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A glorious reception given to Pt Deendayal Upadhyay
at Calicut Railway Station on his being elected as
National President of Bharatiya Jan Sangh in 1967



THE DISCUSSANT

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MUTILATED, MOTH-EATEN PAKISTAN

The headline is inspired by the famous words of the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah. In 1944, as the world war neared its end, the famous talks between Mahatma Gandhi and Jinnah began on the way forward to Independence. Though Gandhi, in principle, never believed that the Hindus and the Muslims formed two separate nations, as the Muslim League espoused, he agreed to push his close aide C Rajagopalachari's proposal to "have plebiscite in the districts perceived to be Muslim majority" whether partition was called for.

Rejecting the formula, Jinnah said, "It (the formula) was grossest travesty, a ridiculous proposal, offering a shadow and a husk - a maimed, mutilated, and moth-eaten Pakistan." Jinnah rejected the formula out of the fear that it would lead to division of Bengal and Punjab.

Ironically a few years later Jinnah was forced to accept "a mutilated, moth-eaten Pakistan," as the British proposal divided the two states into East and West Punjab and East and West Bengal through the line drawn by Cyril Radcliffe, chairman of the Border Commission. Today Radcliffe Line forms India's international border with two nations - Pakistan and Bangladesh.

This is extraordinary irony as Pakistan, which continues to "stand by the people of Kashmir", has been unable to hold onto and govern the territories which India agreed to part with following the notification of the Radcliffe Line on August 17, 1947. In less than quarter of a century, East Pakistan declared Independence.

Among the territories under its control, despite rechristening as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the North-West Frontier Province remains ungovernable.

Balochistan, in whose support India has decided to go public, is under revolt for long demanding independence. Sindh in past has faced rebellion and unrest on several occasions and Jiye Sindh and Sindhudesh continue to be very vibrant movements demanding establishment of Sindh nation-state. However, it's not the different movements for physical dismemberment of Pakistan which make it "mutilated and moth-eaten." To make my point a little reference to Bangladesh, which became Independent of Pakistan in 1971.

The per capita income of Bangladesh was US\$1,190 in 2014, with a GDP of US\$209 billion. In South Asia, Bangladesh has the second highest foreign exchange reserves after India. The Bangladeshi diaspora contributed US\$15.31 billion in remittances in 2015.

Mirroring the reforms initiated by its neighbour, India, in 1991, Bangladesh Finance Minister Saifur Rahman launched a range of liberal reforms in his country too. The private sector of the country has been driving its economy since then. Bangladesh has witnessed growth in export-oriented industrialisation, with the country's exports amounting to US\$30 billion in FY2014-15. The largest portion of its export earnings come from its garments sector.

On the other hand, Pakistan's share of overall world exports is declining; it contributed only 0.128 percent in 2007. The trade deficit in the fiscal year 2010-11 was US\$11.217 billion. The seven-million-strong Pakistani diaspora contributed an estimated US\$15 billion to the economy in 2014-15, lower than

that of Bangladesh. Worse, in the last decade, Pakistan had to depend on a fiscal policy backed by the International Monetary Fund to avoid possible bankruptcy. Today Bangladeshi currency Takka carries more value in the international market than Pakistani Rupees.

Though these are fleeting instances but enough to show why Pakistan makes almost no news in these sectors. Rajya Sabha member Swapan Dasgupta probably has an answer to it. Writing in his popular column "Usual Suspects", Dasgupta recently recalled his meeting with Pakistan's ISI's god-father Hamid Gul in 1999, soon after the cessation of hostilities in Kargil.

Dasgupta wrote, "Gul was courteous but [he] was simmering with rage. His ire was directed at the 'spineless' Pakistani establishment that had meekly buckled under American pressure. What was the source of India's clout, he asked rhetorically. India's international clout, he believed, stemmed from its economic muscle. No international power, he believed, could afford to ignore either the Indian market or the sheer size of its economy. As long as India had economic muscle, Gul felt, Pakistan would be at a disadvantage vis-a-vis its historic enemy."

What caught my attention was Gul's christening of India as "historic enemy" and bemoaning its economic sinews. Gul almost echoed what Muslim League's organ *Dawn* had said with reference to Jawaharlal Nehru organising Asian Relations Conference in March 1947, before partition. *Dawn* wrote, "How skilfully he [Nehru] has worked himself into some sort of all-Asian leadership. That is just what this ambitious Hindu leader had intended – to thrust himself on the Asian nations...to further the designs of Indian Hinduism."

Little does those with Gul-like mindset including the present Chief of Pakistan army, General Raheel Sharif realise that India's economic sinews are firmly rooted in its democratic culture. While India surprised the world by holding its first general election based on universal adult suffrage way back in 1952, Pakistan could hold its first poll only in 1970 and did not allow Awami League, the party which won the polls, to form the government.

Pakistan's moth-eaten economy and mutilated political and social culture are the fallout of following a policy to protect the interests of those heading the General Head Quarters (GHQ) in Rawalpindi, the fountainhead of anti-Indianism. Today Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif makes a tragic figure. He is a prisoner in the hands of his appointee – Gen Raheel Sharif.

A military establishment or military propelled establishment can never deliver on the challenges of governance. In the sub-continent, India has the best armed forces because pioneers like Field Marshals KM Cariappa, Sam Manekshaw, and General KM Thimayya, laid strong foundations of a professional Army, which commands unbridled respect and gratitude of the nation.

In Bangladesh, the people have warded off repeated attempts of a military junta trying to overpower a democratically elected government. In Sri Lanka, despite nearly three decades of insurgency it did not succumb to the lure of a military commander being at the helm of affairs. Pakistan finds itself in a mess because its people have not fought for strengthening democratic institutions in their country.

Jinnah created Pakistan to quench his personal ambition to wield power. He and his party failed to undertake the exercise to create a culture of democracy in the country which they created to rule. No wonder that bereft of a democratic culture, where social justice and cultural freedom could be exercised, Pakistan has remained, to use the words of its founding father -- a "moth-eaten" state.



Sidharth Mishra

30 September 2016

secretary's desk

As we have repeatedly mentioned in reports at the beginning of the various past editions, the members of Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice including Centre president, self and other members have taken up academic activities in the right earnest participating in seminars and deliberations of national importance, in keeping with the charter of our centre.

In the last quarter, yours' truly had the opportunity of being associated with Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs project-13th National Youth Parliament competition, as group coordinator. This provided an opportunity to visit universities and colleges across the country especially in the North-East region.

This is the centenary year of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay and the members of the CRDJ participated in a seminar on the founder of Integral Humanism organized under the aegis of the Delhi chapter of the Indian Institute of Public Administration. The co-editor of this journal is secretary of IPA's Delhi chapter.

Our president and editor of the journal has continued with his lecture tours including chairing sessions at national conferences. His columns in the newspapers and talks on the radio and television have come to be greatly appreciated.

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 trying to get a toehold, to have managed to publish the journal regularly. *The Discussant* has come to be recognized as journal of honest endeavour. It gives me great pride to present before you the July-September 2016 issue. This is the third issue of the fourth volume. Thus we are successfully publishing for the fourth year as an RNI registered quarterly periodical. We had received the ISSN accreditation a year earlier.

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. We have also initiated the process for registration of *The Discussant* with the UGC.

With Warm Regards,

30 September 2016

Dr Sanjeev Kumar Tiwari

IN MEMORIAM: PANDIT DEENDAYAL UPADHYAY

(25 SEPTEMBER 1916 - 11 FEBRUARY 1968)

PHILOSOPHER, ECONOMIST, SOCIOLOGIST, HISTORIAN, JOURNALIST AND POLITICAL LEADER

DR SANJEEV KUMAR TIWARI*

EARLY YEARS

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay was born at Nagla Chandrbhan village near Farah in Mathura district of Uttar Pradesh on September 25, 1916. Now known as Deendayal Dham, the village is about 20 kilometres from the district headquarters.

His father, Bhagwati Prasad, was assistant station master in Indian railways in Jalesar and his mother Shrimati Rampyari was a religious-minded lady. He was very unfortunate, father passed away when Deendayal was just two and half years old and mother died when he reached seven years of age. Loss of his parents in early age deprived him from parental love and care. He was brought up by his maternal uncle.

He excelled academically under the guardianship of his maternal uncle and aunt. He went to high school in Sikar, Rajasthan from where he matriculated. He stood first in the board exam, obtaining a Gold Medal from Maharaja Kalyan Singh of Sikar, along with a monthly scholarship of 10 rupees and an additional 250 rupees towards his books. He did Intermediate at the Birla College in Pilani, the predecessor of the prestigious Birla Institute of Technology and Science securing first division with highest marks. Ghashyam Das Birla awarded him with Gold Medal and a monthly scholarship of 10 rupees and an additional 250 rupees towards books.

He did B. A. at the Sanatan Dharma College, Kanpur in 1939 and graduated in first division. He joined St. John's College, Agra to pursue a Master's degree in English literature and got a gold medal. His maternal uncle persuaded him to sit for the Provincial Services Exam, where he got selected but declined to join the service on account of his interest in working with the common people. He obtained a B.Ed and M.Ed degrees from Prayag and entered public service.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INITIATION

While Panditji was a student at Sanatan College, Kanpur in 1937, he came into contact with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) through his classmate Balaji Mahashabde. Sunder Singh Bhandari, who later became Governor of Gujarat and Bihar, was his classmate at Kanpur. He met the founder of the RSS, Dr Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, who engaged with him in an intellectual discussion at one of the shakhas. This gave a fillip to his public life. He dedicated himself to full-time work in the RSS from 1942.

He had attended the 40-day summer vacation RSS camp at Nagpur where he underwent training in Sangh Education. After completing second-year training in the RSS in 1942, Upadhyay became a lifelong pracharak of the RSS. He worked as the pracharak in the Lakhimpur district from 1942 to 1945 and became the sah-prantpracharak (joint regional organiser) for Uttar Pradesh from 1945 to 1951. There he worked with Bhaura Devras who was the prantpracharak of Uttar Pradesh. Bhauraaji recognized Deendayal's organizing skill and intellectual capacity and called him an ideal swayamsevak while working as his senior.

Deendayal Upadhyay was a man of soaring idealism and had a tremendous capacity for organisation and reflected different aspects of a social thinker, economist, educationalist, politician, writer, journalist, speaker and organiser. He was regarded as an ideal swayamsevak of the RSS essentially because 'his discourse reflected the pure thought-current of the Sangh'.

IN SERVICE OF NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY

Deendayalji was a thinker, writer and journalist. He also penned a drama -- *Chandragupta Maurya*, to espouse the nationalist cause and wrote a biography of Adi Shankaracharya in 1946 and 1947 respectively. He translated a Marathi biography of Hedgewar, the founder of RSS. He started a monthly *Rashtra Dharma* from Lucknow in the 1945. The publication was meant for spreading the ideology of nationalism. Though he did not have his name printed as editor in any of the issues of this publication but there was hardly any issue which did not have his long lasting impression due to his thought provoking writings. Later in 1945 he also started a weekly *Panchjanya* and a daily *Swadesh*. He served as its compositor, machine man and dispatcher and never missed an issue.

When on 21st October 1951, Syama Prasad Mookerjee founded the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Deendayal was seconded to the party by the RSS, tasked with moulding it into a genuine member of the Sangh Parivar. He was appointed as General Secretary of its Uttar Pradesh branch, and later the all-India General Secretary in its first session in December, 1952. The acumen and meticulousness shown by Deendayal deeply impressed Syama Prasad Mookerjee and elicited his famous remark: "If I had two Deendayals, I could transform the political face of India." (Sharma, Mahesh Chandra, 2014)

After Mookerjee's death in 1953, the entire burden of nurturing the newly born organisation and building it up as a nationwide movement fell on the young shoulders of Deendayal. For 15 years, he remained the outfit's general secretary and built it up, brick by brick. He raised a band of dedicated workers imbued them with idealism and provided the entire ideological framework of the outfit. He also contested for Lok Sabha from Uttar Pradesh, but did not get elected.

PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL THOUGHT

While Deendayalji was credited with a genius for organization, he proved to be the RSS's foremost thinker. He outlined his philosophy for governance to some 500 party workers in 1964 and presented an expanded version at its plenary session in 1965. Deendayalji conceived and articulated his political thought as Integral Humanism - the guiding philosophy of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh then, and its successor Bharatiya Janata Party, in a series of lectures delivered on 22nd, 23rd, 24th and 25th April 1965 in Vijayawada session of Bhartiya Jan Sangh. The final version was delivered in the form of four lectures in Bombay, titled "Integral Humanism". The title was chosen to draw a contrast with the thesis of "Radical Humanism" put forward by M N Roy, the Communist leader.

The philosophy of Integral Humanism advocates the simultaneous and integrated program of the body, mind and intellect and soul of each human being. His philosophy of Integral Humanism, which is a synthesis of the material and the spiritual, the individual and the collective, bears eloquent testimony to this. In the field of politics and economics, he was pragmatic and down to earth. He visualised for India a decentralised polity and self-reliant economy with the village as the base.

“Integral Humanism” was adopted by the Bharatiya Jana Sangh as its official doctrine and subsequently passed on to the BJP. The Sangh saw it as a home-grown, entirely indigenous economic and political philosophy that reconciled socialism and capitalism.

Reputed scholars propound that Integral Humanism theory recognized that in a democratic market economy an individual has technical freedom of choice but the system without safeguards fails to accommodate the varying capabilities and endowments of a human being. Upadhyayji believed that since the concept of survival of the fittest prevails in such a system, some individuals achieve great personal advancement while others get trampled. He said that we needed to build a safety net into our policy for the underprivileged or disabled while simultaneously rewarding the meritorious or gifted. Otherwise, the politically empowered poor in a democracy who are in a majority will clash with the economically empowered rich who are the minority, thereby causing instability and upheaval in a market system, was the essence of his thought.

Deendayal Upadhyay was convinced that India as an independent nation cannot rely upon Western concepts like individualism, democracy, socialism, communism or capitalism and was of the view that the Indian polity after Independence has been raised upon these superficial Western foundations and not rooted in what Upadhyay considered were timeless traditions of India’s ancient culture. He was of the view that the Indian intellect was getting suffocated by Western theories, which left a “roadblock” to the growth and expansion of original Bharatiya thought.

This did not mean that he did not have a modern outlook. He welcomed modern technology but wanted it to be adapted to suit Indian requirements. ‘Whereas western sciences is universal and must be absorbed by us if we wish to go forward, the same is not true about the western way of life and values’ (Upadhyay, Deendayal, Integral Humanism, 1992, P-14). Upadhyay believed in a constructive approach. He exhorted his followers to co-operate with the government when it was right and fearlessly oppose it when it erred.

Upadhyay delineated his thought at the famous address before thousands of delegates in Kozhikode, now Calicut, where the national council of the BJP recently met to commemorate the anniversary of Panditji. He said:

“We are pledged to the service not of any particular community or section but of the entire nation. Every countryman is blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh. We shall not rest till we are able to give to every one of them a sense of pride that they are children of Bharatmata. We shall make Mother India Sujala, Suphala (overflowing with water and laden with fruits) in the real sense of these words. As Dashapraharana Dharini Durga with her ten weapons, she would be able to vanquish evil; as Lakshmi, she would be able to disburse prosperity all over and as Saraswati, she would dispel the gloom of ignorance and spread the radiance of knowledge all around her. With faith in ultimate victory, let us dedicate ourselves to this task.” (Deodhar, V. N., pp. 104-105).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL JOURNEY

Turning down all offers of government and private sector employment, he joined the RSS. He kept company with Nanaji Deshmukh and Sundar Singh Bhandari, RSS pracharak who went on to play a critical role in anti-Congress politics in the 1960s and 70s.

Though in politics, he was capable of bold and principled decisions. Panditji expelled seven of the nine Bharatiya Jana Sangh MLAs in Rajasthan for opposing the Zamindari Abolition Act. At the same time, he was self-effacing, reluctant to hold office and ran the party by dint of moral authority over his workers.

He washed his own clothes, wore his banians until they were tattered, had his hair cut by street barbers and could whip up a mean khichdi for a sick associate.

Former Deputy Prime Minister Lal Krishna Advani devoted a chapter in his book 'My Country, My Life' to his political guru, Deendayal Upadhyaya in which he says, "Deendayalji felt that both Capitalism and Communism were flawed philosophies...one considers man a mere selfish being hankering after money, having only one law, the law of fierce competition...whereas the other views him as a feeble lifeless cog in the whole scheme of things. The centralization of power, economic and political, is implied in both. They pit one section of society against the other, the individual against the collective, man against nature."

Integral Humanism, he adds, did not receive the attention that western political theories did. But it is "worthy of being placed alongside the works of Mahatma Gandhi and Dr Ram Manohar Lohia, with both of whom Deendayalji had so much in common."

Upadhyayji insisted that Bharatiya Jana Sangh stood for a socialist economy, with a 1:20 ratio between the lowest and highest incomes and nationalization of infrastructure industries. About Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Upadhyayji said, the prime minister was a socialist when it came to levying taxes but a capitalist when it came to amassing profits.

Upadhyayji certainly favoured economic freedom and opportunities for entrepreneurship, and criticized the government of the day for stifling avenues of investment. He did not favour big business; he preferred the Gandhian ideal of large production from small units, "manufacture by the masses for the masses".

He spoke of a "national sector", a sort of public-private partnership that would facilitate self-employment and individual entrepreneurship. In brief, says Mahesh Chandra Sharma, who heads the Research and Development Foundation for Integral Humanism, "Upadhyayji wanted economic freedom, along with the Right to Work. He wanted private ownership of the means of production but not centralization of ownership. In agriculture, he favoured land ownership and strongly opposed Soviet-style cooperatives, then a hot topic of discussion."

Upadhyayji wanted self-reliance in foodgrains but warned against building up excessive buffer stocks that would distort the market - a tune many economists are singing in the wake of heavy procurement by the Food Corporation of India. Nor did he believe that government administered prices could combat inflation.

He was no admirer of the planning process and strongly critiqued all the Five-Year Plans for failing to focus on employment, infrastructure, agricultural production, education and public health. Panditji spoke of appropriate technology as opposed to arbitrary mechanization, advocated sustainable consumption and set out principles of corporate ethics and social responsibility. He was of the opinion to revamp the Planning Commission, "The Commission seems to be much obsessed with its earlier thinking that it cannot think anew. It is desirable that the structure of the Commission be changed and people who can take empirical decisions, and formulate a plan in consonance with the idea of the Prime Minister, be entrusted with this task." (Upadhyay, Deendayal, Political Diary, P-15).

Two of Upadhyaya's acolytes sought to put his theories into practice. Dattopant Thengadi founded the Bharatiya Kisan Sangh and Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, which went on to become the biggest trade union organisation in the country. He also launched the Swadeshi Jagran Manch and famously turned down a Padma Bhushan from the Atal Bihari Vajpayee government.

Nanaji Deshmukh set up the Deendayal Research Institute, which created a model of rural development based on self-reliance. The fact that it boosted economic prosperity in the several hundred villages in Chitrakoot where it was applied attracts a great deal of attention from development agencies worldwide and drew fulsome praise from former President APJ Abdul Kalam.

