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# THE DISCUSSANT

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## WHAT'S IN A PRESIDENT'S NAME

*What's in a name? That which we call a rose/  
By any other name would smell as sweet*

Thus said the leading lady to the protagonist in William Shakespeare's classic *Romeo and Juliet*. The subtle message from these famous lines is that the character of an object or person does not change with the name. Aurangzeb Marg, now rechristened as APJ Abdul Kalam Marg, would remain the residence of powerful politicians and corporate honchos in Lutyens Delhi and not become a hub of science laboratories with a change in the name. Among those global corporate leaders staying at Aurangzeb Road include Arcelor Mittal's LN Mittal, KP Singh of DLF and Max Healthcare's Analjit Singh.

I am no admirer of sixth Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. Ever since I came to Delhi as a student at Delhi University, I wondered what made the powers that be name such an important road in the national capital after the emperor.

Aurangzeb's policies in the long term were to prove largely responsible for the decay of the Mughal Empire. That the road named after him ran almost parallel to one named after his ancestor Akbar, the best known Mughal emperor, also confounded me. There are other roads named after Mughal emperors like Babar, Humayun and Shahjahan, but they are relatively 'low profile' roads than the one named after Aurangzeb.

I also wondered why the city planners decided to banish the fourth Mughal emperor Jahangir from Lutyens Delhi altogether. There is a resettlement colony named after him in North-West Delhi, which obviously does not enjoy a similar brand equity as the avenues in the New Delhi district. It would be a matter of worthwhile research to find out whom and why somebody in the government decided to name a road after Aurangzeb, whose brutalities the city witnessed. Alas, we do not have author Khuswant Singh, also a veritable Sikh historian, living anymore to tell the tale.

One of Sikh history's most painful chapters is the beheading of Guru Teg Bahadur at the behest of Aurangzeb for having opposed his aggressive policy of conversion to Islam. Harvard historian William Irvine states that Guru Teg Bahadur was tortured for many weeks while being asked to abandon his faith and convert to Islam. He stood by his convictions and refused. Such a dogged position soon led to his execution. The Sikh tradition states that the associates of the Guru were tortured too for their refusal to convert.

The Guru was beheaded at a place where Gurdwara Sisganj stands in the walled city. His last rites were carried out at where Gurdwara Rakabganj stands today. A memorial to Guru's visit to Delhi, where he ultimately met martyrdom, was built nearly four centuries later by the Delhi government at Singhu border.

Aurangzeb became part of folklore for having jailed his father Shah Jahan, the builder of Shahjahanabad, today's old Delhi and the Taj Mahal. Also, Aurangzeb is famous for killing his brothers Dara Shikoh, Shuja and Murad in his quest for power. Though rated to be best in military affairs among his brothers, Aurangzeb was a brute in matters of wielding power and a religious bigot.

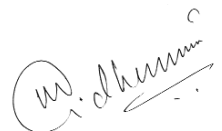
Though many historians credit Aurangzeb with bringing almost all territories in the Indian sub-continent under the Mughal fold, his religious policy saw a series of rebellions. Important among these rebellions were those of the Marathas, Jats, Rajputs and Sikhs. These rebellions put the Mughal rule in the state of irrevocable decline.

Having expressed a lack of sadness at the Narendra Modi government's decision to rechristen Aurangzeb Marg as APJ Abdul Kalam Marg, a few queries do remain. Why didn't the powers to be call it S Radhakrishnan Marg? The instant answer would be that there is a road already named after him in Chanakyapuri.

Well, that's true but how many people visit Chanakyapuri and how many parents of children studying at elite Sanskriti School know that it's located on S Radhakrishnan Marg. The city planners could have found a better place for philosopher-president than just going through the routine of naming a road after him. When there are roads named after his predecessor Dr Rajendra Prasad and successor Dr Zakir Hussain in Lutyens Bungalow Zone, why not one after Radhakrishnan? Maybe the scholar president did not have the same kind of vote-catching charisma which other Tamilians like Kalam and K Kamaraj had, who also has a road named after him leading to Raisina Hill.

I am raking up the issue because the change in the appellation of Aurangzeb Road could have been better explained if it was named after somebody who did not follow the same religion as the Mughal emperor. The Hindutva protagonists within the BJP, led by East Delhi MP and Sri Sri Ravishankar's acolyte Maheish Giri pounced on the opportunity provided by the sudden death of Dr Kalam. Well, I cannot find an English equivalent for the Hindi phrase "saanp bhi mar jaye aur laathi bhi na toote", which means you kill the snake and save the stick too. Such moves, however, do smack of diabolical politics.

If the NDA government did indeed have such respect for the eminence of Dr Kalam, as illustrated by the respects Prime Minister Narendra Modi showed for the departed soul, it could have well saved the former president from an unnecessary controversy. Probably a memorial under the aegis of Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) dedicated to the work of Dr Kalam would have been more befitting to perpetuate his memory than enmesh his name with a religious bigot.



Sidharth Mishra

29 September 2015

# secretary's desk

It gives me great pride to present before you the July-September 2015 issue of *The Discussant*. This is the third issue of third volume. Earlier this year, we successfully entered the third year of regular publication as an RNI registered quarterly periodical. We had received the ISSN accreditation a year earlier. In this time and era when publication industry is increasingly coming to be controlled by corporate bodies, I reiterate, it's no mean achievement for a think tank, still in the state of impoverished infancy, to have managed to publish the journal regularly.

Towards this end I am greatly indebted to the body of intellectuals and well-wishers, who have always been forthcoming with their support both intellectually and financially. It's their love and patronage which gives us the strength to move on. I am happy to share with you that our online edition is crossing new frontiers and getting accessed from new territories, which gives our writers a global exposure unthinkable for any journal of our vintage.

This edition, like the predecessor issue, is extra-ordinary. It has attracted write-ups including detailed papers and research articles from people coming from different arenas. Their contributions are in areas as varied as International Politics, School Education and Media and Governance among others.

With Warm Regards,



29 September 2015

Dr Sanjeev Kumar Tiwari

# INCLUSION, ENCOURAGEMENT AND COUNSELLING- A PERSPECTIVE

ASHOK PANDEY\*

*“Inclusive, good quality education is a foundation for dynamic and equitable societies.”*

— Desmond Tutu, Social Activist, Nobel Laureate

All teachers are part of a privileged community. Our mandate is to impart knowledge. Not many of us realize how important a role we are playing in raising the next generation. It surely is an honour, no other profession can surpass.

Indian education scenario has changed over the years. In the aftermath of our hard-earned independence we inherited the education system from the British. Access to education was limited only to a few. Spread of education was dismal.

The role of private sector was also limited to less than five percent. Most of us studied in State run schools where people from each section of the society joined the school community. True, there were some elite institutions but their number in comparison to the rest of the schools was very insignificant.

Unfortunately the Governmental management of education particularly in the primary and secondary section began to crumble in less than three decades after the independence. The collapse was almost complete by the turn of the 20th century. This gave rise to the proliferation of private sector initiative and investment in the area of primary and secondary schooling. Today more than twenty five percent students in the country go to private schools as per a report by FICCI (The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry). Parents have lost their trust in a state run school. However, the majority in our society cannot afford private education, as the costs have escalated well beyond their means.

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\* Principal, Ahlcon International School, Delhi



Despite all the governmental and non-governmental efforts, the access to education for a vast majority of our children remains largely elusive. These are the children from the weaker socio-economic background, from the socially disadvantaged groups, from those groups which have been marginalized for a very long time. Such children constitute both rural and urban population.

A landmark legislative initiative by the Government was launched five years ago, mandating reservation of seats for the weaker section in all unaided schools across the country. Hence the challenge to integrate these children in the mainstream. As educators we must embrace this change, expand the scope of our responsibility. A society devoid of equity in access and opportunity - does not prosper much. Education is the key to this prosperity. Therefore, equity in education is of paramount importance.

That is precisely where our responsibility lies. Teachers' role has the potential to transform generations. Inclusiveness is not only confined to diversity in socio-economic background. Varying learning styles and capabilities, issues relating to gender, physical challenges and socio-cultural differences also offer several challenges to inclusive education.

Two married girls were denied admission in class XI in a Tamil Nadu School some years ago. School authorities took the stand that the presence of married girls will vitiate the classroom atmosphere. Imagine the plight of these girls. To begin with, they were victims of child marriage - not permitted under the law. To make matters worse, they were denied the right to education. As teachers we have to look at these issues with great empathy. Only the educationists can correct the aberrations that have crept in our society.

## **POSITIVE REINFORCEMENT**

Every child is born with innate potential to excel in one area or the other. When opportunities are provided and necessary support systems are available, the child is bound to do well. Reassuring words bring about a new belief system in the child, make the child more responsible and motivate the child to take action and prove her abilities.

The act of reinforcement comes in many ways. Verbal expressions and non-verbal cues do wonders. An act of kindness or even a gesture also has potential to motivate children. Rewards in whatever form they may come have the necessary positive impact on them.

Every word that we speak to the children influences them. Prof. Rabi, a famous Scientist and a Nobel Prize winner in Physics, gave full credit to his mother in shaping his career as a Scientist. He said that every time he came back from school his mother would ask him, "Did you ask a good question today?" This triggered in him the quality of enquiry and inquisitiveness.

There are numerous stories where a young child was transformed just because someone near him identified his special qualities and shared that with him. Even Arjuna, a warrior of great capabilities was wavering in the face of challenges. Krishna reminded him of his responsibilities and his strength and the whole course of events changed thereafter.

The implications of this responsibility for a teacher are immense. We need to develop the art of encouragement very consciously. There are some other qualities we need to develop in order to achieve this goal. First, the art of listening and immense patience. Only as good listeners and observers we can empathize with the child. Empathy is important particularly in cases where children are facing adversity. Ability to stand by the child, to spread a protective umbrella around him and to cast a net of support sets a good context to motivate the child. B.F., American Psychologist famously said, "What is love except another name for the use of positive reinforcement? Or Vice versa."

Ibrahim Alkazi, a renowned theatre personality, the guru and the famous character artist Om Puri his disciple were in conversation. Om Puri recalled how he was depressed in his early training days just because he didn't know English as he came from a Punjabi background. Only a few encouraging words from Alkazi, his guru made the difference. As we know today Om Puri has acted in more than 2 dozen films produced abroad in English language alone.

## **TEACHER- STUDENT RELATIONSHIP**

Teacher student relationship is an important aspect of student learning and their overall growth. It reflects a certain attitude and commitment on the part of both and also for each other.

This relationship is a function of a number of fundamental parameters. Mutual trust occupies the highest position. Teachers' unconditional, un-diminishing and non-discriminating love for her students is equally significant. Teachers' competence evokes positive responses from the students. What kind of attitude is exhibited by the teacher towards her profession, her students, colleagues and the society at large determines the kind of person the teacher is.

Students observe and in turn get influenced by the value system of their teachers. Teachers' words carry the desired effect only when it is stemming from conviction. Students like to see how much of those values, teachers themselves live by. Genuine respect flows out of a student's heart. The fact that teachers are not the only source of gaining knowledge, does not mean that the teacher is a redundant entity now. What it means is that a teacher has to revisit his role and responsibility and design a new mechanism to relate with the child. The big picture of educating the child helping shape and mould responsible future citizens and character building will always remain the most important goal of education.

A healthy relationship, lasting bonds and respect, all are based on mutuality. The changing societal norms and ever evolving aspirations have thrown several challenges to the way teachers look at their role today. The diversity of student population in terms of their learning styles, socioeconomic background and family pressures make the student population fairly heterogeneous. Teachers are required to develop new skills and competencies to deal with diversity issues and to achieve the goals of inclusive education.

For a long time adults have looked at children very authoritatively. Several cases of insensitivity towards the physical, psychological and emotional needs of the children are reported. It was quite fashionable till some time back to dismiss anything pertaining to the rights of the children. Not anymore. We need to nurture a relationship based on compassion, respect and sensitivity. Rewards and encouragement should replace punishment and use of the 'rod' mindset.

Children tend to respect those who could be emulated. Teachers are in a position to be the role models for their students by setting good examples. Teachers alone are in a position to lead the children on the path of creativity, enquiry and critical thinking. We constantly touch them, ignite them by being on their side with our wise counsel and continued engagement. The values, time and energy that we invest in our students shape the relationship that both cherish forever.

## **COMPREHENSIVE COUNSELLING:**

To manage the rising aspirations, developmental needs of the students, psychological, behavioural deviations, conflict resolution, career planning and life skills issues we need a comprehensive programme in each school. These activities under Comprehensive Counselling need to be aligned with the overall educational goal of the school.

### **Three Tiered Approach to Counselling:**

Comprehensive counseling is an endeavour to approach counseling needs through a three layered intervention;

1. A qualified, experienced and professional counsellor will lead the programme.
2. A qualified, experienced counsellor will take care of the needs of the career counselling and guidance services of senior students.
3. Each teacher (most of them as class teacher, house teachers) will be trained and encouraged to offer positive intervention on a day to day basis.

### **Guiding principles of comprehensive counselling;**

1. A support service to achieve the school wide goals.

2. A developmental and comprehensive programme to address the developmental needs of the students on one hand. On the other, it offers responses to the students in a crisis situation.
3. The three tiered approach aims at making counselling a team work and a collaborative service.
4. It will endeavour to be an advocate of the child's needs rather than act as a disciplining body.
5. A sound, comprehensive and appropriate training schedule will be worked out to sharpen the skills of counselors.

#### **Responsibilities of counselors:**

1. It is recognised that a clearly defined function of a counsellor is very important to achieve success.
2. Counsellors cannot function in isolation. They need to involve themselves across all departments and activities of the school.
3. Counsellors must have a sound understanding of cognitive developments, aptitude and learning challenges of the students.
4. It is important for the counsellors to identify the remedial programme suited for special children.
5. Parental interaction and involvement is a crucial aspect of comprehensive counselling programme.

#### **SCHOOL -PARENT RELATIONSHIP**

The children are the important link here between the school and parents. When they go back home and convey to them that they are getting value for their money by way of a decent upbringing of their children they will be encouraged to be participative and cooperative.

Unfortunately, the relation between two chief stakeholders is marred by friction and breakdown of communication leading to allegations and counter allegations. The onus of developing persistent and continual mechanism of obtaining inputs and responses from the parents squarely lies with schools. The rising expectation of the parents from the schools is another source of potential dissatisfaction.

Under the circumstances, the best prescription one needs to adhere to is that both - the schools-the service-providers and the guardians-the service-users appreciate each other's position and accommodate the emerging realities. The competency and professionalism of the teaching community, the quality of experience within and outside classes, modern facilities in the laboratories, quality stock of books in the library and above all, copious interaction between the teacher and the taught has the real potential to bring the two warring sides to the friendship table.

Private schools have an impressive track record in strengthening the national initiative in education. Any attempt to malign their efforts should be discouraged. These schools have set examples in enforcing educational discipline, work habits and responsibility. The essence of academic freedom that they seem to enjoy is sustained by their performance which is always under scrutiny.

Two things must happen in the meantime. Firstly, the schools must stick to transparency and accountability. And secondly, the various associations and action committees on both sides must refrain from projecting themselves as victorious. In this battle of wits it's the children who are the perpetual losers. And fortunately, they belong to both the combative sides. The parents and schools constantly at loggerhead with each other cannot hope to give our children roots and wings, two lasting bequests as suggested by W.H. Carter, famous American author.

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# NEPAL'S CONSTITUTION: BORN IN STRIFE AND BLOOD

BRIG C S THAPA (VETERAN)\*

## ABSTRACT

*Did Indian foreign secretary S Jaishankar visit Nepal too late? The blame game has started and India will draw the flak, as it scarified its security. The southern part of Nepal which borders India is a security concern and should remain peaceful. In case the border area is restive it adds to India's security concern.*

## INTRODUCTION

On Sunday 20 September, 2015, Nepal formally promulgated its constitution, after a long wait. India extended its best wishes to the people of Nepal. India has supported a federal, democratic, republican and inclusive constitution throughout the process of constitution-making in Nepal. India was quick to point its concern regarding the ongoing violence against the promulgation of the constitution in the southern Terai region bordering India in which at least 40 people have been killed. Out of the 598 lawmakers only 537 signed the document; in short 61 lawmakers did not sign the document. Those opposing were the Madhesi parties and the splinter group of the main opposition party the communist party of Nepal- Maoist party. These parties had given a bandh call and said they would be observing it as a black Sunday and that they would never accept the constitution.

## GENERAL

The Constitution of any nation is the architecture of legal frame work and rule of law according to which the country is governed. It can also be described as the social contract between the state and the individual and the interaction of the state and the individual in an international environment. The constitution protects the rights of the people, irrespective of

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\* Defence & Security Analyst

caste, colour, creed, sex, religion and ensures there is no discrimination. Any constitution also, separates the three arms of legislature, judiciary, and executive as per international norms. Any constitution thus promulgated also, needs to meet the hopes and expectations of the international community as well. The constitution stands superior to all laws that are framed or enacted by the ruling government thus at the formation stage of the constitution there should be consensus between all. In Nepal there are acute problems of creation of provinces, discrimination against women and ethnicity. Since all laws have to be in conformity with the constitution any disagreement at the formation stage sets the seeds for future discontent. The constitution not only provides a recipe for efficient governance but also deals with limitations of power. It also lays down national goals which form the basic edifice on which the nation rests. In short it is a comprehensive document that the nation swears by, respects and cherishes that acts as a bind and not a document to fight and protest over. International law lays out what a constitution should contain at a minimum, or is the outer design while the nation chooses its own constitutional arrangements. Is there separation and balance of power, and are human rights respected are some international concerns.

Nepal required promulgating the new constitution earliest because despite the two Constitutional Assembly (CA), a civil war, an economy-destroying earthquake yet the nation could not forge consensus. It is hoped that the constitution will bring political stability, which is so essential for economic development, prosperity and good relationship with its neighbours. Nepal needs to exploit its huge potential of hydroelectric power by selling it to power hungry India and Bangladesh. It needs a sound constitution for ensuring development at the local level and the agriculture sector which are all starved for reforms.

## **THE BUILD UP TO PROMULGATION**

Initially there was a lot of delay on account of lack of consensus. Finally the big four Nepali Congress (NC), the Maoist (UCPN), Madhesi People's Rights Forum (Democratic) and the Communist Party of Nepal (UML) on 8th June signed a deal to bring the constitution out earliest, or else, it may miss another deadline.[ii] There was growing public anger against the political class especially after the traumatic events of the earth quake. The four parties that signed the sixteen point agreement in effect left the contentious issue which lies at the heart of the problem regarding the provinces to a federal commission. What will be the names of the provinces, and what will be their respective boundaries? The names of the provinces will be decided by a two third majority of the respective assemblies. Needless to say the smaller parties took the matter to Supreme Court which ruled in their favour and the law makers responded saying it was a case of judicial over reach. Nepal's population is roughly divided into two, hill centric or those who call the shots, and plains centric (Madhesi), and both feel this issue dilutes federalism and some law makers feel that they are defying the judiciary. Instead of sorting out the problem is this going to open another can of worms as a lot of unfinished agenda is still left.

Another issue is about discrimination and the role of women. In a country which is called the "motherland", a lot of mothers are worried for their children. If a Nepali lady marries a foreigner the wait for citizenship is fifteen years, and "what happens to the children"? The constitution has made citizenship exclusive rather than inclusive and also goes against the very spirit of people friendly article 6 and 7 of Indo Nepal treaty of 1950. The issue of citizenship is described in Part 2 and the conditions in article 12 for citizenship by descent and Article 13 for citizenship by naturalization the same are discriminatory and not gender sensitive. For citizenship by descent both parents have to be Nepalese. Considering the fact that the youth of Nepal go out in search of employment a lot of their children will face problems, because citizenship by naturalization is quite complicated. As far as a woman are concerned her spouse needs to spend fifteen years, while the male Nepali citizens' spouse does not have to wait fifteen years, a sure case of gender discrimination. As far as Gorkhas in India are concerned they being Indian citizens may have the same surname, Gurung, Thapa, Tamang, but the identity crisis will only deepen for these 1.25 crore Indians who feel that their identity is threatened by clause 7 of Indo Nepal treaty. The constitution has squarely shown an anti Indian Tarai belt mindset also, thus India allowing Nepalese citizens to own property as per 1950 treaty needs a review.

## **THE PUBLIC FEED BACK**

Working overtime on 20 and 21st July 2015 at Kathmandu a two-day nationwide seminar was initiated by the Constituent Assembly[iii]. The aim was to collect feedback on the preliminary draft of the Constitution of Nepal. There was overwhelming support and a lot of interaction. Similar such interactions along with questionnaire were done across the nation although there were many complaints in remote areas that the exercise was not done with due care. The total time frame for this exercise was thirty days. Some of the suggestions received were for directly elected executive because none of the previous governments had completed their tenure. Another recommendation that came with priority across the country was to finalize the demarcation of the federal units and promulgate a complete constitution. A large number of people at Kathmandu wanted Nepal to be declared as a Hindu state and not a secular state. People wanted academic qualification for law makers, as in Nepal academic qualification is required for a driving licence. The people wanted the name of the Madhes movement in the preamble of the constitution. People wanted provision of death penalty for serious crimes including corruption and rape, north-south delineation of federal units and ensuring citizenship in the name of the mother too. Some other suggestions received were pension scheme for farmers above sixty years and designating rhino or elephant as national animal[iv].

## **PUBLIC ANGER**

The Prime Minister of Nepal addressed the people of Nepal on Sunday 22August. In his address he requested them to make the most of the current feed back during these historic times[v]. Protests started soon in the Madhes region of Nepal bordering India and the far western districts, the Tharu community was up in arms asking for autonomous regions based on ethnicity. The people were unhappy over the formation of regions. Eight Policemen were killed by protestors armed with sickles at Tikapurinand and Kailali, the crowd was reported to be about thousand strong. Nepal's politics is hill dominated thus the Madhesi people who live in the plain region and have close ethnic and families ties with their Indian counterparts in Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar see setting up of six regions as from the hills to the plains all having boundary with India as a ploy to carve and divide their region. They see this project as subverting their federal dreams and they were in the forefront of this movement. They want ethnic based federal structure for Nepal. The Indian Prime Minister in a telephonic conversation with his counterpart requested them to resolve all outstanding issues through dialogue. Federalism is seen by many especially the Tarai people as a tool of political empowerment. Madhesi and Tharu people have been on the forefront of this agitation. In case a solution is not found there is a risk of polarization. The new constitution has not been owned by all the nations' minorities and what is emerging is majority rule.

