of this process that should be considered as a reflection of his intolerance.

It appeared that Murshid Quli Khan's health declined in his last life and he became much more concerned about heaven and hell. Following the footsteps of Muslim monarchs, he also ordered the foundation of his tomb, and a mosque herewith. He appointed a person named Murad to superintend this work. He pitched upon a spot located in the Khas Taluk of the city's east side. But the most heinous job he did by pulling down all the Hindu temples nearby this place and using the materials for erecting the new work (Salimullah, 1788, p.121). The Zamindars had an intent to protect the temples even using bribes, but this was not allowed. Here we can look at the cases of violence under the direct authority of this ruling group. In the remote villages close to Murshidabad, many Hindu houses were threatened with destruction, though some were forgiven instead of payments. The officer compelled the servants of Hindus of all ranks to work for the construction unless they paid for their release (Salimullah, 1788, p.121).

In the above discussions, we have gone through multifarious social perspectives of mid-seventeenth century Bengal by which it constructed a contradictory theme that can be distinctive from earlier works. Depending upon the primary Bengali, Persian, and accounts of foreign travellers this paper specifically analysed the religious beliefs, caste system, practices, and prejudices of contemporary Bengali peoples. Although Persian court chronicles have little to do with this subject, except we have a regional one composed in a later time, based on the narratives of the mid-seventeenth century and eighteenth century onward. The accounts of foreign travellers which are hitherto unnoticed in former scholarly works have become a mandatory portion of this study despite having several shortcomings in their understanding of the society. Simultaneously, we have also discussed the notion of 'conflict', hitherto unnoticed in earlier works in which we tried to make an impartial endeavour as much as possible.A society of every period cannot run partly with the process of cooperation; therefore, conflicting interests must not be disregarded. Beyond dispute, Syncretism was the

dynamic force of mid-seventeenth century Bengal but the conflict in this perspective must be imparted for a true insight in to late Mughal Bengal.

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China Pakistan Economic Corridor: A Security Dilemma in South Asia

Binesh Bhatia

Abstract

The *Geopolitics* of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), a flagship projects of ambitious 'Belt and Road Initiative' (BRI) triggers security concerns in South Asia. In 2015, President of China Xi Jinping officially launched CPEC with an initial investment of US$46 billion (estimated to US$62 billion in 2020) for connecting Kashgar city of Xingjian province to the Gwadar port of Balochistan province in Pakistan. A multi-billion dollars projectof China attempts toexplore its western territory and simultaneously seeks an alternate to Malacca dilemma for uninterrupted supply lines in any futuristic war like situation. Interestingly, the corridor passes through the Gilgit Baltistan region against *Indian sovereignty* claims over disputed territory of illegally occupied Kashmir POK. Indian representatives in the *United Nations* have repeatedly termed CPEC as an illegal occupation for the use of disputed territory without India's consent. The issue has not only created a geopolitical turbulence in the region but also threatens India's national security concerns. China's gesture of peaceful rise with hidden agendas in the corridor along the instable Afghanistan has sparked *security dilemma* in the region. Moreover, the presence of Chinese People Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) at Gwadar port offers China access to Indian Ocean with an exertion to diminish India's prominence in the region by influencing economies of South Asian states. The proposed study focusesto examine the geo-strategic apprehensions of CPEC and its reaction in Sino-Pak nexus from Indian perspective. The study will further attempt to evaluate the role of United Nationsin conflict resolution and geo-politics of CPEC in South Asia.

Keywords: Geo-Politics, CPEC, Indian Sovereignty, United Nations, Security Dilemma.

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Introduction

China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a flagship project of China's 'Belt and Road Initiative' (BRI) formerly known as One Belt, One Road (OBOR) initiative. CPEC was formally launched by President of China Xi Jinping in 2015 with an initial investment of US $46 billion in the Pakistan. This investment in the corridor was based on the mutual interests vested in the Sino-Pak relationship. The framework of the project unveiled its development areas which included energy, roads, infrastructure, dams, information, optical fiber etc. CPEC not only concerns China and Pakistan but also intends to attractIran, Afghanistan, and Middle East region by inviting third party in the project (The Tribune, 2022). CPEC has proposed China's interest in the Central Asia region through its all-time friend Pakistan seeking economic growth. China has developed most of the eastern part whereas the western provinces of China hardly find any significant development as compared to its coastal territory. This economic corridor is one of the strategic partnerships to develop its least developed area Xinjiang which passes through Gilgit Baltistan region impacting the regional geo-politics in South Asia.

China has proposed itsimage to revive the Old Silk Road through this Belt and Road Initiative where China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is its flagship project. It connects the autonomous region of China, Xinjiang from Kashgar city to Gwadar port in Balochistan province of Pakistan. CPEC is an initiative of least explored North-west region in China with an idea to develop an alternate route to Malacca dilemma. It not only provides China a direct access to Arabian Sea but also gives a strategic edge to Chinese People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) to monitor India's activities in the Indian Ocean.The project also expects to provide all time supply lines to China in any conflict like situation. Its framework aimed to broaden its connectivity to boom Chinese economy with regional trade network.The corridor assumes to provide an enormous access to Chinese goods through export and import with the help of estimated road length of 3000km from Kashgar city to Gwadar port. The economic corridor was laid down on sound geostrategic and realist calculations. Framework of CPEC has a scope of regional connectivity with mutuallyvested interests in the Sino-Pak nexus.As per estimation, the total investment in CPEC project has been estimated to US$70 billion by People's Republic of China (Notezai, 2021). The corridor in Pakistan is located in the North-West region of India which passes through illegal occupation of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir.The question raised on huge investment in high risk geo-political equation in South Asia can be

evaluated in contrast to growing demand of energy supply in China to sustain its economy.

Graph A: Demand graph of energy resourcein China (IEA, 2021)
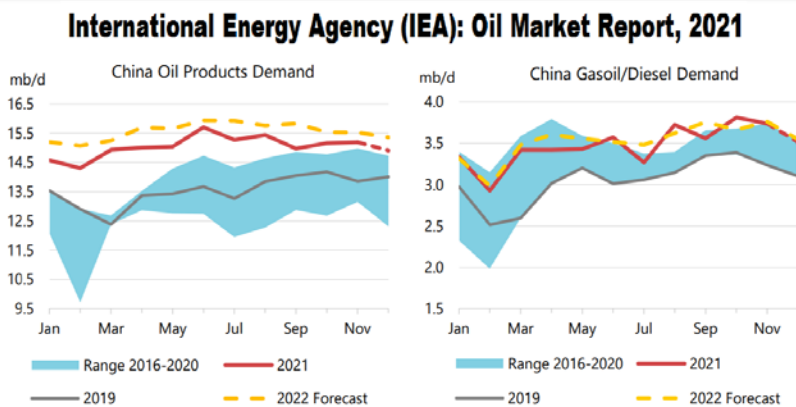
As per International Oil Market report, 2021 the demand of petroleum products i.e. Oil, Gasoil, Diesel etc. in China has witnessed consistentupsurge.The role of China in South Asia is increasing day by day weather its Sri Lanka, Maldives, Bangladesh or Nepal. China has been expandingin Indian Ocean region with its economic strength in almost every domain to align itself in South Asia.The above statistic graph is showing the growing demand to sustain Chinese economy. The graph reflects that demand of energy between 2016 and 2020 is higher in the preceding year 2021. Moreover, the forecast of 2022 has estimated to further increase its demandof petroleum products in China as assessed by IEA. The internal issues and hidden intentions of China to capture the market in South Asia have developed geo-political unrest among regional states for ongoing security dilemma. The paper attempts to highlight grand strategy of China with futuristic hegemony and geostrategic regional gains in suppressing international norms of navigation and sovereignty.

Objective of the study

To study the strategic implications of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: geo-politically and geo-strategically. Study will further examine the regional consequences of CPEC in South Asia with Indian perspective and UN commitment for conflict resolution.

Methodology

The proposed study is qualitative research based on inductive reasoning and analysis of China-Pakistan foreign policy. The adopted metho-dology is descriptive and explanatory in nature.The research intends to study the Sino-Pak relationship with available secondary sources such as National and International Research Journals, Articles in newspapers, Internet Surveys, Literatures produced by various think tanks etc. The reports published by Government and international bodies with reference to India, China and Pakistan on the CPEC and related factual data.

Theoretical Framework

From Indian perspective, the developments in China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) have materialised the self-interest of Pakistan with a threat perception to India's National Security. There are some notable descriptive in the national and international opinion over the global connectivity outlined under Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) of China for the CPEC project. The regional framework of CPEC in South Asia raises many questions in international community along with ownexotic data collection to complete thisstudy.

Pakistan is playing a crucial chunk in China's shift from a regional power to the global one. The idea to glorify CPEC and assumptions of global outcome has not met its target. A book published in Pakistan quotes, "The Pakistanis love China for what it can do for them, while the Chinese love Pakistanis despite what they do to themselves". The state of affairs among Sino-Pak relations can be observed from the imprisonment of seven Chinese workers under CPEC. It was shocking for authorities who remained with in the hawking distance of Pakistan's government and supposed to be the China's closest ally. It ultimately becomes a matter of rethinking to Chinese diplomats in Pakistan. The treatment of China's overseas nationals had become a subject of acute sensitivity for Beijing.

In another book of AlrafGauhar'Ayub Khan: Pakistan's First Military Ruler', author quoted the General Xiong Guangkai for his statement *"Pakistan is China's Israel"* published in 1993 at Lahore, Pakistan. For decades, Beijing's secretive ties with Islamabad have run closer than most formal alliances. It was established on a shared enmity with India. China's backdoor during its diplomatic isolation, the bridge between Nixon and Mao, the front-line in Beijing's struggles with the Soviet Union during the late stages of the Cold War has proved its quote.

The country lies at the heart of Beijing's plans for a network of ports, pipelines, roads and railways connecting the oil and gas fields of the Middle East to the mega-cities of East Asia. Its coastline is becoming a crucial staging post for China's take-off as a naval power, extending its reach from the Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea. Either it works both ways. For Pakistan, China is the best potential ticket out of instability and economic weakness.Thegreatest hope that a region contemplating a security vacuum after the West's withdrawal from Afghanistan might broaden the perspective of CPECto become an integral part of a New Silk Road. China Pakistan Economic Corridor has two main strategic transit points under its BRI to connect Chinawith rest of the world from South Asia. These two points are located atGwadar Port in Arabian Sea and another one Khunjerab Pass in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) region. Gwadar port is located in the South West of Balochistan province and largest province of Pakistan. It is most strategic location between South Asia and West Asia providing direct access to Central Asia at the mouth of Persian Gulf which is just outside the Straits of Hormuz. As per Chinese media, Gwadar port was upgraded at a cost of $1.62 billion. Pakistan has officially leased this strategic port to China until 2059 AD regardless of knowing the fact that People of Balochistan are against the CPEC. After the lease period is over, it will be Pakistan's second naval base after Karachi.As per research data, the long-term development agenda of China under CPEC; 80% of the people agrees, it's not in the interest of Pakistan (Bhatia, 2019).

For China, CPEC is providing an alternate route to secure its energy imports and also helping to find new markets for its goods and services. While for Pakistan, CPEC has availed much needed base to restart its economic growth by providing transit point from Gwadar port to connect Eurasian with South Asia region. Gwadar port is the one of transit points in this corridor which is a part of Pakistan's largest province Balochistan. The people of Balochistan have launched the revolt against the Federal Government of Pakistan to support Chinese investment in Pakistan under BRI and have threatened the officials to withdraw the project. In fact, the Pakistan's involvement in terror acts has been widely accepted and Pakistan itself has become a victim of terrorism. Till date Pakistan have no policy to deal with its own sown terrorism. It has been estimated that 35,000 Pakistanis have been killed since 11 September, 2001 up to May, 2011 (PIPS, 2018).

According to official data with Government of Pakistan, the direct or indirect economic costs of terrorism funding between 2000 and 2010 was $68 Billion in total. The Pak Institute for Peace Studies, an Islamabad based think tank in its annual Pakistan Security Report, 2018 says that 595 people including Pakistani security officials have been killed and 1030 others injured in 262

terror attacks in the Pakistan. The deadliest attack occurred on 25th July during general elections which was the biggest failure of Pakistan government. Pakistan is most strategic partner of China in Belt and Road Initiative. Pakistan is located in the middle of South Asia and Middle East. Pakistan is officially recognized as Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Pakistan geography has profound landscape varying from plains to hills, deserts to forests and plateaus to coastal areas. Pakistan has Arabian Sea on the south-western part while the Karakoram Mountain ranges in the north. In fact, Sino-Pak nexus is an ambiguity to justify the outcome of this partnership.

United Nations and CPEC: Regional developments in conflict Resolution

Terrorism has been a major problem in the South Asia, where many a times China attempted to block India's request to designate Masood Azhar under Al-Qaeda sanction committee of the UN Security Council (UNSC) citing lack of consensus among the members of the Council. Diplomacy of China condemned the attack in Pulwama. However, off the record China had refused to end its technical hold on the Azhar, blocking India's attempts to declare him a 'global terrorist'. Under the leadership of Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi, it is a victory of India's diplomatic front which helped to designate Masood Azhar a global terrorist at United Nation.In the past, US also tried to convert Pakistan into its highly militarized ally and supported its military dictatorship for their own interest. Recently, USA has passed the memorandum in Senate to declare Pakistan as a 'Terror State'. Considering this contemporary example, China is helping its poor ally to make the best deal out of Pakistan and also pushing Pakistan in its 'Debt Trap Diplomacy'. Recently in July, 2022 while responding to the official spokesperson's response to media queries regarding the participation of third party countries in CPEC Shri. ArindamBagchi strongly protested the Indian stance over sovereignty and territorial integrity. India firmly and consistently opposes the projects operational in the Indian territory of illegally occupied Kashmir by Pakistan, he added. (Ministry of External Affairs, 2022) The official statement of Indiaon the CPEC and its execution against India's will in the Gilgit-Baltistan region has raised security concerns in the region. The restructuring of United Nations Security Council is a complex task as per prevailing structure whereas the efforts for inclusion of India's representation among permanent members could make some positive change in conflict resolution and peace building measures.

Geo-politics of China's diplomacy in Indian neighborhood

The historic investment of $62 billion by China in Pakistan has crossed all previous records in Pakistan Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). This was the

fear in Pakistan's political leaders that China will explore the Indian market through CPEC to pledge its economy despite of knowingIndo-Pak relations since its independence. Under its Debt trap diplomacy, China is succeeding in its strategic policy framed to follow its grand ambition of BRI with 'String of Pearls' theory to encircle Indian Ocean Region. Hambantota Port in Sri Lanka is an inland port constructed near natural harbor of Hambantota town. It is the main town in Hambantota district located in Southern part of Sri Lanka. This port was badly affected by 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami followed by construction of new port in 2013. This port was earlier offered to the Indian government for its maintenance but government was not in position to look after the port and China acquired this port form government of Sri Lanka for its maintenance.Today Sri Lanka is a key shipping location for China between the Malacca Straits and the Suez Canal to links Indo-Pacific route. Around 36,000 ships, including 4,500 oil tankers use the route every year.The geo-strategic interests of China in Hambantota port of Sri Lanka in the Indian Ocean for Chinese funding was also questioned by United States Senate after International Monetary Fund (IMF) analysis.

"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".

These financial crises illustrate the dangers of China's Debt-Trap Diplomacy and its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) to developing countries, as well as the national security threat they pose to the United States.China's growing influence in Maldives is not only a step of isolation for India, but also it is a part of China's larger strategic designs in the region of western Indian Ocean. The tussle between India and China for diplomatic ties with Maldives has witnessed the turbulence in soft diplomacy. China's investment for the strategic interest has made the Maldives to work against the India. Maldives and China have signed a free trade agreement (FTA) which is a surprise for India. The FTA is going to have a long term implications for India. Apart from strategic concerns India's worries could be the Chinese goods dumped in Maldives.

Conclusion

The ambitions behind the CPEC have observed the aggressive revolts in the Gilgit Baltistan and Baluchistan provinces. The fake promises to replicate the Pakistan economy and benefiting the common citizens have change public

opinion. Pakistan Occupied Kashmir and People around Gwadar port has been protesting to get back their rights exploited by Chinese PLA and PLAN. The revisit of "The Great Game" in 21st century by China has already initiated with China's intention to emerge as a super power. The 'Great Game' was a term initially used for the 19th century political and diplomatic confrontation between Britain and Russia for extension of control over Central and South Asia through Afghanistan. This dynamics in the New Great Game has resultedin the shift of foreign policies of South Asian nation states.Terrorism has emerged as a big problem to will become a new problem for China to tackle. It is very unlikely that the USA withdraws from Afghanistan and Pakistan in the near future. If USA withdraws then China will step in militarily so the CPEC is also likely to create a struggle for dominance between USA and China on the territory of India and Pakistan.The study also revealed that China knows the potential of the Indian market, without which this project will not match its expectations for this huge investment of $62billion, the biggest in the world history. The CPEC is a project that China claims to be a role model for the world to look forward for a global peace so as to avoid the diplomatic turbulence among South Asian nation state in an endeavor to stop western powers to supply arms in this region.CPEC is a strategic and more of mutual benefits to Sino-Pak relationship. The role of China in South Asia is increasing day by day weather its Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives or buffer state like Nepal.CPEC passes through the disputed territory of POK and Gilgit which is claimed by India. This dispute is considered to be a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan.The increasing population of Chinese Hans in the Gilgit region will create security problem for India being disputed region of POK. The solutionto Kashmir issue has become more problematic with China's entry toGilgit region.It becomes necessity for India to work upon the rise of China in South Asia considering the global gesture of China as a peaceful rise and at the same time hurting the Indian sovereignty in the disputed region of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. Hence, CPEC is more of strategic implications of improving economic strength with its hidden interests in power politics in its quest for world power status.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship and/or publication of this article.

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An Overview of Trends in the Corporate Social Responsibility under Companies Act, 2013

Sandeep Kumar

ABSTRACT

The concept of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) has gained considerable attention among academicians and market players due to distrust among various stakeholders owing to frequent cases of frauds, misuse of dominant power, misappropriation and malfunctioning on the part of the corporate sector. The CSR provisions were inserted in the Companies Act, 2013 to hold companies accountable for their social commitment. This article tries to comprehend the relevance of CSR in a broader sense of social responsibilities. In doing so, a theoretical analysis of the concept CSR, critical appraisal of CSR since it was incorporated in Companies Act, 2013 have been done.

Key: CSR; Accountability, Profit; Ethics and Morality, Corporations.

Introduction

Corporations hold enormous influence in social, economic, political, and cultural as well as in psychological spheres (Davis, 1960). Such monopoly of business power requires an accountable and responsible mechanism to put a check on the abuse of corporate power. The history of monopolistic corporations is replete with misappropriation, fraud, scams and abuse of corporate power in the market economy. Socio-political pressure and the crisis of social acceptance amid mistrust between business and society has pushed the corporations to make serious attempts to gain the trust of society and different stakeholders of the businesses. CSR discourse emerged from these considerations in the neoliberal economies.

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Neoliberal policies have made the rich super-rich and the poor the most impoverished. Abuse of dominant position by monopolistic corporations in complicity with the political establishment has become a reality. In a way, corporations have come to replace the State. Monopolistic corporations and their representative Imperialist organizations such IMF, World Bank and WTO have been directing all neoliberal states across the globe. Therefore, CSR initiatives of corporations cannot be understood in a vacuum and without linking it with the historical transition of capitalism as an economic system of production and distribution.

Neoliberal policies have reached the worst kind of zenith where all factors of production have been turned into commodities. From labour value of workers and environment or natural resources have been converted into commodities. The solemn promises made by the architects of a free-market economy have miserably failed. It has increased inequality beyond imagination. The exploitation of workers, customers and of nature and its depleting resources have become rampant.