Integral Humanism believes Dharma is the guiding principle of the state. Dharma is distinct from religion; it is the moral compass of government. It rejects statism and espouses liberal notions of individual liberty, within the parameters of social responsibility. His state was secular and unitary, albeit one in which power was decentralized.

Upadhyayji accepted that western concepts of 'nationalism, democracy, socialism, world peace and world unity' were good ideals even though they did not appear to have worked well in practice.

NATIONAL LOSS

On February 11, 1968, Upadhyayji boarded the first-class coupe of the Sealdah-Pathankot Express from Lucknow, bound for Patna. His body was found lying parallel to the railway tracks outside Mughalserai station in the early hours of the next morning. A commission was appointed to probe the murder and concluded that he had been pushed out of the compartment by unidentified thieves, struck his head against a traction pole and died.

A currency note was found in the hand of Upadhyayji which led to the conjecture that he might have tried to get down from the running train and died of trauma.

On Panditji's death, Advaniji writes: "Till date, his murder has remained an unsolved mystery, although outwardly it appeared to have been a case of ordinary crime. The government accepted the demand of a group of MPs belonging to different political parties for a judicial enquiry, which was headed by Justice YV Chandrachud. The report he submitted, in which he said that he found no political angle to the murder and that it was a case of ordinary crime, satisfied no one."

Nanaji Deshmukh punched holes in the Chandrachud commission's findings. "Even the Sessions Judge of Varanasi disbelieved the CBI story that two petty thieves had murdered Punditji," he wrote. The commission's report did not explain why Upadhyay was standing near the door of the bogie, or why he was clutching a Rs 5 note in his hand. Nor did it deal with the presence of a stranger in the bogie, which railway staff had testified to. The theft motive, too, was dubious because his suitcase and watch - the only items of value he was carrying - were untouched.

The timing of the death, too, remains a mystery, with the state CID and CBI giving separate versions. The commission itself acknowledge that the symmetrical, neat manner in which the body was found did not argue death from a single impact with the traction pole.

Had Deendayalji survived, there's little doubt he would have impacted the politics of India. He would have steered the fortunes of the political right. Nanaji Deshmukh played a critical role in the struggle against Emergency but retired from politics and left the field to the younger duo of Vajpayee and Advani. Dattopant Thengadi, had evinced no interest in politics.

The ideas, thoughts and deed of Panditji are still relevant and guiding philosophy for the nationalist ideology in general and BJP in particular. The simplicity and his way of life is an inspiration for the nation. His contribution as a political leader, organizer, thinker, philosopher, economist and writer has left a memorable imprint in independent India.

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COUNTER-TERRORISM AND INDIA: STRATEGIES OF MODI REGIME

NISHU SHARMA**

ABSTRACT

India has been facing the challenge of terrorism since its partition in 1947. There have been various causes of terrorism in India, religion being one of the most dominant and looming factors. India, with the purpose to meet this national scourge, has framed counter-terrorism strategy which incorporates both internal and external dimensions. Along with various measures, intelligence has key role to play in counter-terrorism strategy but India's intelligence faces some flaws that are leading to various terrorist attacks and, thus, needs overhauling and alteration. Pakistan, since its formation, has been exporting and fomenting terror activities in India with different terror organisations. Modi's regime shows how India's counter-terrorism strategy has transformed from mere structure to practicality; and how Modi's efforts have compelled other nations to come together against the global challenge of terrorism. This course of action would change India's image at international fora at large and hopefully other international organizations would come with India to fight terrorism in more viable ways.

INTRODUCTION

The term terror comes from the Latin word terrere, which means "frighten" or "tremble". It was coined during the French Revolution as "le gouvernement de la terreur" (the reign of terror) in 1793-94, which had positive connotations.¹ Earlier, terrorism was practised by a group of individuals belonging to a particular organisation that possessed clear command-and-control machinery and a defined set of political, social or economic objectives. But in present times, terrorism has transformed which reflects a negative image. It refers to the killing of people by non-governmental political actors for various reasons. Terrorism has become a process which makes use of violence against humanity, individuals or groups. It is basically an act or a series of acts which is used to instil fear among the masses for criminal or political ends.

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The UN Security Council Resolution 1566 (2004) defines terrorist acts as criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror, or compel a government or international organisation to do or to abstain from doing any act which contravened terrorism-related conventions and protocols, were not justifiable for any reason - whether of a political, philosophical ideological, racial, ethnic or religious nature (Security Council 2004).²

The Supreme Court of India in a 2003 ruling in the case of Madan Singh vs. State of Bihar adopted the Alex P. Schmid's definition of terrorism, defining that acts of terrorism are "peacetime equivalents of a war crime".³

CAUSES OF TERRORISM

Any act of violence retains some causes behind terror activities. There are endless numbers of causes of terrorism but psychological, political, socio-political, economic, religion and cultural are the key causes of the menace. However, religion is always associated with terrorism but we cannot confine terrorism to religion solely. Religious ideologies, goals, and motivations are often intertwined with economic, social, and political factors. Islam has often been associated with terrorism but it is not Islam nor does any other religion that causes terrorism. John Esposito says, usually "political and economic grievances are primary causes or catalysts, and religion becomes a means to legitimatize and mobilize". Nonetheless, religion may not be the sole cause of terrorism but it can aggravate the situations; might bring a situation to grand conflict or struggle. No specific religion or religious tradition holds a monopoly on violence; all religious traditions can be used to justify acts of destruction and aggression in the civil society.

COUNTER-TERRORISM

At this juncture, when characteristics of terrorism has transformed, an effective counterterrorism policy is prerequisite which may go beyond uncompromising efforts to prevent our society and punish those who want to endanger innocent's life. An engagement of other countries and their cooperation is also essential to handle the threat. Therefore, international anti-terror policies along with domestic counter-terror measures have become a vital tool against the scourge. Counterterrorism is the method which follows the path of policies to combat both domestic as well as international terrorism. It is a strategic measure which is intended to avert the dilemma. Counter terrorism is an application of policies which can control the terrorism act, and terrorist activities. The NATO on Counter terrorism stated that, "it is an offensive measure used to reduce the vulnerability of force individuals and property to terrorism, to include counter-force activities and containment by military forces and civil agencies".⁴

Counter terrorism is a process which includes a broad spectrum of responses from conventional war against states that harbour or sponsor terrorists through laws enforcement to arrest terrorists within the country, it is decidedly a proactive function which contains both intelligence gathering and analysis of security related information or intelligence. The U.S. Army Field Manual defines Counter terrorism as "Operations that include the offensive measures taken to prevent, deter, pre-empt, and respond to terrorism".⁵

Counter terrorism strategy is classified into two dimensions viz. National and International. At national level each state constitutes anti-terror structure which includes political, punitive and judicial measures; where military and intelligence are integrated factors of it. On the other hand, global counterterrorism strategy recommended by UN i.e. 'UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy' is followed at international level. The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism represents a comprehensive approach to countering terrorism through its dynamic four pillars which are: tackling conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism; preventing and combating terrorism; building national capacities to prevent and counter terrorism; and ensuring respect for human rights and the rule of law while countering terrorism. These four pillars are the basis of any counterterrorism measure. Nations keep these pillars in mind during constituting national counterterrorism strategy.

INDIA'S COUNTER-TERRORISM STRATEGY

The terrorist attack in Mumbai on 26 November 2008 traumatised the entire nation but obliquely rendered positive aftermaths in terms of the country gearing up its counterterrorism policies. Earlier, India had only legal provisions to counter the challenge, lacking other imperative anti-terror institutions. These emerged after the Mumbai attack. India's counter-terrorism strategy contains both internal (national) and external (international) dimensions. The national counter terrorism measures include legal provisions, institutional mechanisms, intelligence establishment, use of coercion, etc. And the external dimension incorporates bilateral and multilateral cooperation against terrorism.

NATIONAL STRATEGY

Anti-terror laws

So far India has enacted three anti-terror laws, viz. the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act 1985 and 1987 (TADA), the Prevention of Terrorism Act 2002 (POTA) and Unlawful Activities Prevention Act 1967 (UAPA) amended in 2004 and 2008. TADA was the first legislative effort by the Union government to define and counter terrorist activities. It was formulated in the backdrop of growing terrorist violence in Punjab. TADA was enacted in 1985 but it lapsed in 1995. The basic cause behind TADA's downfall was the enhanced powers it gave to the police to detain suspects, which resulted in the burden of proof on the accused. In 2002, after the 2001 parliament attack, POTA came into existence; it was virtually a sibling of TADA. POTA's extensive criticism compelled the central government to establish a review committee to hear individual cases related to this act. Finally, POTA was withdrawn in September 2004 through an ordinance. But the 26/11 Mumbai terrorist attack projected the need for a law which could help to deal with activities directed against the integrity and sovereignty of the country. Therefore, UAPA (amended) 2008 was brought about. UAPA was designed to deal with associations and activities that questioned India's territorial integrity. UAPA provides more effective prevention of certain unlawful activities of individuals and associations and for dealing with terrorist activities and for matters connected therewith. The Act was intended to deal with terrorism, adopted in haste following the terrorist attack in Mumbai and borrowed provisions from the previous unsuccessful anti-terror laws rather than offering a new approach.

Institutional Mechanism

The growing menace of terrorism has induced India to strengthen its institutional machinery. The institutional mechanism of India comprises intelligence, both military and paramilitary forces, special squads and various agencies. The role of each unit is imperative but intelligence has key role in the entire mechanism. In India, the Central Armed Police Forces, paramilitary forces and various squads have been constituted with special training to meet any terrorist situation. In 2011, the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) designated the Assam Rifles as a Paramilitary Force and labelled six other forces as Central Armed Police Forces. The latter comprise Border Security Force (BSF), Central Industrial Security Force (CISF), Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP), Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB), and National Security Guards (NSG). Assam Rifles, BSF, ITBP and SSB are the "Border Guarding Forces". NSG, ATS, CoBRA, etc. are also meant especially to tackle terrorist activities.

National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) is a proposed federal anti-terror agency to be created in India, modelled on the National Counter Terrorism Center of the USA. The proposal arose after the 26/11 Mumbai attack, where several intelligence and operational failures exposed the need for a federal agency with real-time intelligence inputs of actionable value specifically to counter terrorist acts against India. But the existence of NCTC is still awaited; the centre-state tussle over the power distribution has hanged NCTC emergence.

National Investigation Agency (NIA) has been created in pursuance of the enactment of the NIA Act, 2008. It is mandated, at the national level, to investigate and prosecute offences affecting the sovereignty, security and integrity of India. The objective

of NIA is to provide assistance to, and seek assistance from, other intelligence and investigation agencies of the central government and state governments.

Intelligence is the collection of information, especially of military and political value. But intelligence is not merely raw information that is collected. It has to be collated, analysed and disseminated to the users at the right time so that the unity and integrity of the country remains unharmed. The entire process of information gathering and finally its dissemination is termed as the intelligence process.⁶ The Indian security structure incorporates various intelligence agencies like, IB (Intelligence Bureau), RA&W (Research and Analysis Wing), DIA (Defence Intelligence agency), MAC (Multi Agency Centre) and NATGRID (National Intelligence Grid). IB is reputed to be the oldest intelligence agency in the world, having its roots in the policing system created by the colonial British. In addition to domestic intelligence responsibilities, the IB's task is intelligence collection in border areas. The IB functions officially under MHA (Ministry of Home Affairs). RA&W is India's most powerful external intelligence agency. It has engaged in disinformation campaigns, espionage and sabotage against Pakistan and other neighbouring countries. It has been organised on the lines of the CIA. DMI is responsible for providing and coordinating intelligence for the Indian armed forces. Its primary task is to track troop movement in countries neighbouring India. It is also assigned with the mission to monitor terrorist groups operating both within and outside the country. MAC functions under the IB. It is a nodal body at the Centre for sharing intelligence inputs and all other agencies are expected to share information with it. NATGRID is a crucial initiative that will help plug vulnerabilities by upgrading and enhancing the capability to detect and respond to threats at the earliest possible time.

INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY

International strategy refers to both bilateral and multilateral cooperation against the scourge. The contemporary challenges of terrorism have compelled India to strengthen their bilateral as well as multilateral relations. At bilateral front India has established working of Joint Working Groups (JWG)s; diplomatic support extended by various countries to fight against terrorism; arrangements for intelligence sharing; and arrangements for mutual legal assistance to combat the challenge of terrorism. Till December 2015, India has signed MLATs with 39 countries which are in force. Moreover, India has also signed extradition treaty with 42 countries so far.

Multilateral cooperation in international politics has emerged as an effective mechanism for managing global issues. Multilateralism refers to the working of multiple countries on a specific issue like terrorism. India has established counter terrorism efforts through cooperation with multilateral organisations such as SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation), ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations), ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum), BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation), IBSA (India Brazil, South Africa) and the United Nations. These organisations have included counter terrorism in their agenda and India's participation in them has been a source of support for its counter terrorism policy.

India's counter-terrorism structure has been constant for last many years; it was only the Mumbai terror strike that compelled government to transform its counter-terrorism framework. If India would have constituted strong anti-terror configuration soon after 2001 Parliament attack then 2008 Jaipur bombing, 26/11 Mumbai strike, Bengaluru blast 2013, Gurdaspur 2015, Pathankot 2016 and Uri attack of 18 September 2016 would not have been happened. Parliament attack of 2001 resulted only existence of POTA act, which was replaced on the place of TADA. India had already witnessed 31 terror attacks till 26/11 attack, and after Mumbai tragedy country witnessed 27 terror strikes so far including Uri attack. The scenario projects that India has not worked enough on counter-terror structure as it was required. Certainly, the cross-border militancy issue in Jammu and Kashmir is challenging task for India and the country's effort to combat infiltration in the region is enduring and appreciable. The question is if Pakistan is constant with exporting militants in the country and commanding terror attacks then why India is not stiff to control them. The success of various blasts and attacks

certainly projects India's feeble intelligence coordination. Weak intelligence resulted in Kargil, 26/11, Pathankot, Gurdaspur and Uri.

COUNTER-TERRORISM STRATEGY DURING MODI REGIME

At the time of election in 2014, Narendra Modi sounded very firm over the issue of terrorism but within two years the country has witnessed, in total, seven terror strikes. Though the data of 2014-16 says that the overall terror attacks is seven but the last government's reign of the last two years shows the data of much higher attacks, i.e. 14 attacks in total up from 2012-14, and double than the present time.

Modi's government has strengthened its bilateral and multilateral relations for countering terrorism at large. Moreover, it has gained international consideration over the sufferings of terrorism, exported and fomented from the soil of Pakistan. India has established MLATs in criminal matters with three countries, Kyrgyz, Israel and Oman during 2014-15. Modi's foreign visits were the subject of sarcastic criticism but none has realised that these visits were not merely official rather it was strategical effort to strengthen support against terrorism. India-US bilateral relations are more healthy and viable than ever. The US government is supporting India at large against the international scourge. Similarly, the United States that supported Pakistan for their keen interests, today wants Pakistan to stop exporting terrorism and harbouring terror organisations. Even Bangladesh, one of the SAARC countries, open-handedly has come in cooperation towards India against terrorism and has taken firm stand against Pakistan.

Certainly, the Gurdaspur, Pathankot, Pampore and Uri attack has put many questions over Modi's administration; but India's surgical strike on the night of 28th September 2016 in PoK to wreak heavy damage on terrorists, gathered at their launch pads behind the Line of Control, in response to terror attack has projected government's will to damage any organisation or unit posing threat to the country's security and peace. Such kind of decision is undoubtedly appreciable and this course of action has created happiness among the Indian masses, as well as lead to more expectations from the government. This kind of decision was required many years back but lack of political will could not let it to happen. It is only Modi's government efforts that four of SAARC countries, in response to Pakistan's terror attacks on India, have denied participation in annual SAARC summit which was about to be held in Islamabad in November 2016. This is the first time that Afghanistan, Bhutan and Bangladesh have pulled out of the SAARC Summit soon after India's withdrawal. They have indirectly blamed Pakistan for creating an atmosphere which is not perfect for successful holding of the Summit. The South Asian countries stood with India against Pakistan; undoubtedly a historic moment. This course of action will definitely change India's image at international fora. Hopefully, India will now gain more international recognition and support against Pakistan than ever before.

CONCLUSION

Indeed, there would be no exaggeration if we say that Modi's regime has transformed India's counter-terrorism strategy in a practical way. A sound structure is not enough to meet any challenge; the need is to bring practicality in the strategies which are clearly perceptible in Modi's government. Before 2014, i.e. before the arrival of Modi, India's counter terrorism policy was as much under the cloud of doubts as were other policies regarding national goals. Modi, after assuming office in 2014, has brought a new life to the almost dormant policy and perceptive notions of any strategy in general, and counter terrorism in particular. India has gained in stature and global positioning in terms of its commitment towards eradicating the global scourge of terrorism. Modi regime shows how India's counter-terrorism strategy has transformed from mere structure to practicality; and how Modi's efforts have compelled other nations to come together against the global challenge of terrorism. Counter terrorism strategies in Modi's regime have, indeed, proved to be very pragmatic and sagacious. The maturity with which the present government has dealt with terrorism and the way it has conducted the surgical strikes in PoK is an ample proof of its commitment towards national interests.

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PM MODI'S BALOCHISTAN STRATEGY: A CRITICAL STUDY

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ABSTRACT

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's speech from the Red Fort on the occasion of 70th Independence Day celebration was marked by some doctrinal shifts in India's overall foreign policy and strategy. The reference he made of Balochistan, its freedom struggle and gross violation of human rights by Pakistan in the province raised eyebrows all across. Baloch leaders have welcomed the Indian PM's remarks over atrocities in Balochistan province and have considered it as a positive development. The Baloch strategy can be seen as a dynamic shift in India's Pakistan policy, as also a counter to Pakistan's Kashmir policy. Modi's Baloch card can be seen as a game changer in the region, isolating Pakistan on the global arena for its violations of human rights and as perpetrator of terrorism. Prime Minister Modi's Balochistan strike against Pakistan, thus, appears to be a well thought-out long-term strategy, giving Pakistan a taste of its own medicines, i.e. to deter Pakistan's policy of continued support for terrorism targeting India.