## **THE PROBLEM DEFINED**

The 17lakhs Tharu community wants Tharuhat and they live in four districts. The old idea was to have 14 provinces half of them on the basis of ethnic communities[vi] whereas, the big four decided to have six provinces for all of Nepal with the names to be decided by two third majority of respective provinces. The problem is that the plains consist of 22 districts, 17% of the area and 51% of the population and have only one third representation in the constituent assembly whereas, the politics is hill dominated. The Brahmin- Chetri, elite got a constitution they wanted which can best be described as unequal.

## **ANTI WOMEN CHARACTER OF CONSTITUTION**

Another glaring issue is the anti women character of the constitution. A Nepalese man can confer citizenship to his foreign spouse, but a Nepalese woman has to wait fifteen years, which causes citizenship problems for children. There is also the problem regarding inheritance of ancestral property not clearly defined for daughters. Currently it dismisses the identity of a woman and reflects Nepal's patriarchal mindset that seeks to maintain discriminatory practices. In their inter action the

## **NEPAL'S CONSTITUTION: BORN IN STRIFE AND BLOOD**

lawmakers brushed off protests saying the constitution was not against any one and was not discriminating in nature. The law makers felt that every country should have provisions to protect its nationality and sovereignty. Do they realize what they are stating? Does Nepal need protection from its own ladies?

### **NEPAL TURNS SECULAR**

By a two third majority Nepal turned secular as earlier it was traditionally a Hindu Nation. The C A that took up clause by clause voting on the draft constitution and defeated by voice vote an amendment proposal demanding that Nepal be declared a Hindu Nation. This was met by strong opposition by supporters of the Hindu Nepal campaign who stated that they would burn the constitution once it is promulgated. One Mr. Kamal Joshi, 19, who is onto a fast unto death refused to break it despite personal request from Prime Minister SushilKoirala[vii].

### **JAISHANKAR VISIT**

The Indian Foreign Secretary Mr. S Jaishankar met a lot of dignitaries in a last ditch effort on 18th and 19th September one day prior to the promulgation of the constitution. It is learnt that Chairman of the CPN (UML) KP Sharma Oli and the Indian envoy had talks lasting over two hours which included a one to one talk for over fifty minutes. The official Nepalese view is that Constituent Assembly has participation of 90 per cent CA members and enthusiastic voting by over 85 per cent members. As the people have extensively backed the constitution Nepal feels that the demands of the disgruntled parties could be addressed by forming a federalism commission. Mr. Oli informed Jaishankar that the demands of the parties which are dissatisfied with the constitution writing process could be settled through dialogue and consensus after the promulgation of the constitution. Is this a case of over confidence? The special envoy also met President Ram BaranYadav, UCPN (Maoist) chairman Pushpa Kamal Dahal, the Chief of Army Staff and the leaders of various Madhes-centric parties.

### **A CONSTITUTION BORN IN STRIFE**

As the CA voted clause wise the nation was torn in strife. Protests have been the order of the day which does not behoove well for the constitution. This is a constitution which took seven years in the making and two constituent assemblies. The three main sticking points are creation of the provinces, secularism, and to a less extent, the discrimination against women. The core issues for the Madhesi people are the creation of the provinces, coupled with citizenship and under representation in parliament[viii]. The initial plan of the CA was to federate Nepal into fourteen provinces, but it has now decided to have six provinces and another one to be added later. This has set a trend of violence especially amongst the Madhesi people, who wished for ethnic based provinces. As per the protestors the majority parties have let down the Madhesi and the Janajati people and other marginalized people. There have also been violent protests against not declaring Nepal as a Hindu state. Chairs were flung at high ranking members of the CA. The Madhesi parties have been boycotting voting on the draft constitution. Discrimination against women has not seen violent protests, and citizenship being exclusive still remains a grey area.

### **INDIA'S SEVEN SUGGESTIONS**

Nepal has promulgated seven constitutions in seven decades, none has survived the test of posterity and this document too seems to have a bloody start. The PM of Nepal had to cancel his visit to the UN, on account of the intense rebellion against the constitution. It is not uncommon but India did make seven suggestions for taking forward the dialogue process.

- Article 84 needs to be changed as suggested in article 63(3), of the draft. "Madhesi need to have electoral constituencies in proportion to their population". Currently 50% Madhesi population has only 25% seats.
- Article 42, the word proportional has been dropped regarding state structures, whereas, article 21 of the draft granted the same to the Madhesi.



- Article 283 reserves rights for higher positions to citizens by descent which is discriminatory.
- Article 86 nominates 8 members from seven states and 3 nominated members for National Assembly. Madhesi want the same in proportion to population.
- Create Madhes province consisting of five districts, namely Kanchanpur, Kailali, Sunsari, Jhapa and Morang.
- Article 281 of new constitution calls for delineation every twenty years, draft article 154 called for it every ten years.
- Article 11(6) calls for a foreign woman married to a Nepali citizen may acquire naturalized citizenship. Madhesi parties want naturalization to be automatic[ix].

## CONCLUSION

Did foreign secretary S Jaishankar visit too late? Indrani Bagchi article “Nepal Messed up its constitution, India messed up its handling of Nepal[x]”, sums up the current status of this constitution. The blame game has started and India will draw flake, as it scarified its security. The southern part of Nepal which borders India is a security concern and should remain peaceful. In case the border area is restive it adds to India's security concern. The political class of Nepal also was not honest with the people and raising their expectations. They never spoke to one another but speak at each other, something that the Indian political class is now doing. The CA of Nepal and all the political class never narrowed their differences in seven years and today there is a situation where a brute majority is forcing a constitution on the people of Nepal. The irony of the matter is that big brother India lectures Nepal on seeking consensus, yet important legislation like the goods and service tax bill, which will be a game changer for Indian economy and take it to the next level awaits parliament approval. As far as Nepal is concerned this constitution has too many chinks in the armour. The Nepali elite will do what it does best India bashing while the Madhes region will continue to be on the boil. The constitution in this shape will lead to ethno- nationalist conflict[xi]. As it borders India forces inimical to India will continue to have a heyday. It may well be start for unlawful elements to carry out their nefarious designs with greater ease should India put down her guard. There are too many chinks in this armour it needs a redesign for stability on India's border.

## TAGS

Nepal's constitution, Constituent Assembly, Maoist, federalism, promulgation of Nepal's constitution, discrimination of women, citizenship, Indo-Nepal treaty 1950, Madhes, Tharu, provinces of Nepal, ethno- nationalist conflict .

## END NOTES

- [i] Times of India September 24, 2015.
- [ii] [www.Nepalnews.com](http://www.Nepalnews.com)
- [iii] [www.Nepalnews.com](http://www.Nepalnews.com)
- [iv] [www.nepalnews.com](http://www.nepalnews.com)
- [v] [www.Nepalnews.com](http://www.Nepalnews.com)
- [vi] [www.indianexpress.com](http://www.indianexpress.com)
- [vii] [www.nepalnews.com](http://www.nepalnews.com)
- [viii] [www.indianexpress.com](http://www.indianexpress.com)
- [ix] Indian Express dated September 23, 2015
- [x] Times of India September 24, 2015.
- [xi] [www.hindustantimes.com](http://www.hindustantimes.com)

# ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF INDIRECT TAX POLICY IN INDIA

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In an age of information revolution, social media is a tool which democratises access to information and influence. Since the introduction of universal adult suffrage, it is one of the most remarkable development in empowering an individual, which helps in realizing that “the world is flat”, in the words of famous journalist, Thomas Friedman. The exponential growth of social media in recent times have forced organisations and individuals to reckon with it in a very short span of time. Social media encapsulates the management principle  $n=1$  and  $r=g$ , enunciated by the management guru C.K. Prahalad, which means that every individual is unique and hence should be given equal importance rather than being clubbed in a group, and the resources are globalized. Social media recognizes the uniqueness of every individual and has globalised the resource of information and influence.

This paper seeks to explore the role social media plays in policy formulation and implementation, with reference to indirect tax policy in India. At the outset, the paper studies the emergence of social media as one of the most important

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and effective tool of communication in today's world, and, how the same has resulted into the emergence of a global village providing the common citizens a voice and say in the matters of governance and policy making, which hitherto was an exclusive domain of a privileged few.

An attempt has been made in this paper, to examine the various stages of policy formulation and implementation in theoretical context. The tax policy in India and the stages/processes of its formulation are also outlined. Evidence linking use of social media in policy formulation and implementation is sourced from OECD study of 26 revenue administrations. Further, the report of Tax Administrative Reforms Commission (TARC), has also been studied, the only study which incorporates the usage of social media in the administration of indirect tax regime has also been examined. The provisions of Information Technology Act governing intermediaries, has also touched upon. The study proposes a cautious approach in adoption of social media in formulation and implementation of indirect tax policies in India, listing the risks involved in it. Though the focus of the paper is on indirect taxes, its finding can equally apply to the direct taxes administered by the Central Board of Direct Taxes (CBDT), as they are sister departments in the Ministry of Finance.

## **2.0 WHAT IS SOCIAL MEDIA?**

Social media is a comprehensive term comprising mobile, or web based platform, where an individual or an organization communicates and it refers to any interaction where people create, share and exchange information and ideas in virtual communities or networks. It keeps you connected 24X7X365. Social networking is a part of social media platform. Popular social media platforms are Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, LinkedIn, whatsapp, etc. Unlike traditional media, social media offers individual users a platform to directly communicate amongst themselves. It is highly interactive and an instant reply or opinion is desirable. It is distinct from new media like web sites, which are also web based, but are not interactive. To that extent, new media is also like conventional media which is primarily meant for top to down communication, with the scope of interaction limited to letters to editor or expert opinions.

### **2.1 Features of Social Media**

Main features of social media can be summed up in four S - size, speed, sharing and stratification.

- i. **Size:** The size of social media is huge, both in terms of content and extent, as compared to the conventional media. There is a very low barrier to entry to a social media platform. Anybody with a mobile smartphone, tablet or a computer having access to internet is on a social media platform. To give an indication of size as on March 2015, Facebook has 1415 million active users followed by 829 million for QQ, 700 million for WhatsApp, 288 million for Twitter etc. as per statista.com. Nearly one in every five minutes spent online is now spent on social networking sites. This shows the extent and reach of social media. Besides the number of users, the size of data generated on social media is also humongous. This in fact poses a problem of plenty, when we try to get an accurate data, which often gets lost in plethora of undesirable information available.
- ii. **Speed:** Social media connects you 24\*7\*365, and hence, the speed at which the data is transferred anywhere in the world is instantaneous, and it goes viral within minutes. This has allowed any person on the social media platform to access any information instantaneously and express any opinion spontaneously.
- iii. **Sharing:** Social media is highly interactive and it offers individual users a platform to directly communicate, or exchange data, file, photographs, videos or any information amongst themselves easily. Such sharing is almost impossible on conventional media platforms. Conventional media like newspapers, television though having a mass character offers mostly one way communication.
- iv. **Stratification:** Social media allows direct, or one to one communication with the target. In fact the target of

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communication could be chosen on social media platform, whereas, convention media is more omnibus in nature, addressing all and sundry. It becomes an effective tool in administration by reaching out directly to a customer, a tax payer, or a service provider. This makes the communication cheaper (as compared to mass media), direct and effective, with minimal distribution losses.

### 2.2 Types of Social Media

Sl.No	Types	Meaning	Example
1	Social Networking	Virtual network of people with common objectives	Facebook, Google Plus, LinkedIn, etc.
2	Blogs	An interactive web page created by individuals to display their creativity and their views on particular topics	Blog, Spot, Word press, etc.
3	Micro Blogs	Smaller version of blogs	Twitter and Whatsapp
4	Video sharing sites/blogs	Medium of sharing various types of videos and photographs	YouTube and Instagram
5	Wikis	A collaborative website that allows users to develop a web page on a particular issue and improve upon it	Wikipedia

### 3.0 MEDIA AND THE POLICY PROCESS

A policy is a decision implying impending or intended action. In analyzing policies, two aspects are generally considered most significant i.e., process (policy making) and content. The mass media are among the external groups which influence the policy process at its various stages. Six policy stages are identified from four works (Almond & Powell, 1978, pp. 14-15, 180; Dunn, 1981, p. 48; Jones, 1977, p. 12; Wirt & Mitchell, 1982, pp. 6-7). These stages include: (a) problem identification (articulation); (b) policy recommendation (aggregation); (c) policy decision (adoption); (d) policy implementation; (e) policy evaluation; and (f) policy resolution or change.

#### 3.1 How is policy formulated?

In a Parliamentary system, there is a complex fusion of official and unofficial bodies of influence. There is much debate on how policy is formulated, as well as how best it is created. In a Parliamentary democracy, policy decisions are generally made in Parliament by those who represent and interpret the public will. These representatives (Members of Parliament) normally belong to a political party and have varying ranks of status, stretching from Government Cabinet Minister to Opposition leaders. In theory, policy is formulated by Ministers and impartially implemented by civil servants.

The way in which policy is made is often referred to as a cycle, with three clear stages: (i) Initiation (ii) Formulation and (iii) Implementation

#### 3.2 Initiation

There are many ways that a policy initiative can come into being, these include, but are not limited to:

- Non-party sources - for example debates in Ministerial Departments, Departmental Select Committees and through

the introduction of Private Members' Bills.

- Party sources - these are deliberately introduced by the governing party and are often ideological.
- In reaction to a national or international event.

### **How to influence the initiation stage**

At this stage one could focus on:

- Building coalitions of support for the positions.
- Contributing to the debate and providing ideas.
- Considering how and why issues are being kept off the agenda and challenging these dynamics if necessary.
- Balancing pressure and persuasion to bring the importance of the issue to the attention of key decision makers.

### **3.3 Formulation**

After the initial 'ideas' process, there are a number of official and unofficial procedures that are undertaken to actually create policy. These include, but are not limited to:

- Task forces and Commissions/Committees
- Consultations with think-tanks and Representative Associations
- Central government practice, such as Cabinet Committees, the Cabinet Office, Empowered Group of Ministers and Policy advisers.

Policy can be developed at both micro and macro levels and its formulation does tend to vary depending on the policy area, as well as according to the preferences of the party in government.

### **How to influence the formulation stage**

At this stage you could focus on:

- Lobbying and making detailed policy contributions.
- Providing credible supporting evidence.
- Building consensus.
- Persuading others to support your positions, bringing additional pressure at key moments, to overcome blockages and resistance.
- Considering whether some are excluded from the negotiating table and challenging these dynamics if necessary.

In the Indian context, once a policy is formulated by the concerned department, the same is put up for approval of the Cabinet. Subsequently, the Cabinet Note so approved, presented as Bill in both Houses of the Parliament for passage. Either House of the Parliament may, before passing the Bill refer to, a multi-party Select Committee for further deliberations and evolving consensus on contentious issues involved in the Bill. Once the Bill is passed by both the Houses of Parliament, it is sent for the assent of the President, and on receipt of the assent, the Bill becomes the law of the land. However, the judiciary has the power of review to assess the constitutionality of the law so enacted.

### **3.4 Implementation**

Once a policy concept becomes law as discussed above, it is implemented by the respective Ministries through their officers. During this process, the Ministries and departments concerned are expected to formulate guidelines, regulations and procedures as required to implement the substantial law. However, at the implementation stage, the onus is also on the Ministry/department concerned to obtain a feedback from the public at large, regarding the feasibility of such law, bottlenecks if any in implementing such a law, and effecting modification to suit such requirements.

### **3.5 Policy Process in CBEC**

The policy process of indirect taxation laws are in the domain of the Central Board of Excise and Customs (CBEC), under the Ministry of Finance. The process of making indirect tax laws is similar to that has been discussed above. The process of formulation of tax policies in India is such that the government of India having regard to all the relevant factors like balance of trade, requirement of revenue, representations from trade bodies/associations, economic environment and the larger public interest, initiates dialogue and discussion with all the stake holders. Having taken into account the feedback from all the stake holders and expert opinions wherever required, it is the responsibility of the government to strike a harmonious balance between the mutually contradictory demands of different stake holders, so as to ensure that the policy so formulated benefits the larger public interest.

### **3.6 Role of Media in the Policy Process**

- (i) **Flag the Issue:** Media can draw attention to the players involved in the policy process and can aid, abet or hinder their cause by highlighting their role in policy making. Media can also act as a critical conduit between governments and publics, informing public about government actions and policies, and helping to convey public attitudes to government officials. The possibility that any and all of these effects can be evident not just in the early stages but throughout the policy process makes clear the potentially powerful impact we believe that media can have on policy.
- (ii) **Frame the Issue:** Media can change the discourse around a policy debate by framing or defining an issue using dialogue or rhetoric to persuade or dissuade the public. It can also bring forth expert views of think tanks and opinion makers to the policy debate to make it more nuanced to the public interest.
- (iii) **Focus on an Issue :** Media helps in focusing on the issue by aggregating public opinion and harnessing support for the cause so that the policy makes do not lose focus from the core issue. The Jan Lokpal movement in India in 2011 is a case in point.

### **3.7 Unique Role of Social Media in Policy Process**

We have already discussed the process of formulation and implementation of indirect tax laws in India. Now we propose to examine what role the social media plays in the formulation and implementation of indirect taxation policy in India at this juncture or does it?

Social media is in the unique position of having a regular, marked impact on policy, but from outside the formal political sphere, often without even being recognized as a policy player. A successful tax reform does not simply depend on designing good policies but upon managing their implementation as well as responding effectively to stake holders concerns and impacts. It requires technical solutions that are accompanied by process of consensus building, communication participation, conflict resolution, compromise and adoption. Social Media provides the ideal solution to achieve this goal.

### **3.8 Role of Social Media in Indirect Tax Administration**

Role of Social Media in Indirect Tax Administration in India could be captured in six Es: Educate, Engage, Enhance, Encourage, Enlighten and Enable& Equip.

- (i) **Educate:** Social media could be effectively used to educate the tax payers about the various policies and procedures. Tax payers can be instantaneously informed about any new law or procedure adopted through Facebook, Whatsapp and Twitter without much of an expense. Instructional videos could be uploaded on Youtube to guide the assesses to follow the correct procedure while clearing any goods or providing any service.

- (ii) **Engage:** Social media helps in actionable engagement of the stake holders by crowd sourcing of ideas from tax payers and experts alike. It would be very cheap to do so and at the same time break the stranglehold of privileged few on the policy process. This engagement would be direct and one on one with the taxpayers, which does not happen in case of mass media, which besides being expensive, is also generalized in its impact.
- (iii) **Enhance:** With a direct and effective communication with all the stake holders social media would bring the much needed transparency in the administration of tax policy, which in turn would enhance the image and improve the perception of the department in eyes of public at large.
- (iv) **Encourage:** Once transparency is set in the tax administration and there is a direct contact with the assesses, taxes could be better targeted and enforcement would be more effective. This would help in developing a culture of voluntary tax compliance as then they would directly know the benefits of compliance in taxation.
- (v) **Enlighten:** Social media is most popular amongst the youth and young adults. In India 50% population is below the age of 25, and 65% is below the age of 35. These are the people who would be prospective tax payers or are new tax payers. It is most imperative that CBEC is on social media platforms to communicate with this group of tax payers and enlighten them about the role of taxation in nation building as well as our day to day live, to reap the benefits of demographic dividend.
- (vi) **Enable & Equip:** Social media could be effectively used for internal communication in the Department about various policy and procedure so that the officers would be equipped and enabled to administer the tax laws. It could also be used to motivate and instill a sense of pride in them by communicating directly. It will help officers to make effective comparative analysis of specifications, utility, prices and quality of goods to be procured and characteristics of the goods which are intended for disposal, by obtaining data from the web in real time. This will also help officers during assessment and examination of goods.

#### **4. SOCIAL MEDIA AND TAX ADMINISTRATION**

##### **4.1 Tax Administrative Reforms Commission on Social Media**

The growing importance of social media has been recognized by the government of India. The TARC (Tax Administrative Reforms Commission) which was constituted to recommend reform in tax administration to enhance its effectiveness and efficiency had one of the four terms of reference as “ to review the existing business processes of tax administration including the use of information and communication technology and recommend measures best suited to the Indian context”.

TARC has noticed the lack of use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) based data by the Tax Policy and Legislation (TPL) Unit and the Tax Research Unit (TRU) and has observed that “ The two departments on both direct and indirect tax sides have made impressive advances in the installation of ICT and its use in the process function..... In modernizing tax administrations, modeling of taxpayer behavior to obtain nuanced taxpayer behavior patterns prior to the formulation of tax administration policy has become common practice. India has not yet begun even rudimentary attempts in this direction. Given its current size and officer backgrounds, in fact, no essential tax policy or tax administration policy analysis is carried out at either TPL or TRU. They function essentially to interpret and draft the law. There is no officer who is, or could be, entrusted to carry out ex ante or ex post policy analysis. This points to the urgent need to overhaul these units on the basis of a total reformulation in their objectives and scope.”

In context of the said terms of reference, the TARC in its recommendation has reported that “ SMTs (Social Media Technologies) are the new and personalised face of connectivity. SMT uses channels such as Twitter, Facebook, Youtube, etc. This allows stratified personal contact and new forms of communication and interaction with tax payers. The CBDT

and CBEC need to explore and use this technology in a variety of ways. SMT deployment would enable tax administration to communicate tax news, tax payer information and various timelines for tax compliance as well as to conduct dialogue on proposals requiring large public consultations. Thus, SMTs can help in building a compliance programme with far reaching and widespread participation. Tax apps can also be developed in sync with the latest technology trend in SMAC (Social Media, Mobile, Application and Cloud)."

#### **4.2 Use of Social Media in CBEC**

The use of social media is still in its infancy in India, especially in case of indirect tax administration. As pointed by TARC, tax administration in India has not taken even rudimentary steps to adopt social media technologies. This is evident from the fact that so far CBEC does not have any presence on any social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, etc. The only presence in any Social media platform could be said is the E-Helpline in some Service Tax Commissionerates to answer queries of tax payers and CPGRAMS, another helpline for redressal of grievances on administrative matters. At the Board level a hint of participation to the public at large is given when Board circulars are put on the CBEC websites for comments. But how participative would be a website which itself is not updated frequently?