It is being argued that the CSR project is being used to hide its exploitative mask. Corollary to this, the CSR initiatives of corporations have also come under suspicion. Until this wholesale exploitation of stakeholders of businesses ends; until immediate stakeholders are involved in the decision making concerning them; until production and distribution become need-based instead of lust and profiteering- No CSR initiatives can compensate for the overall greed, corruption, fraudulent and socially irresponsible behaviour of corporations.

Therefore, CSR must be understood in its broadest sense where corporations inculcate ethical, moral, accountable, and social responsibility commitment in their everyday business operations. It must not be understood in the narrow sense of sparing some stipulated CSR corpus to be spent on some benevolent activities and simultaneously exploiting its various stakeholders.

CSR should not be made to understand that it should be used to compensate for the otherwise immoral and exploitative activities of the corporations. The corporate sector should start framing its CSR policies by aligning with the needs of a society free from exploitation of its stakeholders such as workers, customers, and the natural environment.

Corporate social responsibility is a broad concept whereby companies integrate social, environment, responsible and ethical considerations into their overall business strategies. The literature on CSR is replete with almost all considerations associated with the concept except rent-seeking. Modern corporations hold a significant amount of power and influence in the social,

economic and political sphere. Increasing integration of world economies has given a kind of flip to LPG (Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization) agenda. The business environment is increasingly becoming complex and dynamic. There is growing criticism of the role of corporations in society andtheir newfound interest in corporate social responsibility. India started adopting liberal policies in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This has resulted in a larger role for the private sector to deliver goods and services based on these liberal policies. These policies are largely based on a new right school of thought that redefines the role of the state from doer to enabler. These neo-liberal policies have increased the role of the private sector to deliver public goods and services based on neo-liberal ideologies (Lakshmana & Sahai, 2012) which, perhaps, seems the apparent and convincing reason that a new phenomenon, which is called corporate social responsibility (hereafter CSR), is emerging.

According to the Commission of the European Communities, 2001, CSR is a "concept whereby companies integrate social and environmental concerns in their business operations and in their interaction with their stakeholders on a voluntary basis". The European Commission (EC) has a clear policy concerning CSR. The EC contribution to the CSR discussion was incorporated in the Lisbon Strategy Document, published in March 2000. At the EU summit in 2000, a determined ambition was laid down by 2010, the EU should become the most competitive and most dynamic knowledge-based economy, capable of sustained growth, with more and better work opportunities, together with a strengthened social structure. It was actually the first time that the affirmative involvement of enterprises for reaching this pious goal has been discussed. It recommended for the first time to corporations to inculcate and integrate social responsibility in their business.

Nonetheless, CSR has largely been studied in parts without covering it in totality. A holistic approach is needed to study the political economy of CSR which should also cover the ideological, cultural, ecological, legal, socio-economic underpinnings under this neoliberal economic order.

Neoliberal policies have left an indelible impact on every section of the society particularly on the marginalised sections. Much of the studies on CSR have been written in praise of the neoliberal model without critically engaging with it. Such written literature consciously or unconsciously legitimizes and enhance the goodwill of corporations albeit corporates in everyday life might be exploiting ecological, workers, customers and other stakeholders, altogether, nullifying the CSR initiatives.

In the course of the most recent decade, governments have started adopting CSR driven public policies to encourage business to incorporate responsible

and sustainable behaviour in their decision-making processes and their interactions with stakeholders on a voluntary basis (Aaronson & Reeves, 2002; Fox et al., 2002,).

The Indian government has also made amendments in the Companies Act and inserted CSR provisions in it. The purported aim of the said act was to ensure that a specified profitable business entities share social responsibility by performing activities enlisted in the Companies Act, 2013. This act has been further amended from time to time to address practical difficulties such as Covid-19.

Methodology

This article starts with brief introduction about the emergence of CSR with the introduction of neoliberal economic policies worldwide and in India. Through a conceptual and theoretical is developed where CSR is defined in a broader sense and rejecting the reduction of CSR to mere spending of a stipulated amount of profit on some enlisted activities in the legislation. Thereafter, a contextual and historical account of Indian CSR is mentioned. Then, general trends in Indian CSR are evaluated after enactment of The Companies Act, 2013 which introduced the legally binding provisions regarding CSR are incorporated. For the purpose of analysis, secondary sources as well primary sources have been accessed and interpreted.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework Corporate Social Responsibility

New economic order has brought significant changes in almost all spheres from socio-economic, political to cultural realm. World economies are challenged by the frequent economic crisis followed by social, political and environmental upheavals. States have regularly been withdrawing from their welfare obligations. This has further pushed the marginalized sections of the society to the margins. In an attempt to 'address' the above-mentioned challenges, corporations across the world are showing an increased interest in CSR.

Despite numerous attempts to define CSR over the years, there is no single universally accepted definition of CSR concept. Thus, it remains a vague and esoteric concept and presents an ongoing challenge how to define it in terms of measurable parameters (Makower, 2011; Van Marrewijk, 2003). There are various reasons for this like the contextual nature of the concept, type of business and their relative market domination and different political and economic ideologies of countries and corporations. These issues present difficulties to develop operational definition. Dahlsrud (2008) analyzed 37 definitions of CSR and identified five important dimensions under which

CSR definitions generally fall. These dimensions include the stakeholder, the social, the economic, the voluntariness and the environmental dimension.

Any definition of CSR may have considerable overlap of these dimensions depending on the contextual nature of the business. Carroll defines CSR as "Social responsibility of business encompasses the economic, legal, ethical and discretionary expectations that society has of organizations at a given point in time" (Carroll, 1979). Nonetheless, CSR has been narrowly defined as spending some percent of the profit on some social and environmental welfare activities. Whereas CSR should be defined in a broader sense where core operations of the business should be run in a socially responsible manner, where profit earned must not include exploitation of its workers, cheating of customers, government and exploitation of natural resources and must be respectful and honest to all its stakeholders. Any CSR framework must go beyond the mere legal requirements.

Market apologists and market-oriented academia have polarised the opinions whether corporations should have the responsibility towards society or not. Two theoretical paradigms have emerged from these polarised worldviews. These are the shareholder theory and the stakeholder theory. The essence of shareholders theory is that "there is one and only one social responsibility of business–to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits so long as it stays within the rules of the game" (Friedman, 1962). On the other hand, stakeholder theory states that business is responsible proportionally to all the stakeholders who are associated with a corporation in any form (Freeman, 1984). It emphasizes that shareholders' value will be maximized by reaching out to all the stakeholders.

Reading between the lines tells that shareholder theory and stakeholder theory serves the same theoretical justification. For example, maximization of shareholders' value can only be achieved by staying within the rules of the game, which means maintaining a fiduciary relationship with all the stakeholders. Similarly, stakeholder approach also advocates the same premise by reaching out to all concerned stakeholders including shareholders Freemen et. al (2004). Precisely dispels this confusion by emphasizing that "Dividing the world into "shareholder concerns" and "stakeholder concerns" is roughly the logical equivalent of contrasting "apples" with "fruit". They further concluded that there is no need to posit these as oppositional. In practice, corporations consider the better of these two theories to attain the objectives of the corporation.

In the free market economy under the neoliberal order, shareholder and stakeholder approaches occupy predominant space in the existing literature which does not do justice with a complete understanding of CSR. Moreover,

CSR has largely been explained from the neoliberal perspective. Other important theoretical and ideological perspectives like critical theories and Marxism have largely been ignored. That means CSR has been explained from the perspective of capitalism that too in an isolated manner. The corollary to this is the impact of neoliberal economic policies on the different sections of the society which also constitute the immediate/primary and secondary stakeholders of corporate life like workers, consumers, tribals, women, farmers, linguistic and cultural minorities etc. Therefore, CSR largely covers CSR in parts without covering it in totality. CSR has been studied in isolated and selective manners. An all-encompassing approach is missing.

CSR in India: a brief history and present status

Indian business community had been involved in philanthropic acts largely emanating from religious beliefs. It used to spend on social causes of national development, largely embedded in religious belief (Gautam & Singh, 2010). The infamous East India Company indulged in corrupt malpractices to monopolize its position in an era of British colonial expansion by conquering markets, eliminating competition, and building unholy strategic alliances (Banerjee, 2008). It proved to be dangerous for the growth of the indigenous industry in India. It is generally very difficult to assess the CSR of business in an oppressed country; India is no exception to it.

The colonial CSR practices of Indian corporate houses owe its origin not only to the traditional faith of Dharma but also to the business's to make goodwill and to make space for local sovereignty and legitimacy for its business operations. The interests of native Indian capital were subserviently tied to the exploitative Imperialist capital. The colonial subjugation hindered self-reliant economic growth. The managerial priorities of colonial conquerors engulfed the local industry. Bombay Textile industry was considered to be a direct threat to Lancashire industry, thereby, colonial subjugation of the Indian economy. Consequently, colonial exploiters imposed heavy duties on Indian imports. In this way, they destroyed the indigenous base of industrialization. In this attempt, the Trade dispute Act helped colonial lords to consolidate the hold of Imperialist forces, thus, tightening the noose on workers, raw materials, and other mineral wealth. It made workers protest penalized as they had to take prior permission to hold the protest. It weakened unionization. It increased discretionary powers of Management and made customary practices illegal which increased the exploitation of workers (Jammulamdaka, 2016).

The colonial legacy of Indian corporates had been to collaborate with colonial exploiters in alliance with the native comprador political class. The

primary focus of Indian corporates has been profit maximization. It has made growth unsustainable amid rising cynicism.

Today, business environment in India is very regressive and ambiguous. High cost associated with rent-seeking behaviour, the politicization of regulatory bodies, retrograde tax system, poor corporate governance coupled with bureaucratic lethargy, and increasing influence of big corporate enterprises in the public policies (Kumar, 2016).

Assessment of the Companies Act, 2013 and Challenges Ahead

India started adopting liberal policies in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This has resulted in larger role for private sector to deliver goods and services based on these neo-liberal policies. This has also increased corporations' social responsibility expectations. It may be seen as dilution of the role of the state under the "Social Contract" (to use the terminology of Rousseau/Locke/Hobbes) in favour of private sector.

CSR literature concluded that there exists a considerable gap between corporate rhetoric and surface social reality. Therefore, it called for introspection of the policy framework within which all corporations operated (Mitra, 2012). To fix the accountability of the private sector and to ensure that benefits of increased growth percolate lower down the social hierarchy proportional to the level of their deprivation, The Government of India has enacted The Companies Act, 2013 which introduced the idea of CSR to the forefront and through its 'disclose-or-explain' mandate, which has intensified the debate whether it should be mandatory or voluntary.

The companies act, of 2013 has incorporated legal provisions relating to CSR for companies in India. The mandatory provision of 2% will generate approximately Rs.20000-25000 crore that can shoulder the government's social obligation to a large extent. Such a huge corpse may aggravate the politics over the CSR issue. In fact, evident trends suggest that companies more than often spend such funds on their own proxies whereby companies create their own NGOs, use them for their business purpose, and present it as CSR. Section 135 and Schedule VII of this act provide the minimum qualifying criteria and a range of activities, which can be undertaken by concerned companies for CSR purposes respectively. The provisions of this act, direct the qualified companies under the law to form a CSR committee within the companies with three or more directors with at least one independent director to formulate and implement the CSR policy of the company concerned.

Each company has a net worth of Rs.500 Crore or more, a minimum turnover of Rs.1,000 Crore, or a minimum net profit of Rs.5 Crore, and is duty-bound

to contribute towards a diversity of initiatives, which might range from education, gender equality, women empowerment, improving maternal health to ensuring environmental sustainability. The provisions of this Act, direct the qualified companies under the law to form a CSR committee within the companies with three or more directors with at least one independent director to formulate and implement the CSR policy of the company concerned.

In fact, the evident trends suggest that companies more often spend such funds on their proxies whereby companies create their own NGOs to use them for their business purposes, claim tax rebates by presenting them as CSR, and increase their brand value, practically doing nothing for society! Apart from this PSU are being forced to divert CSR corpus to political pet projects of political parties in power.

The comptroller & Auditor General (CAG) of India's report 2018 analyzed the CSR performances of 77 Central Public Sector Entrepreneurs (CPSE), indicating the emerging irregularities in PSUs' CSR aberrations out of sync with the areas enlisted in the companies Act, 2013 and later amendments. As per the CSR, provision of 6 (2) of the Companies Act says that surplus arising out of CSR projects should not be utilized for mainstream business activities. 17 out of 77 CPSEs did not provide information in this regard.

Apart from these 25 profits, making CPSEs did not spend the requisite CSR funds. About the ineligible activities under the Companies Act says that CSR funds must not be spent on employees and their families and funds directed to a political party. These provisions have been violated by CPSEs. Five CPSEs contributed to the BJP's pet project of Unity of Statue. In addition, Swatch Bharat, Cleaning Ganga, and the PM relief fund remained the other top priorities. The former two are also pet projects of the ruling party.

There is unholy nexus between corporates and political parties. The misuse of CSR funds bears no exception to it. Sundar (2018) traced various emerging trends ranging from diverting CSR funds for Cow politics to other political projects of the ruling party in New Delhi to serve their political constituencies instead of genuine concern for stakeholders. Sundar quoted PRIME data of 41 listed companies to highlight the political misuse of the CSR funds for Cow-related activities during the period 2014 to 2018.

It is important to note that the ruling class to polarize society is playing cow politics. The instances of mob lynching over beef-eating are on the rise. Another emerging deviation is the politics over the geographical locations of spending. The bulk of CSR spending was in politically important states like Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, and Andhra Pradesh. The poor,

marginalized and politically insignificant states do not get adequate CSR funding.

The emerging trends suggested that the misuse of the CSR funds was rampant. CSR funds were not being used for social activities broadly covered by the newly enacted Companies Act. The cash strapped public sector undertakings (PSU) were and are being arm-twisted by the government of India to allocate funds for the construction of the Unity of Statue, which does not conform to the general activities listed in the Companies Act. It has reportedly displaced more than 75000 tribal people despite their vehement opposition (Sumeda, 2018). It side-lined the PSUs governing structures like audit committees, and independent directors who were supposed to protect the interests of shareholders and the stakeholders like the environment and society at large.

Although the activities enshrined in the CSR law were not exhaustive these came rider that the purposed activities undertaken must be acceptable to local people and society. This particular provision has conspicuously been violated to erect the statue of unity. Such forced attempts also defeated the very purpose of the enactment of CSR law. It has rightly been seen as an overt attempt to weaken PSUs for paving the way for their privatization.

One of the fundamental criticisms and limitations of newly inserted CSR provisions in the Companies Act, of 2013, is that it ends up defining CSR in a narrow sense. It reduces CSR to spending a stipulated sum in case a company makes a profit under some predefined bracket under the Companies Act 2013.

As per the legal provisions, CSR would depend depends on the success, profitability and philosophy of business, which in turn depends on an objective, rational, fair, transparent and friendly business environment. It is largely due to the narrow definition under the Companies Act 2013.

Rai & Bansal (2014) traced the trends of CSR spending of top 200 business organizations operating in India in the light of the newly enacted Companies Act, 2013 with an intent to understand the impact of the firms' size and its CSR expenditure policy on firms' profitability. Their study showed that increased CSR spending helps to build a positive image among its stakeholders as local initiatives neutralize any prospective possibility of opposition to companies. Thus, increased CSR expenditure increases the possibility of creating a stable environment for companies by removing the potential "risk and uncertainties" while ensuring profitability with the increase in the size of companies.

A close analysis of the provisions of the act pertaining to CSR reveals several confusing areas. For example, confusion on the preference for a local area of operation for CSR purposes, no distinction between businesses generating positive and negative externalities due to the nature of their business, and absence of minimum guidelines for those businesses, which do not qualify for minimum criteria defined under the section 135 of the act to name a few. Moreover, there is no mechanism to cross-check, where concerned companies have spent funds earmarked for CSR obligations. It is just based on reporting by corporations whether they have spent or not. These limitations leave tremendous scope for manipulation and confine it to a narrow definition.

First, the act has given birth to debate about whether CSR should be mandatory or voluntary. Secondly, companies with multiple operating locations find it difficult to choose an area for CSR spending (Vaidyanathan & Thacker, 2014). Thirdly, the newly added provisions do not draw distinction between productive and productive business activities. Finally, the act failed to draw distinction between business generating positive externalities by the very nature of its business. For example, education, health and banking sector, etc. produce positive externalities by virtue their operations.

Similarly, Can the Tabbaco Industry's CSR activities compensate its negative externalities by any measurable means? Moreover, there is a conspicuous absence of a mechanism to cross-check, where and for what purpose concerned companies have spent funds earmarked for CSR obligations. The presence of such a mechanism can help to better coordinate the government's welfare policies. The present mechanism is just based on reporting by corporations whether they have spent or not. These limitations leave tremendous scope for manipulation and confine it to a narrow definition.

The existing review of literature on the relationship between conducive business environment and CSR, suggests that better performance of a country on these indexes is positively correlated to increased and productive CSR contribution of business for social upliftment. In fact, in absence of level playing field and restrain on open market mechanism, corporations will usually speak rhetorical language and practically will do just window dressing. For instance, before exposure Satyam enjoyed an excellent CSR track record. It also substantiates Milton Freidman's assertion that "there is one and only one social responsibility of business–to use it resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits so long as it stays within the rules of the game". It is a general assertion that social and operational

responsibility is a phenomenon, which works in a free environment in a free market with adequate check and balance in place. Moreover, corporations generally adopt socially responsible practices if there is an incentive to do so as such, which is evidently missing in Indian case and demand urgent attention of policy makers and governments at all levels.

Corporate India has been using its' CSR funding through its' own NGOs and trusts. India Inc. has been successful in building its brand equity by touching the emotions of the masses at the same availed tax rebate by using NGOs or Trusts. CSR with regard to the NGO approach says that the corporate sector should engage with civil society organizations and pleads that government should provide substantial incentives to the NGO sector by giving tax rebates and government should reduce its active role in providing public goods and public services to citizens.

Nandy (2015) examined CSR in the context of embracing neoliberalism about development, and social welfare and in quest of minimizing inequalities in India. The important question article raised is whether reduction of the State's welfare role would motivate corporates to spend its profits to discharge the developmental function which State welfare was performing. It has been found that neoliberal policies have aggressively exploited the public exchequer and failed to tame inequalities. In the neoliberal scheme, CSR has been used to cover up its exploitative face. She cited the case study of Bill and Melinda Gates sponsored project with Sunhara India. This project increased women's income, and participation in decision-making by involving them in productive activities. At the same time, the Bill and Melina Gates foundation is said to be involved in illegal medical testing on tribal people. Can the CSR project compensate for such unethical business practices? This answered question still hound neoliberal pundits.

Conclusion

Corporations hold great influence in social, economic, political, and cultural as well as in psychological spheres. Unrestrained power requires an accountable and responsible mechanism to put check on the abuse of corporate power. CSR discourse emerged from these considerations to stem the abuse of power and force corporations to accept socially responsible as the sine qua non in their interactions with stakeholders. Neoliberal policies have made the rich super-rich and poor impoverished. Abuse of dominant position in complicity with the political establishment. In a way, corporations have come to replace State. Therefore, CSR initiatives of corporations cannot be understood in a vacuum and without linking it with the historical

transition of capitalism as an economic system of production and distribution.