INTRODUCTION

The current era in international relations relies more on realism than idealism and nations practice it as their foreign policy determinant. In 1923, then US Secretary of State Charles Evans while countering President Woodrow Wilson had said what holds true even today. 'Foreign policies are not built upon abstractions. They are the result of practical conceptions of national interest arising from some immediate exigency or standing out vividly in historical perspective.'¹

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's bold gambit on Balochistan must be seen in this context and as a refreshing new agility in India's foreign affairs that is responsive to rapidly altering ground realities.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, during the Independence Day speech at Red Fort on 15 August 2016, made

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reference to the Baloch freedom struggle and gross violation of human rights in the province of Balochistan in Pakistan. This reference point highlighted the atrocities of state policy of Pakistan towards its own people in the region of Balochistan, Gilgit and Pakistan's illegally occupied Kashmir since partition of British India. Since the speech on 15 August, unrest in Balochistan has taken the global focal point and there has been a visible paradigm shift in the dynamics of India-Pakistan relations. It was a surprise step on the part of the Indian official diplomacy to highlight Pakistan's internal troubles and advocate Balochistan as a pressure point to deter Pakistan's policy of continued support for terrorism targeting India. The Prime Minister's reference was rare in terms of open support to any freedom movement in Pakistan, marking a significant shift in India's policy on Pakistan. As a matter of fact, there is considerable strategic logic for India to exploit whatever vulnerabilities Pakistan has in Balochistan. Prime Minister Modi appears to have wanted to signal an unambiguous change in Indian policy. Communicating through signals may be prone to misreading by the target audience. For example, it might have proved difficult for the Pakistan Army to decide whether an increase in Indian support to Baloch rebel groups is the consequence of a change in policy or the result of an over-enthusiastic officer in India's intelligence agency. A prepared, public speech by the chief executive is about as definite as it can get.²

BALOCHISTAN: REBELLION, ACCUSATION AND REALITY

Balochistan is one of the largest provinces of Pakistan which is equal to the size of France. Balochistan is one of the most underdeveloped regions of Pakistan, which faces severe challenges including high unemployment, poor health and education system, worst infrastructure and is seen as bloody conflict zone of Pakistan. Balochistan has also become the dumping ground for Pakistan's nuclear hazards. It has become the centre of China's mega investment and as its strategic point in terms of grand strategy in South Asia as well as Asia.

Pakistan has been using aerial bombardment and poisonous gases in the name of insurgency on the innocent people of Balochistan. In the past, this movement was also crushed during Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's regime in Pakistan. This movement resurfaced due to able leadership of its prominent leader late Nawab Akbar Shahbaz Khan Bugti in 2004. To crush the movement, Pakistan killed Nawab Akbar Shahbaz Khan Bugti in 2006 and, in fact, has been responsible for the killings of many other prominent leaders of Baloch movement. Nawab Brahumdag Bugti, the young movement leader and grandson of Nawab Akbar Shahbaz Khan Bugti, is at present living in Switzerland and has very recently applied for visa for political asylum in India.

Grateful for the support extended by PM Narendra Modi, the Baloch National Movement of North America said that, 'Baloch people have welcomed and are grateful for the support extended by Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi at such a critical juncture when our nation is struggling to be free from the illegal military occupation of Pakistan since 1948'. The group said that since 2003, more than 20,000 Baloch political activists have gone missing, 'illegally abducted' by the Pakistani state security forces and victims of enforced disappearances are being 'tortured and executed' in custody.³

Going back, after a meeting between the Indian and Pakistani PMs at Sharm-al-Sheikh in 2009, a joint statement said that Pakistan has 'some information on threats in Balochistan and other areas'.⁴

Ever since, Pakistan has been repeatedly accusing India of supporting insurgents in Balochistan, where it has been facing a long separatist struggle. Islamabad has specifically claimed that Indian diplomats and spies in Afghanistan keep in touch and finance these militants.

For Pakistan, it served three ends - it was able to pass off an internal domestic issue into an externally-backed conspiracy; it lobbied with the West to keep India out of the Afghanistan equation with this accusation; and when India pointed to its role in Kashmir, it had a readymade response on how India is intervening in its internal affairs.⁵

Delhi has, however, always refuted and rubbish the allegations, and asked for proof, which Islamabad has always been unable to offer convincingly. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has, in fact, now put it back on the agenda to corner

Pakistan on human rights violations in its own backyard. India has, thus, been able to convert the accusation to a possible leveler, thereby claiming a larger role for India in Balochistan.

Baloch leaders have welcomed the Indian PM's remarks over atrocities in Balochistan province. They consider it as a positive development in terms of their struggle for independence from Pakistan. Khalil Baloch, Chairman of the 'Baloch National Movement' claimed that it is the policy of Pakistan to ignore indifference towards Pakistan's war crimes including ethnic cleansing and genocide in Pakistan's occupied Balochistan since the partition of British India. Several leaders of Baloch movement have now started asking India to support the Baloch movement on the basis of humanity, culture and history. Needless to say, the form of Indian support will determine the Pakistani reaction and the subsequent geopolitical games.

BALOCHISTAN CARD: MODI'S CALIBRATED STRATEGY

The Balochistan card is, undoubtedly, a dynamic shift in India's Pakistan policy, also seen as a counter to Pakistan's Kashmir policy. The rebellion in Balochistan offers India the option of tying down large numbers of the Pakistan Army, if India could stoke the already existing rebellion thereby providing material assistance to the Baloch rebels.⁶

It will, finally, punish the Pakistan Army in a manner that will actually hurt it, giving India some measure of justice for all the depredations that the Pakistan Army has visited on it through its use of terrorism. More importantly, it could, possibly, make the Pakistan Army much more willing to bargain to stop cross-border terrorism. The Balochistan rebellion gives India a leverage, one it has not used so far, at best to compel or at worst to punish Pakistan for its asymmetric terror strategy. But the most important benefit of the Balochistan strategy is that it gives India the option of responding forcefully to Pakistan's own use of (terrorist) force against India without fearing nuclear escalation.⁷

The more likely scenario is that Pakistan might threaten to go to war with India because of Indian meddling there. But if Pakistan is the one launching the attack, the traditional escalation scenario simply does not hold. If Pakistan launches an attack to punish India, it will almost certainly lose, but the context of failing in its own attack on India is very different from the possibility of failure to stop an Indian attack that enters deep into Pakistan's territory. There might be some rationale for nuclear escalation in the latter case, but absolutely none for the former. Thus, supporting Baloch rebels gives India the option of retaliation without fear of nuclear escalation.

There are at least two other subsidiary benefits that should not be ignored. A Balochistan in the throes of an insurgency could also scupper at least a part China's efforts to flank India through the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). India is only belatedly realising the strategic import of both the China-Pakistan axis and specifically, the CPEC. India has expressed objections to the plan as the CPEC runs through the disputed Gilgit-Baltistan region which India sees as an integral part of Jammu and Kashmir. India, thus, needs to do every-thing in its power to curtail this move and supporting the Balochistan rebellion is one way to do this. In fact, the Baloch fear that the mega project of CPEC would further suppress their voice and blame Pakistan for looting their resources for CPEC without providing any engagement or participation of the Baloch in the project. Supporting the rebellion in Balochistan will also help India in expanding its intelligence and covert action footprint within Pakistan.

Prime Minister Modi's Balochistan strike against Pakistan, thus, appears to be a well thought-out long-term strategy. The Modi administration started seeing it as a concrete counter measure after the first Pathankot attack and more so after the second Pathankot attack last year. All this went on while Modi's national security set-up continued to get feedback on the Balochistan situation, apparently with active help from some Baloch separatists, who have in fact been imploring India for quite some time now to intervene on their behalf by openly coming out in support of a separate Balochistan.⁸

Modi's move has been praised by people and politicians across all parties in India. The Congress has backed the PM's

idea of raising Balochistan issue to counter Pakistan on Kashmir. Kanwal Sibal, former Foreign Secretary, has said that Modi deserves praise for delivering a direct response to Pakistan's provocations: 'By raising the Balochistan issue, Modi has changed the rules of the game. From the PM's point of view, this is a warning signal to Pakistan'.⁹

Former High Commissioner to Pakistan G. Parthasarathy has said it was a 'long overdue' and a 'necessary step... there has to be some inducement for Pakistan to fall in line'.¹⁰

The time has come, when the international community needs to address the plethora of human rights concerns in Pakistan because its impact has moved beyond the country's domestic problem and has begun to affect the region and the world at large. This feeling was the outcome of the 33rd Session of the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) in September 2016 where India once again 'raised the blatant abuse and violation of human rights in the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and in other parts of Pakistan, including Balochistan'.¹¹

CONCLUSION

Nowhere has Prime Minister Modi mentioned so far that India will adopt an interventionist policy by actively inciting insurgency on a sovereign nation's soil. The effort was to internationalise the violations of human rights and make it the talking point by acknowledging Baloch struggle and expressing empathy with the long-suffering people. The reference was made in such a way that it steers clear of active intervention and yet heaps pressure on Pakistan whose status as a pariah nation and efforts to differentiate between 'good terrorism' and 'bad terrorism' are well-documented. Moreover, India, as a leading power in the region, has a moral obligation towards Balochistan. India cannot just keep looking inwards.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's reference of unrest of Balochistan and also Gilgit-Baltistan and illegally occupied Kashmir (PoK) was, indeed, the political earthquake for the authorities of Pakistan. The Red Fort remark reflects the roadmap of Modi led government's discourse on the foreign policy towards Pakistan. This would put more pressure in the terms of politics and diplomacy to deal with the Kashmir issue and pattern of cooperation with Pakistan. Pakistani military forces are engaged in the 'tsunami of human rights violations' in Balochistan for the last seven decades. Modi's message was clear indication to Islamabad regarding India's diplomatic approach to Balochistan and Pakistan's involvement in cross border terrorism in Kashmir.

The recent Uri terror attacks and India's surgical strike in response has also affected the relations between the two countries further. Defence experts in India feel that the Uri attacks were a calculated move by Pakistan to avert India's attention from the Balochistan issue which had agitated the Pakistani establishment because of it being raked up all across the world. India has, however, been successful in isolating Pakistan this time. Voices for thwarting Pakistan's record on terrorism is increasingly being heard from all corners of the globe. Many have started looking at Pakistan not as a victim of terrorism but as a perpetrator of terrorism itself. What added strength to the line was when India declined to participate in the SAARC Summit to be held in Pakistan in November 2016. Modi once again read the mindset of the masses and acted accordingly. After India's withdrawal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Afghanistan and Nepal have followed the suit and have withdrawn from participating in SAARC this year. This led to cancellation of the Summit till any further date is announced. India, thus, has once again, through its diplomatic maneuvering, cornered Pakistan. Pakistan is under tremendous pressure now to mend its ways. In the coming days, the changed dynamics of cooperation and pattern of relations between two nuclear neighbours will be interesting to monitor.

Finally, taking all these recent developments into consideration, India's bold and marked expression of solidarity towards Balochistan, which does not really amount to much for now, can really be seen as a move highly significant. It constitutes the first tentative step towards reviewing an earlier doctrine. India may be fast coming to the conclusion that it has no further interest in a stable, united Pakistan.¹²

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INDIA-NEPAL-CHINA: A TRILATERAL ENGAGEMENT CONUNDRUM

DR RAJEEV KUMAR*

ABSTRACT

India, Nepal and China form a matrix which is very decisive in the region's geostrategic and political maneuverings. Nepal is caught between the geostrategic rivalry of India and China and has always looked to balance the two larger neighbours for its own cause. While India-Nepal relationship is age old and continues to be cordial, with hiccups in between, the relationship between Nepal and China has been more of a pragmatic and agenda-based. Geography further reinforces the kind of relationship Nepal can share with India or China. Very recently, China started to look at Nepal as an 'all-weather friend' but with little results. Meanwhile, India has been trying to protect its 'sphere of influence'. But India should, at the same time, be more accommodative of Nepalese interests so that their relationship remains like that of a 'friend in need and partner in progress'. Nepal's act of trying to rebalance India and China is certainly a baggage of futility as China can't even think of replacing India in Nepal. Therefore, India must keep a calibrated distance and approach towards Nepal taking into account the trilateral engagement between the three neighbours.

Keywords: Border, Blockade, Policy, Infrastructure, Madhesh, Tibet, 'All-weather Friendship'.

India-Nepal-China is a very complex set of relationship often invoking concerns and raising questions whenever Nepal, once a buffer state for British India, gets closer to either India or China by playing the so called 'card' diplomacy. Nepal was called 'a yam between two boulders' by Prithvi Narayan Shah and how often has Nepal used this vulnerability to its advantage is hidden from no one. The recent years of Nepalese politics are indicative of the same. The current Prime Minister of Nepal, Pushpa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda', has reverted back to tradition by visiting India first after assuming office in August 2016.

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During his first tenure in 2008 he had visited China first. He has corrected his ‘mistake’ this time.

Whether he, and his intentions, are right or wrong will be known in due course of time but his recent visit to India from September 15-18, 2016 certainly indicates some shift in Nepalese policy. For now, unlike his predecessor, the Maoist head of government has thus far abjured the China card and is mindful of India’s ‘special interest’ in Nepal. Meanwhile, his predecessor K.P. Sharma Oli was getting closer to China on all accounts which led to some tense moments with India during the last year blockade which continued for almost four and a half months till February 2016.

INDIA AND CHINA IN NEPAL

India and Nepal have shared close civilizational and socio-cultural relationship from ages that led to a ‘unique and special’ relationship between them. India and Nepal are bound together in a myriad of ways with India being the overwhelmingly

dominant partner. However, very recently, even China-Nepal relationship has been termed as being of a ‘special’ kind and ‘as high as the Himalayas’ by many in the political circles of both the countries. In such a scenario, Nepal, during the blockade at key India-Nepal border crossings last year, got closer to China as a viable alternative to its overall dependence on India. It alarmed India as it contained a message signaling a geopolitical shift replete with strategic and political calculations together with China’s economic expansion and ambitions of trans-Asian connectivity. In what could be gauged as a red rag to New Delhi, Oli, during his China visit, also called China an ‘all-weather friend’, a term loaded with China’s value for Pakistan as a deterrent against India. China, thus, began to see in Nepal an ally just like Pakistan. It was also seen as a move to checkmate India in Nepal. For this very reason, the recent visit of Prachanda to India, his first official visit overseas during this tenure, is being viewed in Chinese media as a move meant to tricking China and putting the China-Nepal relationship on the back-burner.

Going back, as relations with India soured in the wake of the four months long blockade on key India-Nepal border crossings in 2015, China came to Nepal’s rescue with a deal to supply a third of the country’s required petroleum. Kathmandu, in it, saw the importance of diversifying its trade away from India. Taking a clue from it, Nepalese PM Oli, in end March 2016, signed a transit agreement that included access to Chinese ports as well as the potential construction of rail links between the two countries. Currently, over 90 per cent of Nepal’s trade with third countries passes through India. The trade and transit agreement between China and Nepal, aiming at giving Nepal an alternative trade route, is however going to prove of little avail in terms of its implementation across the inhospitable terrain of the Himalayas, lack of transportation infrastructure linking China and Nepal and huge cost factor as third-country trade through the terrain of Tibet will cost Nepali importers 2-3 times what it would cost them to import goods via Indian ports. Tianjin port of China (3,000 km from Nepal) can at best provide Nepal with another option to conduct trade with third countries. It, however, cannot replace or even undermine the importance of Indian ports (Haldia is 1,000 km from the border) in Nepal’s trade. China and Nepal were also looking into the possibility of a rail link between the two countries after Nepal requested China to consider expanding its railway network to different border points, but even that seems uncertain. Though China plans to extend its Qinghai-Tibet Railway network up to Geelong port, the nearest Chinese town from Nepal’s Rasuwagadhi border point, the terrain is so inhospitable that the planned rail link might involve the herculean task of tunneling under Mount Everest. In contrast, routes between India and Nepal run seamlessly across plains.

Though India and China have competed for influence in Nepal for decades, Chinese interest in Nepal has many variants. It is trying to foothold assertive strategic posturing challenging India’s pivotal position in Nepal. At the same time, China fears getting too close to Nepal. The Chinese are reluctant as greater engagement with Nepal will mean more traffic, of both people and goods, with Tibet. China apparently doesn’t want that since the border could then serve as a new conduit for Free Tibet activists. India is also aware of the geopolitical realities across its border and Shyam Saran, former Indian foreign secretary and ambassador to Nepal, is also not entirely convinced about the viability of Nepal taking the Chinese route. He, therefore, believes that India should respond not by scare mongering, but rather by urgently upgrading connectivity networks with its

landlocked neighbour. He said that instead of repeating the alarmist ‘Chinese are coming’ refrain, India should look at how it can “consolidate” its geographical advantage. The Indian response to Chinese expansion should be to take “our problems with the border infrastructure much more seriously”.

THE BORDER ‘BLOCKADE’ AND SHIFT IN NEPALESE POLITICS

The Madhesi people, unhappy at what they considered marginalization, launched the boycott of Nepal’s new constitution in July 2015. Madhesi-Nepalese, inhabiting a wide belt of land along their shared border, maintain close ties with India. They decided to utilize this strategic position to express their discontent with the constitution and press for better representation; thus the blockade of goods (from India) entering Nepal through their region.

The Nepalese, led by K.P. Oli, saw in the blockade an opportunity to diversify their trade and relations with other countries and, thus, began to seek an alternative in China. Since its northern border cuts through the almost impenetrable Himalayan mountain range it was not easy to forge a long-term substantive relationship based on continuous supplies of essential commodities. Tibet to the north is vast and undeveloped but is nevertheless Nepal’s best access to China. Although during the blockade China began sending limited supplies to its stricken neighbour, it would take years before a viable route through there could bring essentials like fuel on the scale needed.

Former Prime Minister K.P. Oli’s handling of the crisis worsened the situation. Instead of talking to the agitating protestors like the Madhesis and Janajatis, Oli preferred talking to China and signed agreements for fuel supply, which had been disrupted following the blockade. China had agreed to supply 1000 metric tonnes of fuel on grant basis. But due to inefficient infrastructure and adverse weather conditions the supply from China was not sufficient. There was shortage of food supply, medicines etc. Nepal also tried to come out of its landlockedness and dependence on India for transit purposes by signing agreements on transit facilities, road and rail network with China. Seven new trade routes were opened with the Tibetan Autonomous Region of China so that border trade at the local level could take place.

Inefficiency on the Chinese part to continue sending essential supplies to Nepal changed the picture. The ‘all-weather friends’ feeling soon withered away and Nepal was forced to carry out a reality check. Many in Nepal criticized Oli for not normalizing situation at home by talking to the protestors or for externalizing the domestic issue. Internally Nepal’s leadership remained weak and unstable and leaders from across the political spectrum lacked negotiating power, political support, and any vision to follow through with a substantive long-term Chinese policy. Moreover, it’s doubtful if China would ever jeopardize a stable relationship with India to change the status quo in Nepal. What also emerged out of it is the fact that what eventually happens depends more on Nepali politics, and China and India’s determination not to jeopardize their own growing co-operation. This led to another shift in Nepalese politics. PM Oli lost confidence vote and Prachanda came to power.

The new coalition government headed by Prachanda understood the stark reality and Nepal saw a shift in its policies towards India and China, starting with Prachanda’s going back to tradition of visiting India first after assuming office. He has said he would strive for balanced foreign relations with both the neighbours, India and China. He added that Beijing too wants Nepal to have good ties with India, and China’s main concern was the role of western powers. He said his priority would be concluding the peace process, especially the question of war-time cases; making the Constitution as widely acceptable as possible; and accommodating Madhesis and other communities.

He also seems more sensitive to the demands of the Madhesis, Tharus and Janajatis than the previous government led by K.P. Oli which stuck to the twin principles of geography and demography as the basis for the demarcation of provincial boundaries. He also does not see any problems in revising citizenship provisions and ensuring proportional representation. Madhesi parties want foreign women married to Nepali men to get immediate citizenship. However, it may not be easy to work out a solution acceptable to all (and especially to the Madhesis) on this and various other issues.