#### **4.3 International Practices and Findings**

Against this background, an effort has been made to evaluate the role that social media is playing in the formulation and implementation of indirect tax laws and by different tax administrations all over the world so as to enable the department to emulate the best practices that are being followed in global scenario and lesson, if any, that is to be learnt from the experience of such tax administrations.

In a research titled 'Social Media Technologies and Tax Administration' the experience of revenue bodies with the use of SMT has been detailed. As per the findings after survey of 26 revenue bodies conducted by the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development), Paris, the following facts have come to light.

- i. the use of social media technology by revenue bodies is in its infancy and relatively few have any substantive experience in their use for interactions with tax payers.
- ii. Only 16 of 26 revenue bodies reported that they have any substantive practical experience in the use of one or more SMT. Of this number, only 13 have experience across a range of social media technologies.
- iii. Very few revenue bodies reported the existence of formal strategy setting out a framework including clearly identifying means and goals, for their social media presence; where such strategies exist, they tend to emphasise the need for cautious step by step and well controlled approach ensuring that knowledge is gathered on external receptiveness and how the revenue bodies can most effectively take advantage of the respective channels.

The said report has also highlighted the risk involved in using social media in tax administration. According to the report, the use of social media by revenue bodies presents a number of risks, as is the case for other service delivery channels, that need to be recognised and taken account of in organisational planning, for example;

- Breaches of security, privacy & integrity arising from unsanctioned employee use;
- Provision of misleading and inaccurate information;
- Involvement in political content and exchanges;
- Risk of phishing, spoofing and other malicious attacks;
- Reputational risk arising from any/ all of the foregoing risks.

While acknowledging their potential, none of the surveyed revenue bodies reported that it had experienced issues of the abovementioned nature with their early deployment of SMTs. Nevertheless, taking account of side comments made in



survey responses, it would seem prudent that revenue bodies adopt a reasonable degree of caution when deploying SMTs by having appropriate controls in place.

In another study reported as A Comparative Analysis of Tax Administration in Asia and the Pacific, it was held that, ICT-based media ease interactions between taxpayers and the tax administration. Information can be provided to taxpayers through revenue bodies' websites and other internet based social media, and taxpayers can more easily access information needed to fulfil their tax obligations.

On the basis of empirical data reflecting the take up/ use of revenue body social media initiatives by taxpayers and other tax system stakeholders, it has emerged that all major tax revenue bodies have chartered a course of the use of different IT tools, specially the social media platforms. However, on the basis of such experiences recorded and in a number of studies conducted worldwide, it is safe to argue that the use of SMT in the formulation and implementation of tax policy is still in its nascent stage and in fact it is a great extent limited to the dissemination of information regarding tax laws, procedures, etc.

However, the potential of SMTs are utilised only for social networking with the citizens and not actionable engagement with them. In the process, SMTs are used favourably to inform and educate the citizens of government policies and programmes. The same, though is not used for formulating policies and making decisions.

#### **4.4 Country Specific Experience**

In the context of tax administration, SMTs are being used by some governments like Spain which uses Youtube to promote its activity of tax administration; Estonia also uses Youtube for instructional videos on computing tax returns; and, Australian policy makers use Facebook to promote the use of its e-tax products. SMTs are also being used by some governments to crowd source consumer complaints to analyse trends and identify problems. SMTs are also used in crisis communication and emergency preparedness and responses.

#### **4.5 Learning from Overseas during MCTP**

The practices in this regards which we came across during our overseas component of MCTP (Mid Career Training Programme), more or less were in conformity with the findings emerging from review of literature. During our interaction with the officers of HMRC (Her Majesty's Royal Customs), United Kingdom, it was revealed that the U.K government has also started harnessing the tool of SMT for the purpose of administration of indirect taxes including customs and border control. The similar findings were corroborated by the Chief Technical Officer of the U.K government who admitted that the role of social media is more or less limited to the dissemination of government policies and taking feedback from the tax payers. The findings in this regard were not very different in the context of Douane or the Customs of the Netherlands. There also it was limited to dissemination of information on tariff rates and valuation of products by Tax Apps, besides having Facebook page and Twitter handle.

### **5. RECOMMENDATIONS :**

- i. Instructional Videos of official policies and procedures like baggage clearance, etc. could be uploaded on Youtube, facebook, etc. for effective communication and better compliance.
- ii. Tax Apps could be developed for showing tariffs and values which would make assessment very easy. Apps would also connect us easily with prospective and new taxpayers.
- iii. Dynamise the website of CBEC making it more interactive atleast like taxindiaonline.com if not better, so that assesseees and officers alike find solution to their day to day problems in administration of tax laws. It will help the department to crowd sourcing of ideas, ventilation of complaints and redressal of grievances.

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- iv. E-Helpline and chat groups, should be started in every Commissionerate, on the model of Delhi Service Tax, which should be an open forum of officers, assesses and consultants so that problems of tax payers could be solved in real time. Such replies may not have legal sanction but it will help clarify the issues.
- v. All the assesses should be accessible directly on Whatsapp, Face book or in certain groups so as to communicate directly with them. Besides addressing the issue of assesses directly it will drastically reduce the cost advertisement of the department. It will also make enforcement and compliance of tax laws much easier.
- vi. Each Commissionerate should have internal Chat groups, WhatsApp group, Facebook page so as to have direct communication amongst officers. Such groups could also be stratified grade wise like probationers, Assistant Commissioners/Deputy Commissioners, Joint Commissioners /Additional Commissioners, Commissioners, Retired Officers etc.
- vii. A modest beginning could be made by putting the SAMPARK the directory of the Department, and ICE Quarterly the Departmental Journal, on the web and making it interactive.

### **6. CONCLUSION**

If we compare the usage of social media platforms in the process of formulation and implementation of tax laws across the world with the prevalent scenario in the country, it is seen that we are still lagging behind in harnessing the tool of SMTs to promote citizen involvement and integrating citizens in government decision making. There is no denying the fact that of late the government of India as well as a number of state governments have taken initiatives to utilise the SMTs. However such efforts are too meagre and do not harness the true potential of SMTs. Policy formulation in CBEC is still a top down approach, with a lip service being given to the trade bodies like industry associations which invariably cloak the agenda of the few powers that be. Social media can not only crowd source ideas but also give a level playing field to the citizens in displaying their ideas and achieving their interests.

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# WIDOWS OF VRINDAVAN - NEED TO QUESTION TRADITIONS

VANDANA SINGH\*

## INTRODUCTION

There is probably no group more affected by the reality of social and economic exclusion than widows. They are conspicuously absent from the statistics of many developing countries and they are rarely mentioned in the multitude of reports on women's poverty, development, health or human rights published in the recent past. They are marginalised further as a subgroup in the larger group of the socially deprived people firstly, as being disempowered citizens and secondly, simply by the virtue of being women.

In India, there condition is pitiable. The country has the largest recorded number of widows in the world-33 million(10 per cent of the female population, compared to only 3 per cent of men).<sup>1</sup>

Widows' deprivation and stigmatisation are exacerbated by various rituals and religious practices. The patriarchal Indian society confers social status on a woman through a man; hence, in the absence of a man, she herself becomes a nonentity and is resigned to not just social neglect, but complete social oblivion. A vast majority of these widows in India turn to Vrindavan in Mathura district of Uttar Pradesh.

This paper will look into what drives so many widows to this town and how their life in Vrindavan is.

## THE RETREAT TO VRINDAVAN

It is barely a ride of about 10 kilometres from Mathura, the birthplace of Lord Krishna at the centre of Braj or Brij-bhoomi, called Krishna janambhoomi (birth place) that takes you to Vrindavan.

Krishna, according to Mahabharata, was born in the nearby forest and it was around here that the young flute-playing trickster flirted with the cow herders - the gopis - and enjoyed his companionship with Radha.

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The ancient city, Brindaban, had been named after its groves of brinda, *Ocimum tenuiflorum*, or Tulsi, with ban meaning a grove or a forest. In the past, the place was widely known for its dense and beautiful forests, but is now a temple-crammed<sup>2</sup> town at best.

Radha Krishna legend continues to be the main source of livelihood for the people of Vrindavan and most of the income generation activities in the city depend on the functioning of its temples and ashram. The town includes hundreds of temples dedicated to the worship of Radha and Krishna and is considered sacred by a number of religious traditions, including Gaudiya Vaishnavism, Vaishnavism and Hinduism.

But Vrindavan has its darker, less-loving side too. It is also known as 'the city of widows'. Widows here are easy to spot and even easier to identify. Elderly and clad mostly in whites with a tikaa applied on their foreheads they are everywhere in Vrindavan.

Widows in India don't throw themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands anymore, however, their plight continues to be pathetic. A cursory look at their worn-out clothes and tattered footwear tell silently yet emphatically their stories of apathy and neglect. Cast out by their families, or simply alone in the world, some travel hundreds of miles to get here.

Considered inauspicious, these women end up with no money and are ostracised after the death of their husbands. Some are sent away by their husbands' families who want to prevent them from inheriting money or property. It is estimated there are more than 15,000 widows living in Vrindavan.<sup>3</sup>

The destitute women of Vrindavan, on the whole, are dependent on the state, the bhajan ashrams and the pilgrims that come to the town of Vrindavan. The bhajan ashram are the single most important entity in their lives and are the only places where an outsider can get a quick glimpse into their lives.<sup>4</sup>

## **WHY VRINDAVAN?**

Seventy-two-year-old Harsh Kapur, a Delhi resident, who has lived in Ma Dham Ashram of Vrindavan for about a year now says, "I have three sons and two daughters. When my husband died I realised my sons didn't want to keep me. I was frustrated with the daily taunts and humiliation. One day I just picked up my bag and left the house. I had no money with me. I borrowed money from a man at the bus station and landed here in the night. My old shoulders were tired of moving with a bag from one son to the other."

But why Vrindavan, why not an old-age home in Delhi or some other part of the country? "I was told by people I enquired from that Vrindavan is the place for widows. I now keep myself occupied with prayers and the usual chores of the ashram. I am happy and at peace here," she explains.

The widows in Vrindavan find an instant connect with each other in their shared devotion for Krishna. And it is this 'connect' which probably draws them from far off places such as West Bengal, Jharkhand and Odisha to a small town like Vrindavan.

About 74 per cent of the widows living in Vrindavan belong to the state of West Bengal followed at 3 per cent by the states of Uttar Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. Legend has it that the reason why maximum women from West Bengal come to Vrindavan is because Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, monk and social reformer, from Nabadwip district of West Bengal had come here and established many homes and places of worship.<sup>5</sup>

Social worker and activist Mohini Giri, who has been running Ma Dham Ashram since 1997, says that whenever a woman approaches the ashram seeking help from other states the first question that is posed to them is why Vrindavan and why not an old age home in their respective states. "We ask every single woman who comes to us from outside the state or this city. Everyone tells me they are seeking moksha (salvation) and believe that the holy city is the place where they will end up finding it," Giri said.

“About 30 years back, I met then West Bengal chief minister Jyoti Basu to discuss the flocking of widows from the state to Vrindavan. I asked Basu da why don't you do something for them here. Basu told me that even if I do they will not stay here. They will either go to Vrindavan or Nabadwip (a holy Vaishnavite town just over a hundred kilometres from Kolkata),” Giri added.

Seventy-five-year-old Geeta Ma from Kolkata has spent two years in Vrindavan. She says after her husband died she had to vacate the rented house she had been staying at. Her landlord suggested that she should move to Vrindavan.

## **THE PLIGHT OF WIDOWS**

Those being accused of crowding Vrindavan aren't really enjoying a dream life here. Rather they live in a pathetic state socially and economically. Less than 500 metres from what the locals refer to as Anrezon ka Mandir (Iskcon Temple) in Vrindavan is the Mahila Ashray Sadan, one of the very few government funded ashram. The building constructed in 2008 is already in a grave need of repair.

The staff of Jai Hind Navyuvak Vikas Samiti, responsible for the functioning of the ashram, says the district magistrate visited the ashram only after the media attention turned to the widows following Hema Malini's remarks asking widows from West Bengal and Bihar not to crowd Vrindavan.

The Census 2011 data shows that seven out of 10 elderly who live alone are women, which means 36.2 lakh old women live on their own as opposed to 13.5 lakh old men.<sup>6</sup>

The study corroborates the fact that at old age women live longer than men and therefore most of them are widows. So they have no option but to live alone since a large number of children are unwilling to take care of them. In some cases the children have moved to foreign countries and it is not possible for them to take their mothers along. Also in many cases women moved to Vrindavan to devote themselves to the bhakti of Krishna because they had no son and the daughters were married off. After the deaths of their spouses, they preferred not to stay with their daughters.

The condition of widows in Vrindavan is so bad that the Supreme Court had to step in to direct the authorities to give them respect at least in death. “The chief medical officer of the civil hospital (Mathura) is directed to ensure that the last rites of the deceased in the shelter homes are performed as per their religion,” the court said in its August, 2012, order.<sup>7</sup>

The order came after it was brought to the apex court's notice that with no one care of them, the bodies of deceased Vrindavan widows were disposed by chopping into pieces and packing in gunny bags.<sup>8</sup>

## **WELFARE SCHEMES**

The widows who come to the temple-crammed town of Vrindavan depended at one point entirely on the philanthropic initiatives of NRI donors and also many generous Indians. Sustained efforts by women rights organisations and other non-governmental organisations working for marginalised sections of the society forced the central and state government to take note of these women.

They have now started many programmes -- national government, the state and district authorities have taken on the burden of multiple schemes aimed at this population namely homes, food at subsidised rates under the Antodaya program, old age and widow pensions and at times health care in the form of camps, distribution of wheel chairs, crutches and walking stick.<sup>9</sup> However, a lack of effective implementation of most of these schemes has ensured that not much has changed for the widows here.

Most women entitled to widow pensions do not have their cards. Many find it difficult to secure a ration card and depend on philanthropic individuals who donate food and other items of daily use for them. If one looks at the primary data it emerges that the Pension and Ration Schemes is reaching the women who reside in homes and shelters run by the government and NGOs but where the women are living in rented and open spaces these schemes are unable to reach them efficiently, says a NCW report.<sup>10</sup>

## **DENIED RIGHTS, LEFT TO FEND FOR THEMSELVES**

Women mostly have no property directly in their names. Hindu Succession Act 1969 made women eligible to inherit equally with men and some individual states have legislated equality provisions into inheritance law widows are mostly deprived of their legal rights.

“Women have formal property rights but that is not enough because most women do not claim their rights. They either lack the capacity to claim property that belongs to them or simply lack the desire to claim it,” said feminist theorist Nivedita Menon. “The ideology of the family is still stronger than the law and that is why widows are in the current state,” she added.

The three key interlinked features of this ‘Indian’ family as it emerged by the first decades of the 20th century are - patriarchy (power distributed along gender and age hierarchies, but with adult men trumping older women), patriliney (property and name passing from father to son) and virilocality (wife moving to the husband’s home).

In this configuration, patrilineal virilocality is key, isolating women from all previous support systems and leaving them entirely at the mercy of their husbands’ families.<sup>11</sup>

Gayatri Raghav, who lives in Mahila Ashray Sadan and is 80 years old says she was married in a joint family in Haryana. ‘After my husband died I was fed up with the treatment the in-laws gave me. I was scared if I ask them for my husband’s share of the property they would beat me. I decided to dedicate myself to Thakurji (a way of referring to Krishna). So I came here,’ she said.

## **CONCLUSION**

The widows of Vrindavan move to the town in search of peace and a quiet corner to devote themselves to Krishna. They have often been turned away by families and have no social security net to empower them to live a dignified life in their hometowns. Even the despicable conditions of some of the ashram of Vrindavan are found sufficient by these women who believe that their road to moksha (salvation) goes through the holy town of Vrindavan. Dedicated to timely bhajans and offering prayers, they want to spend the rest of their lives here.

Flocking of widows to Vrindavan has been a traditional feature and the quiet serenity of the place proves ideal for them, however, the factors that feed into sending these women here have to be addressed by the state and the respective governments. Traditional family models that seem to suggest that a woman is of little worth after her husband’s demise need to be questioned

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# RIGHTS: ENFORCEMENT AND THEIR ADHERENCE TO JUSTICE

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## RIGHTS: DEFINITION AND NATURE

The term “Right” while being called for its definition has invited for a lot of confusion. There are numerous definitions for this term and none being as much comprehensive as to not to be criticised and result in another one. These are some of the definitions by various authors:

‘Potentia Boni, Iustitiae regulis consentanea.’—**Zouche**<sup>1</sup>

‘Qualitas illa moralis qua recte vel personis imperamus vel res tenemus, ant cuius vi aliquid nobis debetur.’—**Puffendorff**<sup>2</sup>

‘Quaedam potentia moralis.’—**Leibnitz**<sup>3</sup>

‘Qualitas moralis activa ex concessione superioris personae competens ad aliquid ab altero homine cum quo in societate vivit iuste habendum vel agendum.’—**Thomasius**<sup>4</sup>

‘Die Befugniss zu zwingen.’—**Kant**<sup>5</sup>

‘Eine physische Macht, welehe durch die Gebote der Autoritt nicht allein sittlich verstirkt ist, soadern weiche auch diese ihre Maeht durch Anweadung von Zwang oder Uebel gegen den Verletzer schuitzen kanu.’—**Kirchmaun**<sup>6</sup>

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‘Eine Macht über einen Gegenstand, der vermöge dieses Rechts dem Willen des Berechtigten unterworfen ist.’—Puchta<sup>7</sup>

‘Em rechtlich geschütztes Interesse.’—Jhering<sup>8</sup>

Generally speaking “Right” is one man’s capacity of influencing the acts of another, by means, not of his own strength, but of the opinion or the force of society.

When a man is said to have a right to do anything, or over anything, or to be treated in a particular manner, what is meant is that public opinion would see him do the act, or make use of the thing, or be treated in that particular way, with approbation, or at least with acquiescence; but would reprobate the conduct of anyone who should prevent him from doing the act, or making use of the thing, or should fail to treat him in that particular way.

When we decide that certain conduct morally is right or wrong, we approve or disapprove of it in its aspect of an actual or potential cause of consequences to individuals and to society.<sup>9</sup>

A ‘right’ is thus the name given to the advantage a man has when he is so circumstanced that a general feeling of approval, or at least of acquiescence, results when he does, or abstains from doing, certain acts, and when other people act, or forbear to act, in accordance with his wishes; while a general feeling of disapproval results when any one prevents him from so doing or abstaining at his pleasure, or refuses to act in accordance with his wishes. Further than this we need not go. It is for Psychology to inquire by what, if any; special faculty the mind is capable of affirming or denying the existence of rights. History may also to some extent unravel for us the growth of such conceptions as to rights as are now prevalent; and these are among the most vexed questions of Psychology and of the History of Civilisation respectively. Jurisprudence is absolved from such researches. The only conception of a Right which is essential to her arguments is that which we have already propounded, and about the truth of which, as far as it goes, there can be no question.

Jurisprudence is specifically concerned only with such rights as are recognised by law and enforced by the power of a State. We may therefore define a ‘legal right,’ in what we shall hereafter see is the strictest sense of that term, as a capacity residing in one man of controlling, with the assent and assistance of the State, the actions of others.

If a man, irrespectively of his having, or not having, either the might, or moral right on his side, the power of the State will protect him in so carrying out his wishes, and will compel such acts or forbearances on the part of other people as may be necessary in order that his wishes may be so carried out, then he has a ‘legal right’ so to carry out his wishes.<sup>10</sup>

That which gives validity to a legal right is, in every case, the force which is lent to it by the State. Anything else may be the occasion, but is not the cause, of its obligatory character.<sup>11</sup>

There are two competing views as far as the nature of the rights is concerned: the first emphasises will or choice; the other interest or benefit. Each is seen in “various manifestations and a long-running inconclusive series of test matches”<sup>12</sup> played between them.

The propagator and the stalwart of the will theory was notably Hart<sup>13</sup>. It is adhered to by those who visualise the purpose of law as being to grant the widest possible means of self expression to the individual, the maximum degree of self - assertion. The theory is closely related to ideas of sovereignty,<sup>14</sup> so that the only way reconciling conflicting wills is by postulating a superior will which can overcome all opposition. It is also closely related to ideas of moral individualism.<sup>15</sup> The theory identifies the right- bearer by virtue of the power that s/he has over the duty in question. S/he can waive it, extinguish it, enforce it or leave it unenforced. This decision is his/her choice. “Individual discretion is the single most distinctive feature of the concept of rights”.<sup>16</sup>

There are a number of difficulties with this view.<sup>17</sup> It would seemingly allow all rights to be waived. Most of us, however, believe that our duties not to kill or torture cannot be set aside by our potential victims releasing us from our duties. This suggests that Hart’s account of the nature of rights is morally, if not also conceptually, inadequate. A further

difficulty focuses on a procedural problem. As Gerber puts it: “the substantive right is one thing, and having a right is to claim it is another”.<sup>18</sup> Some rights-holders lack the standing to bring their grievances forward. Children, for example, do not have the “right” to sue. There is a service available to them: they may sue through their “next friend” (usually a parent). But what if that person refuses to assist, or is the alleged duty bearer? These difficulties cast no doubt over the existence of the right, merely over an analysis which ties such rights to choice.

MacCormick used the question of children’s rights to challenge the will theory.<sup>19</sup> The theory would argue in relation to children’s rights that it is sufficient if some person acting on the child’s behalf has the relevant powers over the duty in respect of the child. But, as indicated, that person is usually the parent, and s/he has the duty as well. The fact that powers are also given to others (local authorities, for example) does not assist, because these powers do not constitute the rights. They protect rights which are already there. This, says MacCormick, confuses substantive rights with ancillary remedial provisions: “It is unduly anglo-centric to erect the brocard ‘ubi remedium ibi ius’ into an analytic truth.”<sup>20</sup>

The existence of legal rights and duties is not the cause of legal remedies, for that the essence of legal rights and duties is the potentiality of legal remedies.<sup>21</sup>

The attribution of rights to animals, trees,<sup>22</sup> sea-shores, etc.-now common with concern for animal life and the environment prominent- also causes difficulties for the will theory, for what will can animals, let alone mountain peaks have? Flathman is right to say of such rights talk that it is “no more than inflated rhetoric”.<sup>23</sup>

The interest (or benefit) theory is first found in the writings of Bentham, and was adopted by Jhering. It is today espoused by MacCormick,<sup>24</sup> Raz,<sup>25</sup> Lyons, Campbell<sup>26</sup> and others.<sup>27</sup>

It argues that the purpose of rights is not to protect individual assertion but certain interests. Rights are said to be benefits secured for persons by rules regulating relationships. One version of the benefit theory says that X has a right whenever he stands to benefit from the performance of a duty.<sup>28</sup> Another<sup>29</sup> says that X can have a right<sup>30</sup> whenever the protection or the advancement of an interest of his is recognised<sup>31</sup> as a reason for imposing obligations, whether they are actually imposed or not. This has the advantage of enabling us to talk of rights in advance of determining exactly who has the duty, or needing to spell out in detail what is comprised in the duty.