Neoliberal policies of capitalism have reached their worst kind of zenith where all factors of production have been turned into commodities. Socially irresponsibly it has also turned workers and nature into commodities apart from vulgar consumerism. The solemn promises made by the architects of a free market economy have miserably failed. It has increased inequality beyond imagination. The exploitation of nature and its depleting resources has become rampant. Its attempt to hide its' exploitative mask through CSR initiatives has also come under suspicion. Until this wholesale exploitation ends, until everyone is considered equal and participative stakeholder of sustainable development agenda, until collective good become the priority, until production and distribution become need-based instead of lust and profiteering- No CSR initiatives would infuse confidence in the corporations.

CSR must be understood in its broadest sense where corporations inculcate ethical, moral, accountable, and social responsibility commitment in their everyday business operations. It must not be understood in the narrow sense of sparing some stipulated CSR corpus to be spent on some benevolent activities. CSR should not be made to understand that it should be used to compensate for the otherwise immoral and exploitative activities of the corporations. Therefore, the corporate sector including the banking sector should start framing their CSR policies by aligning with the needs of society and the natural environment.

The concept of CSR has the potential to bring a revolutionary change in the sustainable development of the economy. The empirical studies prove that marginalized sections of society have been the worst victims of reckless and unsystematic adoption of neo-liberal policies. Thus, it is a fit case to divert the CSR funds as "tied funds" for the welfare of these downtrodden, left out, and dependent people so as to avoid another trickle-down type failure. But before that Union and state governments need to stand tall for word 'free' in a free-market mechanism in literal and purposive sense. Therefore, it is high time to review present CSR laws in general and existing economic policies in particular. Responsible businesses have enormous power to guarantee social justice by creating social infrastructure, and decent jobs, providing open access to education and other basic services, unlock energy solution and end discrimination. Doing business responsibly is the first and foremost for any company that wants to contribute to sustainability to make the nascent concept of CSR relevant under a free-market model.

Therefore, the role of the union government of India and states as an 'impartial referee' is extremely important in creating a conducive and predictable business environment, requisite capacity building of all relevant stakeholders including public institutions, civil society, and empowerment of citizens.

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Border Dispute between Odisha and Andhra Pradesh: Issues, Challenges, and Possible Solutions

Jayanta Kumar Behera

Abstract

The process for resolving inter-state boundary disputes under the Indian federation is investigated in this research. The purpose of this research is to investigate the mechanisms used to resolve border conflicts, as well as the causes of conflict, the resolution of conflict, and the attitude of the inhabitants in the Koraput district's border areas. It also seeks to create a connection between these two states (Odisha and Andhra Pradesh) by looking at their various responsibilities in several real-life scenarios. Agricultural methods, mineral riches, transportation and communication, as well as the availability of health and education facilities in the study regions are all covered. The Ministry has used a method in which traditional rights of local communities are respected in the settlement of boundary disputes, with the 'interest of the people' as the only criterion for its judgments. The non-judicial process for settling inter-state border disputes has been claimed to be suitable for the country's socio-political conditions, with certain essential alterations. It has been attempted to demonstrate both the legal and practical aspects of inter-state boundary conflicts. Both states have been praised for their success in resolving inter-state conflicts through consensual and participatory inter-state agreements over human occupied areas.

Keywords: Conflicts, Territorial relations, Resolution, Communication, Agricultural practice, Mineral wealth, Health, Education and Development

Introduction

There have been various controversies among India's federating units, which is unavoidable in a federal democracy. Border conflicts between states are likely to develop from time to time, especially since the federal setup was created through the reorganisation of previous administrative divisions.

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There is some debate in these federal authorities concerning how interstate border issues are resolved. It's unclear if these government agencies are acting in a judicial capacity or simply as a conduit in this regard. Furthermore, there are no clear legislative requirements that make it difficult to determine the highest body tasked with resolving inter-state issues. As Watts has expressed it briefly, "a federation is a compound polity combining constituent units (States) and a general government, (Ronald L. Watts, 1998, p. 121). each separate and virtually independent in their own sphere of constitutionally assigned authority" (Ronald L. Watts, 2003, p. 3). As a result, federalism is based on the concept of separate sovereignties within a single country. As a result, interstate relations take on two aspects. The first component of intergovernmental relations entails a vertical interaction between the federal government and the states. A horizontal link between the federating states is the second dimension of intergovernmental interactions. Inter-unit or inter-state relationships are the most common terms used (Ronald L. Watts, 2003, p. 4). Inter-state relations are not always pleasant, and several types of disagreements may arise between states. One of these conflicts is a dispute over the states' territory, sometimes known as an inter-state boundary dispute. The first section of this research paper provides an overview of several sorts of inter-state conflicts and state territorial relations. In the second portion, we'll look at how such border conflicts are handled in the world-famous.

Inter-State conflicts and State territorial relations

The constitution is the basic reference in a federal country that specifies the relationship between all levels of government. Beyond constitutional rigidity, however, an efficient federal arrangement has generally required cooperation and coordination between all of the federating states. To this end, "some inter-state relations have extended even more broadly to encompass all constituent units to deal with common issues without resorting to the centralized institutions of the federal government" (Ronald L. Watts, 1996, p. 51). However, this doesn't mean that inter-state relations are always harmonious. Conflicts of interest between the many components of a federation are inherent, even if the objective of a federal structure is to recognise, protect, and accommodate diversity. According to Michael Burges, "the states in a federation have encapsulated their own values, beliefs and interests in their respective sovereign territories" (Michael Burgess, 2012, p.7). The conflicts between the State governments are rooted in the 'semi-independent existence' of the states, having their own unique economic and political interests. Despite the fact that common interests and regional economic pressures create offsetting incentives for inter-state

cooperation, some antagonisms arising from the pursuit of mutually incompatible goals are unavoidable under federal structures (Allan Erbsen, 9). Antagonisms like these could lead to heated debates between countries. Inter-state conflicts or sister-state conflicts are terms used to describe disagreements between federating units.

Boundary disputes were the first and most common type of inter-state conflict. This paper's major concerns are as follows. Other sorts of disputes and complications have emerged in the inter-state conflict arena as a result of population and economic mobility, as well as the effects of technology and industrialization. The other (second) type of inter-state conflict arises when a state tries to avoid injury or seeks an injunction against an act by another state that will imperil its citizens' and economy's interests (http://law.onecle.com/constitution/). These kinds of disagreements are most common in the United States and India, and they usually revolve around the allocation or pollution of state-crossing water resources. A financial claim by one state against another is the third type of inter-state dispute. Multiple times in the United States, a suit has been filed in which one state seeks to collect bonds issued by another (http://law.onecle.com/). A case of double taxation in which the revenue officials of two states disagree can also be included in this category. In this application, double taxation refers to two states levying the same taxes on the same subject and object at the same time. Suits of this nature are common in the Swiss federation. Other sorts of inter-state disputes may arise, such as those emerging from inter-state treaties, as well as a variety of other unforeseeable scenarios that may arise as a result of future complications.

Inter-state boundary disputes, to return to our primary topic, are inextricably linked to the concept of territoriality in federal systems. To know the source and nature of inter-state boundary disputes, one must first grasp the idea of 'federal-territoriality.' Under federations, constituent units must be territorially bounded communities with both horizontal and vertical relationships within the federation (Michael Burgess, 2012, p.1). As a result, territoriality, along with other social cleavages, plays a significant role in the self-definition of federation units (Michael Burgess, 2012, p.3). This supports the regular possibilities of inter-state boundary conflicts, new territory accession, current state regrouping or division, boundary alterations, or even territorial secession under federal systems. Typically, federal constitutions foresee and regulate such geographical difficulties (Assefa Fiseha, 2009, p.146).

According to Assefa Fiseha, the way federations evolve as polities will affect the territorial autonomy of the states (Assefa Fiseha, 2009, p.147).

Federations could be formed in one of two ways. Old federations, such as the United States and Switzerland, are typically referred to as 'coming together' federations, because the constituent units had previously existed independently before the federation was formed. On the other hand, centrifugal or 'keeping together' federations, such as India and Germany, are the outcomes of reorganisation of a prior unitary state or a retiring colonial state (Assefa Fiseha, 2009, p.150). Due to the states' great autonomy, territorial issues in federations that are 'coming together' are typically treated as constitutional questions, and any boundary adjustments require the states' and the public's assent. As a result, only handful territorial reorganisations in such federations have made it through the rigged constitutional process. Territorial disputes between the units of such federations are also handled through constitutional or legal means. Nevertheless, when it comes to 'keeping together' federations, the federal government has a lot of power over the states' territorial sovereignty. To this aim, territorial reorganisations and boundary conflicts are resolved through political channels, even if constitutional procedures are supposedly involved. States in 'coming together' federations, on the other hand, will have a more stable boundary than states in centrifugal federations, which would face frequent boundary disputes (https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/).

However, it is not only the way federations have evolved which affects the territoriality of federations. As Michael Burgess has stated it briefly, "some states, even if they had no independent history prior to the federation, they are characterized by specific cultural and ideological identities or by unique socio-economic features that have forged a collective self-interest in their respective territorial polity" (Michael Burgess, 2012, p.7). The intensity of such collective self-interest inside a single state, as well as the diversity of communes across the federation, have a direct impact on federation territorial notions. In multi-ethnic federations like India, territoriality and boundary conflicts are common.

Border disputes and jurisdiction in India

Article 131(c) of the Indian Constitution grants the Supreme Court of India sole authority to resolve any disputes between two or more states involving any point of law or fact on which the existence of a 'legal right' depends. For the Supreme Court to have jurisdiction over a dispute, the dispute must involve a legal right. A legal right is one that is recognised and safeguarded by the rule of law, and whose violation is a legal wrong and whose respect is a legal duty. It might be said that disputes which do not involve any questions of legal right such as political controversies are not covered by article 131, (Shri P.M. Bakshi, 2001, p. 6).

As a result, we might assert that the Supreme Court of the United States has concrete jurisdiction over interstate border issues in the Indian Federation. However, because India is a federation that is "keeping together," the constitution empowers the central government to "establish new states, merge older states, or adjust their boundaries" as it deems appropriate (https://veronetwork.wordpress.com). The Reorganisation Act of 1956, Assam Reorganisation Act of 1971 and North East Reorganization Act of 1971 are examples for such authority of the central government. As a result, the federal government has the authority to make any territorial changes as a means of resolving interstate boundary disputes. The conflict between Odisha and West Bengal over an island known as Kanika Sands is an example of the central government's power. The federal Shipping Ministry intervened in the issue and handed the island to Odisha (Kartik Nijhawan, 2014).

Before taking the issue to court, the central government normally seeks to resolve border disputes by establishing a boundary commission to review the claims of the contesting states. These commissions will present a resolution report to the disputing states for their consideration. If the states are dissatisfied with the outcome, they have the option of seeking judicial relief. The Sundaram Commission was established in 1971 to try to mediate a boundary dispute between Assam and Nagaland over 59159.77 hectares of territory. Even though the Assam government was inclined to comply, the Nagaland administration refused to accept the commission's resolution. As a result, in 1988, the Assam government petitioned the Supreme Court for help in resolving the dispute (http://nagalandpost.com).

However, before beginning a formal court trial, the Supreme Court may mandate the establishment of an Inquisitor or a Mediator Commission. Only if these efforts fail will the trial be held in a courtroom. The Supreme Court created a local commission to determine the boundaries between Assam and Arunachal Pradesh in a matter between the two states, and the court is now awaiting the commission's recommendations (Kartik N., 2014). In the instance of Assam and Nagaland, however, the Supreme Court-appointed mediators were unable to reach an agreement, and the two sister states are now in the trial stage. There has yet to be a decisive decision by the Supreme Court in any inter-state boundary issue (http://nagalandpost.com/). Most federal constitutions are said to favour the court, which is why a judicial process is the most common manner of settling inter-state border disputes in federal systems (Wilhelm Lehmann, 2002, p. 4). However, to supplement the court system for resolving inter-state border conflicts, both Switzerland and India have used efficient non-judicial techniques such as mediation and negotiation. In this research paper an attempt is made to analyse the

mechanism employed for the resolution of border disputes, causes of conflict, settlement of conflict, the mindset of the habitats, agricultural practice, mineral wealth, health, education and development in boarder areas of Kotiya Panchayat in Koraput district.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to analyze the framework employed for the settlement of inter State border dispute under the Indian Federation. Specifically, the research attempts to identify the individual mandates and powers of House of Federation in relation to resolving inter-state border disputes. The study intends to define the legal and practical relationship between these federal organs, and determine the practical roles of the institutions with regard to the settlement of inter-state border disputes.

Rationale behind the Study

In general, this study helps to understand the concept of federal-territoriality in the Indian context. As stated earlier, the occurrence of inter-state border disputes is 'almost inevitable' in the special context of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh. There are many actual events indicating occurrence of Inter-State border disputes in the near future. Thus, studying the inter-state border dispute settlement frame work of India will help us to understand the loopholes, the irregularities and the strengths of the system. By these, we can come up with recommendations, which will contribute for the betterment of the system. All other non-border disputes between federating states are excluded from our scope of the study. Even if the experiences of other federations are discussed to lay some foundational notions, a detailed comparative analysis will not be made as such. In addition, political and non-institutional resolution of inter-state disputes will not be covered by the study. This paper aims to analyse the border conflicts between Odisha and the bordering Andhra Pradesh states-the reasons for the conflict and tries to recommend solutions to solve the same. Due to the ethnic diversified demographics and political arrangements, such states are deemed relevant for the study of the subject matter.

Methodology

As this research is a qualitative study, it involves the assessment of all related laws, practical cases, books, articles, various government reports and documents, as well as interviews held with the authorities. The interviews were conducted in unstructured manner with some experts. The researcher was also visited the study areas many times to observe the activities happening in the study areas. The researcher has also conducted interview with some of the respondents in the study areas. These data are

augmented by primary information gathered through village schedule surveys and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). FGDs were held with significant local citizens, legislators, academics, administrators, various development and social activists, Panchyat representatives, security officials, traders, contractors, businesses, village heads, women's organisations, NGOs, and other participants. Random and purposive selection procedures are used to pick border areas for the gathering of primary data. The researcher was purposively selected 15 villages (Pottangi block in Koraput) of the border areas of the selected district particularly in Odisha for field investigations. The present paper is also primarily based on secondary data gathered from a variety of sources. Information collected from newspaper articles and from different governmental agencies in India.Some other sources were used likeDistrict Headquarters, Census Reports and other relevant documents.The following states (Odisha and Andhra Pradesh) are chosen to relate some fundamental notions about federalism, intergovernmental relations and disputes.

Union Home Ministry's Statement on Boundary Disputes

The Lok Sabha has been notified by the Union Home Ministry (MHA) that 11 states and one union territory have border disputes, with "occasional protests and incidences of violence reported from several of the disputed border districts." Nityanand Rai, Minister of State for Home Affairs, responded in writing: "There are boundary disputes arising out of demarcation of boundaries and claims and counter claims over territories between Andhra Pradesh-Odisha, Haryana-Himachal Pradesh, UT of Ladakh-Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra-Karnataka, Assam-Arunachal Pradesh, Assam-Nagaland, Assam-Meghalaya, Assam-Mizoram." According to the response, several asset partition issues between Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, as well as Bihar and Jharkhand, are still being worked out. "The approach of the Central Government has consistently been that inter-State disputes can be resolved only with the cooperation of the State Governments concerned and that the Central Government acts only as a facilitator for amicable settlement of the dispute in the spirit of mutual understanding." Border areas have their own set of issues and quirks. In general, such areas are less accessible, making basic services more difficult and expensive to provide. These places are particularly prone to illegal population infiltration, putting additional strain on their economic and environmental resources. Furthermore, the porous nature of the border allows rebels and criminals, particularly drug traffickers, to easily cross it. As a result, administrations of states with international borders are expected to shoulder a greater responsibility in terms of not just providing basic services to people living in these areas, but also achieving the larger national goal of border security.

Brief Profile of Odisha and Disputed Areas

Odisha is a state in India that lies along the Bay of Bengal in the east. It is bordered on the south by Andhra Pradesh, on the north by West Bengal, on the northwest by Jharkhand, and on the west by Chhattisgarh. The state, which covers 1.5 lakh square kilometres and is home to 36 million people, is divided into 30 administrative districts. The local language is Odia, which has a multitude of dialects. Odisha is home to some of our country's most primitive tribal populations, with forests covering nearly a third of the land. Primarily an agrarian economy, with agriculture and related activities providing livelihoods for 60 percent of the people. The mix of the state economy has shifted gradually, and the services sector now contributes the most to the state GDP, which stands at Rs 1.42 lakh crores at constant prices. Odisha has a wealth of natural resources. About 32 percent of the country's iron ore reserves, 25 percent of its coal reserves, 55 percent of its bauxite reserves, 95 percent of its chromite reserves, and 92 percent of its nickel reserves are found here. Odisha's economy has risen quickly in the previous decade and a half. The state's economy grew 9.51 percent and 8.53 percent in the 10th and 11th plan periods, respectively, and it is expected that the state's economy will stabilise at 9.14 percent growth in the 12th plan period. The state capital, Bhubaneswar, has continuously been regarded as one of the top three places to do business by the World Bank, a sentiment shared by McKinsey. Odisha has excellent rail, road, and air connectivity to all of our country's major cities. The state is crossed by the highways NH16 and NH6, which connect Kolkata to Chenai and Kolkata to Mumbai, respectively. Odisha has stayed at the top of the list of states that have received the most investment. Odisha has received a total of USD 9 billions in investment from various sources. In the near future, it will become our country's largest producer of primary steel, aluminium, and ferro-alloys, as well as a power centre. Despite its ingenuity, the entire region is considered underdeveloped. The region's development is hampered by its remoteness, steep terrain, infrastructural bottlenecks, and antagonistic neighbours. As a border territory, the region has unique challenges like as unlawful cross-border movements, law and order, security, insurgency, and smuggling (District survey report, 2016).

The entire border region has a vast range of topography, accessibility, climate, altitude, population density, ethnicity, levels of development, and interactions with border nations. As a result, different border parts will have distinct development strategies. For example, the development plan for Odisha's border areas will differ from that of Andhra Pradesh's border. Aside from development issues, various border segments face societal issues such

as invasion, infiltration, migration, smuggling, drug trafficking, AIDS, and so on. As a result, several border portions have been researched by various research teams, and the results have been compiled in this paper.

On April 1, 1936, Odisha was separated from the Bengal-Bihar-Odisha province, although inter-state border conflicts persist. Odisha continues to have unresolved border disputes with four neighboring States in its 8 out of 30 districts. 14 of the 30 districts share borders with Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. However, the dispute over Kotiya villages in Koraput district bordering Andhra Pradesh is the only major border conflict. However, the conflict further escalated among the communities, due to lack of proper demarcation of border. The conflict spread between Odisha and Andhra Pradesh, and 'radically redefined' the political balance between the local communities. The conflict is not only limited to ethnic identity that is the suppression of one ethnic identity over another, but also is based on territorial and resource aspirations.The conflict is considered to be one of the contemporary conflicts in the central Region. The lack of proper demarcation between Odisha and Andhra Pradesh is one of the most important reasons for conflict. For Andhra Pradesh the border established in 1955 is the main border whereas Odisha believes in historical claims and respects the border which was established during the colonial period.