As far as the Madhesi demand of ‘one Madhes one Pradesh’ is concerned, it is not as relevant at the moment and is less

discussed even in the Terai region today. The geographical spread of the Terai region and the demographic pattern therein present a different picture. From the Koshi River to east of Nepal, there is a mixed population with majority hill people. West of Koshi up to Parsa district and south of East-West Highway, the majority population is Madhesi. Chitwan has mixed communities with a majority of the people from the hills. From Nawalparasi to Bardia and some part of Kailali district, the Tharus are in a majority. Kailali was the nerve centre of the Sudur Paschim movement and it has fifty per cent of hill people living together with the Tharus. The advocates of Sudur Paschim do not want to concede their demands. Thus, it would not be easy for Prachanda leadership to bring all the stakeholders to a consensus. His visit to India can be viewed as an outcome of the same desire where he wants India to be satisfied with the developments in Nepal and at the same time ask from the larger partner to bail Nepal out of the problems.

PRACHANDA'S VISIT TO INDIA: SAGACITY PREVAILS

Nepalese Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal's visit to India (September 15-18, 2016) is acknowledged to have normalized and revived political relations between the two countries which got stalled after the Madhesis, unhappy with the new Constitution and taking advantage of their geostrategic location, closed the trade and transit points between the two countries. This had an adverse impact on India-Nepal relations. Many Nepalese believe that it was India that had supported the Madhesi protestors in carrying out blockade while going blind to their own internal problems that actually led to the boycott and blockade.

During Prachanda's visit, India and Nepal signed agreements namely, MoU on improvement of road infrastructure in Terai area of Nepal; First Amendatory Dollar credit line agreement between government of Nepal and EXIM Bank which would help to reapportion unutilized funds for post earthquake reconstruction projects worth \$1 billion allotted in 2015; New Line of Credit Agreement for \$750 million for post earthquake reconstruction projects in Nepal.

Prime Minister Modi defined Prachanda as a 'catalytic force of peace in Nepal'. Even on earlier occasions Modi has praised Maoists for leaving violence and adopting constitutional means to join the mainstream politics. This was a change from the earlier understanding on the Maoists with whom relations were never close due to various reasons. Modi expressed confidence that under Prachanda's leadership, 'Nepal will successfully implement the constitution through inclusive dialogue accommodating the aspirations of all sections of your diverse society'. India's position on constitution through consensus has remained unchanged.

By opting India for his first official visit, Prachanda successfully has tried to mend the strained relations. By accepting India's stand on 'constitution through consensus' he has tried to gain at the domestic front by assuaging the hurts of the aggrieved. This would help him regain some of the lost constituencies from the marginalized groups. Since taking over power he has been critical of Oli for his mismanagement of the domestic politics and the relations with India, thereby sidelining the main left opponent, UML, in the electoral politics.

CONCLUSION

For Nepal, the continuance of the constitutional crisis is a major stumbling block to peace and development and resolution of this crisis is necessary for the implementation of the Constitution which sees Nepal as a federal democratic republic. In this backdrop, the significance of Prachanda's first foreign visit should be examined to check whether both nations can steer the relationship into a positive framework to ensure that the interests and concerns of both nations can be addressed equitably.

As far as India's stance on Nepal-China relations is concerned, New Delhi has continuously insisted that Nepal 'is free to explore any practical option it wants'. External Affairs Ministry spokesman said in March 2016, 'Our relations with Nepal have their own natural logic. Is there any other country in the world which can have the kind of relationship that Nepal has with India?' However, with growing Chinese interests in Nepal, India needs to bring greater purpose to economic engagement and

investments in Nepal. Overall, it is still too early to sound the alarm. Nepal, as a matter of fact, cannot alienate either China or India. India has long been wary of China's efforts to establish trans-Asian supply routes through its 'one belt, one road' initiative - which Oli during his tour to China early this year endorsed enthusiastically - and that is why India must probably continue to watch China-Nepal ties very closely and recalibrate its position.

In 1989, when King Birendra sent a delegation to Lhasa in response to the Indian blockade, China clearly signaled that it could not even think of replacing India in Nepal for another three decades. After the 2015 blockade on India-Nepal border, Nepal again went to China and this time China did not say that it would not be able to help Kathmandu. So, has the time finally come, after almost three decades, when China is thinking of replacing India in Nepal or is it just an overture and conclusion thought too early by some political analysts and observers? China has deepened its engagement with Nepal across social, political and economic spectrum, but at the same time understands its geopolitical limits in Nepal and realizes that it still cannot completely replace India in Nepal. Pragmatists in Beijing also know the dangers of moving too far and too fast and provoking an Indian reaction. That is probably the reason why China continues to look at Nepal as a bridge between India and China and maintains that Nepal must benefit from the development in India and China and a stable and developed Nepal will be of common interest to India and China. However, Oli's trip to Beijing in March was aimed more at balancing India and less about becoming a bridge between its giant neighbours and China will look forward to wresting the initiative without openly challenging India in the region. Prachanda's approach to this development would be interesting to see and would be decisive in defining the trilateral relationship which has often been marred by predicaments and doubts over each other's ambitions and foreign policy at large.

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EXPLORING THE ROLE OF SPIRITUALITY ON THE WORK EFFICIENCY OF INDIVIDUALS: AN INSIDE PERSPECTIVE FROM SRIMAD BHAGAVAD GITA

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the teachings of Bhagavadgita as applicable to the field of Organizational Behavior. Bhagavadgita is not just a sacred Indian text but it also teaches how to tackle life's problems in a unique way. Also, it can be considered as one of the best textbooks for learning organizational functioning. The doctrine of Karma Yoga proposed by the Bhagavadgita gives valuable directions to managers and employees to maximize their productivity for the betterment of the organization. Since India has a culture that is significantly different from that of the western countries, following the teachings of this text is more apt for the Indian organizational set up. This paper attempts to explore the various theories given by the Gita for management and employee behavior. Also, efforts have been made to explore how these theories and concepts are associated with the western literature.

INTRODUCTION

The concept of spirituality has been discussed in explored both in the religious as well as academic circles since decades. It has been only recently discovered that spirituality has a role to play not only in the personal life of an individual but in the professional life as well. Although spirituality is an individual phenomenon, spirituality in the workplace is generally discussed in terms of organizational attributes such as corporate values, facilitating connectedness among employees and an experience of transcendence through the work process. The Bhagavad Gita, an ancient Indian

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spiritual text, covers all modern management concepts of vision, leadership, motivation, excellence in work, achieving goals, giving work meaning, decision making and planning with one main difference. While Western theories of management deal with problems at material, external and peripheral levels, the Gita tackles issues from a grass root level of human thinking. The Gita focuses on dedication to work, and work commitment, motivation through inspiration and self-transcendence, a work culture and ethic that is divine, sincere and based on 'dharma', and not focused only on external reward. Service and general welfare are also important aspects of work according to the Gita. The Gita also prescribes sound mental health for managers, primarily inner peace and well being.

EMPLOYEE EFFICIENCY IN AN ORGANIZATION

Researchers in the past few years have tried to identify the factors that make an employee efficient at workplace. Kahn was one of the pioneers in formulating a concept known as "Employee Engagement". Kahn (1990) defined employee engagement as "the harnessing of organization members' selves to their work roles; in engagement, people employ and express themselves physically, cognitively, and emotionally during role performances". The cognitive aspect of employee engagement concerns employees' beliefs about the organization, its leaders and working conditions. The emotional aspect concerns how employees feel about each of those three factors and whether they have positive or negative attitudes toward the organization and its leaders. The physical aspect of employee engagement concerns the physical energies exerted by individuals to accomplish their roles. Thus, according to Kahn (1990), engagement means to be psychologically as well as physically present when occupying and performing an organizational role.

Employee engagement is the level of commitment and involvement an employee has towards the organization and its values. There is still an ongoing debate about what this construct is composed of. Engagement is most closely associated with the constructs of job involvement (Brown, 1996) and flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). Job involvement refers to the degree to which the job situation is central to the person and his or her identity (Lawler & Hall, 1970). "Flow" can be understood as the "holistic sensation that people feel when they act with total involvement" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975). It has been put forth that individuals in a flow experience do not need external rewards or goals for motivation, since the activity itself acts as challenging.

Whether employee engagement is "produced" at the workplace or whether it is "brought" to the workplace is still a bone of contention among organizational psychologists. However, it is believed that individual differences impact the ability to engage or disengage in the role performance to a large extent. Kahn (1990) stated that people engage differently in response to their experiences of psychological meaningfulness, safety and availability in specific situations (Kahn, 1990). Another perspective is that an individual's perception plays a major role in determining the level of engagement or disengagement (Robinson, 2006). According to Robinson (2006), individuals categorize and make sense of events and situations according to their own unique and personal frame of reference, which reflects their personality, past experiences, knowledge, expectations and current needs, priorities and interests (Robinson, 2006). Others argue that employee engagement is related to emotional experiences and well being (May et al., 2004).

Consequences of employee engagement have been seen to be positive for the organization. Organizations with high employee engagement levels tend to be more productive and more profitable. A meta analysis conducted by Harter et al (2002) led to the conclusion that employee engagement and satisfaction were related to positive business outcome at a large scale. There is a growing body of evidence that demonstrates the importance of employee engagement to organizational performance. A recent summary paper by Rayton (2012) showed that employee engagement is positively linked to organizational productivity and performance, customer satisfaction, innovation, employee well being and low absenteeism, and retention (Rayton, 2012). It is argued that employees who are engaged with their job and employer are more productive because they are motivated beyond personal factors. They work more efficiently and with the success of the organization in mind.

WORK CULTURE IN INDIA

Sinha (1990) defines work culture as the “totality of the various levels of interacting forces around the focal concern of work”. Work culture means work related activities in the framework of norms and values regarding work (J.B.P.Sinha, 1990). The traditional Indian approach is quite different from the Western views. In the West, work is regarded as a means of earning livelihood. On the other hand, Indian approach views work as a form of duty, an obligation that one has towards the self as well as towards others. It is believed that Hindu religious values promote a passive, inwards-directed, and fatalistic attitude towards life which discourages individuals from the pursuit of economic activities (D. Sinha, 1988).

However, the work situation in India is not so ideal. Work values rooted in the psychospiritual tradition do not appear to be functional in the organizational setup. It seems that work is performed for one's own (apna) and must be heavily compensated if performed for others (J.B.P.Sinha, 1985). Also, work is seen not as a duty but as favor done to others (McClelland, 1975) and is performed half heartedly.

Scholars are of the opinion that work is not inherently valued in India. J.B.P.Sinha (1985) observed that work as a concept and culture has not been internalized by Indian organizations. Referring to Indian work culture as “aram culture”, Sinha (1990) states that Indians have an attitude of not working diligently or the preference for taking rest and relaxing without doing any hard work. Indian employees have a “chalta hai” attitude where even imperfections or poor quality will do. In the “soft work culture” in Indian organizations, work is often neglected and employment orientation is exploited by overmanning which leads to social loafing. Due to the existence of caste system in India, maintaining relationships rather than performing socially neutral economic activities is preferred (J.B.P.Sinha, 1990).

J.B.P.Sinha and Sinha (1990) observed that when job demands get compromised with the socio cultural factors, the work culture of the organization is severely affected. However, a synergistic work culture where workers and managers work together for higher productivity and greater viability could be useful. They concluded that the critical factor which made the difference was establishing work as the master value (J.B.P.Sinha & Sinha, 1990).

WORKPLACE STRESS

Stress in organizations is becoming an increasingly important concern in both academic research and organizational practices. Organizational stress can be referred to as a condition when organizational demands exceed organizational capability. Work stress is recognized worldwide as a major challenge to employees' health and the healthiness of their organizations (ILO 1986; 1992). Employees who are stressed are also more likely to be unhealthy, poorly motivated, less productive and less safe at work. Consequently, their organizations are less likely to be successful in a competitive market.

Work related stress is the response people may have when presented with work demands and pressures that are not matched to their knowledge and abilities, and which challenge their ability to cope. The experience of organizational stress can cause unusual and dysfunctional behavior at work and contribute to poor physical and mental health. This further affects their work efficiency thus making the organization ill or dysfunctional.

WHAT IS SPIRITUALITY?

Various scholars have tried to define what spirituality is but haven't been able to reach at a general consensus. Three views on spirituality have been described by Krishna Kumar and Neck (2002). Intrinsic view suggests spirituality as originating from inside the individual (Moore & Casper, 2006). Religious view regards spirituality as linked to one's religious association such that religion and spirituality go hand in hand (Sheldrake, 2007). An existentialist view is concerned with finding meaning and purpose in work (Neck & Milliman, 1994). This perspective defines spirituality as an expression of our desires to find meaning and purpose in life. Enabling the expression of human experience at its deepest, most spiritual level may not only reduce stress, conflict, and absenteeism, but also enhance work performance (Krahnke et al., 2003),

employee well-being, and quality of life (Karakas, 2010).

The terms organization and spirituality have generally in the past been seen to refer to very different and even opposed world views. Even then, researchers have been attempting to integrate the two concepts in order to create a more fulfilling and productive work environment. Spirituality is believed to be a multifaceted construct that is about finding a connection to something meaningful that transcends our ordinary lives (Mitroff and Denton 1999). Workplace spirituality is meaningful at both the individual and the organizational levels. At the individual level, spirituality can be seen as an affective and cognitive experience where an employee feels and believes in a spiritual connection to work and the work place. At the organizational level, spirituality can be seen as a reflection of spiritual values that is part of the organization's culture. Harrington et al. (2001) suggested that the more congruent employees' values and spiritual aspirations are with the organization, the greater the possibility that employees will find true meaning at work.

WORK AND DUTY : A PERSPECTIVE FROM THE BHAGAVADGITA

Bhagavadgita is believed to be one of the greatest spiritual texts in the world. Its teachings are as relevant today as they were hundreds of years ago. It is based upon Lord Krishna's teachings to Arjuna during the battle of Kurukshetra. These teachings were not only pertinent in the battleground but also can be applied to an individual's daily life. Further application of the Bhagavadgita teachings can be in the field of organizational behavior.

The crux of Bhagavadgita lies in the concept of Karma which translates into English as duty. The concept of Karma first appears in the Bhagavadgita in verse 2.39 as karmabandham which means bondage resulting from an action. It states that any kind of action will result in bondage except when it is done with balance or samata. Lord Krishna instructed Arjuna to follow a path of desireless action or niskama karma. Verse 2.47 contains this essential principle of disinterestedness.

(2.47) To action alone hast thou a right and never at all to its fruits; let not the fruits of action be thy motive; neither let there be in thee any attachment to inaction. (Radhakrishnan, 1993)

This verse means that one only has the right to perform one's duties but not over the fruits of those activities. One should not work with a desire for the fruits of one's actions. Neither can one stop doing the duty since the fruit is not to be desired. Bhagavadgita here defines the purpose of work- work is to be performed for its own sake, not for its outcomes, and yet this should not demotivate one to become inactive (Bhawuk, 2011).

Verse 2.48 explains how to perform one's work.

(2.48) Fixed in yoga, do thy work, O Arjuna, abandoning attachment, with an even mind in success and failure, for evenness of mind is called yoga. (Radhakrishnan, 1993)

It is stated in this verse that all work is to be performed without any attachment, and with indifference towards success or failure. One needs to be calm and composed while doing the duties without worrying for the results.

Bhagavadgita teaches that all actions are to be considered as duty. When one performs an action as a duty, it leads to the disappearance of egocentrism and towards a sense of surrender. Duty is a means of developing detachment, of accepting what comes of performing actions without regrets about the past or anxiety regarding the future (Lepes, 2008).

NISKAMA KARMA OR DESIRELESS ACTION

The doctrine of Niskama Karma is deeply embedded in the Bhagavadgita. It proposes that one should not chase the fruits of one's endeavors in one's own interest. It is a state where one is unaffected by work. A living being cannot survive without doing karma. A task as simple as standing or breathing counts as karma. The key here is detachment. That is, performing one's action as a duty. What is demanded is not renunciation of work, but renunciation of selfish desire. Verses 3.17 and 3.18 explain the conditions in which work does not lead to bondage.

(3.17) But the man whose delight is in the Self alone, who is content with the Self, who is satisfied with the Self, for

him there exists no work that needs to be done.

(3.18) Similarly, in this world he has no interest whatever to gain by actions that he has done and none to be gained by the actions that he has not done. He does not depend on all these beings for any interest of his. (Radhakrishnan, 1993)

A person who finds the Self pleasurable, and is satisfied with the self, for him there exists no work that needs to be done. He is freed from a sense of duty and all tasks are performed spontaneously. Such a person has no quid pro quo relationship with anybody, and such a person has no purpose in doing or not doing a task (Bhawuk, 2011). Thus, work done without attachment is superior to all and helps an individual to attain purity of mind leading to a spiritual evolution. This kind of work is likely done to serve others and provides the individual with happiness and contentment.

BHAGAVADGITA ON WORK EFFICIENCY

Western literature lays more emphasis on working smart rather than working hard. Bhagavadgita, however, suggests a different approach. It supports hard work. An individual must work hard enough to do a job. But, the hard work must not be focused towards the outcome. The individual should neither covet nor worry about the expected outcomes of the work. By doing so, work becomes pleasurable and the individual doesn't get stressed out.

Bhagavadgita encourages one to work hard and to treat work with the same dedication that one has towards the lord. An individual must maintain a balance between work and other aspects of life. In addition, he or she should attain a mastery over his or her work. Mastery over work and balance in action when combined form the definition of yoga. Attaining mastery is a difficult process. However, when one achieves it, the task becomes less stressful. Mastery of tasks make the individual perform at his highest level with the least amount of stress. This occurs because mastery of the skill leads the behavior to become habitual and therefore effortless. This has been referred to as the peak experience or flow in the western psychological literature (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).

Verse 3.35 urges an individual to stick to his dharma.

(3.35) Better in one's own law though imperfectly carried out than the law of another carried out perfectly. Better is death in the fulfillment of one's own law for to follow another's law is perilous. (Radhakrishnan, 1993)

It states that one must perform one's dharma however unpleasant it may seem. However distasteful one's duty may be, one must be faithful to it. A person's work is considered his or her highest duty or dharma. As dharma is defined as something that supports a person, karma becomes the modus operandi of dharma in sustaining oneself in daily living (Bhawuk, 2011). It means that even if one does not enjoy one's work, one must not lose faith and should keep on doing the work for this acts as a means to attain spiritual elevation.

One is suggested to work as hard as possible without chasing the fruits of the efforts employed. In this way, niskama karma becomes a path of spiritual self development. Thus, according to Bhagavadgita, work is to be performed for its own sake and not for its outcomes, and yet such a mindset should motivate one not to withdraw from action (Bhawuk, 2011). When work is performed in this manner, that is, with a balanced mind, one achieves excellence in his or her performance and is able to reach his or her life's goals.