## HOHFELD’S ANALYSIS OF RIGHTS

Rights are neither unanimous nor monotonous because well indeed there are different types of rights and Hohfeld was not the pioneer of discovering this phenomenon.<sup>32</sup> But his account (in two articles published in 1913 and 1917<sup>33</sup>) was the most comprehensive and remains till today. The sentence “X has a right to R is, of course, different from ‘X has a book’. The former is a normative statement, the latter a descriptive one. The ‘truth’ of normative statements may only be established by reference to rules (legal or otherwise). But ‘X has a right to R’ may, Hohfeld showed, be used to depict a number of different ideas which in everyday discourse, including legal discourse, were easily confused. His articles point to examples of sloppy judicial reasoning.<sup>34</sup> He sought through a schema to clarify different kinds of ‘legal relations’. I-Ic did so by relating concepts to their ‘correlatives’ and ‘opposites’<sup>35</sup> or class complements.<sup>36</sup>

He shows that the sentence “X has a right to R” may mean that Y (or indeed everyone) has a duty to let X do R, so that X has a claim against Y. The claim (not itself a particularly good term to stipulate since it suggests something asserted but not necessarily recognised) is the right *stricto sensu*.<sup>37</sup>

The sentence may, however, and usually does, mean that X is free to do or refrain from doing something. It is riot a question of what Y must do (or not do), but of what X may do. Hohfeld called this “right” a “privilege”<sup>38</sup>: others have preferred to call it a “liberty”.<sup>39</sup> Privilege confers a special position and accurately captures some “privileges” (for example, the rule that a judge does no legal wrong in speaking slander when actitg in a judicial capacity). However, exceptions on

account of status are only one type of privilege: that we can do whatever the law allows us to do translate into Hohfeldian terminology as a privilege to do whatever is not a breach of duty.<sup>40</sup>

The word “right” is also sometimes used where what is meant is ‘power’.<sup>41</sup> X has a power when s/he has the ability to change legal relationships, for example by making a contract or a will. Powers are usually parasitic on claim-rights and privileges: the owner of property may sell it because s/he has title to it.<sup>42</sup> But powers may also exist independently of other sorts of rights: for example, a trustee with a duty not to transfer trust property to another<sup>43</sup> has the power to effect such a transfer if the purchaser acts without notice and in good faith.

## THE LEGAL ENFORCEMENT OF MORALITY

Debates about the legal enforcement of morality can be found in Victorian England.<sup>44</sup> It reincarnated with the Hart-Devlin debate,<sup>45</sup> and continue still today with the challenge of new (or newer) moral problems, such as gay marriages,<sup>46</sup> surrogacy,<sup>47</sup> cloning<sup>48</sup> and assisted suicide.<sup>49</sup>

It was John Stuart Mill’s thesis that legal coercion could only be justified for the purpose of preventing harm to others,<sup>50</sup> but even he accepted some paternalism.<sup>51</sup> Mill’s thesis was attacked by the great Victorian judge, Stephen, in his *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity*.<sup>52</sup> Though the debate never died, it became a live issue again in the United Kingdom in the late 1950s when the Wolfenden report observed that there was a realm of private life which was not the law’s business.<sup>53</sup> Lord Devlin, a leading judge, attacked this thesis in a lecture in 1959, and returned to the theme a number of times.<sup>54</sup>

Devlin argued that there is a public morality which provides the cement of any human society, and that the law, he argued especially the criminal law, must regard it as a primary function to maintain this public morality. Whether in fact in any particular case the law should be brought into play by specific criminal sanctions should depend upon the state of public feeling. Conduct which arouses a widespread feeling of reprobation, a mixture of “intolerance, indignation and disgust”,<sup>55</sup> deserves to be suppressed by legal coercion in the interests of the integrity of society.

This thesis received some implicit support from a contemporary case (the so-called *Ladies Directory case*<sup>56</sup>) and has had more recent support from the House of Lords in the *Brown case* which condemned consensual and private pseudo-masochistic practices.<sup>57</sup> It was, however, strenuously opposed by Hart.<sup>58</sup>

Hart outlined<sup>59</sup> in the first place, “the types of evidence that might conceivably be relevant to the issue”. One could examine “crude historical evidence”, that moral decadence was responsible for the decline of Rome<sup>60</sup> (for example), would such evidence be persuasive in considering modern societies? Hart puts his faith rather in the evidence of social psychology.<sup>61</sup> Depending upon one’s ideology, the way of viewing the alternatives to the maintenance of a common morality could take one of two forms. One view would be “permissiveness”: one would show how this led to a weakening of individual capacity for self-control and contributed to an increase in violence and dishonesty. Or one could look at this from the perspective of “moral pluralism”. Would this lead to antagonism, to a society in the state of nature as depicted by Hobbes,<sup>62</sup> or rather to mutual tolerance, to co-existence of divergent moralities?

Now Lord Devlin assumed a degree of moral solidarity in society, which may have existed in earlier periods of our history, but which is hardly discernible today.<sup>63</sup>

Nevertheless, Hart accepted the need for the law to enforce some morality. The real area of dispute is thus where the line should be drawn. Mill drew it at “harm to others”. Hart extended the role of the law by his acceptance of “paternalism”, in addition to Mill’s reliance on harmful consequences to others.<sup>64</sup> So, where Devlin justified *R. v. Donovan*<sup>65</sup> as enforcement of morality, Hart saw the decision as a concession to paternalism. Hart never defined paternalism, and Devlin was accordingly critical of its vagueness.<sup>66</sup> “What, also, I did not foresee was that some of the crew who sail under Mill’s flag of liberty would mutiny and run paternalism up the mast.”<sup>67</sup>

## JUSTICE AS RIGHTS

Like the terms *derecho*, *diritto*, *droit*, and *Recht*<sup>68</sup> the Latin term *jus* means both “what is right” and “law,” so even with regard to *jus*, when it comes to providing an English translation of it, we face an alternative between “what is right” and “law,” or an ambiguity when *jus* carries both of these meanings. The meaning of *jus* in the Latin excerpt considered is “what is right”: We considered how Cicero, Spinoza, and others understand the matrix of normativeness (the matrix of the reality that ought to be), and hence the ultimate source of what is right by positive law.

According to Emile Benveniste, *jus* comes from Indo-European *yous*, meaning “the state of regularity or normality required by ritual rules” (Benveniste 1969, 113), and it expresses:

*the Indo-European notion of conformity with a rule-of a requirement to be met-in order that an object (a thing or a person) be accepted, fulfil its office, and have all the effects pertaining to the latter.* (Benveniste 1969, 119)<sup>69</sup>

Moreover, fins-like *derecho*, *diritto*, *droit*, and *Recht*-means “what is right” in the two senses: the sense “what is objectively right” (as happens in *jus naturale*, *jus civile*, and *jus gentium*) and the sense “what is subjectively right” (as happens in *ins libertatis*, *jus civitatis*, *jus sententiae dicendae*, and *ins retinendi*).<sup>70</sup>

Over the centuries, authoritative translations of terms that are crucial in legal philosophy and general jurisprudence, as is the case with the Latin *jus* and the Greek *dike*, have become firmly lodged in the major European languages, and yet these translations are unfortunately sometimes misleading not only with regard to the distinction between “law” and “what is right” but also with regard to the distinction between “what is right” and “justice” (such is the case, in particular, with *dike* in the Homeric poems).<sup>71</sup>

To be sure, “right” and “just” are often used interchangeably, each to signify the other. Even so, the two concepts must be kept separate, and it will be necessary to decide, by looking at the context, the sense in which the two words are used. Of course they may find a use so ambiguous that it becomes impossible to give them a specific meaning, even taking context into account.

For both Rawls and Nozick, justice and rights are clearly related but it is Ronald Dworkin who can be said most clearly intermingled justice in rights.

In one sense there is nothing new in this: the idea that political morality and social choice were to be governed by considerations of the rights of individuals has its heritage in the writings of Locke<sup>72</sup> and Kant,<sup>73</sup> as well as in the literature and constitutions of the American and French revolutions. Bentham was a trenchant critic, particularly of natural rights.<sup>74</sup> So was Marx.<sup>75</sup>

The distinction is easy enough to state. A requirement is rights-based when generated by a concern for some individual interest, and goal-based when propagated by the desire to further something taken to be of interest to the community as a whole.<sup>76</sup> The rights-based approach does not deny that the interest of a particular individual is not also shared by others<sup>77</sup> in the community, but it would claim that the interest of each individual *qua* individual is sufficient to generate the moral requirement.

Many of the ideals with which we associate rights are dependent upon, indeed may be constituted by, the existence and maintenance of certain inherent public goods. So the right to freedom of speech<sup>78</sup>

It is part of the philosophy of those who espouse rights-based theories to insist on the pre-eminence of rights. Rights are valuable commodities,<sup>79</sup> important moral coinage.<sup>80</sup>

To Dworkin rights are “trumps”.<sup>81</sup> They are grounded in a principle of equal concern and respect. So for a judge to make a mistake about a legal right is “a matter of injustice”.<sup>82</sup> Further, the whole institution of rights rests on the conviction that “the invasion of a relatively important right” is a “grave injustice”.<sup>83</sup> Dworkin sees rights as trumps over some background justification for political decisions that state a goal for the community as a whole. Thus, to use one of his well-known, if controversial, examples, “if someone has a right to publish pornography, this means that it is for some

reason wrong for officials to act in violation of that right, even if they (correctly) believe that the community as a whole would be better if they did".<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, Dworkin is prepared to concede that interference in the life of an individual, where there would otherwise be a right, is justified where "special grounds" can be found.<sup>85</sup>

Rights, Dworkin states, are not "gifts" from God. Their institution is "a complex and troublesome practice that makes the Government's job of securing the general benefit more difficult and more expensive, and it would be a frivolous and wrongful practice unless it served some point".<sup>86</sup> For Dworkin, anyone who professes to "take rights seriously" must accept the ideas of human dignity and political equality.<sup>87</sup>

For Dworkin, a moral right<sup>88</sup> exists against the state when for "some" reason it would do wrong to treat a person in a certain way, "even though it would be in the general interest to do so."<sup>89</sup> It is clear that what is "wrong" for the state to do is what the state has a duty not to do, so that Dworkin appears to define rights in terms of duties.<sup>90</sup>

The problem with this view is that although there may be utilitarian reasons for respecting justified legal rights, these reasons are not the same as the moral force of such rights, because they neither exclude direct utilitarian arguments against exercising rights nor those for interfering with them.<sup>91</sup> This view is not uncontentious and Greenawalt<sup>92</sup> and Hare<sup>93</sup> have responded to it. The debate which has ensued cannot be pursued here. What it shows is the resilience of utilitarianism (particularly rule-utilitarianism and the economic analysis of law).

## **REFERENCES**

1. *Elementa Iurisprudentiae*, p.19
2. *De I. Nat. et Gent. i.c. I.* 20
3. *Opera*, i. p. 118
4. *Iurispr. Div. lib. Iii. c.i.* I.82
5. 'The authority to compel' *Rechtslehre, Werke*, vii. p. 29
6. 'A physical power, which through the commands of authority not only is morally strengthened, but also can protect this its power against a transgressor by the application of compulsion or evil.' *Die Grundbegriffe dea Rechts und der Moral*, p. 111
7. 'A power over an object, which by means of this right is subjected to the will of the person enjoying the right.' *Instit.* ii. p. 393.
8. 'A legally protected interest.' *Geist des römischen Rechtes*, iii. 6o.
9. This is not always the basis of approval or disapproval. The motives of our criticism of morals often are instinctive, unreasoned impulses from accumulated beliefs, superstitions, religious ideas, or other traditions and untrained mental habits, which produce them without conscious measuring of effects or purposes.

10. Maine points out how much more prominent in early Roman law was the idea of duty than that of right. The Japanese seem to have possessed no word for legal right till the term 'Ken-ri,' meaning 'power-interest,' was coined by Dr. Tsuda, when, after a course of study at Loyden, he published in 1868 his Treatise on Western Public Law. The term, and the idea expressed by it, were accepted, and the Japanese Civil Code takes 'Rights' as the basis of its classifications. See Professor N. Hozumi's lecture on that Code delivered at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904.
11. As Thomasius says of 'Pactum,' 'non est causa sed tantum occasio obligationis.' The contrary view is strongly put by Dernburg, Lehrbuch, 'Die Rechtsordnung gewährleistet und modelt die Rechte im subjectiven Sinne, aber sie ist nicht ihr Schöpfer.'
12. There was a third view, which related rights to power. It was found in seventeenth century writers like Spinoza and Hobbes and was standard to nineteenth-Century positivist accounts as well (e.g. Austin). A variant is the realist explanation that rights are expectations. But see Hart, *Essays in Jurisprudence and Philosophy* (1983), p. 28.
13. See (1955) 64 Phil. Rev. 175; *Essays on Bentham* (1982), Chap. VII
14. See Austin's Exposition of this in his famous work "Province of Jurisprudence Determined"
15. See J.S. Mill, *On Liberty* (1859).
16. Per R. Flathman, *The Practice of Rights* (1976).
17. Hart conceded that it fails to offer an adequate account of all legal rights, let alone moral ones. See 9 (*Essays*).
18. "Rights" (1976) 62 A.R.S.P. 329, 333.
19. *Legal Rights and Social Democracy* (1982). PP. 154-166.
20. *Ibid.* Pg. 157
21. Compare:- "By the obligation of a contract is meant the means which at the time of its creation, the law affords for its enforcement." Mr. Justice Field, in *Nelson v. St. Martin's Parish*, 11 U. S. 716, 720.
22. See C. Stone, *Should Trees Have Standing?* (1974).
23. Per R. Flathman, *The Practice of Rights* (1976) pg. 73. Further criticisms are found in T. Campbell, *The Left and Rights* (1983), pp. 87-92 and (1985) 5 *Legal Studies* 10.
24. In (eds.) P. Hacker and J. Raz, *Law, Morality and Society* (1977).
25. In (ed.) R.G. Frey, *Utility and Rights* (1985), p. 42.
26. (1969) 6 *Amer. Phil.Q.* 173.
27. T. Campbell, *The Left and Rights* (1983), pp. 92-102.
28. Of course in utilitarian terms all duties are designed to promote some benefit.
29. Found in MacCormick, Raz and Campbell
30. whether in moral theory or within a legal system
31. by moral theory or the legal system, as the case may be
32. Bentham distinguished rights and liberty; Austin made a few tentative and exploratory suggestions; Windscheid distinguished right and power; Terry and Salmond also began to analyse the concepts involved. This is explored in detail by J. Singer (1982) *Wisc. L. Rev.* 1975.
33. (1913) 23 *Yale L.J.* 16; (1917) 26 *Yale L.J.* 710 (also *Fundamental Legal Conception*.c. 4s Applied in *Judicial Reasoning* (1919). See post, 510.
34. See, e.g. *S.S. Mogul v. McGregor* (1889) 23 *Q.B.D.* 59 and *Quinn v. Leatham* [1901] AC. 495.
35. The term "opposites" may be objected to. Kocourek says it is illogical "That which is not a right could be an elephant, star or angel" (*Jural Relations* (1927)). Thus, "contradictory" is often preferred.
36. Per J. Stone, *Legal System and Lawyers' Reasonings* (1964), p. 139.
37. He himself sometimes uses the term wrongly: he talks of the "privilege of self-defence" (p. 33), but must mean the "right of

self-defence". The "natural rights" Hobbes believes we have in a state of nature would be characterised by Hohfeld as privileges.

38. On the relationship between claims and rights see MA. Stewart, *Law, Morality and Rights* (1983), particularly the articles by A. White and N. McCormick. See also A White, *Rights* (1984), Chap. 8. White's views have stimulated a lively debate, samples of which are McCormick (1982) 1 *Law & Phil.* 337, S.Stoljar (1985) 4 *Law & Phil.* 101 and A. Halpin (1991) 10 *Law & Phil.* 27t.
39. See, e.g. Glanville Williams in (ed.) R.S. Summers, *Essays In Legal Philosophy* (1968), p. 121. The reason is that privilege suggests special favour to an individual or narrow class. It is Williams's contention that "privilege" is better conceived as a "privilege not". So if A has no right that B pays him £5, B is at liberty not to pay £5 (he has a "privilege not" or "liberty not").
40. But many legal privileges are not absences of duty: Parliamentary privilege, for example, is immunity from an action in defamation. There are examples also where a defendant is absolved from, what would otherwise be, his duty, but where it would be inaccurate to characterise this as privilege (an instance is the *volenti non fit iniuria* plea). There are also situations where a person may be privileged because he has a duty to do what he had done (consider the qualified privilege defence in defamation).
41. A. White, *Rights* (1984), Chapter 10.
42. That is a complex of rights, *stricto sensu*, privileges and, indeed, powers.
43. and so no privilege or claim- right to transfer it
44. Mill, *On Liberty* (1859) is the classic statement of the liberal position. R. Wacks, *Law, Moral Uv and the Private Domain* (2000) may also be consulted.
45. Devlin's views can be traced back to Durkheim, though there is no evidence that Devlin was knowingly deriving any such assistance (see W. Thomas (1994) 32 *Amer. Crim. L. Rev.* 49).
46. See the debate between J. Finnis and A. Koppelman in (1997) 42 *Amer. J. of Jurisprud.* 51, 97. See also J. Finnis (1994) 69 *Notre Dame L. Res.* 1049.
47. See D. Satz (1992) 21 *Phil. and Public Aff's* 107.
48. See J. Robertson (1998) 76 *Texas L. Res.* 1371; M. Nussbaumi and C. Sunstein (eds.), *Clones and Clones* (1998).
49. See R. Weir (1992) 20 *Law, Medicine and Health Care* 116 and, in particular now, J. Martel (2001) 10 *Soc. & Legal Studies* 147.
50. See J. Riley, *Mill on Liberty* (1998) for a detailed exposition. See also J. Feinberg, *Harm to others* (1984).
51. The liberty principle does not apply to children or "barbarians" in "backward states of society".
52. First published in 1873 (the edition cited is edited by R. J. White in 1967).
53. (1957) *Cmd.* 247. It is worth comparing the Report of Advisory Committee on Drug Dependence: *Cannabis* (1968). Para 62
54. His essays are collected in *The Enforcement of Morals* (1965).
55. *Ibid.* p. 17 (see also p. siii).
56. [1962] *AC* 74 (rediscovering the crime of conspiracy to corrupt public morals).
57. [1994] *1 AC* 212.
58. See especially *Law, Liberty and Morality* (1963).
59. (1967) 35 *Univ. of Chicago L. Rev.* 1, 11-13.
60. For the view that moral decadence was not among the causes of the decline of the Roman Empire, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Decline of The Ancient World* (1966), Chaps 24 and 26.
61. (1967) 35 *Univ. of Chicago L. Rev.* 1, 12-13.
62. See *Leviathan*. PT I. Chap. 13 the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short").
63. But of S. Marcus, *The Other Victorians* (1967). S. Ranulf's view that the middle classes have a monopoly of moral indignation may be the key (*Moral Indignation and Middle Class Psychology* (1938), pp. 1-95). See also J. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade* (1963).



64. Law, Liberty and Morality (1963) pp. 30-34.
65. [1934] 2K. B. 498 (consent negatives crime of assault). See now R. v. Brown, op. cit., note 63.
66. Paternalism would prevent a person doing harm to himself rather than to others, so consent as negating assault is irrelevant to paternalism, since there is no question of self-injury: see M. Bayles in (eds.) Pennock and Chapman, *The Limits of Law* (1974), p. 185. On paternalism and contract see S. V. Shiffrin (2000) 29 *Phil. and Public Affairs* 205.
67. *The Enforcement of Morals* (1965) p. 132.
68. The ancient Greek term *dike*, as it occurs in Homeric epic, in different contexts, and depending on inflection, it can take the meaning "what is objectively right" (*dike*, in the singular) or "what is subjectively right" (*dikai*, in the plural).
69. The French original: "La notion indo-européenne de conformité à une règle, de conditions à remplir pour que l'objet (chose ou personne) soit agréé, qu'il remplisse son office et qu'il ait toute son efficacité" (Benveniste 1969, 119). On the concept of *jus* in Aquinas, see, in Volume 6 of this Treatise, Lisska. Moreover, on the ancient Roman conceptions of rights, see, in Volume 6 of this Treatise, Mille. On conceptions of rights in medieval canon law, see, in Volume 6 of this Treatise, Reid.
70. Michel Villey (1953-1954, 170ff.-Michel Villey, 1914-1988) argues perspicuously that in Roman law *jus* signified what is right with reference to the subjects, whether they were duty-holders or right-holders. Cf. Villey 1946-1947. See also the different positions of Giovanni Pugliese (1914-1995) in Pugliese 1953.
71. The deontological idea of rightness (of the right, what is right) is different from the axiological, teleologically oriented idea of justice (of the just, what is just). Indeed, it makes sense to say of a behaviour that it is right (correct) but not just (fair), and vice versa. The idea that if something is a norm it will be binding per se (duty for its own sake: Kant) determines the deontological idea of what is right, but not the axiological, teleologically oriented idea of what is just. Finnis (1980, 298) writes that "we must set aside as spurious the categorizations of a textbook tradition which divides all moral thought between 'deontological ethics of obligation' and 'teleological ethics of happiness or value.'" Finnis's invitation is pertinent if intended to say that in Aquinas the two aspects, the teleological and the deontological, interweave.
72. K. M. McClure, *Judging Rights* (1996).
73. A modern parallel is A. Gewirth, *Reason and Morality* (1977).
74. Which he called "nonsense upon stilts". A contemporary critic is M.-A. Glendon, *Rights Talk* (1991).
75. See "On The Jewish Question": see also post, 972. T. D. Campbell, *The Left And Rights* (1983), pp. 92-102 may also be consulted.
76. See R. Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (1978).
77. in the case of human rights, all.
78. The classic exposition of which is I. S. Mill, *On Liberty* (1859), Chap. 2.
79. R. Wasserstrom (1964) 61 *J Philosophy* 628, 629.
80. But cf. A. Buchanan "What's So Special About Rights?" (1984) 2(1) *Social Policy and Philosophy* 61.
81. R. Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (1978) p. ix
82. *Ibid* p. 130.
83. *Ibid* p. 199.
84. *A Matter of Principle* (1985), Chap. 17; cf. R. Langton (1993) 22 *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 293.
85. R. Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (1978) p 188. Government has "a reason for limiting rights if it plausibly believes that a competing right is more important". But there must be a "compelling reason" (p.200).
86. R. Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (1978) p. 198.
87. "Anyone who claims that citizens have rights must accept ideas very close to these" *Ibid* (p. 199).
88. A right in the strong sense. He distinguishes these from rights in a weak sense (op. cit., n.