Boarder Dispute Between Odisha and Other States

Odisha and Andhra Pradesh have been at odds over the Kotiya Gram Panchayat since 1960. The disputes include 21 villages in the Kotiya Gram Panchayat. Both Pottangi block in Koraput and Salur in Andhra Pradesh's Vizianagaram district provide benefits to residents of Kotiya panchayat. For their daily tasks, they rely on both blocks. Odisha filed a complaint with the Central Government in 2006 under Section 3 of the Inter-State River Water Conflicts (ISRWD) Act, 1956, regarding its water conflicts with Andhra Pradesh over the Inter-State River Vamsadhara. Odisha's government has also been involved in a dispute with West Bengal over 27 plots in the Balasore district and certain portions in the Mayurbhanj district of Odisha. The district of Mayurbhanj is noted for its iron ore riches and the Chhau dance (a tribal dance in which dancers wear colourful masks). The river Baitarani's course has changed, causing a border dispute between Odisha and Jharkhand. The Baitarani River originates in Odisha's Keonjhar district's hill ranges. It is a peninsular Indian river that flows eastward before joining the Bay of Bengal. The majority of its catchment area is in Odisha, with a tiny section of the upper reach in Jharkhand. Odisha and Chhattisgarh have a dispute over villages in the Nabarangpur and Jharsuguda districts. The

Mahanadi Water Disputes were established by the Central Government. To address such issues, interstate conversations, deliberations in Inter-State councils and tribunals, and adherence to the spirit of cooperative federalism should be used.

Disputes between Odisha and Andhra Pradesh

Villages of the Kotiya Panchayat were part of the Jeypore Estate prior to April 1, 1936. The Government of India separated Odisha from the ancient Madras Presidency, which included present-day Andhra Pradesh, in the Constitution of Orrisa Order, 1936, which was issued in the Gazette of India on March 19, 1936. The Madras government challenged the boundary in 1942 and ordered that the two states be re-demarcated. Seven villages of the Kotiya Gram Panchayat were listed as revenue villages in a joint survey of Odisha, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh, and income was collected by the Odisha government, but the process left out the 21 villages presently in dispute. When the state of Andhra Pradesh was founded in 1955, the state government did not survey the villages.

The major concern of the present paper is to find out the land dispute in the border areas between Odisha and Andhra Pradesh. Phattuseneri is one of 21 villages in the Kotiya Gram Panchayat at the heart of an ongoing boundary dispute between Odisha and Andhra Pradesh. People living in border areas receive advantages from both the Odisha and Andhra Pradesh governments. When an officer or an outside civilian inquired about their opinion on the assimilation of border areas with which state, they first examined which state the arriving officers/civilians belonged to, and then they gave their opinion on what the officers/civilians desired. They are acting in this manner because they want to reap the benefits of both sides. Not all natives participate in such activities, but some do. On the ground, though, little has changed, with governments only stepping up their activities through social programmes. A team from Andhra Pradesh recently visited the area and performed bhumi pujas, as well as a plantation drive, at an anganwadi centre, an arogya centre, a farmers' hall, and a panchayat office. The next day, an Odisha team was despatched to the scene. This tug of war has taken over the lives of local inhabitants and government officials.

While Andhra Pradesh provides electricity in Phattuseneri, both governments offer drinking water and make it a point to market it through banners and hoardings on water tanks. Two villages, Upra (Upper) Sembi and Tala (Lower) Sembi in Odia and Yeguva (Upper) Sembi and Takkuva (Lower) Sembi in Telugu, are about 5 km from Phattuseneri, where some people hold Aadhar cards from Odisha and some from Andhra Pradesh. "Both the states

have been fighting over this region. Often, development work gets stopped because of their tussle. At the end of the day, we are okay being part of whichever state that provides us better opportunities," said by some of the respondents of UpraSembi village, speaking in Odia. TheirAadhaar card identifies them as being from UpraSembi village, Koraput district, Odisha.

Despite being from the same village and residing three homes apart, PilkuTadingi and Tadanki Sriram (natives) have different Aadhaar cards that display different addresses. Tadanki Sriram, 26, a resident of YeguvaSembi, Sariki, Vizianagram district of Andhra Pradesh, lives three houses apart in the same hamlet. Each generation speaks a different language in Madkar village, about 12 kilometres away. BabulaTadingi, an 18-year-old first-generation learner, is one of the few people who can communicate in Odia. Others speak Kui, a Kondh tribal language. Many of the younger children are enrolled in Telugu-medium residential schools in Salur, and they speak the language fluently. The Kondh tribals live in these villages, which have a population of almost 5,000 people and are located on a secluded hilltop on the inter-state border. The region is rich in mineral resources including as gold, platinum, manganese, bauxite, graphite, and limestone. Formerly the region was a Maoist stronghold with periodic outbreaks of violence.

This is the first time panchayat elections have been held in any of these villages in Andhra Pradesh. Villages, on the other hand, vote in both state's Assembly and Lok Sabha elections. They are registered to vote in the Andhra Pradesh Salur Assembly and Araku Lok Sabha constituencies, as well as the Odisha Pottangi Assembly and Koraput Lok Sabha seats. The locals benefit from numerous initiatives run by both states. Odisha, for example, built a Gram Panchayat office, a local agricultural centre, an agricultural overseer's office, a boarding school, and a 380-bed dormitory, as well as implementing MGNREGA and issuing BPL cards to over 800 people and work cards to 1800 families. The Andhra Pradesh government, on the other hand, has developed roads, provided electricity, and distributed meals to BPL families. Both states are attempting to incorporate the disputed areas into their own sovereign territory. Odisha filed a petition in the Supreme Court in the early 1980s, claiming the right and ownership of jurisdiction over the 21 villages. However, in 2006, the court concluded that because disagreements over state boundaries are beyond the Supreme Court's competence, the subject may only be settled by Parliament, and issued a permanent injunction on the contested territory. Kotiya is being considered for merger by a neighbouring state (AP) because of its abundant mineral and mining resources. However, "Kotiya belongs to Odisha and we will never let the region go to Andhra. Kotiya was in Odisha, is and will remain in the State in future," said Rajya Sabha member Munna Khan (Sambad English Bureau, 2022).

Odisha Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik launched projects worth Rs 18 crore a day after Andhra Pradesh announced panchayat elections here. According to a PTI report, the Odisha government filed a petition with the Supreme Court, which scheduled a hearing for February 19. According to Vizianagaram District Collector M Hari Jawaharlal (during that time), the three villages are different Gram Panchayats and fall under Salur Mandal, hence elections were held on February 13 in three villages in Kotiya Gram Panchayat by altering their names to Ganjeibadara, Pattuchennuru, and Pagluchennuru. From the three villages, nominations have been filed for the positions of Sarpanch and Ward Members.

During that time, Koraput district collector Abdaal M Akhtar revealed that the district administration had received information that some Andhra Pradesh politicians were seeking to organise cultural events in Kotiya. "We deployed police personnel at the spot to ward off any potential law and order situation. We are in touch with the Vizianagaram district administration. Since the issue concerning Kotiya is already sub-judice, we asked them to resolve the dispute in a peaceful manner. Any unilateral action on the ground will never be acceptable for Odisha," he said. Despite the fact that Odisha and Andhra Pradesh have been involved in a legal battle over territorial control of the area since the early 1960s, the AP administration staged panchayat elections in Phatusineri village under Kotiya Gram Panchayat in February this year. Odisha made a blunder when it formed the Kotiya Gram Panchayat in 1936 and did not survey 21 revenue villages. Those 21 villages were also not surveyed by Andhra Pradesh when it was formed in 1955, resulting in a perennial dispute over these bordering villages.

Reasons for Border Conflicts

- Border disputes are exacerbated by the presence of significant natural resources. It is advantageous for any state to occupy a resource-rich land for commerce and commercial purposes.

- The existence of different ethnicities along the border region is one of the main causes of border conflict. The majority of clashes occur in order to oppress a minority ethnic group. In order to dominate the land, two ethnic tribal identities conflict at times.

- A similar thread running across all of the major border confrontations. Border demarcation has been inappropriate, i.e., borders have been drawn according to the convenience of the parties involved, resulting in a plethora of "undefined and convoluted borders." The major flaw in the areas is that the native tribes that live in the area were not consulted before the borders were drawn.

- Another key factor in disputes has been the role of history: all of the countries involved appear to have a shared history, and they all seek to cite historical evidence to support their land/border claims.

- In cases where border conflicts have arisen, there has been little or no development. As a result of these delays, the region's economic resources are depleted, adding to instability.

State Interventions

There are also anomalies, according to officials, when it comes to designating beneficiaries for government programmes. The 'Rana and Dora communities', for example, have tribal classification in Andhra Pradesh but fall into the OBC category in Odisha. In addition to laying foundation stones for numerous projects, the AP government has held public redressal and veterinary camps, distributed land pattas, and expanded welfare schemes. To prevent "unwarranted entry," the Koraput district government has frequently barricaded border areas and deployed police officers. The state government favours a peaceful settlement to the boundary conflict. The deployment of police forces to protect the territory is expected to worsen the situation for those living on both sides of the border.

In 2018, the state of Andhra Pradesh issued Aadhaar cards and began road building in the region. In return, Odisha announced Rs 150-crore development package for the region the next year. All of the settlements in the disputed zone became accessible by road for the first time in mid-2019. In January, the state of Odisha built the area's first cell tower, followed by a declaration the following month that Kotiya would be transformed into a model panchayat. "Odisha government claim is that we have been exercising jurisdiction in the region since Odisha was formed and our rule is clear that in all these villages, our schemes, development activities, and additional support in terms of infrastructure and livelihood will be extended to the residents of Kotiya," Koraput District Collector Abdaal M Akhtar said (during that time).

Revenue officials in Andhra Pradesh, on the other hand, argued that the disputed villages are handled by their state government and that the residents benefit from a variety of state-sponsored projects. But, like other disagreements, this one has a lengthy history. The villages of Kotiya Panchayat were part of the Jeypore princely state prior to April 1, 1936. In 1936, the Indian government issued an order to create a separate province based on linguistic distinctions. Odisha was split from the former Madras presidency, which encompassed what is now Andhra Pradesh, by the edict. The Madras administration, however, disputed the line in 1942, and G S

Gilby was appointed to demarcate the two states. In a combined survey of Odisha, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh, seven villages of Kotiya Gram Panchayat in Pottangi block were recognised as revenue villages under Odisha. Twenty-one communities were not surveyed at the time of the survey. The villages were not surveyed by the Andhra Pradesh administration when the state was formed in 1955. Since then, there has been no resolution, with both states claiming the land as their own.

Mindset of the People of the Border Areas

According to the districts studied, individuals living on both sides of the national border of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh belong to the same tribes. People and goods began to migrate across borders as a result. According to interviews with villagers in the Kotiya Panchayat in Koraput District's border area, the people in general still believe that their counterparts in Andhra Pradesh are considerably better off in terms of both economic and social advancements. Some of them were found to be praising the Andhra Pradesh government's attempts to ameliorate the economic position of their own tribe on the other side of the border. On the outskirts of the Odisha-AP border, the research team had the opportunity to monitor developments in agglomerated clusters of AP border villages. All of this indicates that a segment of the population in Vizianagaram District's villages bordering Andhra Pradesh is dissatisfied with the government's development efforts. However the people who are residing in the border areas of both the States, they sometime satisfied with the government policies programme and some time given against the government policies programme. In one hand, sometime they want to cohabit with Odisha Government and in other hand sometime they want to cohabit with Andhra Pradesh Government. This is the mindset of the people of border areas. Border areas have such low population density that implementing economic and social infrastructure development programmes is challenging because the costs far outweigh the benefits.

Transport and Communication

The development of transportation and communication is most challenging in the border districts of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh due to scattered populations, high hills, and uneven geography. Low hills, some rising to 793 metres, can be seen here. The plain is barely broken by scattered hills elsewhere. As a result, only roughly 56 percent of the villages in Koraput District have better road access. People in these areas must rely on bicycles for all types of transportation. For settlements with road access, the Tata Sumu service is the major form of transportation. In border areas, public transportation is scarce. Telecommunication access is also inadequate in the

border area, as private telecommunication service providers are uninterested due to low profit margins.

Agricultural Practice

The area of the plateau in the Koraput district is an undulating table land dotted with hundreds of little hills that are very similar in form. The process of denudation has progressed too far, and the slopes are either covered in low scrub or disfigured by areas obstructed by changing cultivation. Agriculture is the lifeblood of the population. There is no business. The people's primary occupations are agriculture and animal husbandry. Shifting cultivation is a typical practise in border areas, and it produces very low production. The area's farming pattern comprises paddy, millet, and opium, however the terrain is ideal for horticultural crops such as orange, cardamom, and other spices on a permanent basis. People involved in weaving, bamboo, and wood shaping in addition to agriculture. Agriculture has a significant role in the state's economy. It is a key source of employment as well as a big contributor to the state's revenue. Rice is the state's most important crop, accounting for approximately 80 percent of the state's total agricultural land. Maize, oilseeds, potatoes, and other key crops are grown throughout the state. If irrigation facilities are adequately supplied, production and yield in the state can be increased further. Slash and burn or jhum agriculture has been a prominent source of concern in the state's mountains. In fact, Odisha has the most jhum land in the entire hilly region, however there are evidence that it is shrinking. Agriculture in these areas will continue to deteriorate unless and until institutional and technological reforms in agriculture occur in the other mountain districts. Agriculture and animal husbandry are unquestionably the most important sources of revenue, yet they are insufficient to cover the entire year. As a result, it has been observed that several villages are working as seasonal labor/migrants in the Prime Minister's Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY) and construction projects.

Mineral Wealth

Koraput district, with its amazing natural beauty and rich tribal cultural heritage, has a potential reserve of bauxite, limestone, and decorative-dimension stone, which brings in crores of rupees in royalty every year and helps the state's industrial prosperity. Within the district, there is also promising gemstone occurrence and gold mineralization. The following paragraphs provide a brief overview of the district's economic minerals. Bauxite, limestone, and china clay are the district's most important minerals. Despite the fact that there has been no systematic prospecting, the district is well renowned for its mineral resources. The Clay, Limestone, Manganese, Mica, Dimension Stone, Graphite, Soap Stone, Semi precious stone, and

Granite are additional important and economically significant mineral reserves in the district.

Development Schemes

Panchayati Raj Institutions are implementing a variety of rural development projects (PRIs). Due to the high unit cost, centrally planned plans are difficult to execute in border areas. For example, it has been noticed in focus group discussions that the construction cost of a toilet under the overall sanitation programme and the Indira Awas Yojana (IAY) is roughly double the amount sanctioned. Similarly, certain villages in the Koraput district's border area are not eligible for the Prime Minister's Gramin Sadak Yojana due to low population density. As a result, many critical rural development programmes are unavailable to villages in border areas. Mountain Border Districts feature unique topographical characteristics as well as distinct demographic patterns. They have a wide range of development requirements. As a result, they necessitate specialised planning and development initiatives. This, for example, reflected the demand for requirements to be relaxed and modified in central projects for mountainous terrains. For example, the present benchmark for providing connectivity to a habitation from difficult terrains in the development of rural road network under the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY).

Health and health Delivery System

Malaria is the most common disease among residents in the border areas of blocks. Because of the presence of deep forests, the entire border area has become damp and a breeding ground for mosquitoes. No one uses a mosquito net. People are ignorant that they can use a mosquito net or other techniques to protect themselves from mosquito bites. In border village populations, diarrhoea and cholera are also prevalent. This fact highlights the dismal state of health-care delivery in border districts. According to the village survey, residents of certain border villages must travel up to 20-30 kilometres to the nearest PHC in Pottangi Tehsil in Koraput District. The situation, however, is not much better, and the people must travel a considerable distance to access the nearest PHC. The number of doctors in the border blocks under investigation is only one or two, which is almost on par with the national average. People had to rely on traditional methods of treatment when they became ill due to a lack of a sufficient health-care delivery system. The focus group discussions highlighted that health-care delivery in border areas is not only insufficient in quantity but also in quality. In border PHCs and hospitals, absent doctors and paramedical personnel, as well as a paucity of needed drugs, are typical occurrences. Patients are

directed to district hospitals (46 km from the border to the district headquarter) or capital hospitals due to a lack of diagnostic equipment and contemporary medicines (401 km from Kotiya Panchayat). However, it is obvious from focus group discussions that the immunisation programme is effective, even in Koraput's border districts, and that the children are protected from a variety of serious diseases.

Education

In the surveyed villages, the status of primary and middle school education is considered to be good, with one primary school for each assessed village and one middle school for three or four villages. However, the majority of the villages' high and upper secondary schools are not within walking distance. The Oriya language is spoken in Kotiya. The entire population of Kotiya village is 797, with 129 dwellings. Females account for 48.4 percent of the population. The literacy rate in the village is 44.4 percent, with female literacy at 17.7 percent. Banking facilities in border blocks are found to be woefully inadequate, with only the district headquarters having a branch of a nationalised bank. Villagers must travel a considerable distance to access financial services.

Inter-State Border Dispute Resolution

Given the importance of territoriality in federal systems, it should come as no surprise that boundary disputes are the most common type of inter-state conflict in federations. There must be an institutional system for resolving inter-state conflicts in order for a federation to function normally. Otherwise, military confrontations and even civil wars could develop from interstate border disputes. This is why the majority of Federal constitutions provide particular methods for peacefully settling inter-state issues. In terms of institutionalisation, there are two types of mechanisms for resolving inter-state disputes: judicial and non-judicial. There are, however, informal systems for resolving interstate disputes that are far too political to be explored from a legal standpoint (Wilhelm L., 2002, p. 4).

Mechanisms for resolving interstate boundary disputes will typically follow the federations' conventional system of constitutional adjudication. This authority of constitutional adjudication has been conferred by federal systems on their Federal Supreme Courts, separate constitutional courts, or, in exceptional situations, non-judicial forums (Assefa F., 2009, p. 402). As a result, in certain federations, court settlements of inter-state border disputes are a direct reflection of the patterns observed in constitutional adjudication. Some federations, on the other hand, have taken a non-judicial approach to

resolving inter-state border issues, either through constitutionally formed non-judicial institutions or other traditional means.

Non-judicial adjudication of interstate border disputes provides a separate forum for interstate border dispute arbitration or mediation. Rather than judges or attorneys, such forums are frequently made up of technical specialists. Non-judicial forums are often formed by judges chosen by opposing states. On the contrary, interstate boundary issues will be resolved through the use of expert judges and a proper court process. Furthermore, non-judicial processes for engaging in consensual resolutions and public referendums for the settlement of inter-state issues differ from judicial mechanisms. Despite these contrasts, most federations have used both judicial and non-judicial procedures to develop alternatives for resolving inter-state border issues peacefully. We'll go through how interstate border disputes are formally addressed in the Indian federations in the sections below.

Steps needed for Conflict Resolution

- To resolve the border difficulties, a proper "Centre-led" approach is required. The Centre can choose to keep the status quo in the region or come up with a 'shared rationale' for border demarcation.

- The abolition of militancy in the region would usher in a period of peace and serenity.

- The region's majority and minority identities must be acknowledged and fostered equally. As a result, people-to-people connections can be improved. The concept of a "shared" regional identity has the potential to bring people together. People-to-people connections can be facilitated through education.

- The Supreme Court's active involvement in legal issues could speed up the decision-making and execution processes. The creation of a "court-supervised boundary commission" to investigate the requests of all opposing parties concerned and then propose a solution is urgently needed.

- The presence of a common leadership in most nations can lead to a border agreement, and the presence of a central leadership can speed up the implementation of the solution in the region.

Concluding remark

Inter-state accords and popular referendums dominate the Indian framework for resolving inter-state border disputes. In the case of inter-state border

conflicts, neither state has any specific judicial authority. For the resolution of inter-state border disputes, the House of Federation is the highest constitutionally authorised organ. However, the House will only be permitted to resolve interstate border issues in exceptional circumstances without holding referendums. One such scenario is when the affected people's interests and settlement patterns are appropriately determined by the relevant Committee's investigation. This is extremely unlikely to occur because a committee of a few inexperienced parliament members appears too inept to evaluate the interests and settlement patterns of a vast people. An inter-state dispute over uninhabited territories is the second scenario, which will trigger the House's discretion. There are no specific legal provisions, however, that establish a concept for the House to adopt in resolving such disagreements. Furthermore, border disputes over uninhabited lands have never occurred previously and are unlikely to do so in the future. As a result, the primary mission of the House of Federation will continue to be to conduct referendums. Because referendums do not require the House's discretion, the House's only responsibilities will be to facilitate and approve the referendum results. Organizing or enabling referendums is not the same as exercising stringent judicial powers.