India is described as collectivistic in its cultural orientation (J.B.P.Sinha et al., 1994; Triandis et al., 1986). Groups formed on the basis of a neighborhood, kinship or function serve many interests and values. To function efficiently at workplace an individual needs to feel a sense of interconnectedness with the organization as well as fellow employees. Interconnectedness refers to deep connections or relationships with others which promotes positive emotions and creates a positive work environment. Bhagavadgita gives a social message of Loksangrah which is useful in facilitating interconnectedness. Loksangrah "stands for the unity of the world and the interconnectedness of society" (Radhakrishnan, 1970). Traditional social support institutions have been replaced by work organizations (Bell & Taylor, 2001), so interconnectedness within the organization is even more relevant.

Bhagavadgita supports the philosophy of “survival of all” rather than the Darwinian concept of “survival of the fittest”. This can be done by promoting the idea of selfless service and concern for welfare of all among the employees (sarvabhutahite ratah) and also by encouraging employees to maintain the same attitude towards all the fellow employees (samah sarvesu bhutesu).

Transcendence of self occurs when employees perceive their work and workplace as greater than self. Thus, work is carried out as a divine offering to the supreme (Rozuel & Kakabadse, 2010). Bhagavadgita advocates transcendence of the self by moving beyond the three gunas of sattva, rajas and tamas.

WHAT ARE THE FACETS OF HUMAN FUNCTIONING ACCORDING TO GITA?

The theory of Triguna has been explained in the Bhagavadgita to describe an individual. Triguna or the three gunas are the ‘primary constituents of nature and are the bases of all substances. They cannot therefore be said to be qualities inhering in these substances’ (Radhakrishnan, 1993). The three gunas are Sattva, Rajas, and Tamas. Each individual is ruled by a primary guna, which determines their motivation, character, life’s purpose, happiness or suffering as well as the degree of evolution. By assessing and observing the workings of the gunas, an individual can gradually move from tamas to rajas and then to Sattva and later towards detachment. Whenever detachment occurs, an individual enters a higher state of being, which influences his or her actions (Lepes, 2008).

Sattva guna is the spiritual quality. Individuals with predominantly Sattva guna have an inherent desire to be good and caring. The mind and senses are more balanced in such individuals. A satvik person is able to realize the difference between dutiful and undutiful action. Such an individual does his or her work as a duty. All actions are performed with calm understanding and the person is free from doubts (Srivastava, 2012).

Rajas guna is the active quality. This guna gives rise to passion and desire. An individual with predominantly rajasic guna is restless and greedy. He or she longs for the fruits of action. Due to dominance of self interest, such an individual is often unable to differentiate between right and wrong. Enthusiasm, interest, and activity are some of the attributes of this guna (Srivastava, 2012).

Tamas guna is the material quality. The tamas nature is dull and inert, generally having a confused mind. Such individuals are passive and their whole lives are one continuous submission to environment (Radhakrishnan, 1993). When tamasic guna is dominant, a person derives happiness from delusions and miscomprehension. Such individuals express attachments to possessions and self centered tendencies (Srivastava, 2012).

TRIGUNAS AND WORK EFFICIENCY

Triguna theory can be applied to an organizational setup in order to understand employee behavior. The type of guna predominant in an individual is responsible for the way he or she responds to the challenges at work. Gunas determine ones desires, thoughts, and behavior. When our desires are filled with affection and goodwill, our thoughts, words, and actions will create a positive environment. Similarly, thoughts of ill will, jealousy and competitiveness will consequently create a negative environment. It is important to note that one’s gunas not only affect oneself but the environment as well. A positive work environment is necessary because a conflicted and hostile atmosphere is filled with stress, agitation and unhappiness. However, an atmosphere where goodwill prevails can induce peacefulness and harmony in spite of disagreements (Lepes, 2008).

Individuals with predominantly satvik nature are hard workers. They understand their duties and toil hard. Such individuals do not worry about the outcome of the task at hand. They are more concerned about finishing the tasks assigned to them while being completely unconcerned about the results. With satvik tendencies as dominant, an individual feels it is his or her duty to perform under any circumstances. Such an individual has a calm and serene mind, is alert and performs

the job with precision (Kewalramani, 2013).

A rajasic person directs all his energy towards the pursuit of incessant activity. For such a person, the ego is the measure of all things. He expresses a constant need to compete and assert his power and prowess. He considers his ego centric behavior as necessary for survival. Such a coping strategy often results in stress and anxiety in the individual. When not working, such individuals keep themselves busy so that there is little time for reflection or relaxation. While working, such individuals are always in a hurry and most of their efforts are directed towards the achievement of rewards. Such individuals are often very successful at their job. However, they never really enjoy it as they somehow negate their inner self in the process (Lepes, 2008).

An individual with predominantly tamasik nature, work becomes a chore. A tamasic person is explosive, hostile and avoidant and lacks self reflection. He neither wants to learn nor work and is generally callous about his duties (Kewalramani, 2013). Most tamasic types feel more comfortable holding jobs where they are taken care of and little independent initiative is required. He has an unformed ego which makes him to latch on to others (Lepes, 2008).

BHAGAWAD GITA : A PRACTICAL APPROACH

During the past few decades, Indian spiritual culture has been widely explored in order to gain insights into organizational behavior and managerial effectiveness. The psychospiritual approach is developmental in nature and requires employees to imbibe certain spiritual values. According to the Bhagavadgita, the goal of work should be spiritual advancement. Work should be perceived as duty rather than contractual in nature. According to Chakraborty (1987), self purification is the primary reason why an individual should work. Self purification refers to cleansing of one's mind and intellect so that the true self shines through. The goal of self purification can be attained by simply following one's own natural bent of work. Just like Arjuna, who was born to be a warrior, every individual has a natural tendency or attitude towards work, which must be utilized to fulfill obligations towards others. The pursuit of work according to the role in which one is placed is likely to contribute more effectively to the realization of the aim (Chakraborty, 1987).

Human behavior is governed by the three gunas. The most dominant guna has the strongest effect on one's behavior at work and otherwise. Bhagavadgita says that every individual must strive to move upwards from the tamas guna to the rajas guna to the satva guna and later towards detachment. At this stage the individual would not feel any attachment towards his or her duties. In fact, he or she would continue doing their duties but without any desire for any rewards or recognition.

However, practicing Karma yoga can be a taxing process and can result in phenomenal depletion of energy as well as burnout. To counter this, Bhagavadgita advises the practice of sense control and equanimity. Sense control is a conscious mental hold on all the sense organs from participating in senseless indulgence, which if left unchecked affects the nervous system adds to the restlessness of mind and clouds judgment (Easwaran, 1999). Equanimity means being emotionally undeterred by the success or failure of one's undertaking. A person of equanimity is disinterested in happiness as well as undisturbed by sadness (Rastogi & Pati, 2014).

A question arises as to how one can rise above the gunas and proceed towards detachment. Becoming predominantly a satvik person is not the goal but it is a step in the process of achieving detachment. Even a satvik person is bound to knowledge and happiness. As long as happiness is dependent on anything external to produce internal well being, liberation does not occur. Liberation or true happiness can be achieved if one is motivated towards evolving oneself and is concerned about the well being of all. Such an individual does his or her duties as an offering to the divine and not for any personal benefits. As surrender, devotion and compassion for all increases, the individual moves towards a state of detachment and bliss.

A rajasic person is self-centered which is a hindrance in the path of enlightenment. This could be understood as a way

of coping with inner suffering. A rajasic type person unconsciously believes that his or her world will fall apart if they were made to face their inner fears. Constantly working is a means of shutting in these feelings. When such a person is forced to experience the inner sadness and suffering, he or she understands that it is nature's way of making one grow and participate in life in a more meaningful way. With this realization comes a newly found freedom. With the acceptance of one's feelings, the individual starts behaving more compassionately and becomes focused towards inner growth (Lepes, 2008).

Tamasic individuals have a very casual approach towards life and work in general. This attitude is not detachment but can be understood as a defense against anger, fear or excessive worry. Such individuals have a tendency to suppress their emotions by indulging in meaningless activities. However, if they learn to participate with the right efforts and connect with their inner essence rather than suppressing it, their ignorance begins to fade. This leads to a strengthening of a sense of purpose and belonging.

Therefore, any individual, be it satvik, rajasic or tamsic, can work on his or her inner self and move towards a state of detachment. Such individuals work diligently not only at their work place, but their efforts can also be observed in other spheres of life.

CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE

Despite the fact that the Bhagavad Gita is a text that is thousands of years old, its teachings hold relevance for every aspect of an organization. Not only are its teachings important at the organizational level, but also at the management and the employee levels. The available literature describes the concept of workplace spirituality which is quite similar to the views expressed in the Bhagavad Gita. Although there is no single definition of workplace spirituality, there is an emerging consensus that spirituality is a multifaceted construct that is about finding a connection to something meaningful that transcends our ordinary lives (eg., Mitroff & Denton, 1999). The idea is that when people fully engage in their work with a sense of purpose, they approach expressing their complete selves, including their spiritual selves.

Bhagavad Gita at the Organizational Level

Workplace Spirituality

Several attempts have been made by scholars to define the concept of Karma Yoga. Mulla and Krishnan (2009) defined karma yoga as comprising of duty orientation, absence of desire for rewards and equanimity. Later, Rastogi and Pati (2014) explained karma yoga as a persistent positive state of mind characterized by absorption and service consciousness. Absorption may be explained as a state of full concentration and complete engrossment in one's work. Csikszentmihalyi (1990) defined it as "flow", a state of optimal experience characterized by focused attention, clarity of mind, mind-body unison, effortless concentration, complete control, loss of self consciousness and intrinsic enjoyment (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). Self work immersion is one construct which shows empirical support as related to workplace spirituality. Bell and Taylor (2001) used the terms such as "holism" and "wholeness" to describe the concept of bringing one's spiritual faculties to work. Dehler and Welsh (1994) discuss the concept of self-work immersion in terms of organizational development activities. Krahne, Giacalone, and Jurkiewicz (2003), discuss this component as a framework of organizational values designed to support such aspects of spirituality.

Service consciousness may be understood to originate from a deep conviction on the interconnectedness of various beings in the universe, that is, feeling of being part of something bigger than the self (Mitroff & Denton, 1999), and hence makes each person responsible for the welfare of others in a selfless manner. Bhagavad Gita describes this as loksangrah which refers to the welfare of all rather than the welfare of one individual. This is akin to the construct of interconnectedness in workplace spirituality. Interconnectedness is defined as a relationship with others that fosters positive feelings, according to Jurkiewicz and Giacalone (2004).

A third construct quite strongly related to workplace spirituality is self actualization. Burack (1999) defines self-actualization in the realm of spirituality as the meshing together of the mind via work. The full potential of an individual is developed through work at the self actualization level, according to King and Nicol (1999). Bhagavad Gita teaches an individual to practice karma yoga in order to achieve spiritual enlightenment. It means that through the path of karma yoga an individual can achieve his highest potential which is similar to the psychological concept of self actualization.

LEADERSHIP

Burns (1978) described two types of leadership, that is, transactional or transformational. Transactional leadership occurs when one person takes the initiative in making contact with others for the purpose of an exchange of valued things. Transformational leadership occurs when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality. Transformational leaders not only recognize and exploit existing needs of potential followers, but also look for potential motives and higher needs in followers. In this way, they completely engage their followers and help them to achieve their fullest potential (Burns, 1978).

Bhagavad Gita provides leadership advice in a number of general areas (Rarick & Nickerson, 2008). First, a leader must be aware of his role and should be prepared to respond to the responsibilities imposed by their position. Being true to oneself and one's values is an essential aspect according to Gita. Second, a leader must be both wise as well as proactive in his actions. Leaders are required to take tough decisions at times and presence of inner wisdom would guide them in making the correct decisions. Third, a leader must have the ability to sacrifice own interests over the interests of the group. The leader in the Gita is a humanistic leader who acts without self gain and who has great personal concern for followers. Fourth, a leader must possess qualities like fearlessness, righteousness, charity, self control, selfless service, compassion and perseverance in order to be a good leader (Rarick & Nickerson, 2008).

A transformational leader shows the qualities of a leader as expressed in the Gita. Such a leader motivates followers to go beyond their self interests (Bass, 1998a, 1999). Transformational leadership is the most desirable form of leadership since it can significantly enhance organizational effectiveness. Mulla and Krishnan (2010) demonstrated that karma yoga orientation of a leader enhances transformational leadership. Such leadership further enhances the karma yoga and spirituality of followers (Krishnan, 2007). Kejriwal and Krishnan (2004) also found that a belief in karma enhanced transformational leadership. In another study by Mulla and Krishnan (2012), karma yoga was conceptualized as an outcome of transformational leadership in the Indian context. The empirical findings suggested that transformational leadership enhanced followers' duty orientation and indifference to rewards. This leads to a conclusion that when the leader practices karma yoga, it further affects the followers and enhances their karma yoga, which collectively benefits the organization. In another study, Mehra and Krishnan (2005) empirically tested the effect of svadharma orientation on transformational leadership and followers' trust in the leader. It was found that svadharma orientation of the leader significantly enhanced transformational leadership. Under such leadership, followers find meaning and satisfaction transcending their self interests. They are also inspired to exert more efforts for enhanced performance and effectiveness. It is evident from these studies that when a leader engages in his duties as prescribed by the Bhagavad Gita, it not only affects him but also the followers who also engage in the practice of karma yoga. This has a cumulative effect on the organizational efficiency.

ORGANIZATIONAL CITIZENSHIP BEHAVIOR

Organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) can be defined as individual behavior that is discretionary, not directly or explicitly recognized by the formal reward system, and that in the aggregate promotes the effective functioning of the organization (Organ, 1988). There have been a large number of behaviors which have been identified to be a part of organizational citizenship behavior. The categories of behavior which are closely related to the Bhagavad Gita philosophy

are helping behavior, sportsmanship and civic virtue. Studies have found that OCB is an outcome of transformational leadership mediated by trust in their leaders (Podsakoff et al., 1990). Individuals who have a strong belief in the philosophy of karma feel a sense of relatedness with their colleagues. Being a part of an organization is considered as a duty which is to be fulfilled in order to achieve liberation.

Mulla and Krishnan (2012) found in their study that individuals who had a strong belief in Indian philosophy were also good citizens at the workplace. They were more likely to tolerate less than uncomfortable conditions at the workplace without complaining and were more likely to be proactive in preventing work related problems with others (Mulla and Krishnan, 2012). This supported a previous study by Zinnbauer et al (1997) according to which, people who considered themselves spiritual and religious were more likely to feel interconnected with others (group cohesion) and exhibit self sacrificing behavior (altruism). Madhu and Krishnan (2005) studied the effect of transformational leadership and leader's Karma-Yoga on Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB) of followers. The presence of both Karma-Yoga and transformational leadership together had an enhanced effect on altruism, conscientiousness, and courtesy. Another study by Mulla and Krishnan (2012) showed that transformational leadership enhances followers' Karma-Yoga. Of the three dimensions of Karma-Yoga, it was found that transformational leadership enhances the duty-orientation of the followers and followers' indifference to rewards. Biswas (2009) empirically analyzed the relationship between gunas and organizational citizenship behavior. It was found that satva guna was positively related to helping behavior and sportsmanship while rajas was positively related to civic virtue and helping behavior. Tamas was found to be negatively related to civic virtue. It is thus safe to assume that the type of guna predominant in an individual is a predictor of his or her work behavior.

Bhagavad Gita at the Individual Level

Bhagavad Gita and well being

With the increasing importance and centrality of work in people's life, problems such as stress, burnout and emotional issues have also increased. Research suggests that the more an individual engages in workplace spirituality, the lesser such problems emerge. It has been found that individuals who are involved in the pursuit of personally meaningful goals possess greater emotional well-being and better physical health than do persons who lack goal direction. Emmons (1999) reviewed seven studies that have reported a significant correlation between spirituality and mental health indices of life satisfaction, happiness, self esteem, hope and optimism, and meaning in life. There is growing evidence that suggests positive individual level outcomes for employees such as increased joy, serenity, job satisfaction and commitment (eg., Burack, 1999; Giacalone & Jurkiewicz, 2003a; Krishna Kumar & Neck, 2002).

Psychological isolation, alienation and lack of meaning at work is a common occurrence. Emmons (2003) reported that work takes on a new meaning and significance when it is seen as a calling, a sacred duty, a service opportunity or a way to serve God, or a higher purpose. When work is seen as a calling, it becomes more meaningful and this increases productivity and commitment of employees (Reave, 2005).

Bhagavad Gita preaches non attachment to the fruits of actions performed in the course of one's duty. Work performance based on anticipated benefits suffers on account of the mental agitations caused by the anxieties of the future. Here, Gita tells us not to mortgage the present commitment to an uncertain future. This acts as a great approach towards energy conservation and a preventive method against stress and burnout in the work situations. Attaining the state of niskama karma prevents the ego and the mind from dissipation through speculation on future gains or losses (Satija, 2011). Krahne, Giacalone, and Jurkiewicz (2003) found individual level outcomes such as increased physical and mental health of employees, advanced personal growth, and enhanced sense of self worth associated with workplace spirituality.

INTERCONNECTEDNESS

Workplaces have replaced local communities and social groups that establish a sense of connectedness. Spirituality at work provides employees a sense of community and connectedness. Workplace spirituality is linked to increased levels of employee attachment, loyalty and belongingness (Milliman et al., 1999). There is also considerable amount of research linking spirituality to consideration towards others at work (eg., Burack, 1999). Consideration towards others is further correlated with higher job satisfaction, low turnover, group cohesion, group performance, and group efficiency (Bass, 1990).

The practice of interconnectedness or loksangrah is an important teaching from the Bhagavadgita. At the workplace, employees must work in tandem with his or her colleagues. Rejoicing in the welfare of fellow employees creates a positive work environment conducive to work. Treating all colleagues with equal respect and positive attitude further improves the workplace environment.

In a study conducted by Mulla and Krishnan (2012), it was found that individuals who strongly believe in the doctrine of karma, liberation and divinity of all, show a strong sense of relatedness with their work and their colleagues in the work environment. They believe that they are a part of a particular team, department or organization for a larger purpose, that is, to fulfill their past obligations. The only way in which one can achieve liberation is through the conscientious discharge of those past obligations. Such individuals were also more likely to tolerate less than uncomfortable conditions at workplace without complaining and were more likely to be proactive in preventing work related problems with others (Mulla & Krishnan, 2012).

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CROSS MEDIA OWNERSHIP IN INDIA: NEED FOR REASONABLE RESTRICTIONS

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ABSTRACT

In the era of liberalization and information outburst, the issue of cross media ownership has assumed tremendous importance. In spite of being a huge market for the media industry, having an expected growth rate of 17% by end of 2016, the country lacks a concrete media policy on the part of the government. The government has been playing hide and seek when it comes to regulating cross media presence. In several liberal democracies like US, UK, Australia , France and Germany, cross media ownership has almost been absent in the media sector. Apart from the 20% cap on the stake ownership by the broadcast company in a DTH company and vice versa no other strong regulations exist either vertically or horizontally. The research paper studies the impact of cross media ownership in India and analyses the studies and steps taken by the government.