43, pp. 188-192). The distinction turns on that between what it is wrong to do to someone, and what it is not wrong for someone to do (the latter being close to Hohfeld's privilege, discussed ante, 355).

89. R. Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (1978) p. 139
90. For agreement see N. MacCormick, "Dworkin as Pre-Benthamite" in (ed.) M. Cohen, Ronald Dworkin and *Contemporary Jurisprudence* (1983), p. 193. Dworkin's response (*Ibid.*, p. 280) is that he is not committed to the view that duties are "substantively prior to rights". This criticism "leaves open the question whether the state has some duty because the injury it commits when it violates that duty is in some way special, or whether the injury is special only because the state has the duty". But surely it is because the state has the duty that the injury is accorded special status. Another to demonstrate the inadequacy of Dworkin's account is D. A. J. Richards (1977) 52 *New York Univ. L. R.* 1265, 1317-1339.
91. But cf. the arguments of R. Hare, *Moral Thinking* (1981).
92. "Utilitarian Justifications for Observance of Legal Rights", *Nomos* (1982), vol. xxiv, p. 139.
93. "Utility and Rights", *Ibid.* p. 148. See also Hare in (ed.) Frey, "Right-Based Moralities" in (ed.) R. G. Frey, *Utility and Rights* (1985).

# INDIA'S ENERGY INTERESTS IN CENTRAL ASIA

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## INTRODUCTION

India's interests in Central Asia are a mixture of energy and strategic concerns. The recent visit (July 2015) of Prime Minister Narendra Modi to Central Asian states has changed the dynamics of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. PM Modi's whirlwind tour has reinvigorated traditional ties with Central Asian republics. He is the first Indian Prime Minister, who visited all five states including Russia during his tour to attend BRICS and SCO Summit at Ufa (Russian city) at one go since the independence of these states in 1991. The main objectives of this visit were to enhance energy ties, connectivity along with combating terrorism, up gradation of defense and economic ties. Prime Minister Modi, first landed in Uzbekistan, then went to Kazakhstan, followed by visit to Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan and finally ending it in Tajikistan in July 2015.

India and central Asian states share deep historical, cultural and civilization links. This visit offers enormous economic opportunities for investments and enhancement of energy and economic bilateral and multilateral cooperation. This visit also has greater significance due to India's strong diplomatic, energy and geopolitical concerns in Central Asia.

Central Asia is extended neighbour of India. Central Asian states - Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan are product of the collapsed of former Soviet Union in 1991. These states are less developed due to the collapse of planned economy of USSR and poor economic foundation after 1991. These are landlocked states occupying vast territory extending from Western Siberia in the north of Afghanistan, Iran in the south, from banks of Volga and Caspian Sea in the West to China in the east. The neighboring countries like India, Pakistan, China, Afghanistan, China, Turkey, Iran, Russia, have been pursuing competitive strategic, economic, energy, and cultural interests in Central Asia. While other major powers including US, EU, Japan, Germany, Saudi Arabia have greater stakes in Central Asia in terms of security and energy cooperation especially 9/11 era of global politics.<sup>1</sup>

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Central Asian states are showing special interests in India's geopolitical role and energy cooperation in era of multilateralism in international relations. Geopolitics and energy security pushed the Central Asia states in the vortex of global politics following their independence in 1991 and especially after 9/11. The Caspian region adjoins Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan as littoral states. SCO members granted full membership to India from next year during Modi visit to Ufa Summit along with Central Asia.

Energy is emerging as new rationale in defining the strategic partnership between India and Central Asian states especially Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Energy collaboration is one of the major components of economic cooperation between India and Central Asian states. Energy is also critical factor in the foreign policies of Central Asian states in 21st century.

Energy resources have strategic and geopolitical importance in the global politics in the era of economic globalization. India is emerging as dynamic leading actor among the major economies of the world. Central Asia is hub of untapped natural resources including hydrocarbons, mineral deposits, hydroelectric power, gold, uranium etc. Kazakhstan is major oil producer, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan have bigger untapped natural gas, while Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan have also important reserved sources of energy.

India is world's fifth largest energy consumer and is likely to become the third largest energy consumer by 2030.<sup>2</sup> Central Asia is emerging as alternate source of energy supply to India.

After 9/11 terror attacks have been becoming significant concerns over rise of Islamic militancy, trans-border terrorism, inter-ethnic tension in the Central Asia and its neighbour states including Afghanistan, Pakistan. These are major sources of internal destabilization that generate to the regional and global security concerns in the global politics after 9/11 era.

India is enhancing economic and energy relations with Central Asian states for the last decade. Central Asia is emerging as strategic sources of hydrocarbons and Uranium in the global energy security regime.

India signed several deals in energy, trade, culture and security including fresh deal to secure 5000 tons of Uranium supply from Kazakhstan alongwith long awaited TAPI gas pipeline deal for comprehensive economic engagements with Turkmenistan during visit of Prime Minister Modi.<sup>3</sup> India and Central Asia relation has so far been governed under India's new "Connect Central Asia Policy" 2012.

India's 21st century dream to be a global power has forced the nation to enhance the economic and energy cooperation with these states. Central Asia is hub of natural and untapped energy resources. In fact, China enjoys geopolitical advantage in access to the resources of Central Asian region over India and other major powers in global politics. China has become privileged economic and energy partner of Central Asian states much before India. China's multi directional diplomacy is serious challenge for India's interests in Central Asia in the era of globalization.

Energy security and other aspects of economic cooperation along with geo-political concerns including balance of power in the region, strategic cooperation with Russia and US, China factor, Pakistan's terror links, Afghanistan challenges will be new parameters of enhancement of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with Central Asian states for India in the era of globalization.

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

India has close historical, civilizational and commercial links with Central Asian region. The founder of Mughal Dynasty in India -Babur, came from Central Asia. India and Central Asian states were colonies of British and Tsarist autocracy, respectively.<sup>4</sup>

India has multifaceted interactions with Central Asian regions along with Afghanistan, Xinjiang in terms of trade and culture especially spread of Buddhism. Central Asia is located at the junction of two great civilizations -- India and China. The Silk route provided a powerful connection for commercial cooperation. Chinese Silk, Indian ivory, Syrian glass,

Roman metals, Indian spices, Kashmiri Shawls, woolen and silk carpets were among the important goods of exchange between Indian and Central Asian people. India also exported sugar, cotton, cloth, shawls, dyes etc to cities of Central Asian region. India imported major items mainly horses, sheeps, gold, silver, precious metals, stones, fruits particularly dry fruits. Indian also engaged in money lending and exchange. Indian traders settled in many cities and small towns of Central Asia including Bukhara, Andijan, Fergana, Namangan, Osh etc.<sup>5</sup>

India's historical ties began with invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni (998-1030). The beginning of Delhi Sultanates was new phase of communication between the two regions; Babur, who laid the foundation of Mughal Empire in India in 1526, was from Farghana valley. It was Bairam Khan from Turkmen region who helped Humayun (son of Babar) to regain his lost empire. Bairam Khan was also mentor of Akbar and his son Abdurrahim Khan,<sup>6</sup> was a jewel in Akbar's court.

India had historical and commercial interactions with Central Asia during the Soviet regime also. India had maintained economic links with Central Asian states through all channels of Moscow during Soviet era. Soviet Union was major trading partner of India before it collapsed in 1991.<sup>7</sup>

Contemporary relations opened up for India after collapse of USSR and independence of five Central Asian republics. Central Asia has since held strategic value for India in the post Cold war era.

## **INDIA'S ENERGY POLICY TOWARDS CENTRAL ASIA**

The growth of the Indian economy created huge demand for energy and natural resources to fuel and maintain the momentum as one of the fast emerging economy of world in 21st century. Security and energy are most important component of India's engagements with all Central Asia states. India has maintained the mutual beneficial and comprehensive economic relations with Central Asian states.

India is fastest growing economy and leading global energy consumer in the world economy. India is energy deficient country. Energy security became part of the Indian external policy construct at the beginning of this century. In fact, its energy security policy is still in the making. The growing pace of Indian economy has not only led to a rise in energy consumption but shift in its energy mix too. India ranks sixth, accounting for 3.5 % of the world commercial energy consumption. India is emerging an important stakeholder in the hydrocarbon market.<sup>8</sup> Gas pipeline and export of other energy resources are the main agenda of India's energy security in Central Asia.

## **INDIA IN SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANISATION (SCO)**

Chinese led SCO was established along with Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan in June 2001. India, Pakistan, Mongolia and Iran were given observer status in SCO, but in last meeting India and Pakistan were granted for full membership. SCO is a significant platform for the enhancement of regional cooperation in Central Asia. Russian President Putin proposed the creation of an SCO 'Energy Club' at Fifth SCO Summit in Shanghai in 2006. China has taken privileged to exploring energy resources of Central Asia through SCO.<sup>9</sup>

## **TAPI (TURKMENISTAN-AFGHANISTAN-PAKISTAN-INDIA) PIPELINE PROJECT**

TAPI is dream pipeline project of India's energy links with Central Asian states. TAPI pipeline project is a crucial aspect of India's energy security.

This pipeline will start from Dauletabad field in Turkmenistan to Fazilika at the Pakistan- India border, passing through Herat and Kandhar in Afghanistan and Multan in Pakistan before entering India in the north to link up with India's Hazira -Bijapur-Jagdishpur pipeline (HBJ) arterial link. This would bring 1.6 billion cubic feet (bcf) of gas to India. This pipeline would also supply 0.6 bcf of gas to Pakistan. Due to security concerns, there are two routes under discussion -the first will run through

northern Afghanistan, cutting through Kabul before entering Pakistan; second will travel through western Afghanistan, passing through Kandhar into Pakistan.<sup>10</sup>

## RECENT VISIT OF PM MODI TO CENTRAL ASIAN STATES

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's recent visit has significant importance in terms of redefined dynamics of bilateral and multi lateral cooperation with five Central Asian states.

**Uzbekistan:** Uzbekistan was the first destination of Indian Prime Minister. PM Modi referred the importance of Uzbekistan for India as first destination. Prime Minister Modi and President Karimov have agreed to deepen strategic relations including widen areas of cooperation in the field of security, counter terrorism, trade and investment, Joint working Group, cyber security etc. Both agreed to call for comprehensive reforms in UN structures including expansion of Security Council etc.<sup>11</sup>

**Kazakhstan:** PM Modi landed in Astana on 7th July 2015. Kazakhstan is an important and reliable supplier of energy resources. Kazakhstan has second largest reserves of Uranium in world. Energy partnership of India and Kazakhstan would lead to several joint explorations of energy resources and construction of developed energy industry and infrastructure in Kazakhstan.

Kazakhstan is strategic and trusted ally of India in Central Asia. Kazakhstan is emerging important source of supply of uranium for India besides Canada and Australia. India inked deals of new Uranium supply for 2015-2019, wide ranging defense cooperation including military technical cooperation, joint exercise, regular exchange of visits besides railway cooperation for better connectivity for potential economic cooperation. Prime Minister Modi stated that "Our defense and Security cooperation is an important dimension of our strategic partnership. We both want to make it stronger, including defense manufacturing" during joint press conference at Presidential palace.<sup>12</sup>

**Kyrgyzstan:** India and Kyrgyzstan signed four agreements including those to enhance defense cooperation, hold annual joint military exercise, combat terrorism and extremism, culture etc. Both signed MoU for cooperation between the Election Commission of two countries, and cooperation in the field of standard, and comprehensive economic relation. Kyrgyzstan also agreed to support India's candidature for UN Security Council in upcoming reforms.<sup>13</sup>

**Turkmenistan:** India and Turkmenistan inked seven pacts during Prime Minister's visit. Both Prime Minister Modi and President Gurbanguly Berdimukhammedov agreed to intensify efforts in dealing with anti terror efforts, organized crime and illegal drug trafficking. TAPI was important point of agenda of bilateral discussion besides possibility of land-sea route through Iran. The Memorandum of understanding (MoU) signed for cooperation in the field of defense and fertilizer sector including arrangement of supply of fertilizer from Turkmenistan to India and the proposal to set up production facility in Turkmenistan. Both agreed for enhanced cooperation in the area of information technology, pharmaceutical and chemical industry, agro processing etc.<sup>14</sup>

**Tajikistan:** Tajikistan was the final destination of visit of Central Asian Republics by PM Modi in July 2015. Tajikistan is geographically nearest to India among all other countries of Central Asia. India and Tajikistan discussed joint ventures and investment. Both agreed to promote the International North South Transport Corridor. This corridor would connect Mumbai in India to Bandar Abbas port in Iran and later extend it to Caspian Sea coast. Both agreed to eliminate terrorism from its neighbor states mainly Afghanistan and Pakistan. Prime Minister Modi and Tajik President supported the proposed Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan Trilateral Transit Trade Agreement (PATTTA) that would facilitate trade cooperation in the region. Tajikistan supported India's membership to the SCO.<sup>15</sup>

## CONCLUSION

India is adopting multi dynamic strategies to attain energy security in Central Asia. Central Asian region has been endowed with untapped resources such as hydrocarbons resources, non ferrous and precious minerals and important agriculture products including cotton. Central Asian states are landlocked and transportation of oil and natural gas to world market has been a major problem. India's vital interests and balance of power will depend on the pattern of relations which Central Asian states and Afghanistan have with Russia, US, China, EU and other influential actors'. Shanghai Cooperation Organistaion (SCO) has been playing important role for regional cooperation in Central Asia. Granted full membership of SCO, India is now has opportunity for enhancement of bilateral, multilateral and regional cooperation with Central Asian states in the era of economic globalization.

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# THE UKRAINE CRISIS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

VIVEK SINGH\*

## ABSTRACT

By the end of 2013 the numerous miscalculations of the Yanukovych regime had deepened the systemic crisis in Ukraine, the crux of which was the tension between the people's hopes of independence and the inefficiency of the country's post-Soviet political and social system. The 2013-2014 revolution in Kiev paved the way for systemic reforms, but at the same time exposed the weaknesses of Ukrainian statehood. Russia's leadership perceived this overthrow as the failure of Yanukovych's policies and resorted to measures including the annexation of Ukraine's territory, as well as encouraging and supporting armed separatist movements Ukraine's Russian-speaking regions. Together, this has spawned the biggest crisis in Ukraine's history and threatens its integrity, sovereignty and civil peace. At the same time and under these semi warlike conditions, a process of consolidation of the country's population has started to develop around the question of Ukrainian identity. The crisis represents a tragic symptom of that failure, but it will likely not be the last unless the United States, the European Union, and Russia can build a new European security order that is inclusive, flexible and acceptable to all.

## INTRODUCTION

Resolving today's security problems requires an integrated approach. Analysis must be crosscutting and consider the regional and global dimensions of problems, their technological and military aspects, as well as their media linkages and broader human consequences. It must also strive to understand the far-reaching and complex dynamics of military transformation, international terrorism or post-conflict stabilization.

The Ukraine crisis has sparked a debate about the post-Cold War security order, particularly about NATO and EU enlargement and the future of that process.

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Unfortunately, the debate has been remarkably shallow. On the one hand, there are those who blame the crisis on enlargement; it was Western encroachment, they claim, that precipitated Russia's moves and thus they imply that the way forward is to provide Russia guarantees that enlargement will cease. On the other, there are those who believe that enlargement cemented democratic gains in post-communist Europe and protected vulnerable states from Russian aggression. They argue therefore that the proper response to the crisis is to quickly grant membership in the institutions to Ukraine, Georgia, and any other interested Russian neighbors.

Neither side has it right. The post-Cold War European security order was remarkably successful at stabilizing Central and Eastern Europe. But it contained an inherent flaw: it could not fully include Russia. The mechanisms of an order originally built to keep Russia out of Europe simply could not be adapted for this purpose. After a decade or so of flirtation with the Euro-Atlantic institutions (NATO and the EU), Moscow concluded that they would remain forever dedicated to their original purpose of containing Russian influence. On this point, Russians are in rare agreement with their ex-Soviet neighbors and former Warsaw Pact allies. Only Western Europe and the U.S. have seriously entertained the notion that enlargement of these institutions would improve relations between Russia and the West.

The Ukraine crisis began in the context of this contest for influence in what Europe and Russia used to call their "common neighborhood." In late November 2013, the Ukrainian government called off preparations to sign an Association Agreement with the EU, the key "deliverable" of the Eastern Partnership. Negotiations on these accords closely conformed with the past practice of institutional enlargement, even if in this case no membership prospect was offered: aspirant countries were expected to adopt EU norms and regulations wholesale in return for trade liberalization, visa facilitation, and closer political association. Instead, under pressure from Putin, President Viktor Yanukovich reversed plans to sign the deal a few days before its planned signing at a major summit.

In the final days of February following Yanukovich's ouster, Putin made the fateful decision to insert Special Forces, paratroopers and other servicemen into Crimea. He was seeking to prevent a strategic setback in Kyiv from becoming a strategic catastrophe: Russia's nightmare scenario of being completely pushed out of Ukraine by the West and its institutions. His decision was intended to secure the most important Russian physical assets in Ukraine, namely the Black Sea Fleet base, and to coerce the new Ukrainian authorities into accommodating Moscow's broader interests in Ukraine. Those actions, and the subsequent efforts to destabilize eastern Ukraine, were therefore driven by a perceived need to guarantee that Russia's nightmare scenario will not come to pass. As Putin himself put it during an interview in late May:

I will reiterate: where are the guarantees that the coup d'état, this second color revolution that happened in Ukraine, won't be followed by NATO's arrival in Ukraine? Nobody has ever discussed this issue with us in the past two decades. I'd like to emphasize that nobody has conducted a meaningful dialogue with us on this. All we heard was the same reply, like a broken record: every nation has the right to determine the security system it wants to live in and this has nothing to do with you.

While Russia's gambit in Ukraine is still unfolding as of this writing, its actions there have already relegated the partnership without membership paradigm in European security to the dustbin of history. A whole host of institutional arrangements involving Russia have been effectively gutted. Even if the conflict in Ukraine itself can be quickly ended, there is no going back to that paradigm; without a new regional order, confrontation between Russia and the West will remain and likely intensify. This presents serious risks for the stability of Europe going forward.

In recent years, the West has put an emphasis on the pragmatic side of this approach after realizing that the quick adoption of Western values in former Soviet space is nothing but an illusion. This pragmatism was based on the recognition of Russia's leading role in the region, and that consequently any foreign policy initiatives made by the region's governments would be inevitably seen through the prism of Russia's reactions, which in most cases is predictably negative. This has included, among many other aspects, the expansion of NATO, the European Union's "Eastern Partnership" initiative, and an Association Agreement with the EU.

To grasp the main drivers of future transformations in the post-Soviet space, it is essential to analyze the lessons learned in Ukraine in recent months. This paper attempts to provide a brief analysis of the events in Ukraine, as well as a forecast of the country's development in the coming months. This analysis serves as a starting point for a broad discussion about the new policy of the European Union and the West in general in relation to countries which for more than two decades were in a long post-Soviet transition period, and which only now gradually begin to acquire their own identities.

## **THE UKRAINE CRISIS**

In order to understand the causes of the 2013-2014 Ukrainian revolution and subsequent events, it is essential to remember that has led to a profound gap in Ukraine's development, not only in comparison with European and neighboring ex-Soviet countries, but also many third world states. Since its independence, Ukraine has shifted dramatically down the list of countries in terms of gross national income per capita which in 1992 was higher than Latvia and Romania and slightly lower than in Poland. Today however, according to the World Bank, its neighbors in the rankings are Iraq and El Salvador. Moreover, in 2012, Ukraine, with 45 millions inhabitants, exports \$63.3 billion of goods per year, while neighboring Slovakia (5.4 million population) exports \$88.3 billions. Even Belarus recorded \$36.6 billion worth of exports in 2013, albeit its population represents about one-fifth of Ukraine's population.

While each successive government has had a hand in Ukraine's disastrous current state, the Yanukovych regime has in some aspects differed for the worse from its predecessors and similar regimes in neighboring countries. The difference is obvious when considering other post-Soviet countries, whose political regimes are based on a tacit social contract: the population receives tangible benefits in exchange for the limitation of their rights. In Russia for example, this is seen through the growth of welfare and income, the relative stability of business and the government's relative non-interference in people's private lives. Belarus is clean with low unemployment, stable albeit low salaries and a low crime rate. In Kazakhstan the government has embarked on a number of modernization projects, attracting foreign investment and has provided a number of higher education programs abroad. In Ukraine however, authoritarianism, corruption and embezzlement have reached fantastic proportions and the rising prosperity of those in power and the difficulty of doing business have not been offset by any clear benefits for the population. Therefore, the Yanukovych government was the "weak link" in the chain of similar post-Soviet regimes.

This has been reinforced by the degradation of Ukraine's law enforcement, which were the main and almost the only support of Yanukovich after the cancellation of political reforms aimed at European integration. During the Maidan protests antipathy to the law enforcement officials reached its climax.

Therefore, an important conclusion is that the moral state of law enforcement may be a trigger for protests in other post-Soviet countries. The poorest and most corrupt police forces are the most loathed by the population and can be used by oligarchs and counter-elites as flammable material for a violent change of regime.