As the constitution provides for a consensual agreement of the affected States to be the principal mechanism of resolving inter-state border disputes, half of such issues that have occurred so far have been handled through inter-state agreements. Despite the lack of well-established legal requirements, the Ministry is critical in facilitating inter-state negotiations and referendum results implementation. The Ministry also acts as a peacekeeper by resolving public disturbances and confrontations resulting from inter-state border disputes. States who are at odds over their borders can ask the Ministry to assist them in their negotiations. The Ministry will next conduct an investigation into the matter and make a settlement suggestion for the parties to consider. If such efforts fail to result in a resolution, the parties are permitted to take their case to the House of Federation, where their issue will be decided by referendum. Referendums appear to be the most effective means of resolving inter-state conflicts over human-inhabited areas. The people who live in disputed areas will be the ones to decide who they belong to. This is consistent with the fundamental ideas of democracy and federalism, which assume that governments are established with the permission of the people. As a result, state governments should not be able to claim a right to a certain neighbourhood. Instead, the people will be able to exercise their sovereignty by choosing which state government they want to be a part of.

There are two ways to justify inter-state border disputes. First, when investigating the conflicts, the Ministry should use participatory approaches. All stakeholders, including local governments, the general public, elders, public figures, and security agencies, should be involved in the Ministry's negotiating and investigative process. This makes it easier to recognise issues and reach peaceful, equitable, and mutually agreeable solutions. Second, in the mediation process, the study of historical data and other important aspects has aided in reaching just and acceptable decisions. In general, the Indian Federation's inter-state border dispute resolution structure has failed to establish a more efficient procedure that is appropriate for the country's sociopolitical circumstances. The Indian federations, on the other hand, will have explicit authority to make final and binding decisions on inter-state border disputes. The appraisal of relevant evidences will be made part of the dispute resolution procedure to enable the House to decide inter-state border disputes concerning uninhabited lands. This will make it easier to make decisions that are both fair and acceptable. As a result, the overall method should be constructed, and internalising the harmonising roles in the border conflict areas should be more efficient.

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Comparative Analysis of News Channel's Prime Time Shows: An Analysis of AajTakand Republic TV

Ashish Sharma & Sandeep Kumar

ABSTRACT

In any democracy media (Press) play an important role in shaping or moulding the opinions of people. In social sciences, it's always vital to find out the characters that shaped the perception of people towards politics. It is known from the study literature that primetime shows on news channels tend to influence the perceptions of young people and also enhance their knowledge of the polity. Primetime shows which include a panel discussion, debates or interviews leave an impact on the viewers and somehow help them to make their minds on issues. Through this research paper, the researcher will try to find out the (i) find out the content of the prime time shows and (ii) find out whether these shows follow the journalistic guidelines or not. The result showed that the most of programs during prime time was doing yellow journalism or creating sensationalism rather than presenting or raising the real issues of society. With that news channels also breach the guidelines established by the Press Council of India.

Keywords: Content, Ethics, News Values News Coverage, Political Awareness, Prime Time Show.

Introduction

According to Kenski & Stroud (2006), "Electronic media plays a key role in bringing change and structuring the political institutions and socialising the public about various political aspects". Mcquail (2005), news, "TV is a major source of information and news for everyone and also an important

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channel of communication that connects politicians and their potential voters, particularly during election phase" Since the 1990s, the appearance of political entities in political talk shows has created huge interest in this genre, inciting mass communication intellectuals to study the political and social impacts of TV talk shows (Timberg, 2002).

The coverage of politics, especially elections, has been favourite of the Indian media. Since the last general election, increasing competition among news channels has redefined coverage priorities and newsworthiness. Indian media has played and will play a vital role in bringing politics closer to all of us and influencing the political game. The quality and quantity of coverage of election news will play a decisive role in the political discourse and ultimately the election outcome (Lee, 2002; Bernard & Erler, 2003). Political party leaders and their members participate in TV shows for coverage, promotion, public relations, and to enlighten the audience regarding their political agendas.

In India, according to the report of the Election Commission of India, about 8.4 crore first-time voters had cast their vote in the Lok Sabha elections 2019. In past, studies have revealed, how first-time voters rely strongly on media when it comes to the voting decision (Aalberg&Jenssen, 2007; Colwell Quarles, 1979; Gerber, Green, &, Schachar, 2003; Ha et al., 2013; O'Keefe & Liu, 1980). Politics refers to "social relations involving authority or power" and to the procedures and strategies used to make and implement policy for Hegel (1991), political history is "an idea of the state going beyond the material interests of its subjects and accompanied by a moral and spiritual force, followed by the state as the main agent of historical change" Aristotle concludes that "man is a political animal" and one can have a good life only by living as citizens in a state. The imagination about a state has started and there is no state which cannot live without the state. Aristotle gave a view about the state and he also included politics in that idea of the state as politics is found at the initial level but changes with time and it grows and takes its present shape. News channels gave a new medium to politics and due to this people are much more aware of it than in past and story interest is also more in politics than in past.

For most citizens across the world, coverage of politics and election campaigns in the news program is the most important and readily available source of information (Gulati, Just & Crigler 2004, De Vreese, 2008). Exposure to information sources such as television has cognitive (awareness, knowledge, political images, etc.), affective (interest, attitudes towards political leaders, attachment to issues and political systems, etc.), behavioral (interpersonal) and behavioral (interpersonal) effect discussion, political

participation etc.) aspects and of course, on the voting decisions of the audience (Atkin, 1981).

Most studies, in the past, discussed broadly the significance of television in political learning during elections through campaigns. Against this backdrop, the present study was conceived to assess the patterns of the impact of news channels on the viewer's behaviour. Studying the role of primetime shows in creating political awareness amongst first-time voters will enable us to become more conscious of the ways and trends of the media from the voter's perspective.All forms of communication channels significantly affect the learning and living standards of society, but the impact of TV is more challenging while its reach is increasing day by day to every section of society (Shrigali, 1978).

Curran (2005) has mentioned the importance of mass media in creating awareness on governance as well as on politics. This awareness influences the attitude and behaviour of the public in different ways and also assist voters in making informed choices at the time of elections. "Media, particularly TVs, are valued enough in the world's political matters" (Iyangar& McGrady, 2007). Mass media provides a platform for political parties and their candidates to win the confidence of their potential voters before and during elections". Political shows can enlighten people by showing multiple perspectives on important political matters. The mass media can act as a watchdog to keep an eye on government officials and guide them in preventing breaches of public confidence. Baumgartner & Morris (2010), stated that the "traditional offline media is the most common source of information for the viewers". In the USA, fox news plays a significant role in providing an election effect on its audience, through its television debates which influence their attitude attitudes (Vigna & Kaplan, 2007); Aalberg & Jenssen (2007). Helberger (2020) believes that mass media plays a very important role in the formation of the political discourse including social issues, current affairs, administration, government policies, political participation, political awareness, and elections etc. Political awareness has a constitutional value. It is a uniquely integral part of democratic autonomy. A major objective of the news media in a constitutional society is to enlighten its residents. The media is the main source of broadcasting news and programs on political matters, so it proves to be the main platform to publicize various political parties and easily influence people. Finally, by increasing the literacy rate regarding politics, it makes people aware of the importance of voting. The media can harm people if the news is addressed negatively and exaggeratedly (Memon, Ishaq& Hamid, 2018).

The trend of political talk shows has become a mainstay of these news channels, and these shows define and define people's opinions, attitudes, and perceptions about politics. First-time voters are significantly influenced by the media as a result of this passive behaviour (Cade, McKinney & Tedesco, 2007). News expressed positively will have a positive approach, hence making it easy for people to decide (Matthews, 2019). Walker (1990).Suggests positive or negative effects of news channels are the influence of public awareness during the elections and all medium has a positive and vital role in people lives and create also awareness among them". Barabas, Gerritt, Pollock, and Rainey (2014) believed that different news items and different talk shows influenced citizens' political beliefs about candidates' voting choices.

Sadhwani (2020) has acknowledged that the "high socioeconomic status and education also tends to pay close attention to the news media, which ultimately increase the political participation". Dewenter, Linder & Thomas (2019) also revealed through their study that media coverage strongly influences the voting intention and trend to vote for a specific party associated with positive media coverage for Tolson (2001)the "Political figures participate in TV talk shows to give their points of view in the discussions concerning community interests". This influence first-time voter and mostly they vote in favour of a political party or political leader which they came across mostly during the news channel shows. Political participation of first-time voters is determined by their political knowledge and perceptions obtained through seeking political information (Resnick &Casale, 2014). Furthermore, Bhakti (2014) argues that to build high political participation of first-time voters, they need to have good access to political information. Zakuan, Sani, Abdullah, and Azmi (2018) looked at the factors that influence women's election participation and found that they are uninterested in political preferences. While voting, they saw that demographic background had a huge impact, with a majority of female voters backing female nominated candidates. Riaz, Nazir and Bhatti (2018) examined political events as the core of political information. It's also been revealed that watching political shows makes people more politically conscious. Muller et al. (2018) investigate the impact of news media performance on new voter participation and discovered that offline news did not affect participation, whereas online news had a considerable impact. Furthermore, Singh and Roy (2018) believe that in elections, passive individuals are forced to vote, regardless of their political preferences. As a result, political information acquisition and a supporting social context are required (Wosing & Weber, 2017).

Family, classmates, teachers, news channels, newspapers, comedy shows, social media, and community meetings are all sources of knowledge for young people, which is defined as passive information-seeking behaviour

(Smith & Mc Namee, 2017). Additionally, Limia & Fuady (2016) hold that television is an information source for first-time voters, whereas in interpersonal communication they rely on their family as an information source. Sulistiyo & Suwartiningsih (2016), in their study on Indonesian television viewers, mainly Metro TV and TV One showed that the 2014 presidential election was majorly influenced through these platforms. Winchester, Binny & Hall (2014) found that first-time voters are passive in seeking political information. They usually rely on informal sources, such as parents, teachers, and peers, as the main information sources. Verma and Sardesai (2014) studied and compared the impact of old and new media on voting decisions in the political process, using data from the National Election Study from 1996 to 2014. It also demonstrates that, even though high-risk media voters were predicted to embrace economic liberalisation, this did not happen. Javed and Ilahi (2014) estimated the influence of the media on the voting decisions of People of Pakistan who live in rural and urban areas and believe that rural areas are less affected in comparison to urban areas. Noman Yaser et al. (2011) described in their research that the people with higher education and women with less education remained highly dependent upon television political content to obtain information about politics for Beth (2007), "News channels provide a lot of information and knowledge about the politics of the country as well as help us to buy what kind of things through advertisement". News channels like Sama News, ARY News, Express-News, Dunia, CNN and BBC, people are also aware of world politics and socio-economic changes taking place around the world. These channels are not only sources of national news but also provide information about other countries and their politics.

Ross (2004) writes that TV signifies the "real public space in which politics occur and through which citizens comprehend the political process". Targeted audience and participants who telephone in such programmes distinguish the political talk shows genre as a public sphere where various views are expressed and alternative voices are heard. Lee (2002) argues, "Participation of political parties and political leaders in TV shows helps to bridge the gap between the potential voters and the politicians". He also believes that such infotainment shows can help in bridging the political participation gap between the masses for Steven and Stacey (1996) "News channels showed more information about the county's politics as compared to the other medium of communication". Thelen (1996) remarks that, "electronic media has a vast role in any political information and participation gap between Government and opposition. Media is bringing a new change in people and is creating awareness about the world's politics". Zaller (1992), suggested that "In the decision-making process, voters tend to gather the necessary information before evaluating the information. Political

messages affect voters, assuming they are exposed and open to receive the data". Acquisition of information increases in line with one's preference. Walker (1990) suggested," positive or negative effects of news channels are the influence of public awareness during the election, the researcher found that all medium has a positive and vital role in people lives and create also awareness among them" R. Michael Alvarez (1997). found that during the political campaign many voters got the best information about the candidate and his/her position on various issues and that information changes are directly related to the information floating around during presidential election campaigns.

Problem Statement

In India, youth are very conscious about the prevailing politics and also the different stages have been seen from time to time through the lens of the media. Nowadays, some issues of public concern are easily tested through public affairs through shows on TV channels. The problem of the study at hand is to explore the "Comparative Analysis of News Channel's Prime Time Show: An Analysis of AajTak (Dangal) and Republic TV (Republic @ 9) shows". Now, it is a matter of concern about the role of these news channels and the information they are spreading in our society. What would be the impact of this agenda-setting on the common voter who relies on these information-spreading cannons largely? What would be the outcome and would there be any impact on the political effectiveness of youth because of these programs or not?

Objective of Study

The specific objective for this study is to examine the content of prime time shows on News Channels.

Theoretical Framework

The purpose of searching for a theoretical framework for analysis work is to unearth an area where a researcher will place his work. This study, "Comparative Analysis of News Channel's Prime Time Show: An Analysis of AajTak and Republic TV", examines The Role of News Channels in Creating Political Awareness among voters. The associated examination of an individual's sense of political potency is vital because potency is related to political participation, the acquisition of political information, and, therefore, the discussion of political problems.

Agenda Setting Theory

Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, and G. Ray Funkhouser introduced mass media theory, also known as Agenda-setting Theory, in 1968. The study was conducted on North Carolina voters who participated in the 1968

presidential election. The conclusion was later published as an article in 1972 in "Public Opinion Quarterly", which was last revised in 1976. This study correlated with what people thought and what media showed as the most crucial issue in the election. The theory puts forward the idea that the news media creates a public agenda by making people think about things they want to show. The media provides cues to the public, which tells them where they should focus their attention. This way, the media sets political reality. Agenda setting is the ability of the media to determine the salience of issues in the news through a cognitive process called "accessibility", which is the process of retrieving an issue from memory. Agenda setting theory describes how the media sets political reality. This help researcher aims to examine the agenda-setting role of news channels that influence the understanding and political awareness of young people.

Research Methodology

This study, which is a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods to expand the scope of research and give the desired results or better understanding of the research problem. This study tries to evaluate the pattern of content on news channels on creating political awareness among first-time voters by discussing political issues. The research design is exploratory cum descriptive, based on the nature of the data. For content analysis for news, programs the researcher has selected AajTak (Hindi) and Republic TV (English). Both AajTak and Republic TV were the most-watched news channels especially during the prime time and number one news channel in terms of viewership and TRP. The data used for the study is secondary as it was based on the analysis of previously recorded programs of AajTak and Republic TV. For the secondary purpose, data was collected through recorded panel debates and discussions held on national tv channels available on YouTube and news Channel websites.

Results

I. Broadcasting Hours distribution on News Channels Program

Table 1: Broadcasting Hours distribution on News Channels Program

Name of News Channels	Republic TV	AajTak
Broadcasting Days	Monday-Sunday	Monday-Sunday
News Bulletin	10 hours daily	10 hours daily
Programmes	14 hours daily	14 hours daily

Source: Data compiled by the author.

Table 1, clearly mentioned that on Republic TV, a total of 58% of broadcasting hours are dedicated to programmes and 42% to a news bulletin daily. While on AajTak– A total of 58% of broadcasting hours are dedicated to programmes and 42% to a news bulletin daily.

II. Format of the news programmes:

Table 2: Programmes Format broadcasted on News Channels

	N	(%)	N	(%)
Format	Republic TV		Aaj Tak	
Interviews	2	11.2	0	0
Panel Discussions / Debates	16	88.8	11	61.1
Target Audience Shows	0	0	6	33.3
Conclave/ Special Series/ Campaigns	0	0	1	5.6
Total	18	100%	18	100%

Source: Data compiled by the author.

Table 2, above clearly mentions the news programme format adopted by news channels. Both Republic TV, as well as AajTak, emphasised debates and panel discussions during their prime-time broadcasts. Apart from this, AajTak also focused on audience-based shows along with a special series of election conclaves, while Republic TV mostly ignored all other formats except interviews.

In Republic TV, 11.20% of programmes were interview-based, 88.80% were panel discussion/debates. Since it was a debate show, there was no space for weekly or daily review programs or conclaves. While in, AajTak–61.10% on panel discussion/debates, 33.30% on audience-based programmes, and 5.6% were special campaigns or series. No program featured any special interviews or weekly/daily reviews during the research period.

Table 3: List of programs Analysed on theme-based shows on news channels

Language	English		Hindi	
Name of Channels	Republic TV		AajTak	
Name of Shows	Republic @ 9		Dangal	
Sr. No	Themes	N	(%)	N	(%)
1	Agriculture	-	-	-	-

2	Attacking-Opposition	5	27.7	5	27.7
3	Attacking-Congress	3	16.6	-	-
4	Caste and Minorities	-	-	-	-
5	Civic Issues	-	-	-	-
6	Communalism	1	5.6	-	-
7	Corruption	-	-	1	5.6
8	Crime & Justice	-	-	-	-
9	Defence	-	-	-	-
10	Development Projects	-	-	-	-
11	Disaster	-	-	-	-
12	Discrimination & Equality	-	-	-	-
13	Economy	-	-	-	-
14	Education	-	-	-	-
15	Employment	-	--		
16	Entertainment	-	-	-	-
17	Environment	-	-	-	-
18	Gandhi Family	-	-	1	5.6
19	Health Affairs	-	-	-	-
20	International Affairs	-	-	-	-
21	Judiciary	-	-	-	-
22	Kashmir Issue	-	-	-	-
23	Nationalism	-	-	-	-
24	National Security	-	-	-	-
25	Pakistan	2	11.2	4	22.2
26	Pro- Government	5	27.7	3	16.6
27	Pro-Opposition	-	-	-	-
28	Rahul Gandhi	2	11.2	2	11.2
29	Religion	-	-	2	11.2
30	Terrorism	-	-	-	-
Total		18	100	18	100

Source: Data compiled by the author.

Above mentioned table (3), describes the analysis of theme-based shows on the news channels which explains, On Republic TV, 27.7% of debates were based on attacking the opposition in the country, while 16.60% of debates were based on attacking congress. 27.20% of debates were pro-government. 11.2% of debates were also held on Rahul Gandhi and Pakistan. The remaining 5.6 % of debates were on communalism.

While on AajTak, 27.7% of debates were based on attacking the opposition in the country, 16.60% of debates were pro-government. 22.20 % of debates were based on the conflict-related to Pakistan. 11.2% of debates were also held on Rahul Gandhi and religion. The remaining 5.6 % of debates were on corruption as well as on the Gandhi family in India.

In both republics, TV, as well as AajTak, mostly debates or panel discussions, are held on political beats, which help first-time voters to form their opinions on various issues. Figure (6) represent the word cloud analysis of the overall themes of the program held during the research period.
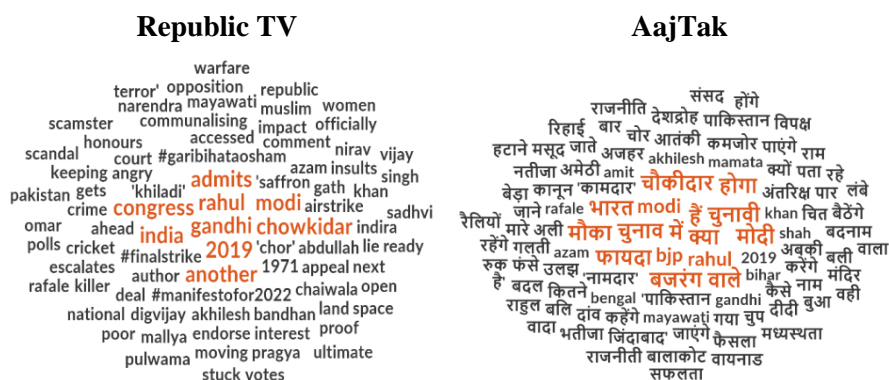
Republic TV   **AajTak**

Figure 1: Word Cloud Analysis of Overall Themes of Programs on Republic TV and AajTak

Discussions

Republic TV [Republic @ 9]

It is a programme that mainly focuses on political beat. Debates and discussions have mostly emphasized the conflict between political parties which reduced the complex significance of debates to overly simplistic conflict. The topics of the panel discussion were mostly in the form of announcements made in a very sensational manner.