INTRODUCTION

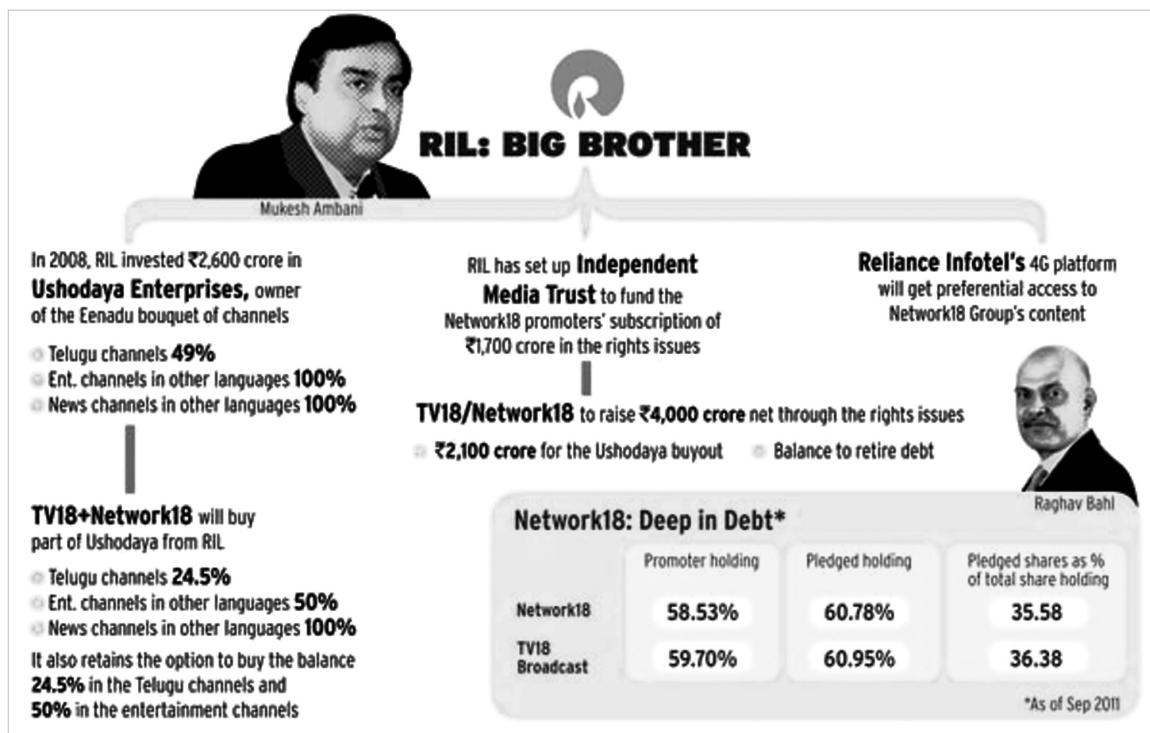
The rise of 'global media giants ' (Croteau and Hoynes, 2006) combined with the influence of domestic media barons in India, has raised suspicions on the way and rate at which expansion of the media companies is taking place. This has resulted two TRAI consultation papers and a study by ASCI. The recent deal between Mukesh Ambani's RIL and Raghav Bahl has further raised eyebrows and brought the issue of cross media ownership to forefront. A brief understanding of the deal would further clear the smoke on cross media ownership impact.

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MEET THE LATEST MEDIA MOGUL IN TOWN

The recent announcement by Mukesh Ambani's Reliance Industries Ltd to take over one of India's biggest media companies, Network 18 has yet again opened a Pandora's box. One of the biggest issues haunting India's media industry -- the issue of cross media ownership, is knocking at the doors of policy makers one more time.

Through this opaque and complicated deal Ambani's Reliance Infotel gets 'preferential access' to Network 18 and TV 18's content which includes a huge bouquet of media products across various platforms. Raghav Bahl's media kitty includes television news and current affairs channels like CNN -IBN, CNBC Awaz, CNBC TV 18, IBN 7, entertainment channels - Colors , Home shop 18 and MTV, websites like first post .com and many such other business



Source :<http://businesstoday.intoday.in/>

In a move which brands Mukesh Ambani as the latest media mogul surpassing even Rupert Murdoch's in India , involves a huge investment of Rs 3800 crore. . This would not only bail out Raghav Bahl of a huge debt but also Bahl would use Rs 2100 crore to buy out Ambani's share in Eenadu group's network. Ambani had bailed out Ramoji Rao's Eenadu in 2008 through a gigantic investment through Nimesh Kampani. It was later revealed that RIL was the real owner.)

The deal may appear to put Bahl on a favourable platform but actually, according to analysts, it is Mukesh Ambani who has emerged to be a clear winner in the deal. Ambani not only managed to get a substantial return on his investment made in 2008 but also now the Network 18 content would be utilized for Reliance 4G network. In fact the press release said: "The combination of India's leading TV content provider, with a bouquet of nearly 25 channels, and Infotel, will be a

significant step in bringing a high quality “live TV” experience to broadband customers across the country. Likewise, Network18’s market leading web portals and e-commerce operations will provide several value added services to Infotel’s broadband subscribers. This unique alliance is expected to differentiate Infotel and create value for all stakeholders” (RIL press release 2012 retrieved from <http://ril.com/downloads/pdf/PR03012012.pdf>) RIL’s subsidiary company Infotel entered into a MOU with TV 18 and Network 18.

In an article by Sandeep Bamzai for *indiatoday.intoday.in*, Arun Kejriwal, head of advisory firm , KRIS analyses the deal and opines “Mukesh will be able to call the shots in both ETV and TV18 without being labelled promoter. Moreover, he has now made good his investment which had soured in ETV.”

(Sandeep Bamzai January 14, 2012 retrieved from http://india_today.intoday.in/story/bailout-for-raghav-bahl-network-18-signals-mukesh-ambani-willing-to-bet-big-money-on-media/1/168680.html)

THE IMPACT OF THE DEAL

The deal clearly crowns Mukesh Ambani as Murdoch of India, giving him immense power in Indian media industry. Analysts say that Ambani would not only have a major say in Network 18 and Eenadu group but along with his 4G network would change the market dynamics of the industry.

Skeptics however fear the deal to be dangerous trend for Indian democracy, being apprehensive of the perils of such merger and acquisitions leading to cross media ownership and concentration in a few hands.

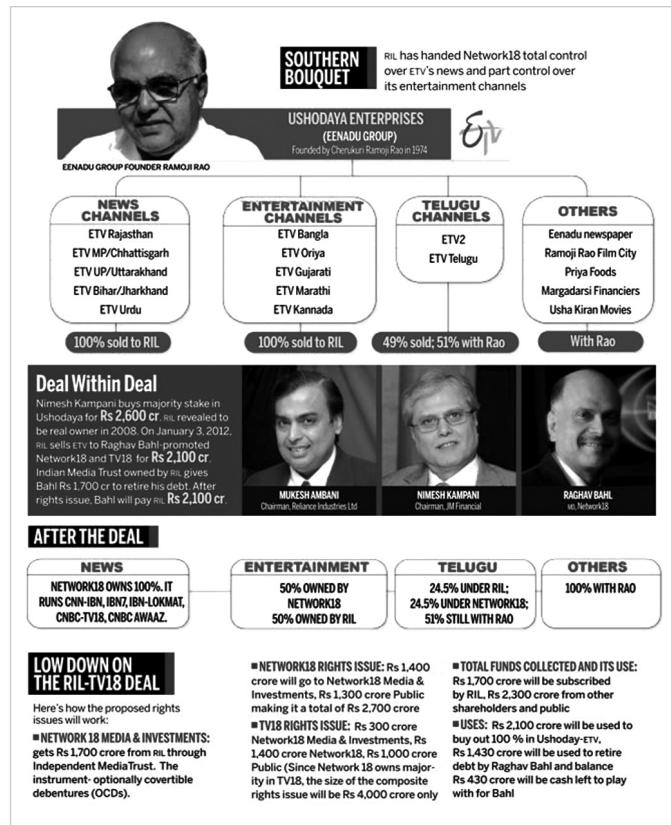
Though there has been much debate on cross media ownership, government has failed to take any concrete steps in the direction, tossing the ball invariably into the TRAI's court.

Theoretical Premise and the great cross media debate

There are two points of views on the cross media ownership debate, one being the Market perspective and the other being the Public sphere approach.

The Market perspective

The story of media empires is not new. William Randolph Hearst's powerful newspaper empire exercising enormous power stands witness to this . The trend of merger and acquisitions is also a market move which has been existing for quite some time, some of the major deals being between



Source <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/>

- 1) News Corp - Metro Media in 1985,
- 2) Sony-CBS in 1987,
- 3) Viacom- universal studios, Geffen Records, New York Knicks publishing in 1993 .
- 4) The most prominent deal undoubtedly was in 1995 of \$19 billion between Disney-ABC.
- 5) This was followed by AOL buying Netscape in 1998
- 6) Seagram buying Polygram music in 1998;
- 7)) Viacom - CBS merger in 1999,
- 8) Disney again buying Fox Family Worldwide in 2001
- 9) and Sony led investor group buying MGM studios in 2004.

The defenders of the market argue that over the years the media market has evolved and cross media ownership is also a by-product of this evolution. In the age of liberal and global economies, cross media ownership becomes an effective market move to operate in the newly emerged media market.

The cross media ownership gives edge to the media companies in terms of synergy , better options and better distribution . Synergy enables the owners to maximize the use of their resources and man power. Thus using the same resources one can produce more than one media product. For example if an television correspondent goes to cover a high profile international event, his reports can not only be used as an electronic news story but also it can be transcribed for the use in Print and news portals. Similarly the convergence of technology helps creating better quality products on more than one media platforms. Moreover it gives an advantage of economies of scale. The control of the distribution platforms helps in wider reach to audience, or in these case consumers for the products created by the companies.

Moreover the supporters of market perspective believe that cross media ownership and the latest market mechanisms have only helped in revamping or breathing a new life to the traditional forms of media. For example through web sites like amazon.com or home shop 18.com the publishers are discovering new consumers of printed books which has proved to be favourable for them.

THE PUBLIC SPHERE APPROACH

The second point of view to this debate is the public sphere approach which is apprehensive of the market perspective. The defenders of the approach believe that media is unlike any other product, say bread, butter or a t-shirt. It is a powerful force which has a potential of influencing and forming opinion. Therefore the laws of market should not be applied to it blindly. Secondly in the scenario of concentration of ownership the diversity of opinion is threatened. This may disrupt an effective working of democracy.

Moreover a number of available media outlets have only led to production of content suited only for commercial purposes. For example the rising sensationalism in the Hindi news channels is an outcome of the severe competition for television ratings. The political ownership is also a dangerous trend in this direction. Handful of politicians owning media platforms can manipulate and subvert a representative platform. Manipulating and influencing the public opinion in its favour, the political ownership may very well use media for propagating one's self-motivated goals.

Moreover the birth of 'multinational media giants' exercising control over several media platforms across the world itself is a development strong enough to send jitters through the advocates of democracy.

HISTORY OF CROSS MEDIA OWNERSHIP IN INDIA

The matter of Cross media ownership dates back to Nehruvian era when the Indian press was branded as 'Jute Press' or the 'Steel Press' because of its ownership being limited to Jute and steel barons.

The first press commission which was appointed in 1952 and submitted its report in 1954 sternly warned against the trend of concentration of ownership and monopoly in media and recommended diffusion of ownership as a remedy. (Ahuja.B.N (2002) Theory and Practice of Journalism , Surjeet Publications , Delhi)

The second press commission too declared, that the responsible press could be a free press and a free press a responsible one

With the expansion of various media platforms the debates on media intensified. It is here when Cross media ownership was majority addressed in 2006 in Broadcast service Regulation Bill where the draft placed several restrictions on such ownership.

Ammu Joseph (2007) wrote, "The controversial Section 12 of the Bill introduces 'restrictions on accumulation of interest' – or curbs on media ownership. Two clauses restrict cross-holdings between broadcasters (e.g., television channels) and network operators (e.g., cable and DTH companies). Another proposes restrictions on the number of channels a broadcaster can control within a city or a state; a ceiling at the national level is also mooted." (Ammu Joseph 2007 retrieved from s <http://indiatogether.org/mediaown-op-ed>) The bill however wasn't passed by the Parliament and stands lapsed.

PRESENT REGULATIONS

The pressing issue for regulating the concentration of ownership and thereby cross media influence rises with an inherent concern for safeguarding democracy where the freedom of expression plays an indispensable role. The press and now in the broader sense the media is cited as a watch dog of democracy, a fourth pillar which is a vital cog enabling smooth functioning of the democracy mechanism . However if the power is concentrated in a few hands there are chances of the mechanism breaking down.

On the other hand a state controlled press is also an equally big demon and hence no alternative to the press being a tool in a few private hands. The only way out is the inclusion of the players committed to work for the benefit of the society and thus ensuring plurality and diversity of opinion. But with a number of mergers and acquisitions in the media sector and expansion on various media platform by media companies , the rise of cross media ownership and its concentration in a few hands has raised the eyebrows of the state and the regulators.

There are two ways of looking at the cross media ownership aspect.

- 1) Vertical Integration
- 2) Horizontal integration

Vertical integration means the presence of the broadcasting companies on the distribution platforms According to TRAI (2013) "More and more broadcasting companies owning television channels are venturing into various distribution platforms namely cable TV distribution, DTH, IPTV etc. Similarly, many companies owning distribution platforms are also entering into television broadcasting."(TRAI 2013 retrieved from http://trai.gov.in/WriteReadData/ConsultationPaper/Document/CP_on_Cross_media_%2015-02-2013.pdf) SUN TV, ESSEL group and Star India are the major players owning content creation and distribution platforms .

The present restrictions include a 20% cap on the stake which any broadcasting or cable network company can hold in the company owning DTH

THE RESTRICTION STATES

"1.4 The Licensee shall not allow Broadcasting Companies and/or Cable Network Companies to collectively hold or own more than 20% of the total paid up equity in its company at any time during the License period. ..."

"1.5 The Licensee company not to hold or own more than 20% equity share in a broadcasting and/or Cable Network Company."

2.3 No restriction on the number of licenses has been prescribed in the said guidelines. The relevant provision of the guidelines state as under:

" ii) There will be no restrictions on the total number of DTH licenses and these will be issued to any person who fulfils the necessary terms and conditions and subject to the security and technical clearances by the appropriate authorities of the Govt.". "(TRAI 2013 retrieved from

http://trai.gov.in/WriteReadData/ConsultationPaper/Document/CP_on_Cross_media_%2015-02-2013.pdf)

FM RADIO

While giving reasonable liberty to Television, government has put several restrictions on FM Radio. The regulations are as under

"Every applicant shall be allowed to run not more than 40% of the total channels in a city subject to a minimum of three different operators in the city and further subject to the provisions contained in para 8. However in case the 40% figure is a decimal, it will be rounded off to the nearest whole number." (. "(TRAI 2013 retrieved from

http://trai.gov.in/WriteReadData/ConsultationPaper/Document/CP_on_Cross_media_%2015-02-2013.pdf)

Restrictions on multiple permissions in a city

As part of its expansion policy, the government now allows a company to hold more than one license in the city , subject to certain conditions.

"A minimum of three different operators should be present in the city where multiple channels can be allowed to an applicant. This is to ensure that there is plurality and competition in the market."

Restrictions on the total number of frequencies that an entity can hold

A cap of 15% is placed on the total number of frequencies a company can hold

Excepting Jammu and Kashmir, North Eastern States and island territories.

"No entity shall hold permission for more than 15% of all channels allotted in the Country excluding channels located in Jammu and Kashmir, North Eastern States and island territories. " (. "(TRAI 2013 retrieved from

http://trai.gov.in/WriteReadData/ConsultationPaper/Document/CP_on_Cross_media_%2015-02-2013.pdf)

Horizontal integration implies the owning more than one content creation platforms by a single company. For example India Today group also owning websites, its subsidiary TV Today group owning four news channels. When it comes to 'cross media holdings' no restrictions have been prescribed by the government.

"Restrictions with regard to cross media holdings/ownerships across print, television and radio sectors of the media have not so far been prescribed by the Government " (2-13)

Apart from these restrictions, TRAI also recommends appropriate regulation where the use of spectrum is involved like mobile TV etc.

Studies by the government

A 2009 report by Administrative Staff College Of India (ASCI) identified many companies in India with cross media presence . It also noted that situation was worse in regional media market than in their Hindi or English counterpart. It also

called out for appropriate steps to put restrictions on cross media ownership in India.

Dr Paramita Dasgupta, Professor, ASCI speaking at ASSOCHAM conference on Cross Media Ownership in 2012 said, "There should be cross media regulations put it in place. Convergence should be taken into account and instead of having a multiple regulators we should have one umbrella regulator to look at all the aspects of media." (Exchange for Media (2012) retrieved from http://www.exchange4media.com/47413_%E2%80%9Ccross-media-ownership-should-be-regulated%E2%80%9D.html)

.TRAI has twice released consultation papers on cross media ownership, once in 2008 and the other in 2013. In 2009 TRAI recommended against the broadcasters and distributors having common ownership control. It also sought safeguards in this area as well as a proper market study.

In 2013 TRAI came out with its second consultation paper on cross media ownership. The paper addressed three major questions

- 1) Which entities should be barred from holding broadcasting and distribution licences. According to Dr Khullar a number of 'undesirables' (Prashant Jha 2013 retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-opinion/media-crossholding-in-cross-hairs/article4744594.ece>) like politicians and builders have stepped into the media market with an intention of furthering self motivated goals .
- 2) The second issue questions the demerits of convergence across various media platforms like TV , print and FM Radio. It raises a point as to whether the entities through horizontal integrations should be allowed to promote their interests
- 3) The third point raises the issue of Vertical integration and questions whether a broadcaster should also be allowed to distribute its content. At present there's a 20 percent cap on the ownership of stake between broadcasters and distribution channels like DTH, MSO, cable operators etc) and vice versa

(paraphrasedPrashantJha2013 retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-opinion/media-crossholding-in-cross-hairs/article4744594.ece>)

Summary of 2009 Recommendations of TRAI

Horizontal integration

- 1) Necessary safeguards should be ensured across media platforms like print , television and radio to protect plurality and diversity in the country.
- 2) A detailed market study may be carried out by MIB for determining these safeguards

Vertical integration

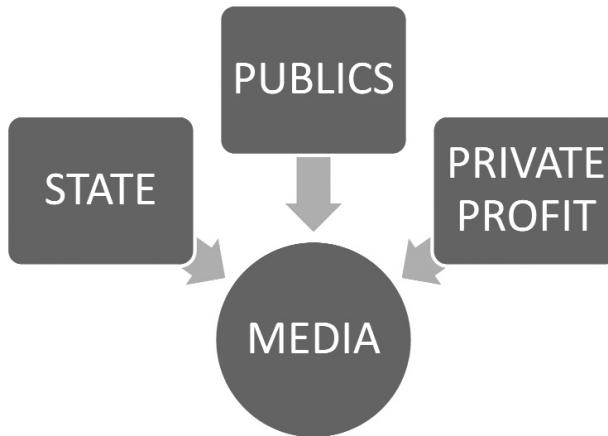
- 1) No broadcasting company should hold more than 20% stake in the DTH company and vice versa
- 2) The existing broadcasters having more than 20% stake should be given sufficient time of 3 years for restructuring

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

In India that is under a liberalist democratic framework media functions under tripartite forces of state, public interest and private profit. Under the influence of market forces private profit is a strong force impacting media's content and editorial decisions. This private profit can be in the form of corporate or political gains which the media wants to maximize. It is here where political ownership and cross media ownership comes into picture.