Yanukovych's complete refusal to enter into dialogue with opposition members and Maidan protesters has led to a sharp increase in the activities of ultra-right wing forces. Initially, Ukrainian nationalist parties such as the Right Sector were only meant to be the paramilitary "protectors" of the Maidan protesters, who expected large but overall peaceful protests. However, the longer the confrontation continued, an increasingly significant segment of society seemed ready to temporarily turn a blind eye to ultranationalist views, providing that during the course of street fighting and violence, they freed the country from an increasingly hated regime.

Nevertheless, the popularity of the ultra-right wing in Ukraine has proved to be very short. This can be seen in the extremely low ratings of the two nationalist Presidential candidates: 1.3% for Svoboda's Oleg Tyagnybok and 0.7% for Dmytro Yarosh of the Right Sector.

## PRESENT SITUATION

The situation in Ukraine after the Maidan protests remains extremely complex and is characterized by several key aspects. The Maidan was meant as a complete reset for the country. Nevertheless, the new government is a diffuse political compromise between the three parliamentary opposition parties, the “United Opposition,” the Svoboda party and UDAR, which has received a number of influential positions as a result of informal arrangements despite announcing its formal absence in government. Furthermore, Maidan activists have diluted the government to some extent.

Thus, there was an immediate conflict between the stated goal of ‘resetting’ the country and the coming to power of politicians who formally were part of the old political system, a situation that highlights all the contradictions in the present development of Ukraine. The Russian annexation of Crimea and the avalanche-like growth of separatist movements in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions have become a litmus test which has displayed the depth of this crisis.

The disintegration of the state apparatus has reached alarming proportions, especially in the Army and the Interior Ministry. During the Russian occupation of Crimea the Ukrainian Navy was made up of only 10 combat ships, boats and supply vessels. Russia, mostly without much resistance, captured 51 Ukrainian ships. In other cases the police forces of the Donetsk, Luhansk, Kharkiv and Odessa regions have not prevented separatist actions, and in some cases have even sided with them.

The second fracture line clearly manifested itself during various secessionist acts, associated with different perceptions of the Maidan in different regions of the country. Opinion polls conducted in late 2013 / early 2014 showed that approximately half the country supported the protests. At the same time pro-Maidan supporters in the south and east of the country did not receive any active support from the acting authorities in Kiev while at the same time disillusionment of the Yanukovich regime was widespread throughout the country. For the entire duration of the revolution no voluntary ideological movement in support of Yanukovich has arisen and “anti- Maidan” rallies in Kiev and elsewhere have clearly been orchestrated by paid protesters. This instilled the Maidan supporters after their victory with an unjustified euphoria about the ease of establishing control over the country. It also largely explained the lack of preventive measures against separatism in Crimea and later in the Donbass region.

Another error were the unconsidered steps the new government has taken after the Maidan victory, in particular the attempt to revoke the Law on the status of regional languages. This was immediately hailed by residents of the southeast as the deprivation of their linguistic rights and the beginning of compulsory Ukrainianization.

The third factor related to the crisis is that the new government failed to immediately include paramilitary groups-of which the most infamous was the ultranationalist Right Sector-into the legal mainstream. Thanks to Russian media, Right Sector has quickly become a source of anxiety for a large number of residents in Eastern Ukraine. According to April data from the Donetsk Institute for Social Research and Policy Analysis, 60% of Donetsk resident’s feared “Bandera supporters” and 50% dreaded the Kiev authorities. This irrational terror has become the main source of the renewal of separatist sentiments in the Donbass region throughout April- May 2014.

## CONCLUSION

One of the fundamental consequences of the Maidan events has been the blurring of the “South-East” notion, which for many years has defined the boundaries of support for leftist parties and the Party of Regions. For many years, analysts divided Ukraine into roughly two equal parts, embodying two different visions of the country: the “nationalistic” West and the moderately patriotic Center contrasted with the “pro-Russian” Southeast.

Today the pattern of regional opinions has become much more complicated. A research carried out in Southeast regions (excluding Crimea) by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology showed that 71% and 60% of respondents in Donetsk and Lugansk respectively believe that the 2013-2014 winter events are an armed coup, organized by the

opposition and the West. Those in other areas of the Southeast believe that the Maidan events were “the protests of the citizens against the corruption and tyranny of the Yanukovych dictatorship.” This assessment received maximum support in the Kherson and Mykolaiv oblasts, 62 and 60% respectively. On the other hand, support in Odessa and Dnepropetrovsk and in the Kharkov and Zaporozhye for the Maidan protests was minimal. Of all the surveyed regions, only residents of the Donbass region would have liked Yanukovych to forcibly disperse the Maidan protesters and only in the Donbas do people believe that Russia rightfully protects Russian speakers in Ukraine. This is the only region where a more or less significant part of the population (25-30%) recognizes President Yanukovych and wishes to join Russia.

From the above it can be concluded that no matter how the views of the Donbass residents evolve further, the era of a clear political split between Eastern and Western

Ukraine is over. In the future, presenting the picture of Ukrainian sentiments will be much more diverse and complex than it was before the Maidan protests.

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# GANDHI AND HIS MOVEMENTS: A REAPPRAISAL

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**A**dvent of Gandhi in the freedom movement is treated as the watershed because it redefined the fight against the British. Gandhi is credited for taking the fight to roads and streets and making the national movement a truly mass movement by involving all shades of people into it. Secondly, he is also credited for introducing the instruments of non-violence and passive resistance as a powerful tool against the British. Aurobindo had justification for passive resistance on the ground that British were too powerful and therefore active resistance would be suppressed brutally. In other words, Aurobindo was not against the use of force against the British. If he did not subscribe it, it was primarily because he was of opinion that British had powerful force competent to overpower the active resistance. Gandhi on the other hand changed the discourse on the ground that Satyagrah was a tool of powerful and not that of a weak. Thirdly, Gandhi has been assessed as master strategist and planner in the sense that he always engaged in constructive social programmes which always kept him linked with the popular support base which he nourished carefully during the intervening periods of two movements. Most of the literatures on Gandhi have argued these three points. However, notwithstanding these arguments a careful reading of the movements and a relook on them needs to be taken into account. It appears that the scholarship has been less involved in scrutiny of Gandhi and his political strategy and more interested in defending even his failure. Hence from Champaran to Quit India Movement which was his last mass movement needs a revisit and a dispassionate critical understanding.

Gandhi's advent to the national movement starts with his return to India in 1915. Prior to that he had been coming to India but the year just mentioned was important because hereafter Gandhi decided to stay in India and give his services to the cause of national movement. He had already written his seminal book 'The Hind Swaraj' in 1909 in which he articulated his vision of India and the role of different sections of society towards the British colonial rule. But by then he was not into the active politics of the country. The active involvement starts with his length and breadth touring of the country. He probably

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did it to see whether the country was ready for the mass movement against the British. The tour provided him that insight which he carried along when he first decided to lead the Champaran Satyagraha in favour of the rights of the peasant for Indigo plantation in 1917. It was certainly a success as it forced the government to accept the demand of the farmers.

The second major movement Gandhi led was the Satyagrah against the Rowlatt Bill in 1919. The Rowlatt Act allowed the government to arrest any Indian without assigning any reason thereof. It was intended to deny even the basic civil liberties to the Indian. Gandhi responded to this Act by announcing Satyagrah against it. It was an All India Satyagrah for the civil liberties of Indians but it was withdrawn. But it was withdrawn in view of Jallianwala Bagh murderous violence perpetrated on unarmed Indians assembled in a four cornered ground to discuss consequences of the Rowlatt Act. Gandhi suspended the movement which was criticised widely.

Meanwhile British engaged in First World War which left a lot of financial burden on Indian exchequer besides deaths of Indian soldier in the war. There was a great resentment at home against the British on this count. Muslims on the other hand were against the British because the British government uprooted the system of caliphate in Turkey. (Caliphate refers to Islamic system of governance in which the state is governed or ruled by the tenets of Islam.). It needs to be put in place that Turkey since the Ottoman Empire was under the rule of caliphate and the British were encouraging the democratic forces that were opposed to it within Turkey. The Ottoman Empire under the leadership of Sultan in Turkey was with the Central powers under the leadership of Germany during the First World War. With the defeat of Germany and victory of allied powers Turkey too fell to British control. The fall of Turkey to British and possible uprooting of institution of Caliphate created a Pan Islamic sentiments across the world including India. Indian Muslims under the leadership of Ali brothers started the Khilafat Committee in Lucknow. Gandhi seized this opportunity to launch Non-Cooperation Movement in 1920. The Indian National Congress once again reposed its trust in the leadership of the Gandhi. Gandhi realised that if the Indians refused to cooperate with the British the colonial rule in India would not last long. Gandhi tried to rope in the Muslims by incorporating the restoration of institution of Caliphate in Turkey as one of the major demands of the Non-cooperation movement. Gandhi called upon the Indians to boycott every institution of British; be it school or court, public transport or goods for consumption. Needless to say the Non-cooperation movement invoked an unprecedented passion and emotional fervour among the Indians across the country. But while the movement was at its peak Gandhi suspended it all of a sudden in view of Chauri Chaura violence in 1921.

It was defended that Gandhi wanted the movement to take the shape in a way he had desired but it was going out of his control. As a leader he could not allow the masses to go uncontrolled. Detractors however have the reason to argue that when the masses were on roads and streets he lowered down their morale and enthusiasm. Further that Gandhi visualised that nothing substantive was coming out of the movement in terms of concession and acceptance of his demands from the British government. Thus, it was a face saving decision which otherwise could have immensely dented his calibre as leader. Gandhi responded cleverly to his imminent strategic failure.

1927 Wardoli Satyagrah under the leadership of Sardar was a great success. Certainly Gandhi was the inspiration behind the movement but it was primarily under the control and command of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Hence success of the movement cannot be attributed to Gandhi. After celebrating Poorna Swaraj Day on 26 January 1930 in consonance with the declaration of the same at the Lahore session, under the leadership of Nehru, Gandhi launched famous Dandi March from Sabarmati Ashram to break Salt law. Dandi March was a success as the Salt Law was repealed by the colonial government.

In 1931 famous Gandhi Irwin Pact was signed. Gandhi had refused to participate in the first round table conference at London. The absence of the representation from the Congress undermined the discussion on political reforms in India. The British Government in India persuaded Gandhi to participate in the Second Round Table Conference. Gandhi accepted the invitation in lieu of which the Government of India agreed to free the political prisoners. Irwin Pact also conceded Congress demands for the people in the coastal areas to produce salt for self consumption. But these were not so important compared

to inquiry into police excesses and commutation of death sentence of Rajguru, Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev. Much to the chagrin the Second Round Table Conference (1931) concluded with the introduction of separate electorate from the Dalits and Depressed classes. Gandhi came back India with empty hand. He responded it with starting of Yervada Satyagrah in Yervada Jail in Pune in 1932 against the British decision of granting separate electorate to the untouchables and lower dalit castes. Gandhi read it as a British ploy to divide the Hindu society in order to weaken the national movement. The fast ended with the British accepting the Poona Pact which resulted into doing away with the separate electorate. Gandhi and Ambedkar reached the consensus to the idea of reserve constituencies for the dalits and depressed castes. Gandhi in a way was successful but only partially. Poona Pact was a success against Ambedkar who was persuaded not to fall in the cynical trap of the British. Civil Disobedience movement which started with Dandi March had lost its steam by 1934 when it was called off.

The last but the most important movement that Gandhi spearheaded on All India Scale was the Quit India Movement in 1942. The resolution to the effect of Quit India Movement was taken at the historic Congress Session at Bombay on 7 and 8th August 1942. Gandhi gave an emotional call for 'do or die'. While addressing the delegates he said "we shall either free India or die in the attempt; we shall never live to see the perpetuation of the colonial rule of our country".

It needs to be outlined that Gandhi had reluctantly reached this conclusion. While Subhash Chandra Bose was of opinion that the time was ripe to launch a national movement against the British Government Gandhi was not convinced of it. When Subhash failed to convince Gandhi the former left the Indian National Congress and launched Forward Block to further the next course of action. This was not liked by many within the Congress. Secondly, the Indian National Congress was sensing an impending war and therefore had passed the resolution that it would oppose if the India was dragged into war without its consent. But surprisingly when the British did it without caring for what Congress Resolutions had stated on this Gandhi failed to come up to expectation in first reaction. Gandhi was not very happy on the British government decision but his reaction was not that of opposition but tactical support to the British on this count. Gandhi said "I am not just now thinking of India's deliverance. It will come, but what it will be worth of if England and France fall or if they come out victorious over Germany ruined and humbled". Gandhi thus defended his position on the ground that he was not in favour of putting Britain in further trouble when it was engaged in War. Nehru too resorted to this tune. Nehru wrote "We do not approach the problem with a view to taking advantage of Britain's difficulties..... I should like India to play her full part and throw all her resources into the struggle". Bose reminded the Congress of its resolution.

There was a great resentment within the Indian National Congress on this and the working Committee of the Indian National Congress refused to toe Gandhian line. On September 15, 1939 it passed the resolution in which it refused to bite the logic of freedom. It stated that India cannot associate with war for freedom when it was denied the same freedom by the British. The All India Congress Committee endorsed this line on October 20, 1939. It asked further that India 'must be declared an independent nation'. Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India however did not respond to the INC call. He reiterated the British government position of giving India a Dominion status in consonance with the Indian Act 1935 which was rejected by the Congress which directed its ministers to resign from the government. Even then the Indian government did not blink further. It was expected that the Congress would go for protests movement but on the contrary it worked towards negotiating a compromise formula which did not work.

At Ramgarh session in 1940 the INC could not decide on launching a movement. Forward Block kept on mounting pressure on the INC through protests movement and mobilizing masses. Gandhi and Nehru reiterated their compromise formula. Nehru said 'launching a Civil Disobedience campaign at a time when Britain is engaged in life and death struggle would be an act derogatory to India's honour'. Similarly Gandhi said, 'We do not seek our independence out of Britain's ruin. This is not the way of non-violence'. Revolutionary elements outside the Congress wanted the national civil disobedience against the Government but Gandhi did not favour it. Gandhi started with Individual Satyagrah on Oct 17, 1940 in which it was planned that the individual would go out, shout slogans against the war and get himself arrested. Gandhi probably

wanted to test the mood of the country and also the support of the masses to its strategy. On November 1941, almost after 11 months he replaced the individual Satyagrah with 'representative Satyagrah'. It was successful in the sense that nearly 20000 Satyagrahi went to prison. This was sufficient to demonstrate the mood of the Indians but Gandhi still wanted a compromise formula from the government which did not come out at all. On 23 March 1942, Cripps Mission arrived in India and held discussions with all the political parties. But nothing came out of it because the British government was not ready for any substantial concessions for India. It was despite the fact that danger of war was about to knock the door of India with entry of Japan into the war on German side and fall of Singapore and Rangoon to Japan and British losing control over the bay of Bengal. The mounting people pressure and simmering discontent within the Congress forced Gandhi to revise the strategy. The Congress working Committee at Wardha on July 1942 set the tone for it. Gandhi too emerged with a new posture. He threatened the government short of violence and articulated that this time he won't go for court arrest but resist any such attempt by the government. He reiterated the position of Non-violence but said that 'all methods short of violence would, however, be permissible'. He continued; 'the result of my movement is bound to be speedy victory. But if... they would like to crush it (and the movement becomes violent), they would be responsible for the result and not I'. The Congress working Committee passed a resolution in favour of quit India on July 14, 1942. And All India Congress Committee endorsed it on 7 August 1942 at Bombay by calling it 'open rebellion'. Gandhi addressed the delegates on August 8, 1942. He said "Every one of you should from this moment onwards consider yourself a free man and woman and act as if you are free... I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom... we shall do or die. We shall either free India or die in the attempt".

It is evident that Gandhi dragged the timeframe for movement almost for three years. It is argued that he prepared the ground before launch of the final assault against the British government but this premise holds little ground. It appears that there was no proper assessment of the government response in wake of the quit India movement. Most of the leaders were arrested including Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and Rajendra Prasad and the movement became leaderless. The movement soon became violent with people on roads engaged in all activities ranging from burning the government offices, police stations to uprooting the railway tracks for miles and miles. The government used brute force to bring the situation under control. The 11 points demands, which the Congress had placed before the government, were not accepted. It was termed as aimed at dislodging the British government. The civil disobedience movement turned out to be non-civil in all respects. This heralded a new era of violence, murder and bomb explosions. The government repressed the movement. It resorted to all repressive measures. Government used 112 battalion forces to crush it. Gandhi failed to bend the British government. If the government felt any alarm it was purely because of the violent uprisings across the country. The repressive measures discounted all civil liberties which Britain championed of. This turned the world opinion against Britain and people in America started questioning the British colonialism in India. It was not the sound of non-violence but the noise of the violent resistance which brought the cause of freedom at centre stage of political discourse.

A careful reading of movements launched by Gandhi reveal that while Gandhi succeeded in so far as people awakening was concerned but he failed to achieve substantial gain from the government through his much acclaimed non-violent movements.

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# WORK IT OUT AT WORK PLACE

PROF (COL) A K RAJPAL\*

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Most people spend at least forty hours of their week at work. For people who have difficulties with anxiety; many more hours per week are spent worrying about work. There is no doubt that this kind of anxiety and worry interfere not only in work performance, but also in overall quality of life. Although the title seems very mundane and common, very few of us stop to ponder over this very important aspect of our lives and keep remaining anxious 9 to 5 daily, hoping to be relaxed and purged on weekends, which really never happens and even adds up to the misery, further ending up with 'Monday Blues' for many of us.

This Research Paper deals with certain established behavioral techniques providing some clear and concise activities to enable the readers to conceptualize their anxiety problems to effectively beat them.

I have tried to approach this topic through 'Scientology'. This broad science of life, they say, has many applications. If you knew what life was doing, you would know what many sciences and activities were doing. Here, we have Scientology assisting the worker and the executive in helping man to be more competent and more able, less tired and more secure in the workday world. "Scientology is already being applied in many of the larger businesses on the Earth. They have found they could use it", so says Ron Hubbard.

An attempt has been made here to offer valuable suggestions to bring about an improvement in work life and the overall sense of wellbeing and happiness based on a long work experience of the author.

The lot of the individual in the workaday world is uncertainty. Everyone's goal is security, but only a few attain this goal. The rest of us worry from day to day, from year to year, about our ability to get work, hold work and improve our lots. And all too often our worst fears take place. States and Governments rise and promise us all security and then give us restrictions

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which make that seem shaky too. From day to day new threats impose themselves on our consciousness. A world where the machine is king makes man a cog and we are told of new developments which do the work of thousands of us and so we starve.

Well, there is the Problem!

There are three factors in Scientology which are of the utmost importance in handling life. These three factors answer the questions: How should I talk to people? How can I tell people things? How can I give new ideas to people? How can I find what people are thinking about? How can I handle my work better? These three factors in Scientology are called the ARC triangle. It is called a triangle because it has three related points. The first of these points is 'Affinity'. The second is 'Reality' and the third of these points and the most important is 'Communication'.

Despite a successful attempt to work it out at the work place through the practice of Art of Living (Scientology), the workplace misery does not end so easily. We have what we call 'Bullies' at work who keep targeting employees at work for their personal gain. Vicitimhood, thus, begets powerlessness, helplessness and an inability to change matters for the better. How then to get out of the clutches of the 'Bully' at work and enjoy safety and work?

Let's read on!

#### KEYWORDS / TERMS

Confrontation	Scientology	Action/Plan	Affinity
Panacea	Counter measure	Avoidance Behavior	Reality
Neurotic	Diversion	Counter Insurgency operations	
Unknowingness	Counter Intuitive	Physiologically revved up	Mistreatment
Zero Tolerance	Ingredients to work	Intimidating	Bully invasions
Stable datum	Unremitting Pressure	Intrusions	Overcompensating Behavior
Exit Interviews	Nagging	Dwindling Spiral	
Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)			

## THE NARRATIVE

### INTRODUCTION

"Nothing is work unless you'd rather be doing something else," said George Halas, Founder and longtime coach of 'Chicago Bears.' What stops us from doing what we know has to be done eventually? What stops us from working with confidence and courage? In a movie I saw called 'No pain, No Gain' a struggling body builder looked in the mirror and said, "You are my nemesis".

It's the case every time. When we aren't taking action, when we aren't happy, when we are avoiding speaking, working or doing anything we know in our heart is the right thing to do, the only block is we, over selves! How do we then resolve that inner conflict so that we can move forward with power, speed and optimism?

Face it, as negative as it may sound, fear is a pretty big player in the business world. We try to be positive, we talk about confidence and the need for a positive attitude, but even if we've got things under control, many people around us seem to be wrestling with their fears much of the time.

### **Fear shows up in many ways in business.**

Think about the people who work around you. Perhaps you know someone who is afraid of confrontation, so the individual never addresses problems with people head on. You may have a colleague in sales who is reluctant to cold call or mail down customer commitments because of a core fear of rejection. His sales volume isn't as high as he knows it could be. May be you know a leader whose fear of failure holds him back from taking risks. Forward momentum in his organization is stifled. Most offices have at least one employee who is so afraid of being judged negatively that silence is their norm. Coworkers don't get the intelligence available to them.

All these situations are ripe for conflict as people hide from each other, aggress against each other, misunderstand each other and indulge in miscommunication with each other. Besides hurting their own careers and careers of those around them, they are limiting the success of their organization and unfortunately, limiting the harmony of their relationships outside work. There is no doubt that fear is a common obstacle to personal and organizational success. The characteristics of the worriers, controllers, fakes and other quintessential business types can all be traced to fear. The presence of fear as the core driver of their patterned behavior has emerged loud and clear. And I have seen, the aforementioned conflicts decrease markedly as they have owned their fear and worked through problems.

We all know what it feels like to be anxious or frightened. Physically, anxiety is often associated with sensations such as racing heartbeat, dizziness, breathlessness, sweating, muscle tension, headaches, abdominal discomforts and great feelings of unhappiness. When we are anxious, we tend to focus on the situations and objects that trigger our anxiety; we tend to interpret situations more negatively. In our attempts to reduce our discomforts, we're driven to avoid feared situations, to distract ourselves from anxiety provoking thoughts and images, and to protect ourselves from potential harm. In other words, anxiety is the feeling we get when we'd rather be doing something else. In the workplace, anxiety can make itself feel like work.