The panels in most of the debates are dominated by the spokespersons or sympathisers of political parties and having very few experts. The debate was conducted in a manner where the anchor split the panellist members into

two parts where one is in the favour of argument and the others are against the argument. This invalidates their expertise for discussion and highlights their political preferences and affiliations.

Provoking guests and engage them in a verbal fight are also some of the annoying features of the show. Debates were usually lengthy (8-10 minutes) and efforts were also made to engage viewers for a longer time with the channel by extending debate hours.

Although, Republic TV's debates haven't covered any pressing issues that affect society, such as the economy, education, employment, or health conditions. Instead, they primarily focus on the core issue of politics which mostly attacks opposition and any group or individuals opposing the ideology of the ruling government.

AajTak [Dangal]

Dangal is a programme that mainly focuses on political issues and most of the debates are dominated by the spokespersons or sympathisers of political parties and few experts from various fields depending upon the theme of debates.

The debate is conducted in a 'for and Against the move' manner where few members support the while, others will speak against. However, this invalidates their expertise for discussion and highlights their political preferences and affiliations.

During the shows, there are some instances where the guests are involved in a verbal spat with each other on the indifference of opinions. On many occasions, debates will turn into heated arguments between the panellists and anchors and sometimes also take a bad turn of incidents which includes abusing or scolding participating members.

AajTak also gave dramatic and provocative titles to promote debates and used hashtags for every single debate and somewhere they also encourage viewers to join them on social media. This is also a strategy of AajTak to be more visible on social media.

Conclusion

The media has a moral responsibility towards its viewers to report issues that genuinely matter, providing them with an informed opinion, alerting them of possible consequences, and empowering them to ask questions. This study is an exploratory study, the main objective of which is to find out whether news channel programs are effective in creating political awareness among first-time voters. Political knowledge, awareness of issues, and willingness to

participate in the political process are the most important aspects of political awareness. Our findings also suggest that the news channels play an important role in creating political awareness among citizens, especially first-time voters.

The data also observed that respondents who frequently watch news channel programs based on politics tended to have more knowledge and insight about their political happenings along with their constitutional rights, which eventually helped them (young voters) to participate in the political process of the country. Politics-based shows also help to bring first-time voters closer to the political process by providing them with knowledge and understanding of the political process and making them aware that they can make an effective contribution by casting their vote during elections. According to ECI in 2013, 2.31 cr first-time voters cast their vote and out of which, BJP received 39% and INC received only 18%, which somewhere helped BJP to win with a thumping majority.

On the contrary, the findings also revealed that news channel programs cannot change the political structure in the country, but can make individuals aware of the political affairs in the nation. Primetime shows, especially on politics, have become quite popular. However, it is still too early to determine their impact on the country's political scene. Moreover, the contributions of the news programs to important issues cannot be ignored. In particular, they have a huge impact on creating noise about any issue or diverting the public's attention from any critical issue.

Recommendations

Most of the debates will turn into heated arguments between the panellists and anchors, and sometimes also take a bad turn, which includes abusing or scolding participating members.

News program themes or programs should be selected carefully and shouldn't look provocative or dramatic, which confuses the viewers.

News programs shouldn't favour any political party or any political person.

During programs, anchors should dedicate equal time to the opposition leaders so that they can also present the story from their side.

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A Study on Effectiveness of Grievance Redressal Mechanism with respect to Shimla Jal Prabandhan Nigam Limited, Shimla

Bindu Rani

ABSTRACT

This paper entitled as "A study on effectiveness of Grievance Redressal Procedure with respect to Shimla Jal Prabandhan Nigam Limited–Shimla," is done to understand the effectiveness of the grievance redressal procedure followed by Shimla Jal Prabandhan Nigam Limited to resolve Customers grievance. This study is to identify the level of awareness among the Customer about the grievance redressal mechanism of the company and to know the level of satisfaction towards the grievance redressal procedure of the company. A sample size of 100 was taken for the study. The research is a descriptive study based on survey method. The gathered information is analysed using simple percentage method the findings of this study, concluded that Grievance redressal Procedure followed by the company is effective and satisfactory.

Introduction

A citizen-friendly government/administration should give high priority to the redressal of community grievances. The government being a service provider, it is bound to meet people's needs and aspiration. Effective and timely redressal of public grievances is a characteristic of responsive and responsible governance. Thus, the grievance redressal mechanism is an integral part of any governance system. Today, with increased awareness, the aspirations of citizens have gone up as also the demand for prompt and effective resolution of their grievances. The basic principle of a grievance redressal system is that if the assured level of service delivery is not achieved or if a right of a citizen is not honoured then the citizen should be able to take

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option to a mechanism to have the grievance redressed. This mechanism should be well publicized, easy to use and prompt and above all, citizens must have faith that they will get justice from it (Pani, N. 2001).

Government and the people are intimately connected with each other as the existence of one without the other is impossible in a civilized society. Therefore, there should be a broad concurrence between what the government does and what the people expect. There should be harmonious and smooth relationship between the government and the people, as Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru has rightly said, "administration not only has to be good but also to be felt to be good by the people" (Goel. S.L., & Shalini R., 2006).

With the growth and evolution of modern democracies, governments have been implementing several socio, economic development and welfare-oriented reforms. Naturally, this has widened the sphere of activities of government in modern societies and has proliferated governmental institutions and agencies as instruments of community welfare and development.

A citizen's grievance is the public dissatisfaction with the functioning of governmental processes. In the welfare states like India, which is engaged in nation building and socio-economic planning, public dissatisfaction is proliferating owing to the gap between rising expectations of the people and malfunctioning of the administrative machinery. Public grievances particularly aroused by administration of urban areas are multifarious and multi-dimensional (Pani, N. 2001).

Definition

The Grievance word means any discontent or dissatisfaction whether expressed or unexpressed, written or verbal but the feeling present. "Grievances may be superficial expression of deeper level conflicts and resolutions of particular grievances may have implications for the next interaction"(Cooke, F. L. & Saini, S. D. 2015). Second Administrative Reform Commission (Administrative Reform Commission) defines grievances as resentment against specific acts of omission or commission that are wrong or perceived as wrong, and requiring corrective action to be taken. In simple terms if grievance is registered it needs to be redressed. Winser (Wisner, G. K., 2018) quotespublic grievance as, "The state's institutional reach increases citizens' encounters with the state, while its irregularity generates a sense of grievance when it does not deliver." Public Grievances means grievances of the people residing at the particular area whether in any village, district, and state under any country. The government executed and implemented policy and programmes for the fulfilment of public needs. The loopholes in the channel of implementation of the policy

and programmes that meant for the public, the public registered that problem as a grievance of the public by the public. The public grievances thus need to be redressed by the present government of the country at any point of time in history by a well-designed mechanism for that. The efficiency of the governance of country judge by the effectiveness of redressal of public grievances. As public grievance redressal mechanism is one of the indicators of good governance.

Shimla Jal Prabandhan Nigam Limited

Shimla Jal Prabandhan Nigam Limited (SJPNL) is a jointly promoted company of Shimla Municipal Corporation and Government of Himachal Pradesh. SJPNL is solely responsible for the water and sewerage services in the Shimla City. The SJPNL operates in professional environment with focus on the customer orientation and performance delivery of services. Water Supply and Sanitation has been a priority of Government of Himachal Pradesh & Municipal Corporation. The main objective of SJPNL is providing Universal coverage of water and sewerage to every household, 24 x 7 continuous pressurized water supply, Promoting public health and environment Accountability and responsiveness to citizens, Decentralized service delivery through autonomous and professional institutions. The water supply and sewerage (WSS) services have improved in Shimla city especially after the launch of separate entity Shimla Jal Prabhandan Nigam Limited (SJPNL) in the year 2018. This project is funded by the World Bank. In addition to quantity and quality of water supplied, storage and treatment practices at household level have a great impact on WSS services.

Grievance Redressal Mechanism in Shimla Jal Prabandhan Nigam Limited

The SJPNL has established a dedicated GRM Cell with five executives under a Customer Relationship Manager. Customers can lodge their grievances through any of the following options: Call Centre with Toll Free Number (1916), the SJPNL Website, written complaints, email, social media, walk-in complaints, through Jal Sakhis groups, and via the Chief Minister helpline (1100).

The SJPNL resolves 92% grievances within scheduled time limits. A review of the grievance redress process indicated that 40% of the grievances are billing related, followed by 20% related to metering and data handling and others relating to leakages and supply continuity issues. Majority of the grievances pertain to volumetric tariff, more specifically by senior citizens, indicating need for strengthening awareness on volumetric tariff provisions in the proposed program. The GRM system is well established and operational with systematic recording and acknowledgement of grievances, forwarding of grievances to officers responsible for redressal, updating,

monitoring and escalation if required, feedback to customers, and closure after cross verification. It is in this context, this study attempts to analyse the Public Grievances Redressal System existing in Shimla Jal Prabandhan Nigam Limited (World Bank, 2021).

| Grievance Registration | Action | Resolution | Beneficiary's Feedback |

The Grievances are addressed in a fixed timeframe, notified under Service Guarantee Act by the Government of HP. These timelines are also made available on the website of SJPNL under the Citizen Charter (SJPNL, Citizen Charter). The Grievances registered, has to be resolved at level I. If not addressed effectively or complainant is not satisfied with the action taken/resolution given, complaint escalates to next official i.e. Level II, III &IV respectively for effectiveness and transparency. The Escalation Matrix of complaints is as follows:-

Level 1	• **Junior Engineer**
Level 2	• **Manager**
Level 3	• **Addl. General Manager**
Level 4	• **MD cum CEO**

This study would enable us to identify effectiveness of the grievance redressal procedure followed by Shimla Jal Prabandhan Nigam Limited to resolve Customers grievance. This study is to identify the level of awareness among the Customer about the grievance redressal mechanism of the company and to know the level of satisfaction towards the grievance redressal procedure of the company. A sample size of 100 was taken for the study.

Research Methodology

The present study was carried out with the help of descriptive research to derive the substantial information. Descriptive research design is typically concerned with describing problem and its solution. It is more specific and purposive study. The purpose of the current study was to understand the Customers grievance redressal mechanism. Survey research design was utilized for this study. Self-administered questionnaire was prepared for the purpose of the study.

Sampling Techniques

To carry out the current study simple random sampling technique is used where every fiftieth Complainant whose complaint is registered on GRM Software is selected for this study.

Sample Size

To conduct the survey the researcher had administered 100 questionnaires to the respondents out of which 100 responses were given back.

Data Collection

The present study was carried out by collecting data from both primary and secondary source. The data was collected by preparing well structured questionnaires and the secondary data was collected through various Book, Journals, Research articles and Magazines. This data was used to compile the information and to identify the research gap.

Data Analysis

The data collected was analyzed using simple statistical tools and descriptive tables of averages and percentages derived from MS Excel and guided by evaluation objectives. This study intends to examine the level of satisfaction of users.

Analysis

Age and Education wise Classification of Respondents

Around 7% of the respondents were in the age group of 18-29, 15% in 30-39, 23% in 40-49, 34% in 50-59 and 22% were above 60 years and above. This shows that senior citizens had actively participated/submitted their grievances with the department. In this sample, 27% were Women and 73% were Men.Among the respondents 5 % were educated below High School, 12 % were High School, 23% were Senior Secondary, 44 % were Graduate, 11% were Post Graduate, 2 % were professional Degree/Diploma holder, 1 % were PH.D and 2 % of respondents gave no response.

Table: 1 Type of Connections

S.No.	Type of Connection	No. of Respondent
1.	Domestic	43
2.	Commercial	28
3.	Construction	19
4.	Hotel	10

Source: Field Survey

Among the respondents around 43% possess Domestic water connection whereas rest 28%, 19 % and 10% were using Commercial, Construction and Hotel Tariff water connection. Further, it has been observed that commercial water connection is being used by 13% of the respondents for domestic use either their structures aren't constructed as per the approved norms of MC or they've submitted complete application at the time of applying/ building completion certificate with the department for change of tariff .

Table: 2 Satisfactions with Duration and Quantity of Water Supply

Sr.No.	Satisfaction Level	No. of Respondents
1	Highly Satisfied	12
2	Satisfied	57
3	Neutral	16
4	Dissatisfied	8
5	Highly Dissatisfied	7

Source: Field Survey

Among the respondents 12 % were highly satisfied, 57 % were satisfied and 16% were neutral with duration and quantity of water supply. Those under neutral were neither dissatisfied nor satisfied with the duration and quantity of water supply. The remaining 8 % and 7% were dissatisfied and highly dissatisfied with the duration and quantity of water supply, most of them are those who are staying outside MC limits and newly merged in MC area.

Table: 3 Dissatisfaction with Quantity of Water Supply

S.No.	Satisfaction Level	No. of Respondents
1	Highly Satisfied	21
2	Satisfied	58
3	Neutral	17
4	Dissatisfied	3
5	Highly Dissatisfied	1

Source: Field Survey

Total 79% of respondents were satisfied with quality whereas 4% of the respondents were dissatisfied with quality of water supply and informed that the water being supplied is muddy. Maximum respondents were of the view that quality of water is good, whereas 17% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with the quality of the water supplied to them by the SJPNL.

Table: 4 Type of Grievance

S.No.	Type of Grievance	No. of Respondents.
1	Billing Related	55
2	Change of name/Tariff	5
	Water Pressure	10
4	Water Shortage	25
5	Sewerage Related	15

Source: Field Survey

Among the respondents around 55 % of the respondents said that they have grievance regarding irregular issuance of water bills, high tariff, billing process and non-availability of bills through SMS and arrears in bills however the same has already been paid by the consumer, 90% of billing related complaints/grievances are raised by commercial, construction and hotel tariff consumers. Around 5 % grievance are related to change of tariff and change of name, 10% and 25 % are related to water pressure and water shortage and 15 % are related to sewerage chamber /pipe Breakage, overflow, blockage.

Table: 5 Preferred Mode of Reporting Grievance

S.No.	Mode of Grievance	No. of Complaints
1.	Call to Key Man	24
2.	Contacted JE office	27
3.	Through SJPNL Website	18
4.	Visit to SJPNL office	31

Source: Field Survey

In spite of technology upgradation around 82 % of respondents preferred offline mode of reporting grievances like call to key man, contacted JE office, and Visit to SJPNL office and only 18 % respondents preferred the online mode through SJPNL Website.

Table: 6 Grievance Resolution Time

S.No.	Type of Grievance	Time taken in resolution	No. of Complaints
1	Billing Related	1-2 Days	29
		3-7 Days	15
		8-15 Days	11
		Still pending	-

2	Change of name/Tariff	Within a Week	2
		7-15 Days	2
		Still Pending	1
3	Water Pressure	Within 24 hours	8
		1-2 Days	2
4	Water Shortage	Within 24 Hours	20
		2-3 Days	5
5	Sewerage Related	With 24 hours	13
		2-3 Days	2

Source: Field Survey

Among the respondents 29% of respondents informed that their billing related complaint/grievance has been resolved within one or two days, 15% and 11% grievances are resolved in 3-7 Days and 8-15 Days. 2% of grievances pertaining to change of name and tariff are resolved within a week, 2% are resolved in 15 days and 1% is still pending due to non availability of revenue paper in the name of applicant. Majority of complaints pertaining to water pressure, water shortage and sewerage related are resolved within 24 hours, whereas 2 complaints of water pressure, 5 of water shortage and 2 of sewerage are resolved in 2-3 days due to breakage in main line, shortage due to less pumping of water from main source of water.

Table: 7 Satisfaction with Grievance Redressal

S.No.	Satisfaction Level	No. of Respondents
1	Highly Satisfied	42
2	Satisfied	29
3	Neutral	17
4	Dissatisfied	7
5	Highly Dissatisfied	5

Source: Field Survey

Among the respondents 5% were highly dissatisfied and 7% were dissatisfied with complaint redressal system related to high tariff, non-receipt of bills and inappropriate meter reading by the key man/person engaged for the meter reading. The other reasons specified by them are despite dead meters bill were generated on average reading, message of bill generation are not coming, key man and meter reader are very reluctant in attending calls. Further, they submitted that their complaints are resolved after along time.

Around 42 % and 29% of respondents were highly satisfied and satisfied with the grievance redressal mechanism of SJPNL. They informed that a prompt action has been taken by the officials on their complaints and the same has been resolved in one or two days. They have shown their satisfaction with the water supply, quantity and quality of water, volumetric billing and behaviour of the employees.

Findings

- Majority of respondents were satisfied with the services being provided by the SJPNL.

- Total 55% of complaints are regarding irregular issuance of water bills, high tariff, billing process and non-availability of bills through SMS and arrears in bills, 90% of billing related complaints/grievances are raised by commercial, construction and hotel tariff consumers.

- Majority of Respondents were satisfied with the grievance redressal mechanism of SJPNL and informed that prompt action has been taken by the department on their complaints.

Suggestions

- The respondents who fall under the neutral category can be converted into the category of satisfactory level provided that the Company takes care of the grievances and related issues well in time

- Some feel there is the delay in handling the grievance so organization must focus by improving the same.

- The department should strengthen its water billing process so that the complaints of billing can be reduced.

- Awareness camp must be organized by the department regarding volumetric billing of different tariff and water conservation.

Conclusion

The success of organization mainly depends on its customers. Being a service industry, the main aim is meeting the customers' needs by providing maximum features in their services including grievance redressal services. Grievance Redressal Mechanism and customer satisfaction plays prime role in assessing the performance of an organization as well as in identifying areas of improvement. The Grievance Redressal Mechanism system in SJPNL is well established and operational. The results of the study reveals that majority of the respondents are satisfied with the Grievance redressal

mechanism and services of Shimla Jal Prabhandhan Nigam Ltd. and the services could further be improved, if SJPNL takes into account and consider the observations and suggestions of the study. However, the company must make an honest effort in future also in handling grievance because some grievances which are small in nature if not handled properly can lead to bigger problems.

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Influence of Weather on Canola Crop Phenology under Different Growing Environments

Jagjeet Kaur, Barun Biswas and S K Sandhu

ABSTRACT

The two field experiments of canola (*Brassica napus* L.) crop were sown in five dates at weekly interval (D1 – 28th Oct, D2 – 4th Nov, D3 – 11th Nov, D4 – 18th Nov and D5 – 25th Nov) with two popular varieties (V1 – GSC7 and V2 – GCS 6) in randomized complete block design with three replications in Ludhiana and Gurdaspur, Punjab in *Rabi* 2020-21. All major phenology dates were recorded at each treatment by careful visual observation at regular interval. The weather conditions at the two experimental sites varied over the crop growth period. The crop season at Gurdaspur was remain cooler (24.7°C) and wetter (575.1mm) as compared to Ludhiana (25.8°C and 531.5mm). Canola crop phenophases were lengthier in early sown condition and eventually shirked with delay in sowing at both the study sites. The correlation coefficients among the weather parameters and phenophases duration established strong influence. Maximum and Minimum temperatures were negatively associated with most canola phenophases which indicated that a cooler environment will provide a favourable environment for proper growth of the crop.