So on one hand the political ownership decides to influence content in its favour and on the other hand there is a race for creation and distribution of commercially viable products. No wonder the cases of paid news and manipulation of public opinion are not unknown in the Indian media landscape. However the smooth functioning of democracy demands

a platform where plurality and diversity can be represented. And the time has come to take steps in this direction before it is too late. So to make Indian media a prototype of plurality and diversity, reasonable restrictions on cross media ownership are necessary .TRAI has announced to be quite committed to the cause. And TRAI's moves should be seen as a potent way of safeguarding the delicate fabric of democracy.



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JOHN STUART MILL (1806-1873)

Relevance in contemporary times

INDRANI BANERJEE*

'Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign'
- John Stuart Mill

INTRODUCTION

John Stuart Mill (1806-73) was a British philosopher, economist and statesman who made significant contribution in the field of logic, ethics, politics, economics and metaphysics. He was born in London on May 20, 1806 and died at Avignon in France on May 8, 1873. He was the son of James Mill, founder of Utilitarianism¹. John Stuart Mill's formal education began under the direct control of his father, who was a stern and severe task master. He started learning Greek at the age of three, and Latin when he was eight. By this time, he had completed the works of Plato and Herodotus. At the age of twelve, he commenced his serious study of philosophy, and read Homer, Thucydides, Aristotle's Republic.

The result was that he acquired a great amount of knowledge of what were considered the higher branches of education and underwent a stricter intellectual and academic discipline in his childhood than is usually the case. But this time, Mill had to pay heavily for it. His health suffered and he looked old prematurely. It should also be noted that during this period the emotional side of John Mill was starved and he did not learn to enjoy and appreciate the beauties of nature. These shortcomings were remedied to some extent by his sojourn in France, where he spent one year travelling and sightseeing. All these- passionate love of nature, the joys of travels, and the ease in the use of French language- remained with him throughout his life.

On his return to England he began reading Bentham which proved to be a turning point in his life. He became an ardent Benthamite as his father had designed him to be, and dedicated himself to the promotion of the cause of political reform.

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At the age of seventeen he founded the original Utilitarian Society for the study and propagation of Radicalism. Whilst he engaged in championing the cause of Radicalism in these various ways, his health gave way yet again: he suffered from a mild nervous breakdown at the age of twenty. He attributed this collapse to the severe physical and mental strain that he was subjected to from a very young age under the austere and strict routine drafted by his father. He was in a 'dull state of nerves' unable to find delight in virtue, or the general good, but also just as little in anything else.² This constant habit of analysis had made him very mechanical.

This illness and Mill's subsequent recovery proved to be a turning point in Mill's life. His philosophy which was strictly Benthamite till this time began to change. John Stuart Mill now turned to the study of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Goethe, and got their works glimpses into aspects of truth which had remained completely hidden from the view of Bentham. This totally revolutionized Mill, not only as an individual but also as a thinker. This thinking awakened the inner self of Bentham, it completely revolutionized him and he emerged as a 'new man with a deeper sympathy', a wide intellectual outlook, and a keener perception of the needs of human beings, and a realization of the importance of cultivating the emotions as well as intellect. This mental crisis and turmoil came to an end when, at the age of twenty-five, he formed an ever-lasting bond of friendship with Harriet Taylor, what he called 'the most valuable friendship of my life'. Mill later married her and the two collaborated on numerous projects.

One of Mill's most remarkable works, *On Liberty*, was dedicated to her, who was 'the inspirer, and in part the author, of all that is best in my writings- the friend and wife whose exalted sense of truth and right was my strongest incitement, and whose approbation was my chief reward'³. It was at this crucial juncture of his life that he realized that the only way to secure happiness was to regard some external end as the purpose of life, marked a departure from his teachings of Bentham. Therefore, it can be said that the crisis marks the beginning of a gradual revolt of Mill against his father's intellectual domination, and of the process of amendment and revision of Benthamite Utilitarianism. It may be added here that his wife exercised a profound positive influence on his thinking which was highly beneficial. Mill's finest work dates from his association and collaboration with Mrs Harriet Taylor. She rendered the source of humane element in his writings. Mrs Harriet died in 1858 in Avignon. Mill also died in Avignon in 1873 and was buried next to his wife.

Mill wrote extensively on all subjects that relate to man, either individually or collectively, on logic, metaphysics, ethics, economics and politics. His work, *System of Logic*, published in 1843, is probably the greatest of his books. It marks an epoch in logical enquiry and is famous for its analysis of inductive proof. His *Principles of Political Economy*, published in 1848 is also an important intellectual contribution. Both these works ran through several editions during his life-time. Among his works on Metaphysics, mention maybe made of the *Examination of Hamilton's Philosophy* and *August Comte and Positivism*. The essays, *On Liberty* and *Representative Government*, published in 1859 and 1861 respectively, *Utilitarianism* published in 1861; *Parliamentary Reform*; and *The Subjection of Women* were his important works on Politics. All these academic works were published when Mill had achieved great fame as a philosopher and these works helped Mill leave his mark as one of the most influential thinkers of the century.

MILL'S POLITICAL IDEAS

MILL'S SCIENTIFIC METHOD

Mill's System of Logic rightly projects him as an empiricist⁴ in so far as he attributes to experience all states of consciousness. This leads to what may be called Mill's scientific method as well. He asserts that the rules of scientific method evolve out of the spontaneous inductions about the world that we make as embodied creatures. As we explore the world to find the best means to satisfy our natural needs and aims, we find that some maintain themselves while others turn out to be false. As we proceed to understand and explain the world, the generalizations began to accumulate and interweave. With these, there are patterns- a pattern about patterns; a law about laws which includes all sorts of laws,

about all sort of events. This is the universal causation, ensuring that there are laws behind every kind of events. Simply put, this means that there are laws which explain every event that happens in this world.

MILL'S MODIFICATION OF BENTHAMITE UTILITARIANISM

'It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied.' (Utilitarianism, 1863)

Though the origins of utilitarianism can be traced to Epicurus (341-270 BC), its advocacy has come through the writings of Hume (1711-76), Bentham (1748-1832) and John Stuart Mill (1806-73). It is a consequentialist theory of ethics; much a theory that judges the rightness (or wrongness) of an action of what occurs as a result of doing something. Judging action to be right or wrong on the basis of their effects seemed to allow Bentham and Mill to objectify morality. This utilitarianism or consequentialism⁵ is different from deontological theories which lay emphasis on the 'ought' to part of one's doing; the deontologists are interested only in the act, how to do and not in their effects- good or bad.

Although J.S.Mill remained adherent of utilitarian philosophy, yet he was soon disillusioned with many of its practical implications. Although Mill's account is primarily influenced by Jeremy Bentham and Mill's father James Mill, his conception and understanding of utilitarianism is very different from that of Bentham's. Bentham's famous formulation of utilitarianism⁶ is known as the 'greatest-happiness principle'. Simply put, it means that one must always act so as to produce the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people. One of Mill's major contributions to utilitarianism is his argument for the qualitative separation of pleasures. Bentham treats all forms of happiness as equal, whereas Mill argues that intellectual and moral pleasures are superior to more physical forms of pleasure.

Mill distinguishes between happiness and contentment, claiming that the former is of higher value than the latter, a belief that it is better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied. Thus, distinguishing between quality and quantity of pleasure, Mill in his utilitarianism distinguishes between physical pleasures (eating, drinking, and having intimate relationship with others, etc.) and intellectual pleasures (philosophical debate, reading, listening etc.). Being a highly educated man, Mill naturally favoured the higher pleasures over the lower ones.

Mill was critical of those who believed that the principle of utility was nothing more than a justification for gratifying one's physical appetites. In fact, given the choice Mill believed people would always seek the 'higher' pleasures over the 'lower' ones.⁷ In fact, he considered this to be the natural thing for humans to do. Mill's argument is that simple pleasures tend to be preferred by people who have no experience with high art, and are therefore, not in a proper position to judge. Thus he laid more emphasis on the development of moral, intellectual and artistic faculties.

While talking about Utilitarianism, Mill spends some time answering various objections he felt could be raised against Bentham's version of the principle of utility. One of the biggest objections which he felt needed to be countered was that the principle of utility is based on an ideal/premise which is unattainable and that people cannot be happy all the time.⁸ However, we can aspire to have a life which is generally more happy than not, and as such this should be our goal.

As about the revision of utilitarianism, it may be noted that Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), the founder of Utilitarianism and other utilitarians held that the state should resort to minimum intervention in individual activities in order to secure 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. This meant an expansion of market economy and restriction on the sphere of state activity. J.S. Mill sought to revise this view and pleaded for the extension of state activity for the promotion of general welfare. He also recommended positive role of the state for the promotion of individual liberty.⁹ In short, Mill came to revise the original premises of utilitarianism on two important aspects:

- Mill introduces a distinguishing principle between the quality and quantity of pleasure. He postulated that the quality of happiness and contentment, art and intellect which constituted 'higher pleasures' were as important as the physical/lower pleasures. He argued that man does not run after physical pleasures alone. Mill stressed the fact that

an individual should lay importance on developing his artistic and intellectual faculties. A pleasure of high quality giving less satisfaction was preferable to the one of low quality giving more satisfaction.

- By drawing a distinction between the self-regarding actions and other-regarding actions¹⁰, Mill proceeded to demonstrate that the state was justified in regulating such actions of the individuals which affected other members of the society. The conditional departure from laissez-faire¹¹ doctrine of early liberalism paved the way for the emergence of welfare state.

Mill's revision of utilitarianism was inspired by the idea of human development. Bentham's notion of happiness had ignored such important factors as the sense of honour and the sense of dignity. Mill virtually abandons the thesis of Bentham, and gives a new meaning to the principle of utility. Utility no longer means the hedonic value of things; in Mill's interpretation it includes all the good things for which men aspire e.g., liberty, culture, education, and the higher values of life. A happy and fulfilling life, according to Mill, is a moral and intellectual life, and not a life filled with moments of pleasures of the senses.

Mill insisted that as human beings we must constantly stimulate each other to apply the superior faculties of our mind and spirit in order to achieve social prosperity. He still maintained that utility was the ultimate standard for judging all moral issues but the scope of this concept must be suitably expanded to make it more humane. One should take cognizance of the progressive nature of human beings and should take their permanent interests into account. By redefining utility on these lines Mill in fact transformed its true spirit.¹² The old utilitarians had conceded the importance of liberty but they had not regarded it as the essence of utilitarian philosophy. On the contrary, Mill sought to make liberty the core of his utilitarianism. He argued that the true happiness did not lie in physical satisfaction or in hedonistic pleasures but was derived from the development of human character. Individual liberty is the essential condition of character development.

Liberty enables a person to explore and enjoy new types of pleasure. Liberty itself is a source of unique pleasure which belittles all other pleasures. Mill revolted against Bentham's material maximizing criterion of the social good. He could not agree that all pleasures were equal, nor that the market distributed them fairly. He held that men were capable of something better than the money-grubbing and starvation-avoiding existence to which Benthamism condemned them. He rejected the maximization of indifferent utilities as the criterion of social good, and put in its place the maximum development and use of human capacities- moral, intellectual, aesthetic, as well as material productive capacities.¹³ Thus, what we firmly say is that though Mill, is a utilitarian like Bentham, but what he is not is that he is not a Benthamite .

'A state which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes, will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished.' (On Liberty, 1859).

J.S.Mill can be considered to be the most ardent champion of liberty. His famous essay On Liberty (1859) can be paralleled with John Milton's work Areopagitica (1644) as a great English classic on the subject. It is a powerful and eloquent plea for the liberty of thought, expression and action, not only against legislative interference, but also against the pressure of public opinion¹⁴. It calls for the toleration of opinions that we fail to understand.

Mill's deviation from the fundamentals of Benthamite Utilitarianism first appeared in his famous essay On Liberty, published in 1859. Motley of circumstances had made liberty of the individual the theme of political speculation in England in the middle of the nineteenth century. The reforming activities of Bentham and his utilitarian followers had resulted in extending the control of government over an increasing number of activities of the citizens. The acts passed by the Parliament regulating child labour had restricted the negative liberty of the child to earn his livelihood and of the parents to send him to work; the Factory Acts had similarly imposed limits upon the negative freedom of the labourer to control

the extent and conditions of his daily life.

The steps taken by the government to improve the conditions of life had in turn affected the liberty of the citizens. As a result of the efforts of the Government to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number, the governmental machinery had expanded with the extension of its services. On the other hand, there was a simultaneous movement to extend the franchise and expand the facilities for education so that the citizens might understand their responsibilities; the desire of local self-government had rekindled a desire among the citizenry to participate and play their part in the government of the country. This is how the problem of individual liberty and the relation between society and the individual were brought to the forefront of speculation. The consequences of applying the Benthamite principles to political life also compelled the intelligentsia to rethink the relationship between individual and society¹⁵.

The liberty which Mill seeks to defend is thus a wide and comprehensive liberty. It may be described as the liberty of the individual to develop, enrich and expand his personality. In his essay *On Liberty* (1859), J.S. Mill sought to demonstrate the dangers to which individual liberty was exposed in a democracy. While Bentham and James Mill believed that democratic government could act for the betterment of the whole society, J.S. Mill thought that democratic rule was synonymous with majority rule, and that majorities may tend to oppress minorities. In this context, Mill was particularly influenced by the views of French philosopher, Alex de Tocqueville (1805-59) in his celebrated work, *Democracy in America* (1835-40). Tocqueville observed that with the extension of democracy in social sphere, the source of intellectual authority was found in public opinion (that is the majority opinion), and this led to the 'tyranny of the majority'. Supremacy of the public opinion demanded conformity to the generally held attitudes and standards. This gave rise to the belief that a dissenting position must be a wrong one. The net result was the curtailment of individual autonomy and the loss of liberty. Whereas the principle of liberty seeks to encourage a variety of interests and opinions, the extension of democracy tends to promote conformity of opinions and attitudes, and thereby suppress individual liberty. Mill defends liberty of individual to ensure fullest development of his personality. He identified three major areas in which liberty of the individual must be protected:

- Freedom of Thought and Expression
- Freedom of Action
- Freedom of Association

One of the issues that is considered to belong to the minimum area of 'non-interference' is the freedom of thought and expression. Freedom of thought and expression belongs to an individual's inward domain of consciousness. Development of his personality calls for fullest liberty of his conscience, liberty of thought and feeling, absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects, practical or speculative, scientific, moral or theological. Mill opines that it is illegitimate for either government or mass pressure to interfere with the free expression of unorthodox viewpoints.

Mill advocates liberty of thought and expression on the ground of human dignity also. Apart from the question of social utility, he tried to show that individual self-determination is a basic human right. It is indispensable to the development of his sense of moral responsibility. No line of thought or action would be morally significant unless it is allowed freely and consciously, as a matter of personal conviction. No human being can have a sense of dignity and self-esteem unless he gets an opportunity to choose from alternative courses of thought and action. If the State denies this liberty to its citizens, they are bound to lose their sense of dignity¹⁶. Eventually the State will realize that no great things can really be accomplished with the help of subdued citizens.

The need for intellectual freedom becomes more urgent with the extension of democracy. Mill asserts that in a democracy, public opinion- particularly the majority opinion- was recognized as the source of intellectual authority which demanded conformity to the generally held attitudes and standards. It led to the impression that a dissenting position must be a wrong one. On the contrary, if the State maintains full freedom of thought and expression, it will encourage the

expression of all sorts of opinions. When minorities have the full freedom to express the dissenting opinions, it will prevent the concentration of power in the hands of the majority, and thus wipe out the 'tyranny of majority'¹⁷.

As regards the freedom of action and freedom of association, Mill conceded certain restrictions on these freedoms so that no one is allowed to harm or injure any other person. He draws a distinction between two types of actions of men: 'self-regarding actions' and 'other-regarding actions'. By self-regarding, he means those actions that have consequences only for the individual actor and nobody else, and other-regarding actions means those actions that also have consequences for others. He argues that with respect to actions or choices that affect only one's self, self-regarding actions, the state or any other external authority has no business to interfere. 'Over himself, over his mind and own body, the individual is Sovereign'. In contrast, with respect to actions that have consequences on others, there is some case for external interference. In this case, it is the state, which can constrain a person from acting in a way that causes harm to someone else. For minor harm, Mill recommends only social disapproval and not the force of law. Constraining actions by the force of law should happen only when the other regarding actions cause serious harm to definite individuals.

John Stuart Mill has eloquently addressed the issue of the limits, competence, and consequences of the imposition in his essay On Liberty (1859). In the discussions in political theory, it is known as the harm principle. He says 'The principle is that the sole end for which mankind are warranted individually or collectively in interfering with the liberty of action of any of that number is self-protection that the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community against his will is to prevent harm to others.'

In this context, Mill makes an important distinction between self-regarding and other-regarding actions (a reference to it has already been made in the preceding paragraphs). Just to recapitulate what was discussed already, by self-regarding actions, we mean those actions that have consequences only for the individual actor and nobody else and by other-regarding actions, those actions that have consequences for others. Mill argues that with respect to actions or choices that effect only one's self, the self-regarding actions, the state (or any other external authority) has no business to interfere. Simply put, it would mean: 'That's my business, I'll do what I like.' In contrast, with respect to actions that have consequences for others, actions that may cause harm to them, there is some case for external interference. After all, if your actions cause me harm then surely I must be saved from such harm by some external authority. In this case, it is the state, which can constrain a person from acting in a way that causes harm to someone else. However, as freedom is at the core of human society, is so crucial for a dignified human life, it should only be constrained in special circumstances. The harm cause must also be serious.

For minor harm, Mill recommends only social disapproval and not the force of law¹⁸. For example, the playing of loud music in an apartment building should bring only social disapproval from the residents of the building. They should not involve the police. They should indicate their disapproval, of the inconvenience that playing loud music has caused them, by perhaps refusing to greet the person who plays the music disregarding the harm it is causing others. The harm that playing loud music causes is that of preventing those in other apartments from talking, or sleeping, or listening to their own music. This is minor harm and should only provoke social disapproval. It is not a fit case for legal punishment. Constraining actions by the force of law should only happen when the other regarding actions cause serious harm to definite individuals. Otherwise society must bear the inconvenience in the spirit of protecting freedom. Thus, according to Mill, restrictions may be there but they must be reasonable, not excessive and not out of proportion to the action being restricted. We must not develop a habit of imposing restrictions since such a habit would be detrimental to freedom.

DEMOCRACY AND REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Mill regarded representative democracy as necessary for progress, as it permitted citizens to use and develop their faculties fully. It promoted virtue, intelligence and excellence¹⁹. It also allowed the education of the citizens, providing "an

efficient forum for conducting the collective affairs of the community"²⁰. Interaction between the individuals in a democracy ensured the possibility of the emergence of the wisest and recognition of the best leaders. It encouraged free discussion which is necessary for the emergence of truth.²¹ He judged representative democracy on the basis of how far it, "promotes the good management of the affairs of the society by means of existing faculties, moral, intellectual and active, of its various members and by 'improving' those faculties"²².