In many cases anxiety about work is a good thing. After all, it's probably our concern about potential negative consequences that got us to work on time, motivates us to get our work done, and ensures that we do the job as best as we can. If we had no anxiety at all, we might not be as valuable an employee as some one who has at least some anxiety. Anxiety is only a problem, if it occurs too frequently, too intensely, or in a way that interferes with our life. Chances are if you're reading this piece of work, you or someone you care about, is experiencing work related anxiety at a level that is a problem.

Well, there is the problem.

### **WHY MUST WE HAVE JOB ?**

To eat we must have a job. To live we must continue to be acceptable on our jobs. To better ourselves we must hope for the breaks. Work and security are parts of life. If life is not understood then neither will these parts of life be understood. The role of work in existence is a greater role than any other. Some say we spend a third of our lives in bed and therefore beds are important; but we spend more than a third of our lives at work and if we don't work we don't have a bed. So, it seems that work is more important by far. If we add up the various parts of life, love or sports or entertainment, we will find that majority

of concentration is not in any of them, but upon work. Work is the major role of our existence whether we like it or not. If we don't like it, we don't like life.

Life, they say, is seven-tenth work, one-tenth familial, one tenth political and one tenth relaxation. Economics - the pay check, struggle for -- is seven tenths of existence. Lose a man his income or his job and you find him in bad mental condition, usually. If we are going to find proofs of this anywhere, we'll find them everywhere. Worry over security, worry over worth, worries about being able to do things in life for others, are the principal worries of existence. To put it simply, people with nothing to do, people without purpose most easily become neurotic or mad. Work, basically is not drudgery, it is something to do. The pay check tells us we are worth something and, of course, it buys us what we have to have life.

All right, work security, then, is important, but security itself is an understanding. Insecurity is unknowingness. When one is insecure, one simply doesn't know. One is not sure. Men who know are secure. Men who don't know believe in luck. One is made insecure by not knowing whether or not one is going to be sacked. Thus, one worries, and so it is with all insecurity.

Insecurity exists in the absence of knowledge. All security is derived from knowledge. An age old proverb says, "The best is to know and know that you know. The next best is to know, but not realize it. The next best is to know that you don't know and the worst is not to know that you don't know"

Luck is chance. To depend upon luck is to depend upon not knowingness. To obtain, hold and improve a job, one would have to know the exact, precision rules of life if one were to have a complete security. It would not be enough to know fairly one's job. That would not be a security. Knowledge about the general underlying rules of life would bring about a security of life, as also a security in a job.

## **SCIENTOLOGY AS A WORK/JOB FACILITATION**

Scientology is a science of life. It is the first entirely western efforts to understand life. All earlier efforts came from our part of the world (Asia or Eastern Europe). Scientology is something new under the Sun, but young as it is, it is still the only and completely tested and validated science of existence. It doesn't demand a vast study of rats to know that man is confused.

Scientology can and does change human behavior for the better. It puts the individual under the control of him self -- where he belongs. It is also known to greatly increase intelligence in an individual. It is also said to reduce reaction time and it can pull the years off one's experience. Then, intention here is not to give a list of all it can do. It is a science of life and it works. It adequately handles the basic rules of life and it brings order into chaos.

A science of life would be, actually a science of good order. Such thing as accidents and luck would, if you could but understand their underlying principles, be under your control. An individual who is not critical can see that many chances enter into obtaining, holding and improving one's job. Some of these chances seem so wide and out of control that nothing at all could be done about them. If we could but reduce the chanciness of a job; if we could make the right friends and be sure that our education would count and have some slight security that our interest and intelligence and native ability will not go waste, why then, things would be better, wouldn't they ?

## **THE MECHANICS AND MACHINATION AT WORK**

Having thus established that work we must for our existence, let us get to the mechanics of work per se and how and why one gets stressed, worried and anxious about work, especially during 9 to 5 which is almost the universal work hours world over to earn to live.

It is quite common to feel nervous about things related to work because, let's face it, work is a big deal. We all have a lot riding on our careers. We may have spent years of education getting ready for our jobs and we have a human need to do well and be recognized for our achievement.

"Anxiety is like a mosquito," says LarinaKase in her book "Anxious 9 to 5", trying to get into a room filled with tasty people - it will try to get in wherever it can. The mosquito bite is a good analogy for anxiety or worrying while it's definitely uncomfortable, it's not actually dangerous (unless the mosquito carries the virus and that you are not allergic) and its temporary. And while the itching and swelling of a bite will go away over time if you leave it alone, the more you scratch it, the worse it will become. The same is true of anxiety. It is not dangerous and it will go away if you respond the right way."

Wouldn't our work life be nice if we weren't nervous, uneasy, on edge, apprehensive, or uncomfortable? Try to picture how our lives would look and be different without the companion of workplace anxiety. It may be hard to imagine what this would be like. However, creating a vision for how you would like to become is an essential first step in making change." A Japanese proverb makes this point dramatically: "Vision without action is a day dream. Action without vision is nightmare." A Yogi Berra more simply put it, "If you don't know where you are going, you may end up somewhere else." Before we can start taking action towards change, we need to know where we're trying to go.

Now that we know how workplace anxiety or worry functions, we'll attempt working on how to beat it. Art Horn in his famous book, "Face it" gives three different recommendations to help us stop worrying at workplace :-

1. Develop Practical Tools for protecting against worry and its effects. For example, simply talking to someone can help you get certain fears off your chest. Moving away from the fear of revealing your vulnerability by telling what's on your mind, one tends to relax.
2. Embrace the Fear. The raw emotion of fear is beneath all the thoughts that you are churning over in your head. When we are worried, we are basically fearful. Uncovering its origin and ultimately embracing it as part of yourself will, ironically, allay it. Denying your fear tends to exaggerate it, as through worry is a voice that will cry louder and louder until it feels it is being heard.
3. Work at enhancing your Self Esteem. This to me appears to be the panacea of many ills in life. High self esteem enables you to have faith in your ability to deal with life's challenges. The bad news is that the impulse to worry will still arise, as we can never say good bye to this impulse, but the good news is that with high self esteem there can be a remarkable decrease in the amount and severity of the worrying.

## **NON MEDICAL CHECK POINTS TO STOP WORRYING**

Let us go a little deeper into these aspects by thinking about some non medical practices that can help worriers in business or at the workplace. The first could be 'Diversion', though many worriers seem to employ it already. The technique is simple. Go do something different and get your attention off the thing you are worrying about. Not as simple as said because the very nature of worry is such that a worrier wants to keep worrying. The object of worry is like a magnet and to attempt to choose some other matter can be counter intuitive. Daniel Wegner, a known psychologist, has written that thought suppression has a certain self defeating tendency. The part of our consciousness that would seek to veer away from worry could actually stimulate it instead. Simultaneously, he suggests that people do indeed have an ability to keep an eye out for things while they are otherwise occupied. For example, a parent can be at kitchen table immersed in conversation while still watching a child. Similarly, we can keep an eye out for worrisome thoughts because when it comes to thought suppression, the oddity is that the part that is "keeping an eye out" happens to be so powerful that it reminds us that we are on guard

against the worrisome thoughts. So, it's not easy to simply choose not to worry. The answer is to distract ourselves without trying too hard.

Another practical tool for moving away from worry at work is to write an 'Action Plan' After all, if we had control of a matter, we wouldn't have to worry about it. Making an action plan will work because it gives the feeling of getting things under control. When you worry during a sleepless night, get out of bed and device a strategy. List out everything problematic about the worrisome matter and decide on a counter measure each. Do these until you have effective counter measure for all the anticipated eventualities?

Making an action plan is even more effective when compiled with some 'Self Reinforcement.' With your action plan ready; tell yourself, 'Okay, things are under control. For any of the bad things that may happen, I have a plan for it'. Thinking and repeating this aloud can nip the next worry episode in the bud. Saying things loud to yourself (in private, to avoid having to worry about other people's impressions) can help you manage yourself.

Sometimes worriers feel unsettled because they have an important unanswered question. I myself have experienced asking things like: "Should I complain about my boss?" or "Should I pursue that job opportunity?" or "Should I tell my colleague or my confidant at the work place (at least I think him/her to be so) what I really think?" I have perceived and feel that others may have also a "damned if I do, damned if I don't" conflict. A solution in this kind of a situation is found in the effort to 'Set Goals.' It may be a kind of diversion. When you are thinking about your goals, and determining ways to implement them, you are distracted from worrying about them. You also may end up eliminating the source of worry.

"Rationalization" seems to be the next answer to ward off business or workplace worry. The basic question to ask yourself is "If the things I am worried about actually happened, would things work out?" The predictable answer is usually yes, in the long run, things would work out. Although subjecting one's worry to rationalization really misses the point of fear-based worry, in certain or most of the cases, it does make a difference.

Well! If nothing works out or one feels that all above is 'easy said than done,' a surprisingly useful tool for managing day to day worry at work can be to arrange a specific time to fret. 'Worry Times', one may call it when you set, say for example, 4.00 pm to 5.00 pm as your daily worry time. At this assigned hour, go ahead and worry away. Go for it and if the temptation arises at some other time, give your self permission to save the rumination for the scheduled worry period. You can address the issue that provoked the worry 'impulse,' but set aside the actual angst for the later. After a few weeks of this approach, you may find that you worry less than when you started this new personal policy.

Alright! That much for worry at work. What does this business worry or wrong at work leads to? The known simple answer is 'Anxiety' and 'Stress'. Here again I feel, we remain confused. Do you know whether you're anxious or stressed at work? You probably don't; thinking that they are the same thing. They are actually quite different. Even I used to believe that they are the same myself and would use the term interchangeably. In fact, I didn't learn the fine nuances between them until I worked in Kashmir Valley during the height of internal disturbances and the resultant Counter Insurgency Operations that were undertaken. There I learnt that difference between anxiety and stress is critical.

Stress at work is very common and is typically the cause of 'workplace burn out' involving the feeling of being overwhelmed, overtaxed, underestimated, undervalued and fatigued with your job. Thought processes differ slightly in anxiety and stress. In general, anxiety is associated with being nervous or afraid, while stress is linked with feeling overwhelmed or taxed. Of course, there is a good deal of overlap here. Stress can sometimes trigger anxious thinking. Similarly, anxiety can tax your ability to cope with stress, making your stress that much worse. However, there is a clear pattern that emerges by way of physical responses in case of each of these two terms. With anxiety, our thoughts race and jump around the worse case scenario; with stress our thoughts are likely to feel hazy or out of focus (it can feel like there are so many things to remember that it's impossible to focus on any single one). In my own example of conducting Counter Insurgency Operation, there were times when I felt extremely anxious leading my platoon that we might all be

ambushed or surrounded by the terrorists (being more familiar with the terrain than us) and ultimately killed; but when nothing happened for a couple of days and we went cordoning and searching villages after villages, we felt so exhausted and stressed that no clear outcome appeared on the horizon.

Anxiety, at workplace thus entails being physically revved up or on edge. Stress, on the other hand, involves being fatigued or exhausted. There is a great deal of tension in anxiety and you may feel like you could snap at any point of time. Stress feels like a heavy weight on your back. Anxiety feels like you have spent a lot of energy. Stress feels like you just can't get together the energy and that is why you feel sluggish and fatigued when you're stressed.

To be more precise, our anxiety fuelled behaviors at work are either 'Overcompensating' or 'Avoidance Behavior;' or both. The former are the things we do to try to help ourselves reduce our anxiety or make it less noticeable to others by speaking quickly before we have time to say something dumb or spending extra time planning an event so that we are sure we get everything right. Avoidance behavior includes escaping from an anxiety provoking situation early or avoiding it altogether. For example, we might avoid going to our office holiday party or attending a meeting when we need to give a presentation. The most common form of avoidance is procrastination.

Stress driven behaviors typically involve trying too much by trying to get as many things done as we can, as quickly as possible. A common way to do is multi-tasking. However, we have also seen that if we try to multitask at a time when we are particularly stressed out, we may miss important things, make mistakes, feel completely flustered and out of control, and end up taking even longer to finish whatever we are working on.

Avoidance, however, is common to both anxiety and stress. A form of avoidance that occurs in response to stress is to shut down and not attempt to tackle anything. For example, your pile of bills and paperwork has grown so tall that it stresses you out to even walk by it. Instead, you walk the other way and don't even think about dealing with it. This avoidance behavior differs from procrastination because, in the latter, you tell yourself that you will deal with it - just later.

Let us try to make the two directly related to our work. In anxiety you think that you didn't work enough on the project and that you can't answer questions about it in detail. After you hear your boss call your name, your pulse quickens and you feel short of breath. "Ohno!" You think "I can't think of anything to say!" Your fear has been triggered - You want to slide under your seat and hide!

You wish you hadn't come to the meeting and try to think of an excuse to not respond. You manage to say something and you survive the meeting, but the rest of the day and much of the night is spent worrying about what you said and how people responded. "My boss looked disappointed in me. I wonder what he was thinking. He's probably already thinking of who to replace me with." Your worrying keeps you up at night and you don't want to go to a meeting with your boss the next day.

A common phenomenon for both anxiety and stress in the workplace is workholism. Ironically, although the point of workaholic is to excel in your work, it can actually hold you back from being a top performer because of the stress, anxiety and poor time management it leads to. Another way that anxiety can cause work holism is through perfectionism. This makes intuitive sense. Some of the perfectionist related buzz words and concepts in the business world today include:

- Zero defects
- Continuous improvement
- 100 percent excellence
- Total quality Management
- Right the first time and right every time

These concepts clearly imply both a demand for perfection and a low tolerance of mistakes. You may understandably fear retribution, embarrassment, or demotion if you do not complete your work with "Zero defects". The stress and pressure of competitive work environments can easily lay the ground work for perfectionism and anxiety.



As much as thoroughness, diligence, precision and fastidiousness may help your work performance, these characteristics can equally hamper your work performance - and cause anxiety. The most common problems associated with perfectionism include inefficiency, underproduction, mental distress and interpersonal problems with coworkers. One of the most common side effects of being exact in your work is being slower. Depending on the nature of your job, this may or may not be a problem. However, for most jobs, it is. Also, there is a high correlation between worrying and perfectionism. When you have unrealistic standards for yourself, you constantly feel like you're falling short. And when you constantly feel like you're falling short, you worry about the consequences. Many perfectionists obsess about getting things done right. They then can be annoying to people who they supervise and are likely to develop conflicts with co-workers.

There are extremely strong links between perfectionism, avoidance and anxiety. Perfectionism is a form of avoidance. It allows you to avoid uncomfortable feelings that come along with doing things differently or in a less precise manner. Avoidance leads to anxiety. The more you avoid, the more anxious you become.

## THE KEY TO HANDLING PERFECTIONISM

**A Reality Check.** The first step to effectively dealing with perfectionism is to recognize its presence. You might ask people you trust to help you with a reality check. Request them to call your attention to the unhelpful ways in which your problematic perfectionism is leading you to.

## CHANGING YOUR PERFECT THINKING

The main thought patterns that go along with perfectionism include:

- (a) **All- or- None Thinking** - The meeting will either go great or it will be awful? To overcome this kind of polarized thinking (fantastic or disastrous) you need to start seeing grey areas, i.e. falling in the middle, between the extremes and also realize that by trying to make your work fantastic, you're wasting time and energy; attempting to push your efforts from 100% to 150% doesn't work. There is no such thing as 150%.
- (b) **Catastrophizing** - "If I don't do a perfect job on this project, my boss will regret hiring me. She / He will see all of my flaws and ultimately will fire me because I didn't live up to her expectation." In such a scenario, ask yourself how likely that scenario truly is to happen. It is probably much less likely than you fear. Second, ask yourself how you'd handle it if it did happen. The idea here is to show yourself that even if your ultimate fear did happen (which is unlikely), you could cope with it and perhaps even turn it into something advantageous.
- (c) **Selective Abstraction** "I can't believe that I received a 'satisfactory' score on one of the components of my job evaluation - that is so disappointing." This thought pattern is also known as tunnel vision meaning thereby that you focus on a single negative - or potentially negative piece of information and ignore all positive information. Expand your vision. Look at all the data in a situation - the positive and the negative. This bigger picture will help you gain a more realistic and more positive view of the situation.
- (d) **Mind Reading** "I just know that my boss noticed that I was under dressed and thought I didn't take the time to prepare myself and take the meeting seriously." Realize you can't know what is going on in someone's head; mind reading often misleads. Choose instead to suspend judgments until you have specific data or evidence (Boss may have thought altogether differently).
- (e) **Time Management Perfectionists** often allocate too much time to trying to make a given project perfect. For most of us, it's a challenge to juggle a busy schedule and stay on top of everything without getting behind. Prioritizing therefore is fundamental to handling perfectionism. Keep in mind that what is perfect to you isn't necessarily what is perfect to all. Something that seems to be only 80% 'perfect' by your standards is likely to be 100% perfect by others standards.

When we use these techniques, we can decrease the costs and make our perfectionism work for us in our career. We don't have to be skeptical about our own ability to achieve if we don't force ourselves to do everything just right and be obsessed with anxiety and the resultant stress.

Some of the other 9 to 5 worries that keep us aimlessly occupied are Self Defeating Thoughts, Fear of Failure, Public Speaking, Procrastination and discomfort on the job and Difficulty being the boss etc. In fact all these fears can be allayed for a 9 to 5 success by:

1. Remembering Self Fulfilling Prophecy (have mental rehearsals).
2. Knowledge of Fundamental Attribution Errors and Self Serving Biases.
3. Remembering that you are not alone (and if you are, find a way not to be by networking).
4. Having a clear vision (for motivating yourself and making decision making easier).
5. Taking some risks (Taking calculated risks gives three wonderful results. First, when you take risks, you send message to your anxiety that you are in control, the anxiety subsides. Second, you develop confidence in your self and your ability. Thus you may experience an incredible outcome that wouldn't have occurred had you continued being overly careful or timid.
6. Prioritizing here and now. The importance of living here and now. The past is the past and the future is unknown. The only thing that we can truly control is your action today. Anxiety often takes on a future orientation (what might occur). Accept that you simply do not know and can not control everything that might happen.

If you are experiencing a joyful moment, enjoy it. If you are experiencing a difficult moment, accept it and think about what you can do to improve and learn from it. Own it and go after your career dreams.

## SURVIVING JOB STRESS

Many years ago Harvard Professor Walter Cannon first drew attention to the 'Fight or Flight Syndrome' to stress and anxiety. Our bodies go through a variety of changes when we have subjected to these two states. These changes prepare the body to deal with a threat in the same way that our evolutionary ancestors prepare red themselves when confronted with a life threatening situation, such as abruptly facing a wild animal. The body is either readied to defend itself or run away from the threat. However, when we fear job stress and anxiety, this flight or fight response often makes it more difficult to cope. Rapid heart-beat, perspiration and shallow breathing etc. hinder our ability to work. Narrowed attention, thus, prevents us from considering all of the options for a complex task. The situation gets worsened by certain bad thinking traps that lead to further anxiety. "They all share a common tendency to 'lock in' expectations of how things ought to be", 'says John B Arden in his book titled 'Surviving Job Stress'. These traps, he calls:

- **Perfectionism:** The perfectionists set themselves up to disparage the quality of their work. Consequently, they drive themselves in to anxiety. "Allow yourself to be human, imperfect by definition", so says Arden.
- **Rigidity.** : This disables the thinkers and workers to go beyond black/white, either/or and right/wrong possibilities and they fail to see the shades of grey. Grant yourself the discordant notes and accept them as challenges to be dealt with.
- **Control Obsession:** John Arden firmly believes that people, who feel an intense need to maintain a strict sense of control of the events in their lives, set themselves up for constant rude awakenings. "We are not in total control of all the events in our lives, we never have been and never will be", opines Arden. We may be experiencing job stress and anxiety because we are obsessed with maintaining control over the flow of work and how our coworkers, superiors and subordinates do their jobs. Let every one do their job without being overly concerned with each.

When we are experiencing anxiety, those statements are filtered by an anxious state of mind and become self

perpetuating. For example, while at work, we may say to ourselves, “I cannot stand this anymore,” or “This is never going to get any better”. Such statements actually heighten the anxiety. In order to combat anxiety, therefore, we need to replace those negative self statements with coping self statements. “These statements should be based on truism about anxiety on our job”, “says John Arden and he lists them as:

- No one ever died of anxiety.
- My body is feeling the anxiety I have about my job, but it will pass.
- There is nothing wrong with me.
- I can develop better coping techniques.
- I will survive this anxiety just as I have before.
- These feelings are just a cure to practice my coping techniques.

In addition to accepting the symptoms of anxiety to lessen their impact, we need to focus on other aspects of our lives by redirecting our attention away from the anxiety provoking aspects of our job. In other words, as I mentioned earlier, “change the subject”. Instead of reacting with anxiety to a particular stress factor at work, shift away from it to another part of your job. Yes! Redirecting our attention may seem to be an impossible task if our work involves rapid-fire demands or when we deal with the public. Nevertheless, by redirecting our attention for a while, we will allow ourselves the opportunity to experience more than one emotional response to our work situation.

In any case, we must understand clearly that part of our job stress and anxiety may be the result of our attitude. We may respond to every interaction with our coworkers, superiors and subordinates with such seriousness that any imperfection is a sign of ill intent. We may be unable to lighten up and use humor. Or we may manage our time so badly that we have no room to breathe. Some people who experience job stress have trouble differentiating themselves from their jobs. Personal boundaries are confused with the boundaries of the job. We must remember that we are NOT our job. One essential way to ensure that you have not confused yourself seamlessly with your job is to maintain a rich and varied life outside your work.

On the weekends and evenings one may engage in activities that vitalize, soothe and capture your attention. If on the other hand, we ‘kill time’ until we return to work, we will invariably think about work while we are supposedly recuperating from it. If we are thoroughly involved in hobbies, intellectual pursuits, sports, entertainment and time with family (at least a cup of tea daily in the evening with them), our time off can be rejuvenating. By making our life as broad as we can, our time off from the job will be what we need to distance ourselves more effectively from stress and anxiety.