Keywords : Canola, Phenology, Weather, Climate, Correlation coefficient

Introduction

Rapeseed and mustard are major oil seed crops. It is rich source of oil (37-49%) containing linoleic acid (Anonymous 2021). On Global level, India ranks third in area and production of rapeseed and mustard after Canada and China. In India rapeseed and mustard is grown on 6.78 million hectares with

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a production 9.12 million tonnes and average yield is 1345 kg ha^{-1} during 2019-20. (Anonymous, 2020a) In Punjab rapeseed and mustard is grown on 31.0 thousand hectares with a production of 46.5 thousand tonnes and average yield is 1482 kg ha^{-1} during 2019-20 (Anonymous 2020b).

In India mustard-rapeseed are grown in *rabi* season under different agroclimatic conditions with different practices i.e., irrigated or rainfed, timely, late sown and mixed cropping. (Rathore *et al* 2017) Canola prefers moderate temperature in the range of 25 to 28 °C with optimum 20 °C and average rainfall of 25-40 cm during crop season (Bhatt *et al* 2015). During crop establishment (October to November) high temperature, cold fog and irregular rains effect the crop growth and yield adversely. Further these weather conditions cause appearance and proliferation of aphids, white rust, stem rot and downy mildew disease. The increase in higher temperature over the optimum (17 to 22 °C) during growth period can cause an effect on days to physiological maturity (Qian *et al* 2018).

Studies based on field experiments revealed that heat stress during flowering phase of canola resulted in reduction of seed yield. (Morrison and Stewart 2002) However, canola also responds to optimum time of sowing, with 20 days late planting may cause decline of 50 % of the potential yield. (Kalra *et al* 2008) So, the different weather parameters cause an effect on canola growth and yield. Filed experiments should be performed to analyse the optimum management practices including development of short-duration varieties, proper irrigation and nutrient management to minimize the negative effects of climate change in the near future. Therefore, this paper enumerates the effect of weather parameters under different growing environments on phenophases of canola crop growth in Punjab.

Materials and Methods

Experimental Details

The field experiment was performed in different agroclimatic zones of Punjab at Experimental field of the Department of Climate Change & Agricultural Meteorology, Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana (30°54'N latitude, 75°56'E longitude and altitude of 247 m above the sea level) and at experimental field of PAU Regional Research Station, Gurdaspur (32°21'N latitude, 75°24'E longitude and altitude of 241 m above the sea level) during rabi season 2020-21.

Ludhiana is situated in an area which possess semi-arid and sub-tropical climate with cold winter in December-January and very hot summer during

May-June. The average minimum and maximum temperature exhibit fluctuations throughout the year. In the summer season, the temperature reaches 45 °C and mild winter season frost occur in December and January when the minimum temperature reaches to 0.5 °C. Mean annual rainfall is 733 mm, during June to September up to 75-80 % rainfall received.

Gurdaspur is situated in North Punjab region lies between Latitude 31°08' to 32°31'N and Latitude 74°30' to 76°20' E. This study area comes under sub-tropical sub-humid climate. The distinctive seasons in the areas are hot summer (April-June) hot and humid monsoon (July-Sept) and cold winter (Nov-March). These regions receive more rainfall as compared to central Punjab and relative humidity remains more than 80% during kharif season. The annual normal rainfall received is about 1100 mm and two-third of this quantity is received during July to Sept.

Two canola varieties (V1 – GSC7 and V2 – GCS 6) were sown in five sowing dates (D1 – 28th Oct, D2 – 4th Nov, D3 – 11th Nov, D4 – 18th Nov and D5 – 25th Nov) in a Randomized Complete Block Design with three replications at Ludhiana and Gurdaspur. Recommended and identical crop management practices as per PAU Package of Practices (Anonymous, 2021) was followed to raise the crop at both study sites.

Weather data collection

The daily data of major weather parameters viz. minimum (Tmn) and maximum temperature (Tmx), morning (RHm) and evening (RHe) relative humidity, rainfall (RF), pan evaporation (EVP), sunshine hours (SSH) and wind speed (WS) was collected from the Agrometeorological observatory of the Department of Climate Change and Agricultural Meteorology, Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana and PAU Regional Research Station, Gurdaspur situated 100 meters away from the experimental field.

Crop data collection

Major canola crop phenophases were observed by visiting the fields every alternative day. Phenological changes were observed visually and days required to attain following phases were registered: GS1 - Emergence, GS2 - Rosette, GS3 - Flower Initiation, GS4 - First Flower, GS5 - End of Leaf Expansion, GS6 - First Pod, GS7 - First Seed, GS8 - End of Pod Development and GS9 - Physiological Maturity.

Statistical analysis

Variability in weather parameters with crop growth was expressed in terms and averages, totals and weekly mean of the weather parameters pertaining to each growing environment (sowing time) treatments. Furthermore,

Pearson's correlation coefficients between different phenology days were calculated to establish definite role of different weather parameters on determining canola growth phases. Graphics and data analysis were carried out in MS Excel spreadsheet software and R Statistical Programming Language (R Core Team, 2020).

Results and Discussion

Meteorological conditions during crop season

Ludhiana- The meteorological observations were noted monthly in the Agrometeorology Observatory of Department of Climate Change and Agricultural Meteorology, Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana (Table 1) during rabi 2020-21. The mean maximum and minimum temperature during rabi 2020-21 were recorded as 25.87 °C and 11.5 °C, respectively. The mean monthly maximum and minimum temperature in crop season ranged from 16.8 °C to 33.9 °C and 7.10 °C to 16.4 °C, respectively. The average monthly maximum relative humidity was recorded to be 84.68 % and minimum relative humidity 41.17 % respectively and average monthly minimum and maximum, relative humidity varied from 41 to 84 %, respectively. During the crop season, total rainfall was 62.40 mm whereas, total evaporation was 531.5 mm. Monthly bright sunshine hours were noted ranged from 3.03 to 8.24 hrs.

Table 1: Mean monthly meteorological data of Ludhiana during *Rabi* 2020-21

Month	Temperature (°C)		RH (%)		RF (mm)	SSH (hrs)	WS (KMPH)	EVP (mm)
	Tmx	Tme	RHm	RHe				
October	31.10	12.33	86.79	23.14	0.00	6.11	1.92	119.2
November	24.76	9.59	90.68	36.18	15.60	6.01	2.21	46.2
December	19.14	7.12	91.89	53.40	6.00	4.92	3.35	35.2
January	17.38	7.31	92.97	62.40	28.00	3.30	3.66	39.00
February	24.63	9.98	94.64	55.07	0.00	7.63	2.28	54.7
March	29.77	15.37	78.82	35.39	5.00	6.89	7.04	111.6
April	34.18	16.11	52.43	14.00	7.8	8.86	4.84	125.6
Mean/Total	**25.85**	**11.11**	**84.03**	**39.94**	**62.40**	**6.2**	**3.6**	**531.5**

Gurdaspur-The meteorological data of the crop season recorded from Agrometeorology observatory installed at PAU, Regional Research Station, Gurdaspur (Table 3.2) revealed that highest mean monthly maximum

temperature was 32.9 °C during April while, it was lowest (17.07 °C) during January month. The mean minimum temperature in the range of 7.35 (December) to 15.7 °C (April). Likewise, average maximum and minimum relative humidity ranged from 68 (April) to 93 % (December) and 35.3 (October) to 67.5 % (January), respectively. Monthly bright sunshine hours were ranged from 2.28 to 7.02 hrs. During the crop season, total rainfall was 97.5 mm whereas, total evaporation was 575.1 mm.

**Table 2 Mean monthly meteorological data of Gurdaspur during *Rabi* 2020-21**

Month	Temperature (°C)		RH (%)		RF (mm)	SSH (hrs)	WS (KMPH)	EVP (mm)
	Tmx	Tme	M	E				
October	32.28	15.72	89.11	35.33	0	7.02	1.79	120
November	24.90	10.39	89.94	44.73	27.9	3.97	1.92	67.4
December	18.60	7.35	93.34	64.85	15.8	2.28	2.25	57.4
January	17.07	7.76	90.96	67.59	23.3	3.15	2.57	62.2
February	23.04	9.96	85.21	58.43	3.1	4.96	2.60	85.6
March	24.55	13.13	79.83	51.42	13.1	4.91	3.80	103.2
April	32.99	15.71	68.97	44.70	14.3	5.63	4.27	79.3
Mean/Total	**24.78**	**11.43**	**85.34**	**52.44**	**97.5**	**4.56**	**2.74**	**575.1**

**Phenology of canola under different growing environments:**

The phenological stages of canola crop were significantly affected by growing environments and cultivars treatments at Ludhiana (Figure 1) and Gurdaspur (Figure 2). The overall growing period from sowing to physiological maturity was longest under D1V1 sowing and gradually shunned to shortest crop duration under D5V2 sowing at both the locations. The V1 variety (GSC7) utilized more days compared to V2 (GSC6) at all sowing days treatments. It was also evident from the Figure 1& 2 that canola crop phenophases in Gurdaspur was longer compared to crop phases in Ludhiana at all treatment levels.

Similar results were found by Benga and Angadi (2016), who observed that delayed sowing reduced the vegetative phase as well as flowering period. In flowering period, the mean temperature was increased, which resulted in shortening of crop duration and less leaf area index. (Pouriesa and Nabipour, 2004)The difference in phenological phases between two locations (Ludhiana and Gurdaspur) may be due to difference in mean temperatures, soil conditions and management practices. The lower mean temperature at

Gurdaspur leads to expansion of crop period resulted in a greater number of days for physiological maturity as compared to Ludhiana.
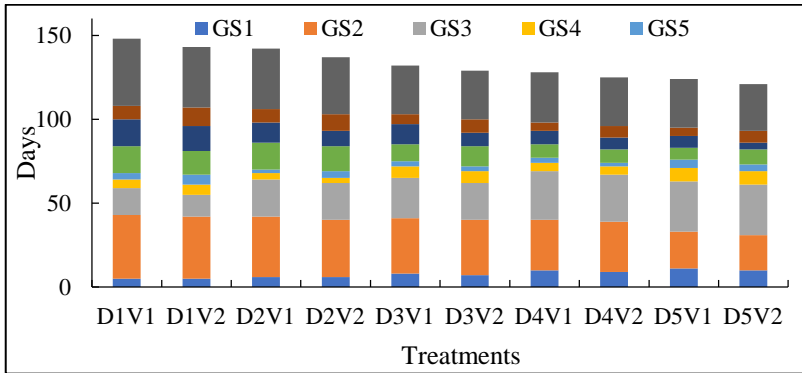
Figure 1: Canola phenology duration under different treatment combinations in Ludhiana
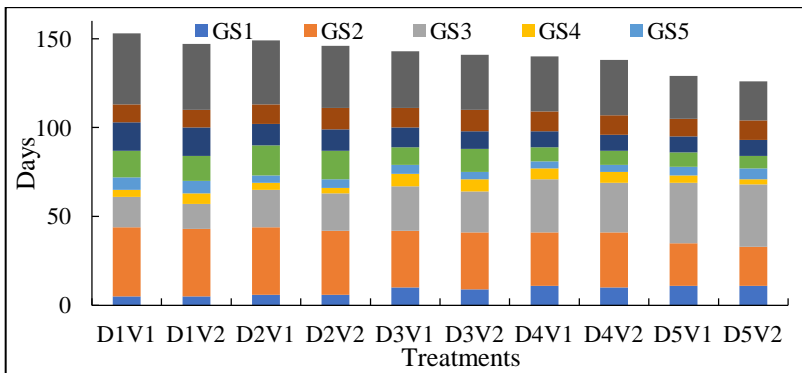
Figure 2: Canola phenology duration under different treatment combinations in Gurdaspur

Correlation analysis of canola phenology with weather variables

Ludhiana – the correlation coeffect between different canola phenology and weather parameters are tabulated along with significance code in Table 3. For emergence (GS1) stage of the crop, Tmx, Tmn, RHe, SSH and WS exhibited significant correlation. However, the effect of Tmx, Tme and SSH was negative on canola emergence time and other variables had positive impact on emergence. This implies that decrease in air temperature, evening RH and SSH may significantly delay canola emergence in Ludhiana. On the other hand, all the weather variables showed significant connotation with GS2 pheno-phase. However, this growth stage was negatively associated

with RHm, RHe and WS. Positive relation of GS2 with air temperature variables, rainfall, evaporation and sunshine duration implied that a clear and warmer environment with vegetative phase would hasten the growth of canola crop.

Flower initiation stage was positively correlated with weather variables except Tmx and SSH. Days to GS3 showed significant impact of different weather parameters excluding Tmn and WS. These results indicated that a cooler day with high humidity and frequent rainfall may start early flower induction in canola crop under Ludhiana environment. Canola reproductive phases (GS6 to GS9) were negatively associated with Tmx and Tmn (Table 3). These two variables also affect the respective phenophases significantly. The relationship ascertained that an irregular increase in air temperatures may lead to shorter phenophases and overall crop growth duration of canola in Ludhiana. GS6 and GS9 were also significantly and negatively correlated with SSH. For WS, the relation was positive and significant for GS6 and GS7. However, Physiological maturity duration expressed a significant negative role of mean wind speed during the period.

Table 3: Correlation coefficients between canola phenology durations and weather parameters at Ludhiana

Phenology	GS1	GS2	GS3	GS4	GS5	GS6	GS7	GS8	GS9
Tmx	-0.89**	0.89**	-0.96**	0.36	-0.11	-0.95**	-0.81**	-0.77**	-0.87**
Tmn	-0.78**	0.88**	0.56	-0.53	0.25	-0.25	-0.72*	-0.82**	-0.71*
RHm	0.05	-0.76*	0.90**	-0.03	-0.3	0.26	-0.44	-0.13	0.79**
RHe	0.82**	-0.90**	0.95**	-0.45	0.34	0.47	-0.59	0.41	0.80**
RF	0.03	0.68*	0.74*	0.28	0.52	-0.43	0.42	0.63	-0.15
EVP	0.54	0.98**	0.99**	0.72*	0.58	0.28	0.90**	0.3	0.57
SSH	-0.76*	0.92**	-0.98**	0.33	-0.05	-0.70*	0.24	-0.44	-0.77**
WS	0.84**	-0.75*	0.37	-0.1	-0.25	0.73*	0.77**	0.36	-0.80**

Significance code – '**' – 0.001, '*' – 0.05 and '' – Non-Significant

GS1 - Emergence, GS2 - Rosette, GS3 - Flower Initiation, GS4 - First Flower, GS5 - End of Leaf Expansion, GS6 - First Pod, GS7 - First Seed, GS8 - End of Pod Development and GS9 - Physiological Maturity.

Gurdaspur– the correlation between stage wise mean/total of different weather variables and phenophases duration of canola is presented in Table 4. In sub mountainous agroclimatic condition, canola phenophases were

negatively correlated with Tmx expect GS2, GS4 and GS8. For Tmn, positive association was only noticed for GS2, GS3 and GS8. The significant and negative correlation coefficient of Tmx and Tmn with most canola growth stages reflect that a cooler day and night environment would help for proper growth of the crop in Gurdaspur. The crop emergence was also negatively correlated with RHm and SSH.

Significant and positive association of canola emergence was registered by RHe, EVP and WS. Like, Ludhiana, GS2 was express significant correlation with all the weather variables at Gurdaspur. Highly negative correlation of GS2 with RHm and RHe and highly positive correlation with RF and EVP drier conditions may hamper canola growth and thus shrink the vegetative stage of the crop. For reproductive stages (GS6 to GS9), RHm showed positive and significant correlation excluding GS8. During the reproduction stages, other significant correlation coefficient was observed for RF at GS7 (0.97**); EVP at GS6 (0.85**), GS7 (0.87**) and GS9 (0.96**); SSH at GS7 (-0.76*); and WS at GS9 (-0.70*).

Few studies from India (Kumar *et al.* 2014; Boomiraj*et al.* 2010) also point out that the yields of *Brassica Species* are projected to cause a reduction by 7.9 % in 2050 (2040-2069) and 15 % in 2080 (2070-2099) periods due to climate change. In Punjab region, similar results were found that there will be reduction in mustard yield under temperature increase scenarios. (Gill *et al.* 2016) Therefore, sowing time adjustments may be required to avert any negative impact of climate change.

Filed experiments should be performed to analyse the optimum management practices including development of short-duration varieties, proper irrigation and nutrient management to minimize the negative effects of climate change in the near future.

Table 4: Correlation coefficients between canola phenology durations and weather parameters at Gurdaspur

Phenology	GS1	GS2	GS3	GS4	GS5	GS6	GS7	GS8	GS9
Tmx	-0.98**	0.90**	-0.54	0.25	-0.08	-0.88**	-0.85**	0.6	-0.65*
Tmn	-0.96**	0.92**	0.5	-0.15	-0.31	-0.37	-0.79**	0.56	-0.77**

RHm	-0.11	-0.90**	-0.66*	-0.29	0.32	0.70*	0.86**	-0.56	0.72*
RHe	0.98**	-0.89**	-0.02	-0.34	0.15	0.31	0.34	-0.02	-0.09
RF	0.28	0.71*	0.82**	-0.21	0.79**	0.61	0.97**	-0.43	-0.06
EVP	0.79**	0.97**	0.95**	0.93**	-0.05	0.85**	0.87**	0.31	0.96**
SSH	-0.97**	0.70*	-0.37	0.53	-0.41	-0.59	-0.76**	0.02	-0.33
WS	0.80**	-0.85**	0.19	-0.33	-0.3	0.59	0.48	-0.11	-0.70*

Significance code – '**' – 0.001, '*' – 0.05 and '' – Non-Significant

GS1 - Emergence, GS2 - Rosette, GS3 - Flower Initiation, GS4 - First Flower, GS5 - End of Leaf Expansion, GS6 - First Pod, GS7 - First Seed, GS8 - End of Pod Development and GS9 - Physiological Maturity.

Conclusion:

Canola growth and phenology was significantly influenced by the growing period weather conditions at both Ludhiana and Gurdaspur study sites. Maximum and minimum temperature influenced most of the crop phenophases in antagonistically. Rainfall and evaporation were positively associated with major vegetative and reproductive stages. However, Sunshine hours and wind speed parameters showed negative impact at both study locations. Hence, further comprehensive experiment can be done to explore exact role of different weather variables in determining yield of canola under variable growing conditions.

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Live-in-Relationship in India: Human Right vis-a-vis Right to Privacy

Kalpana Devi

ABSTRACT

Live in relationship is merely Choice of two adults and marriage is matter of sacrament. Live in relationship is an arrangement between them to live with spouse without formalities of marriage. Family is the basic component of the society. Individuals are free to set up their naptual family according to their necessity. Traditionally in India naptual family life is being started after marriage. Now a day's person can start to live with other without marriage, called live in relations. Generally live in relationship is not approved by the society but young generations are attracted to it and want to live without any formalities of marriage. The Apex Court has also protected the right of Live in Partners. The Constitution provides equal right without any discrimination. Live in Partners are also entitled to enjoy right to privacy.

Keywords: Live in Relationship, Human Right, Right to Privacy

Meaning of "Live-in- Relationship"

Live in relationship means an arrangement in which the couples are unmarried live together to conduct a relationship like marriage. In western countries these types of relationships are valid but are not accepted in India. Now a day's mostly young generation are attracted to live in relations so that complications of the married life can be avoid. Live in relationship provide opportunity to LGBT community to live together (Bhosle, 2018).

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Methodology

Methodology is the way to complete the research. Keeping in view the nature of the problem doctrine research methodology has been chosen to highlight the issue. The methodology adopted is basically both descriptive and analytical. The research methodology has been chosen in such manner that the basic information derived from the different sources and disciplines may be co-ordinate effectively and a link may be set up between the present study and others.

Difference between Live-in Relationship and Marriage

Marriage institution allows the couple to live together. There are various types of marriages in Hindu law. The Marriage is governed by various laws and is universal phenomena on the other hand live in relationships have received recognitions in few countries, presently it is growing faster and famous among young generation in India. It is believed that marriage is made in heaven and made by the god. Subconsciously, this idea fixed in the mind of the people and work hard to make their relationship last for long. Marriage is more stable then live-in relationship. The youth may not agree with conservative side of marriage. They feel that live in relationship gives them the sense of freedom as well as conjugal rights without restrictions. One can walk out from relationship if things aren't working. But marriage is tie in Indian society one cannot break easily some time spouse live together life time for the sake of children or maintains the status of married person for social recognition. There is long process to end the marriage which is difficult and time taking process (Tulsa & others).

The Supreme Court has protected the rights of the live in partners. It is also observer by the apex court that the couple living together for long time ac be treated as married couple (Tripaksha, 2022). In spite of Supreme Court decision live in relationship is not accepted in society and partner have to face discrimination name calling and ashamed etc. The majority of people look live in relationship immoral and unethical. The basic difference between marriage and live in relationship is that marriage has received social approval and live-in has to struggle a lot (UDHR).

International prospective

Choice of individual is matter everywhere and to uphold the dignity of individual International Human right bill has given the sufficient space to the

individual, be it choice of family or marriage etc. There are sufficient instruments which encourage the individual to have family in its own way.

UDHR

Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the premier document to protect the basic rights of human being. Article 1 says all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood (UDHR)[5] and further Article 12 of UDHR declared that No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation n. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks. Para 2 Article 16 says that Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses and para 3 of Article 16 defines that the family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State (PWDVA, 2005).

Live-in relationships protected by law

Live in relation is a social contract between the partied to live together. They can live together only with their convince. There are various laws to protect the right of live in partners.

(a) Domestic violence in live in relationship

The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence act, 2005 protect women from abusive partners and family. As per Section 2(f) the Act not only applies to a married couple but also to a relationship in nature of marriage. A woman is entitled to claim remedy in case of physical, mental, verbal or economic abuse. Therefore, when it is established that there is a relationship in nature of marriage a woman in live in relationship can claim all the remedies available for her (PWDVA, 2005).

The Supreme Court In land mark case **Velusamy v. D. Patchaiammal** determine the pre requisite for a live in relationship (a) The couple must hold themselves out to society as being akin to spouses.(b) They must be of legal age to marry.(c) They must be otherwise qualified to enter into a legal marriage, including being unmarried.(d) They must have voluntarily cohabited and held themselves out to the world as being akin to spouses for a significant period of time (CCP, 1973).

Further the court clear that if a man keep a women as servant and maintains her financially and uses mainly for sex purposes, such relationship would not be considered be a relationship in the nature of marriage'

(b)Position of Women Under Code of Criminal procedure

Section 125 of Cr.P.C provides the maintenance to the wife and children if man refuses to maintain them. In live in relationship long term relationship can be presumed as marriage and female partner can claim maintenance. Women and children under live in relationship are entitled for main. Section 125 (c) protect the children and father is liable for maintenance.

In **Chanmuniya Vs. Virender Kumar Singh Kushwaha** (AIR, 1980)the Apex court held that in those cases where a man, who lived with women for a long time even they may not marry, should be made liable to pay the women maintenance if he leaves her. The man should not be allowed to benefit from the legal loopholes by enjoying advantages of de facto marriage without undertaking the duties and obligations.

Legitimacy and inheritance rights of children

Inheritance rights of children are mentioned in Section 16 of the Hindu Marriage Act, where the legal status of legitimacy is provided even to illegitimate children (those born out of marriage) for the sole purpose of inheritance. Therefore, inheritance rights have been granted to children born out of a live-in relationship. These rights are available in both ancestral and self-bought properties.

In case of **SPS Balasubramanyam Vs. Sruttayan** that if a man and a woman are living under one roof for some years, then it will be presumed under Section 114 Evidence Act that they live as a husband and wife and children born to them are not illegitimate (AIR, 2017).

Custody and maintenance rights of children

The position on the maintenance rights of children out of marriage varies in personal marriage laws. For instance, under the Hindu Law the father has to maintain the child, whereas under the Muslim Law the father has been absolved of such an obligation. However, under Section- 125 of the Criminal Procedure Code, remedy is available for children who are unable to claim maintenance under personal laws. Section- 125 provides a legal right of maintenance to wives, children.

LGBT and live in relation

The LGBT community is most discriminated person in Indian society. They are being ill-treated and sometime atrocities accrued against them. They are being mistreated by their family members and compel to sacrifice their interest in the name of social and cultural traditions. Live in relationship provide the opportunity to LGBT to live with the partner of their choice. Live in relationship does not compel the adult to go through formality of marriage. Gay and lesbian are not allowed by society to marry so live in relationship is an opportunity to stay with partner of their own choice. The Apex court has also decriminalized the century old Section 377 of the IPC.

To live with dignity is the basic rights of human being, no person can take away and interfere in the life of other person unreasonably. In Prem Shankar Shukla V. Delhi Adminstration (AIR, 2018) The Supreme Court has declared that to live with dignity is the fundamental, right of human being. Every person in society has right to access the right of In K.S. Puttaswamy v Union of India the Supreme Court held that "the right to privacy is protected as an integral part of the right to life and personal liberty under Article 21 and as a part of freedoms guaranteed by Part III of the Constitution".

In Navtej Singh Johar & Ors. v. Union of Indiathe supreme Court declared consensual sexual acts between adults valid and overruled the 2013 ruling in Suresh Koushal v Naz Foundation (AIR, 2020). The court found that criminalization of sexual acts between consenting adults violated the right to equality guaranteed by the Constitution of India.

Judicial approach on Live in Relation ship

Long time relationship is presumed as marriage. The couple has all the rights as married husband and wife. It was held by the Supreme Court in Tulsa and ors v. Durghatya and other (AIR, 2010) that 50 years live in relationship of couple is marriage and valid. The Court further held that a strong presumption arises in the favour of wed lock where partners has lived as husband and wife for long time.

In Madan Mohan Singh v Rajni Kant, the Apex Court observed that the live in relationship if continue for long time cannot be termed as a "walk –in and walk out" relationship and that there is a presumption of marriage between the parties (AIR, 2006). The couple staying together for long time and fulfill all the characters of married life presumed to be married couple and having all the rights and duties against each other.

Rights of live-in partner

In the case of S. Khusboov V. Kanniammal the Supreme Court said that a live -in relationship comes within the ambit of article 21 of Constitution of India. The right to life and live with dignity is fundamental life of human being. The Court further held that two major living together can't be considered illegal and unlawful and live-in relationship is permissible (AIR, 2013). In Lata Singh v. State of UP and Anr the Supreme Court of India observed that live in relationship between two consenting adults of heterogenic sex does not amount to any offence. In the case of Indra Sarma v. VKV Sarma the Supreme Court said that the decision to marry or not to marry or have heterosexual relationship is merely personal. Further It was held that Livein or marriage like relationship is neither crime nor sin.

Conclusion

The concept of family is changing within time. In India People preferred nuclear family instead of joint family. Live in relationship is emerging and couple lives without formality of marriage and marital status. Live in relationship is still a stigma in Indian society. Morally couples are not allowed to live together without marriage. Right to freedom is the fundamental rights guaranteed in article 19 of the Constitution. Choice of partner as well as live with partner in live in relationship is the basic right of the individuals. Presently younger generation preferring to the live in relations. LGBT community has opportunity to live together as well as establish their family. They can have peaceful and contented life. There is need to change the perception toward live in relationship. The live relation should be recognized as other relationships so that the couple can live with dignity and peace. They can focus on their profession and perform better in their carrier.

Recommendations

- The brawny legislation is needed to protect the rights of live in partner.
- Awareness programmes should organize by the Government.
- Police protection should be given to the live in partner.

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Book Review

Jyoti Yadav

Karan Singh. *Folk Theatres of North India: Contestation, Amalgamation and Transference*. London: Routledge, 2020.

Folk Theatres of North India: Contestation, Amalgamation and Transference by Karan Singh is a much-needed addition to the extant scholarship on folk theatres and their intermeshing in the socio-cultural life. The book examines folk theatres vis-à-vis classical theatrical traditions in India and posits that, contrary to the popular view, it is the classical Sanskrit theatre which owes to folk theatres for its form, origin and direction. According to the writer, one cardinal aspect of all Folk theatres is their problematising of assumed linearity of cultural history, questioning of the pre-existence of an originator, pure, transcendental, unhybrid whole and subverting of cultural hegemony. The notions of 'purity' and unmixed signifier become suspect in folk theatres which celebrate multiplicity and hybridity while decentring transcendental, universal significations. The assumptions of monolithic structures in folk theatres invariably neglect the complex distributaries and complementarities of cultural exchanges in the encounter of cultures. Folk theatres can be understood in their full function only when we take into account the process of cultural accretion and the transference of cultural codes. Further, it requires a broader understanding of the historicity of such exchanges which affect the specificity of any cultural production as reflected in folk performances.

The writer rightly points out that the relationship of Indian folk theatres with classical Sanskrit drama is usually seen in terms of centre and periphery. The commonly accepted view is that Sanskrit theatrical mode has been the prime presence, the logos, and folk theatres are an adjunct to it, coming into prominence only with the demise of the 'source,' which is seen as original root of all Indian drama. But the moot point is whether the principles contained in *Natyasastra* preceded the folk drama or are they based on the living dramatic tradition preceding the era of composition of *Natyasastra* which was seen and meditated by the revered ascetic? Isn't it more viable that folk dramatic practice was refined, codified, selected and theorized in the *Natyasastra*? The view that the principles contained in *Natyasastra* are

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self-revelatory can be elided within the complex mytho-historical nature of Indian epics. Hence it seems more sustainable that the folk theatre existed even before the *Natyasastra* came into existence and the treatise was composed by observation of these extent theatrical forms. It seems more probable that no single factors is wholly responsible in the shaping of drama. Rather, the art of drama existed simultaneously at various levels-sacrificial rites, chant, recitation, mime, pageants, processions, improvisatory folk performances and puppet shows etc. each serving its own needs in its own context. At various periods of history these elements and modes of performance underwent fusion and produced various forms of drama.

Another significant issue dealt by the writer in the book is an understanding of performance as a theoretical base of folk theatres which has included all cultural representations under its scrutiny. He has rightly pointed out that performance slowly freed itself from the rigid conventions of theatre and now includes all kinds of cultural performances such as popular entertainment, speech acts, political demonstrations, rituals etc. The distinction between theatre and performance as that between discipline and subversion, the open-ended nature of performance and its polymorphous character makes it a useful instrument in understanding the diversity of cultural/racial and gender sites. Performance as a reiteration of ongoing struggle of irreducible contingency against pattern making nature of society and art makes us aware of the difficulty in separating the 'real' or essence from the 'realized' or constructed.

Another important dimension of the present book is that through its focus on historical, social and cultural imprints of North Indian folk theatres, it studies folk theatres' adaptability and ability to reinvent themselves in accordance with transformations in spatial and temporal locations. The book argues that the genesis of North Indian folk theatres does not lie in their being fragmented pieces of Sanskrit theatre only. These folk theatres developed along an independent trajectory, revealing a fundamental human impulse towards freedom from structuring, normative impulses of religion and culture. The study traces three underlying processes in their construction-contestation, amalgamation and transference-which explain their unique structure. They effectively contested delimitation of human creative impulses as revealed in classical Sanskrit theatre, while amalgamating influences from Western theatre, newly-rising religious reform movements of 19th century India, tantra and Bhakti. Through a comprehensive investigation into the causes, inter-relations between social and cultural factors and performance

principles underlying diverse North Indian folk theatres, the study finds North Indian folk theatres an anthropologically rich layer of Indian society.

The first chapter of the book entitled 'Folk Theatre: Genesis, History and Causes' traces rise of folk theatres in their contemporary format through historical, social and religious frameworks. This chapter assesses historical roots of Indian theatre and its rise in India from extant forms such as *Vedic* chants, puppet theatre, religious pageantry, festivals etc. The genesis of folk theatres in India is linked to peculiar historical structure of syncretic Indian culture wherein both Aryan and Indigenous cultures played an important part in their gestation. Despite a lack of support of both political and religious authorities, folk theatres managed to survive due to their endurance system based on their inherent flexibility and adaptability borrowed from folk life. This flexibility shown by folk theatres made them adapt to and adopt historical changes and thus their survival was ensured through contestation, amalgamation and transference of vital elements from one spatial and temporal location to another. Folk theatres were successfully able to adjust themselves to the colonial culture which passed onto them many of its own attributes through intermediate forms such as Parsi theatres, which folk theatres refracted through their repertoire of myths, stories and an openness of interaction between an actor and the spectator. The chapter also includes investigation into impact of British colonialism in tandem with German Romantics' enthusiastic eulogization of Indian classical culture in inculcating a sense of inferiority in Indian cultured classes towards folk performances. Further a transformation of North Indian folk theatres under influence of Reformatory movements such as Arya Samaj has been traced in the chapter. *Nath yogis, tantra* and *Bhakti* movement also affected North Indian folk theatres by providing them themes and basic structure of the tales which have been analyzed in detail.

The second chapter 'Folk Theatre and Sanskrit Dramaturgy' traces salient features of Sanskrit dramaturgy which have an impact on North Indian folk theatres. In the 'Natyotpatti' chapter of *Natyasastra*, the myth of origin of theatre is traced as symbolic representation of extant socio-cultural conditions which gave birth to theatre and how it was soon enclosed within reductive structures so as to isolate it from common people. This drive separated mass-oriented folk theatres from exclusive Sanskrit theatres and resulted in Sanskrit theatre's alienation through its codification by Brahmanic culture. The chapter focuses on constant stream of synthesis between folk and Sanskrit theatrical forms, as both art forms relied on the same cultural material through a symbiosis of mythic themes. It has been

argued that a proper assessment of Sanskrit theatre cannot be made without reference to extant folk theatres which are embedded within its vital organs and sustain it from within. To create exclusive terrain for Sanskrit theatre and enclose it within the binary opposition, is to falsify all the attendant myths of its origin and its subsequent development.

The arguments of third chapter entitled 'Folk theatre and Western Theatre' stem from an understanding that there exist certain contesting principles between Western realistic/naturalistic dramatic tradition and Indian folk theatres. Though Western theatre in its present-day orientation has covered some ground towards amalgamating Indian theatrical traditions, an evaluation of Western theatre in its realistic/naturalistic mode becomes important because it has been and still is the most dominant form of theatrical theory in the West. Hence Western realistic/naturalistic vein is taken in the study as a reference point against which new developments in performance theatre are defined and measured. When this model of dramatic presentation was imported to colonized society of India, the native society felt the full impact of this urge and as a consequence it was imitated with added vigor by those sections of society which were most close to colonial power structure. North Indian folk theatres, as recipients of colonial cultural metropolis, inherited these models which often clashed with their traditional representative principles and hence a kind of compromise was soon reached. Under this adaptation, folk theatres effectively contested notions of realism as inherent in Western realistic theatre, while subsuming some of its influences in the process.

The fourth chapter under title 'Folk Theatre: The Cinematic Legacy' seeks to understand folk theatre's journey to Cinema. The dominance of realistic impulses in Western theatre in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries paved way for theatre's movement towards greater vividness in capturing outside realty in perceptible impressions. The chapter discusses that there were simultaneous attempts, particularly in those countries where Western dominance revealed itself as a transnational colonial hegemony, to contest, amalgamate and transfer the newly emerging media to native societies' own particular social and cultural systems. Indian cinema was one such example wherein the technology of cinema, born and bred in Europe and America, was mixed with native traditions to produce some very interesting hybrid formations. The thesis which this chapter explores is how the legacy of folk theatres wedded to cinematic technique, transformed cinematic agency by contesting it with own traditions, styles and motifs to reveal the power of hybrid formations.

The fifth chapter 'Folk theatrical Space as Performance' seeks to analyse North Indian folk theatrical space as a performative genre. This section has three major critical orientations. In the first part a brief description of major folk theatrical performances in the North India is undertaken. The second part of the chapter is devoted to an eclectic study of postulations from performance studies. This appraisal is coalesced with an interdisciplinary use of insights from anthropology, sociology, folk lore studies and literary studies. The third part of the chapter examines performative structure of North Indian Folk theatres, their points of departure as well as their salient performance distinctions as folk genres situated within a particular culture and time. While evaluating performative structure of folk theatres, it is scrutinized how they contest and amalgamate certain tendencies which are part of their growth, reflecting an independent trajectory situated in a typical regional culture.

The concluding chapter makes a perusal of the investigations in previous chapters which point to appearance of certain inferences reiterating major orientations of this study. The study concludes that while it would not be wise to de-historicize and de-localize North Indian folk theatres, there is a definitive shape of principles, motifs and performative elements with a strong base of commonality in folk theatres all over the world, which may indicate consideration of folk theatres as an innate impulse in human nature towards liberty from classifications and extractions

The significance of the book lies in the understanding mooted by the writer that our indigenous folk forms of theatre have survived vacillations of history due to their immanent ductility, their performability and their fundamental and effective rapport with the id impulses of the spectators. Concomitantly, the new insights provided by performance theatre made some glaring chinks visible in some of the hitherto considered impregnable fortress of western realistic theatre. The realism/naturalism in theatre forecasts only perceivable, observable reality and neglects the matrix of human relationships in their unpredictable, contingent, mixed-up realities. It is thus necessary to understand the limitations of realistic tradition in theatres and explore the channels of fluidity and efflorescence in human character, the essential intercontextuality of dance, drama and songs. The process of convergence of meaning in a performance needs to be looked more deeply and its possibilities explored taking cognizance of context as part of text and the location of meaning in the spectators. Since theatre seeks to focus on abundantly labyrinthine human faculties through exploration of visual/auditory pleasure principle, it is advisable that we come out of the

simplistic creation of scene and incident and recognize the play of diverse emotions living in close proximity in human mind-something which folk theatre performances like *sang* successfully do in their juxtaposition of contemporaneity with antique, ruminative with wisecracks and performance of godliness in the bonhomie of fair. The book thus examines immense opening provided by the application of modern performance theories on the North Indian folk theatres as an open-ended theatrical tradition. It situates the borrowings and adaptations which these living folk traditions are susceptible to and synthesize them in their overall structure.

The major plank of the book that the development of folk theatre is a product of diverse socio-cultural and economic conditions brings to fore the strategies of resistance employed by any cultural *varna sankara* product wherein it reorients and disrupts predominant formations. By scrutinizing how the Sanskrit dramatic principles were able to survive in the extant folk dramas and were able to affect the building of folk theatre, the study makes an assessment of the important historical link which folk theatres provide to Indian dramatic tradition and its connection to Indian social, political, cultural and economic reality. The book is quite useful to college and university students of South Asian studies who wish to understand Indian theatre in its totality. Through its focus on the genesis of folk theatres and their performance-based principles, the study acts as a bridge between interdisciplinary studies on theatre, cinema and performance.

Himachal Pradesh University Journal seeks to provide a space for broad and synthetic discussion within the spheres of humanities and social sciences. The Journal publishes research papers, articles, essays, reports, and book reviews on a wide range of topics of interest to the students and the scholars of humanities and social sciences. The journal focuses specifically on the issues of research applicability by encouraging the submissions that, in a concrete way, apply social science or critically reflect on the application of social science. In the meantime, HPUJ seeks to promote a broad public discussion and synergistic understanding within the described scope of the journal that is essential for the advancement of research and promotion of the scholarly community.

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