## **BACK TO SCIENTOLOGY**

That much to stress and anxiety at work directly. Let me now turn back to ‘Scientology’ again, the three factors of which are of the utmost importance in handling life and, therefore, working it out at work place in real terms. These three factors called ARC triangle in Scientology (Affinity, Reality and Communication) answer most of the questions that we keep battling with within and without too at the work place; how should I talk to people? How can I sell people things, ideas view point etc? How can I value add to people’s lives? How can I find what people are thinking about? How can I handle my work better?

L Ron Hubbard in his book titled ‘The Problems of Work’ dwells upon this triangle at length and I intend sharing his thoughts directly here. By ‘Affinity’ we mean emotional response - the feeling of affection or lack of it. Reality’ connotes the solid subjects, the real things of life. By ‘Communication’ we mean an interchange of ideas between two terminals. Without affinity there is no reality or communication. Without reality there is no affinity or communication and without communication there is neither affinity nor reality. Although very sweeping statements, yet very valuable and true.

Imagine you to be angry or think of an angry person. His communication is at a level of minus emotion which repels all terminals from him. His communication factor, therefore, is very low, even though he is very loud. He is attempting to destroy another terminal or something else, therefore his reality is very poor. Thus, an angry man's reality, even on the subject he is attempting to voice, is poor. There must be good affinity between two people before they can talk together with any truth or confidence. Before two people can be real to each other, there must be some communication between them. Before two people can feel any affinity for each other, they must, to some degree, be real.

These three terms are interdependent, one upon the other, and when one drops or rises, the other two also respond likewise. It is only necessary, therefore, to improve one corner of this very valuable triangle in Scientology in order to improve the remaining two corners. It is only necessary to improve two corners of the triangle to improve the third. Try and observe this triangle in your own life at work and you will realize how relevant these three factors are in our daily lives on minute to minute, individual to individual and task to task basis. People who can do things are thus very high on affinity, very high in terms of reality and very capable in terms of communication. If you wish to measure their various capabilities, you should study the book 'Science of Survival' by L Ron Hubbard, wherein he deals with this triangle much further with the chart of Human Evaluation.

How do you talk to a person then at the work place? You establish reality by finding something with which you both agree. Then you attempt to maintain as high an affinity level as possible by knowing there is something you can like about him/her. And you are then able to talk with the person. If you do not have the first two conditions, it is fairly certain that the third condition will not be present, which is to say, you will not be able to talk to the individual early. Marriages fall apart simply because of the failure of communication, because of a failure of reality and affinity. When communication starts failing, affinity starts dropping. People have secrets from each other and the affinity starts out the bottom.

Similarly, in an office or a business, it is perfectly easy to establish those people who are doing things which are not to the best interest of the firm, since these people go gradually and sometimes not so gradually out of communication with the firm. Their emotional tone towards their superiors and those around starts dropping and finally goes out the bottom.

By using ARC an individual could thus regain in some measure both, his control of the tools and his enthusiasm for work. He would do this by communicating and discovering his willingness for these and the people around him to be real or solid. If one really communicates and communicates well to these people, listens to what they have to say and acknowledges what they say and says what he has to say to them gently enough and often enough so that it is actually received by them, he will regain to a very marked degree his ability to associate and coordinate the action of those people with whom he is immediately surrounded. Here we have ARC immediately adjusted to work. This sounds like magic. It is magic. It is Scientology.

## **THE BULLY AT WORK**

I intend concluding this small research paper here in full knowledge though that there are many other issues of working it out at work place not spoken about here, simply because my intention was to introduce the term 'Scientology' with its very workable tools in the background of stress and anxiety, which are very natural, but avoidable states in one's life. However, before I pen my winding thoughts, I am compelled to write a few lines on my personally encountered aspect of work place i.e. the Bully at work and how I managed to handle them in patches in my own life. I am even more compelled to write about this phenomenon here because of my unbelievable findings based on my personal survey of some Private and Public Sector employees, questioning them directly or otherwise if they also faced / facing similar situation at their respective work places.

To my utter surprise, I got the following results after administrating a full fledged questionnaire to a cross section of employees (sample size 50 employees each) of a minimum of 5 Public and 5 Private Organizations.

BULLYING AT WORK

FINDING NO. 1

BEEN BULLIED : 23%

WITNESSED : 12%

IS ON NOW : 10%

SEEN / NOT BEEN:55%

=====

BULLYING AT WORK

FINDING NO. 2

IN THE OPEN : 54%

BEHIND DOORS : 32%

OVERHEARD : 10%

=====

BULLYING AT WORK

FINDING NO. 3

TARGETS

FEMALE BULLIES } [30% MEN]

30% } [70% WOMEN]

MALE BULLIES } [54% MEN]

70% } [46% WOMEN]

IN the above mentioned findings, I carry with me 32 years of experience in the Indian Army too besides my teaching experience in Civil Institutions and, therefore, can safely assert that no other survey can vary except 10% both sides.

Sir Winston Churchill once said, "All the great things are simple, and many can be expressed in a single word: freedom, justice, honor,duty, mercy, hope."Permit me to add two more here, 'slavery' and 'bullying'. Although not synonyms, the latter borders most of the time near the former if not checked and resisted in time; because bullying at work is repeated, health harming mistreatment of a person by one or more workers that takes the form of verbal abuse,conduct or behavior that are threatening, intimidating orhumiliating; sabotage that presents work from getting done; or some combination of the three. Perpetrators are bullies; on the receiving end are the targets.

It is psychological violence - sub lethal and non physical - a mix of verbal and strategic assaults to prevent the target from performing work well. It is illegitimate conduct in that it prevents work from getting done. Thus, an employer's legitimate business interests are not met. The bully puts her or his personal agenda of controlling another human being above the needs of the employing organization. That control is typically a combination of deliberated humiliation and the withholding of resources that the target requires to succeed in the work place. As a result of the pressure from the bully's campaign of unremitting pressure, the target's health - physical and psychological - social support network, family and career are jeopardized.

## STOP BEING BULLIED AT WORK

What goes in to give rise to bullies at work place, what are the psychological factors behind their behavior towards the targets, whether bullies are liars or cowards, if they are inadequate, defective, poorly developed people and targets are empathetic, just and fair people, why coworkers side with the Bully the Aggressor or they don't; what kind of trauma and other health hazards they cause resulting in Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) are all matter of intense research and in depth study. All I wish to suggest here is that one can not ignore this aspect while working it out at the work place because the shades of bullying in my opinion are constant factors at the work place and one must prepare one self to remain as unaffected as possible.

*"Those who choose to turn a blind eye to victims feel afraid that they could also be targeted by bullies and hence, tend to stay aloof but do undergo emotional stress"* – Palak Bhatia, ascent@timesgroup.com

The start point in my view therefore is to assess its impact before it is too late and be able to counter the bully's false accusations so that you can remind yourself of just how competent you are. The experts in the field suggest four areas that can help begin a target's recovery from bullying.

1. How I relate to others.
2. How other people see me.
3. My performance at work.
4. My ability to reason and solve problems.

All these four areas can be evaluated constantly by rating yourself, being rated by friends and family on 'X' axis and with 'Y' axis being 'Do Well' and 'Could Do Better', as follows:

	DO WELL	COULD DO WELL
MY SELF		
FRIENDS		
FAMILY		

The next best way to protect one self from bullying is by establishing and protecting personal boundaries. Eleanor Roseville's statements, 'No one can make you feel inferior without your consent' is very relevant in this context. The greatest danger a target faces in the working world is to have loose or non existent boundaries. That person becomes an unprotected target for all who love to hurt others. One way to repel invasion by bullies is to use verbal commands to stop the bullying behavior, to announce that a line has been crossed that you have a policy of zero tolerance for such unacceptable actions and

that it will be enforced. Most bully invasions are done with words. Most targets have little practice dealing with these intrusions.

A few other measures, not in order of course, can be of great help in warding off the bully's invasions. I am putting them in point form below based on my personal experience and on various readings by me on the subject:

1. **Avoid Unattainable Standards** - Permit me to quote Helen Keller here, "Face your deficiencies and acknowledge them, but do not let them master you. Let them teach you patience, sweetness insights.... where we do the best we can, we never know what miracle is wrought in our life, or in the life of another."
2. **Counter Your Inner Critic** - The inner critic is born during parental teaching of right or wrong. Later in life, it's that personal, negative little judge whose attacks only you hear in your head. Everyone has a critical inner voice. Only some voices are more strident and demanding than others. Besides, what Mark Twain said holds quite relevance here, "Keep away from people who try to belittle your ambitions. Small people always do that, but the really great make you feel that you too, can become great."
3. **Control Destructive Mind Games** - Ralph Waldo Emerson has so very well summed up this, "Whatever you do, you need courage. Whatever courses you decide upon, there is always someone to tell you, you are wrong. There are always difficulties arising which tempt you to believe that your critics are right."
4. **Satisfy your Needs and Wants** - I would like to quote Vance Havens here without going into details of differences between the two, "The vision must be followed by the venture. It is not enough to stare up the steps - we must step up the stairs."
5. **Make yourself Safe** - Having learnt to say 'No', believe in what Dolores Ibarruri said, "It is better to die on your feet than to live on your knees." Fight back in three steps:-
  - (a) **Name it! Legitimize Yourself** - Bully busting is for targets to reclaim dignity and self respect.
  - (b) **Seek, Respite, Take Time off** - World is not going to come to an end if you don't meet bully's time and target.
  - (c) **Expose the Bullying** - Even if you have to risk your job. Leave if you have to, with your head held high.
6. **Face the Future**-- By arranging for positive references and a great letter; knowing the low regarding defamation of character. If the employer insists on an "Exit Interview", deliver or send an attorney's letter instead. In a worst case scenario-launch a preemptive strike about your version of the Bullying fiasco at the Interview for the next job; review your record of bullying incidents and the response by the Employer; consider legal action against the company/bully.

## SUMMING UP

In my concluding thoughts, I wish to mention that jobs are not held consistently and actually by flukes of fate or fortune. Those who depend upon luck, generally experience bad luck. The ability to hold a job depends, in the main, upon ability. One must be able to control work and must be able to be controlled in doing work. One's intelligence is directly related to one's ability. There is no such thing as being too smart, but there is such a thing as being too stupid.

However, one may be both, able and intelligent without succeeding. A vital part of the success is the ability to handle and control, not only one's tools of the trade, but the people with whom one is surrounded. In order to do this one must be capable of a very high level of affinity, one must be able to tolerate massive realities and must be able to give and receive communication. The ingredients to work it out at the work place are then: first, an ability to confront work with joy and not horror, a wish to do work for its own sake, not because one "has to have a paycheck." One must be able to work without experiencing depths of exhaustion. If one experiences these, there is something wrong with him. There is some element in the environment that he should be controlling that he isn't controlling. Given these things there is only a slim chance of failure. Given these things a man can ignore all of the accidents of birth, marriage or fortune. One could have all the money in the world and yet be unable to perform an hour's honest labor. The person, who studiously avoids work, usually works for longer and far harder than the man who pleasantly confronts it and does it. Men who can not work are not happy men.

Work is the stable datum of the society. Without something to do there is nothing for which to live. Luckily for all of us, Scientology takes away all the mysteries and complexities which have been created for human beings. This art of living, i.e. Scientology can predictably raise intelligence, increase ability and permit individual to escape from the dwindling spiral of his own disabilities. Therefore work itself can become again a pleasant and happy thing. A workman is not just a workman. A laborer is not just a laborer. An office worker is not just an office worker. We are all living, breathing important pillars on which the entire structure of our civilization is erected. We are not cogs in a mighty machine called life. We are the machine itself.

Sometimes, however we come to a low level of the ability to work. Offices, firms and companies that depend very often on no more than one or two men and the additional staff which seems to them to add only complexity to the activities of the scene, only fool themselves by thinking that the world is being held together by them alone. They feel that working themselves to death desperately may keep the rest of the world going, but it is not so. It is every part of the machine that keeps the life of an organization moving through team work and the Art of living. It is to them that this Research Paper is dedicated.

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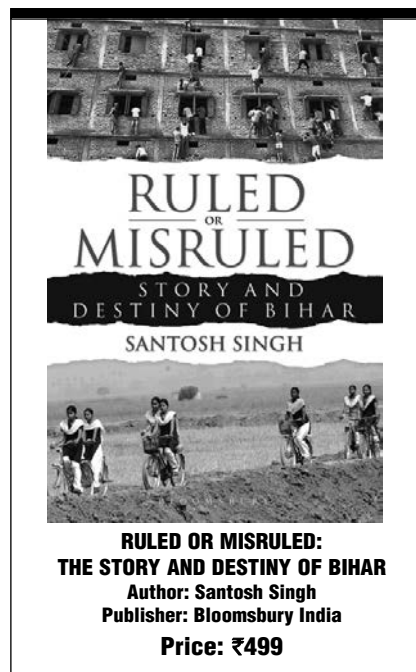
### BUILDING CHORUS FOR BATTLE OF BIHAR

Despite the need to focus on upcoming polls in Bihar, the author has done well to provide a good backdrop for monumental political clash ahead, writes SIDHARTH MISHRA

Haskell Springer, the venerable professor of English at University of Kansas in the United States, in an interesting essay on the seafarer diaries wrote that these simple factual diaries were of interest to maritime historians and others for their wealth of detail on shipping, marine life, navigation and weather. Santosh Singh's offering, *Ruled or Misruled: Story and Destiny of Bihar* is easily comparable to a seafarer's diary, for as Springer says, in context of the seafarers, "these were men who were searchers as well as sailors, pilgrims rather than passengers — men self-conscious enough to think that their voyages had some significance larger than purely personal or merely commercial."

Given the timing of the release of the book, just ahead of the upcoming assembly polls in the politically sensitive state of Bihar, the commercial spur for the this literary enterprise cannot be ruled out. But then in process of creating a good commercial module, sometimes good literary work too get produced. Santosh Singh is definitely a beneficiary of the interest, both commercial and political, which the forthcoming polls in Bihar have come to generate. But then the author cannot be faulted for the benefit which may accrue to his work, for reading through the pages one can easily see the effort which this quintessential reporter has made in compiling this book, which should be of some interest to the students of politics, history and society.

Singh opens the book on a terrific note that narrates how the party which Rahul Gandhi wishes to lead someday lost its moorings in the state. He makes some very interesting and authentic revelations of the events of contemporary history and its protagonists in Bihar politics from Lalit Narayan Mishra to Karpoori Thakur. The narrative travels through 21 chapters, talks about how Nitish Kumar is still the best bet for the CM's post but also adds how the biggest political FAQ of this election is — why a "progressive" Nitish went with "retrogressive" Lalu Yadav. "Everything is right about Nitish but why did he go with Lalu?" is the common refrain. And this is not part of just an urban and elite debate but also subaltern dialogue, the books seeks to establish.



The politics in Bihar is about contradictions. When the OBCs first came together to overthrow the upper-caste hegemony in 1967, they ended up having a upper-caste Bhumihar Mahamaya Prasad Sinha as first non-Congress chief minister of the state.

The reporter wonders when Nitish Kumar has no convincing answer to it, why he has chosen Lalu as his pillion rider. When Nitish himself is not too convinced about getting Lalu onboard, how can he convince voters? This is one political “shock”, especially after so much talk of suhashan (good governance), Bihar voters are finding difficult to digest, notwithstanding social scientists like Shaibal Gupta calling it a new phase of social and political realignment following the emergence of Narendra Modi.

If you thought that the book was one-long narration on current political battle being fought in the Gangetic plains both north and south of the river flowing through the state, you are going to be proven wrong. From making revelations on how Jan Sangh, not the Congress, was the first preference for former chief minister Dr Jagannath Mishra and how Mishra had brought Anti-Press Bill in 1982 to “keep Indira Gandhi in good humour” at the height of her strained relations with estranged daughter-in-law Maneka Gandhi.

The book traces the political voyage of Lalu Yadav with some dexterity and also of Jayprakash Narayan’s other protégé Nitish Kumar’s journey from Munna of Bakhtiyarpur to his two back-to-back loss in 1977 and 1980 Assembly polls and Nitish almost quitting politics after wife Manju Sinha gave him one last chance; and finally becoming chief minister and nursing ambitions to become prime minister.

Former JD (U) Rajya Sabha MP NK Singh, who is now with the BJP, had accompanied the Bihar CM in November 2012 to Pakistan. The author says that Singh, “an example of his Prime Ministerial quest was evident when posters in remote Sindh and the wall graffiti of Larkana describing him as a future Prime Minister drew his repeated attention and to say the least did not displease him.” The book also has a very interesting take on the famous cancellation of dinner invitation which Nitish Kumar had extended to the BJP leadership in 2010 during the party’s national executive in Patna.

The book says that it was Sushma Swaraj, who redeemed Narendra Modi’s and party’s pride by refusing to accept any condition (of not inviting Modi) with the invitation. Sushma Swaraj, the book claims, said: ‘Is tarah ka nimantran nahi hota. Nimantran me shart nahi rakhi jaati. Jayenge to sab jayenge nahi to koi nahi jayega. (One cannot invite for dinner like this. A condition is not laid in case of invitation. Either all of us will go or no one will go)’. BJP leader and then deputy chief minister Sushil Kumar Modi was asked to convey as much to Nitish Kumar on phone. Around 3 pm, Nitish Kumar confirmed dinner cancellation to his deputy, says the book.

The book also has an interesting view on the “politics of malleability” practiced by LJP leader Ram Vilas Paswan. There is a detailed narration on how he reworked his Godhra stand as a sign of his “political malleability” for electoral survival and bargain. “Ruled or Misruled” says “The leader with a big potential has settled for being a balance-tilter. He could have become a national face of dalit politics but he looks content being a leader of Paswans, a little over five per cent of the state population. Paswan knows very well that the most popular election slogan eulogising him — Gunje dharti aasman, Ram Vilas Paswan (The earth and heavens chant Ram Vilas Paswan) — has little meaning beyond his fiefdom.” The book carefully builds up the reader for the battle of 2015 to be fought in the Kurukshetra of Bihar.

“What brought Nitish close to his political bade bhai (elder brother) Lalu Prasad is pure, social arithmetic. It is not at all about ideology. It is true that they came from the same JP and Lohia school of thought. But they had been poles apart right from the beginning. If it is ideology, it is the ideology of convenience. Nitish’s only agenda after his defeat is to trounce his bête noire Narendra Modi,” writes the author.

If the book’s strength is in having a reporter as its author, its weakness also lies in the follies of a reporter. In newspaper industry, a good copy editor is known to give facelift to even a mundane narrative but in case of “Ruled or Misruled”, the editors have failed at even providing a good polish to the precious metal they have in form of content.

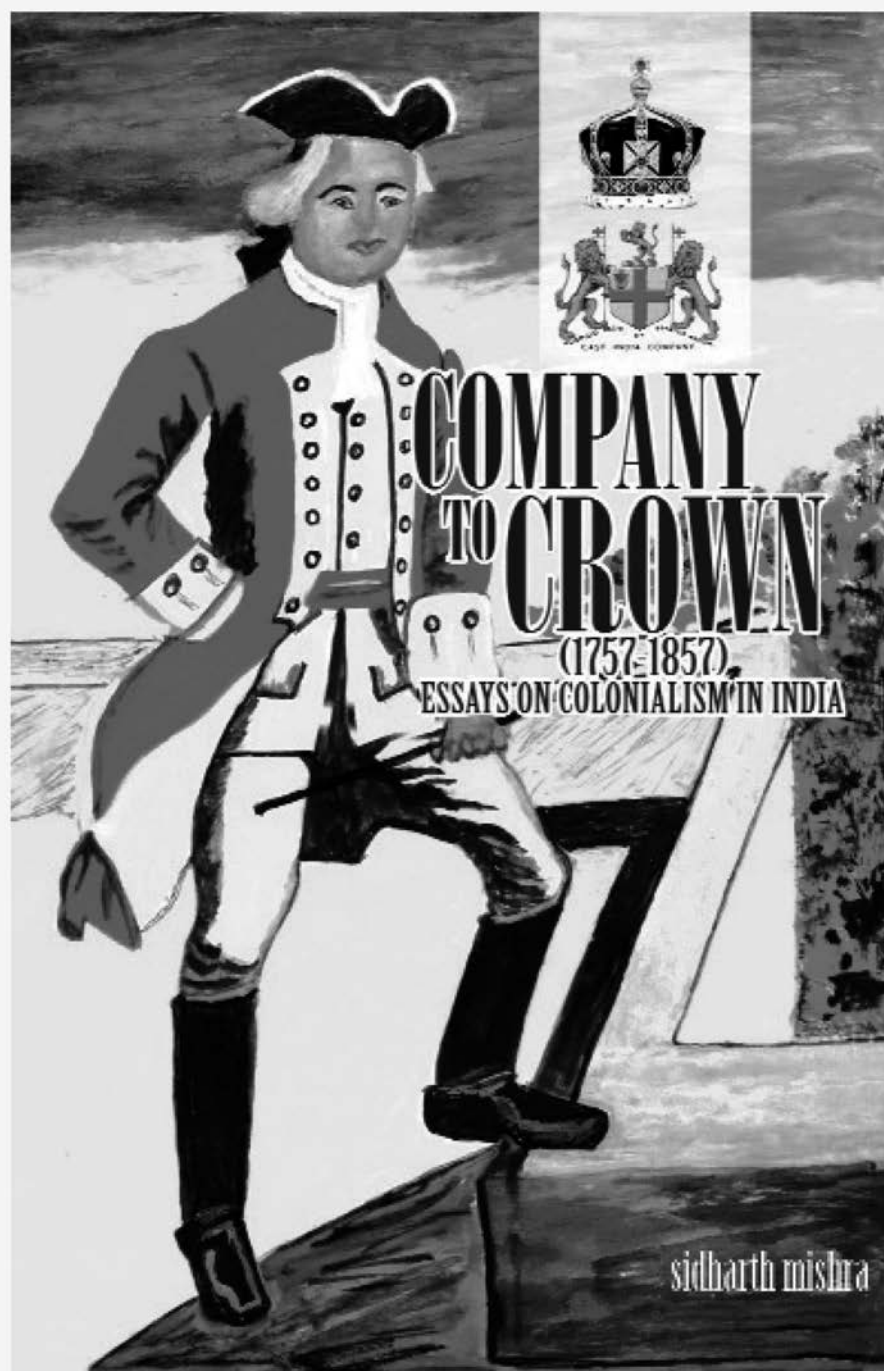
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