Mill tried to reconcile the principle of political economy with individual freedom.²³ He accepted that all citizens, regardless of their status, were equal and that popular sovereignty could give legitimacy to the government. Democracy was good because it made people happier and better. Mill also lays down certain conditions for representative democracy to work properly. First, such a government can run successfully only in a state where citizens are active and self-helping type. Backward civilizations were people are passive, would hardly be able to run a representative democracy. Second, citizens should show their willingness to preserve institutions of representative democracy.

Influenced by De Tocqueville, thesis on majority tyranny, Mill advocated a liberal democracy which specified and limited the powers of legally elected majorities by cataloguing and protecting individual rights against the majority. He pleaded by balancing the numerical majority in a democracy by adjusting franchise. Even though he advocated universal adult franchise in 1859, he remarked in 1861:"I regard it wholly inadmissible that any person should participate in the suffrage without being able to read, write, and I will add, perform the operations of arithmetic".²⁴

Mill prescribed registration tests for checking performances, universal education for all children and plurality of votes to the better educated, in order to balance the lack of voting rights to the uneducated. "No one but a fool, and only a fool of a peculiar description, feels offended by the acknowledgement that there are others whose opinion, and even whose opinion, and even whose wish, is entitled to a greater amount of consideration than his"²⁵.

Mill also recommended the disqualification of three other categories of dependents. First, to those who were unable to pay local taxes. Second, those who were dependent on public welfare would be excluded for five years from the last day of receipt, for "by becoming dependent on the remaining members of the community for actual subsistence, he abdicates his claim to equal rights with them in other respects"²⁶. The third category was of legal bankrupts and moral deviants like habitual drunkards. He, however, championed equal voting rights for all irrespective of their sex or colour.

Mill looked upon equal voting rights, universal suffrage, democracy and liberty as conditionally good. They had to be conferred only on those who had the character for self-control, and the ability and interest in using them for the public good. Even when one agrees with his rationale of having honest and virtuous people in governance, a possible criticism that can be labelled against him on this point is how he can judge the above qualities in an individual.

Mill also recommended open rather than secret ballot, for voting was a public trust which "should be performed under the eye and criticism of the public"²⁷. Open voting would be less dangerous, for the individual voter would be less influenced by the "sinister interests and discreditable feelings which belong to himself, either individually or as a member of a class".²⁸

Mill believed that citizens developed intellectual qualities of reason and judgement only through political participation. Civil participation enhances autonomy and altruism: autonomy from self-government; altruism from judging the interests of the community. This enabled the participant to attain moral maturity, for when an individual undertook a public action, he felt that "not only the common weal is his weal, but that it partly depends on his exertions." People had to be able to participate in the government of their country, the management of their workplace and to act as bulwarks against the autocracy of modern day bureaucracy. This feeling of belonging to a community could only come about if all were granted the right to vote. He did worry about the consequences of absolute equality that universal adult franchise entailed, namely the trampling of a wise and educated minority by the mass of people. He recommended compulsory elementary education for that would make individual citizen wise, competent and independent judges²⁹. He always emphasised that

representative democracy was only possible in a State that was small and homogenous, and assertion that has been nullified by the success of plural democracies like India.

Through the rights of citizenship an individual became a social person. He acquired both political freedom and responsibility. It was this concern with the public realm that made Mill defend woman's civil and political rights. It also constituted one of his major contributions, considering that the argument for the public domain became central to Rawl's theory in political liberalism³⁰.

ECONOMY AND STATE

Mill deviated from the classical economic theory of laissez faire and advocated "optional" areas of interference. He tried to accommodate the other major intellectual streams in Europe within Liberalism, namely Socialism. He was of this view that unless Liberalism adopted itself to the changing times, it cannot sustain itself. This, however, didn't mean that he gave up Liberalism altogether. He rather brought about this change without giving up the fundamentals of Liberalism³¹. In his work, the Principles, he reiterated the principles of Ricardian political economy but made them less deterministic. He accepted socialism only within the overall framework of a market economy. So he preferred laissez faire as a principle to state intervention in matters of social and economic policy.

The shift in Mill's position was prompted by revolutions in Europe in the 1840s, the Irish famine and the efforts of working men's organizations to improve their wages and conditions of work in the 1870s. Mill viewed the Irish famine and the emigration of population as a result of the systems of hereditary ownership and absentee landlord farming. Hence, he proposed curtailment of the normal right of inheritance and compulsory redistribution of large holdings from absentee landlords to local peasants, for they would then become efficient cultivators. He supported limiting the working hours, state control of monopolies and factory legislation for children. Mill visualized society as composed of free, equal, independent and virtuous citizens, who contributed their best towards the common good and would in turn receive rewards for their contributions. He rejected the hereditary class system, because it was inherently inefficient and obstructed progress. Mill insisted that while increased production was important for poor countries, it was better distribution of existing wealth that mattered in advanced ones.

Mill advocated taxing inheritance above a modest level, rather than industry and the economy, for that would curtail the incentive to work harder and save more than his peers. In case of property without a legal will, it would revert to the state after providing enough for the descendants. He opposed taxation on investments, for that would harm those who could not work, and for whose security it was started³². He did not like taxing incomes and savings simultaneously, for they undercut the willingness of those who kept a portion of their money for productive investments, by which wealth was created and "distributed in wages among the poor"³³. While he desired to preserve the entrepreneurship of the bourgeois, he attacked the landed aristocracy which grew wealthy "without working, risking or economizing"³⁴. Thus, Mill combined a productionist and a distributionist view of economics.

In general, Mill believed that the policy of laissez faire was the ideal, but it could be set aside for the purposes of education, care of children and the insane, planned colonization, relief for poor, public utilities like water and regulation of hours of work. The state would ensure that none starved. He did not advocate abolition of property or its equalization. He desired general embourgeoisement so that everyone worked for a living, enjoyed a decent standard of living and had sufficient leisure to cultivate one's mind. Thus his socialism was essentially libertarian, for it aimed at the full development of the individual's faculties and the liberation of the human potential. He did not advocate socialization of the means of production. He realized the need to change capitalism by bringing in the ethic of social welfarism and cooperation.³⁵

Mill's advocacy of the participation of workers in management and the need for just apportionment in the ownership of property, brings him closer to the Socialists of his time. His views about Socialism were formed by reading Blanc,

Fourier, Owen and Saint Simon who are Fabian socialists rather than Marx and Engels. Influenced by the Fabian socialists, he felt that trade unions not only restored bargaining power between the workers and captains of industry, but also ensured just and orderly economic development. He was against making membership within trade unions compulsory. Nor did he believe in prohibiting the right to strike.

Thus, in short, while he was disturbed by the exploitation that private property entailed, he was more perturbed by the uniformity that Socialism/Communism enforced. He did not think that Socialism could solve the problems that capitalism faced. Moreover, capitalism, far from increasing misery and injustice, decreased them in the long run. He was convinced that socialism would run into a dead end if it renounced its liberal heritage and supported an all-powerful state. He alluded to the problem of maintaining property rights within Socialism. He also warned against the submersion of individuality within socialism.

Mill, therefore, has individualism and socialism embedded in his theory. He has been described as one of the bigoted individualists, because he strongly opposed all state-interference. At the same time, he acknowledged the importance of the state as far as it helped in the development to all. He combined political liberalism with economic socialism. He saw in the socialist system the best possibility to effect improvement in the existing economic system. However, he was not willing to sacrifice his individual for the social good.

While talking about State, Mill says that it is a product of the will of the people who compose it rather than an instrument for the promotion of their interests. He thus rejected the mechanistic theories of the state. The political institutions are result of human voluntary agency and do not act by themselves. They require the active participation of men who work it and must adjust according to the capacities and qualities of men who work it. Thus, he affirms faith in historical relativism, which is completely absent in Bentham's theory. State's interference is indispensable for the development of the individual's personality. The state should be so regulated that the best intellectual and moral qualities of the citizens could be stimulated and utilized for the service of the society. However, the pursuit of individual happiness does not necessarily mean the production of social happiness.

MILL AS A RELUCTANT DEMOCRAT

That Mill is a democrat cannot be ignored. He is so because at the heart of the whole philosophy lies his passion for human personality. He strongly feels, and none before him had felt so strongly, that democracy alone helps individual attain his interest, his prosperity. This Bentham also felt. But whereas Bentham was interested in a happier man, Mill, on the other hand, is interested in a better man too. Mill is a democrat as he feels that man's participation in the process of government generates in man's a process of development as well, for it is he who believes that the development of character depends upon the exercise of character. Mill is a democrat because he is so well aware of democracy's shortcomings-peoples' illiteracy, their apathy, their ignorance, their passiveness-that in spite of all these weaknesses, he is ready to give democracy a chance. He is a democrat because he is able to make a distinction between false and true democracy, between the rule of either ignorant or of elite and the rule of the competent, between the rule of quantity and that of the quality. He is a democrat because he wants to give franchise to each and all, male female, aristocrat and manual labourer. But in giving this right, Mill recommends his concept of plural voting, i.e. one vote each to every citizen but more than one vote to those citizens who are doing socially useful functions. He is a democrat because he neither wants tyranny of majority nor the attack on minorities. His answer to these evils is the proportional representation. But one must note that Mill is a democrat only from the standards of the nineteenth century point of view. His own country, after having tried plural voting particularly, abandoned his recommendations.³⁶

If Mill is a democrat, he is also a liberal. It will be well to call him a liberal-democrat rather than a democratic-liberal. Such a proposition means that he is first a liberal and only afterwards, a democrat. He builds "democratic" elements on

the already assumed liberal foundations. What it means is that he accepts all the liberal ethos-assumptions of the capitalistic society, its class interests, private property system, limited state and autonomous individual. On these assumptions, he builds the democrat model, the model of representative government, one vote to each and several votes to some. Honest as Mill is in creating the democratic model, he does not throw away his bourgeois assumptions. He remains, among the liberals, a rebel liberal and among the democrats, a "reluctant" democrat as C.L. Wayper feels.³⁷

Thus, in view of Mills advocacy of restricted adult franchise and weightage in voting for the educated and propertied classes, it had been alleged by critics that he was not a true democrat. However, this claim seems to be unfair to Mill. He was an ardent follower of democracy and believed that democracy alone could give pleasures and happiness to the people. He argued that a system in which one counts for oneself and not for others is selfish. Such a system was false democracy. On the other hand, a system in which men of intelligence ruled for the common good was true democracy.

The principle of false democracy is, "Every man to count for one; no man for more than one". True democracy will give weight and influence to all the different elements of the society. It will give plural votes to capable persons. It will insist on proportional representation. Mill held that democracy was not suited to all the societies and could prove dangerous for the immature and backward societies, but this does not in any way show his lack of faith in democracy. He highlighted the problems confronted by democracy and sought to find a solution. Mill suggested certain cautions about democracy, not because he did not have faith in the system but with a view to make it more effective.

MILL ON SUBJECTION OF WOMEN

One of John Stuart Mill's last and finest literary efforts was written in support of a political cause of which he had been a leading champion. The Subjection of Women (1869) offered both detailed argumentation and passionate eloquence in bitter opposition to the social and legal inequalities commonly imposed upon women by a patriarchal structure. For Mill, improving women's position by giving them suffrage, education and employment opportunities was a stepping stone to progress and civility. Mill regarded improvement in the position of women as a concern not restricted to women alone, but of entire humankind. The Subjection therefore made a strong claim for equal status in three key areas: women's right to vote, right to equal opportunities in education and employment.³⁸

Equality as a legal right between the sexes was Mill's main concern. He referred to women as both the subject and the enslaved class, for their position was worse than that of slaves. Mill pointed out that women's capacities were spent seeking happiness not in their own lives, but exclusively for the favour and affection of the other sex, which was only given to them on the condition of their dependence. The parallel between women and slaves was used to depict the reality of nineteenth-century England, where, on marriage, the woman became subservient to her husband both in physical being and property. For women, marriage was like Hobson's choice, either marry and face the abuses and loss of dignity that subjugation and subservience entailed, or remain single and get deprived of educational and professional opportunities. A woman is not free within marriage, nor was she free to remain unmarried. He deplored the lack of freedom of choice for women, and contented that equality should be the ordering principle of societal and personal relationships.³⁹

Mill pointed out that the subordination of women was only due to the fact that they were physically not as strong as men. In fact, the origin of women's subjection was in physical force, of the allegedly superior bodily strength of men. Consequently, while this had become a virtue in man, the opposite, namely renunciation, patience, resignation and submission to power, have been regarded as characteristics of a gentle and graceful woman. The subjection of women was similar to slavery. Mill pointed out that the rule of men over women was not entirely and altogether based on force. Women also accepted it voluntarily without complaint and became consenting parties to their subordination. Men, on their part, expected not only obedience but even affection from women. This was ensured through education, training and the socialization process. Women from childhood were taught to be submissive, yielding and accommodating, rather than

become independent with self-will and self-control. They were taught to live with others, their husbands and children. Selfless devotion was considered to be the best feminine trait, the glory of womanhood.⁴⁰

Mill believed that women were as bright and gifted as men, and once granted the same "eagerness for fame", women would achieve the same success. He rejected the idea that it was natural for a woman to be a mother and a wife, and felt that it was the woman who should be able to decide whether to marry and manage a house, or to pursue a career. He contended that it was society, however, that had decided marriage to be the ultimate aim of a woman. Mill articulated and defended the right of women to be considered as free rational beings capable of choosing the life they would like to lead for themselves, rather than being dictated by what society thought they should be or do. Mill was confident that women, even if granted freedom and opportunities, would not fail to perform their traditional functions. It was not a question of a choice between domesticity and a career. The reason why men shied away from granting equal status to women was because they were afraid of marriage on equal terms.⁴¹

Mill further pointed out that marriage did not give the woman the dignity and equal status that she ought to get. Once married, she was totally under the control of her husband. She was denied by law right to her children and property. Hence, they must have the rights to property, inheritance and custody. The condition of women was worse than a slave. The law also granted the husband rather than the wife the right over her children. A mother did not become a legal guardian of her children in the event of the death of their father, unless expressly desired in will of the deceased. If a wife decided to leave her husband, she could not claim anything, including her children. Mill pleaded, therefore, for equality of the sexes before the law, for that was crucial to ensuring a just arrangement. A marriage contract based on equality of married persons before law was only a sufficient, but a necessary condition for full and just equality between the sexes. For Mill, equality was a genuine moral sentiment that ought to govern all relationships, including the marital one. Such a sentiment could be instilled and nurtured within the family that had been justly constituted. A just family would nurture feelings of sympathy in equality and love, rather than subordination and command.

Mill pointed out that women should get equal opportunities in education and equal pay in work. He was of the opinion that if women are allowed to exercise her faculties freely and fully, the real beneficiary would be the society, for it would be able to draw from a larger pool of mental resources. He also pleaded for political rights to vote and to participate in government as administrators and as rulers. He argued that the dignity of a woman was guaranteed if she had the power of earning her own living. If society really wanted to discover what is truly natural in gender relations, Mill argued, it should establish a free market for all of the services women perform, ensuring a fair economic return for their contributions to the general welfare. Mill saw no reason why either partner in a marriage should dominate the other; he proposed that a family governed by consensual separation of functions could, in principle become a profoundly serious example of free association. The Encarta Encyclopaedia says of John Stuart Mill, " His advocacy of women's suffrage in the debate on the Reform Bill of 1867 led to the formation of the suffrage movement."

CONCLUSION

Mill's theory does not form a coherent and consistent whole; it suffers from the presence of many logical contradictions in it. They are in part due to the fact that by temperament he was not a system-builder; his bent of mind was more analytic than synthetic. In part they arise from the fact that he found the Benthamite tradition in which he was brought up too narrow for his inquiring and generous mind. He recognised, its limitations; and being unable to break away from it completely he sought to make it more humane and more consistent with facts of moral experience. But he realised that in reforming it he travelled far away from its original tenets and almost deserted them. It was mainly as a result of the modifications introduced by Mill that Benthamite Utilitarianism passed away by absorption into other theories. This is the reason why Mill is sometimes described as the last of the great Utilitarians.⁴²

As Bowle in his Politics and Opinion in the 19th Century puts it, "And if the calibre of writers is to be judged by their effect on policy, Mill must rank high. As logician, economist, and political philosopher he was regarded as a prophet in his own age." His influence was dominant in all departments of philosophical and political thought for more than a generation; he had the initiative, and he set the problems for his opponents as well as for his adherents; his books became university text-books. The position of pride among his contributions to political thought may be assigned to his individualism, which may better be called liberalism. He was the foremost liberal of his day; one might say one of the foremost individualists or liberals of all times. His stand on liberty brings him closer to the other individualists like Milton, Voltaire, Rousseau, Paine and Jefferson.⁴³

Realising that any great extension of the sphere of public administration gives rise to a powerful bureaucracy and converts a large part of the public into hangers of the government, he sets limits to governmental interference in the economic life of the community. He said that the worth of the state, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals composing it. Mill's proposal for enfranchisement of women, whose cause had been championed by few influential philosophers till then, may be regarded as another contribution in the same direction. According to him, on account of the subjection of women, the family which should be a school of freedom becomes a 'school of despotism'.⁴⁴

- The best way to appreciate the role played by Mill in modern thought is to remember that he stood midway in the transition of thought which was not completed in his life-time. As has been shown many times above, Mill was a radical reformer in his youth. His study of the working of democracy in America written by De Tocqueville, and his observation of the trend of events in his own country, however, made him realise that the greatest danger to society came from the tyranny of the majority over the minority. He felt that the main problem of popular government was to prevent the 'uncultured herd who now compose the labouring masses' from tyrannising over a minority of exceptional individuals. The result was his essay, On Liberty and the Representative Government, in which he outlines his scheme of constitutional government. Mill is an individualist in so far as he gives minimum functions to the state. In this regard he refers to three propositions:
- When a thing could be done better by an individual, it should not be done by the government.
- Though individuals may not do particular things so well as the government officials do, it would be desirable that they be done by the individuals.
- Increase in the functions of the government would add unnecessarily to its powers.

Mill was honest in what he had said or preached. Indeed, he aimed at the improvement of humankind. For this end, he was active in many causes. He denounced the takeover by the British government of the East India Company, correctly anticipating the evils consequent upon the scramble for spoils by second rate English officials. He supported reforms of the Irish land tenure system in order to relieve the peasants of their poverty. During his period in Parliament, he denounced English methods in Ireland, a move which was unfortunately denounced as support for the Fenians. In 1866 and 1867, he was active along with Herbert Spencer and many other liberals in the committee for the prosecution of Governor Eyre for his atrocities on the blacks in Jamaica. In his own days, Mill was immensely influential. He inspired many with ideas, and in action wanted to make the world a better place.⁴⁵

REFLECTIONS

1. Utilitarianism: A school of thought founded by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), English philosopher, which treats pleasure and pain as the chief motive force behind all human actions. The balance of pleasure over pain derived from a thing or a course of action is termed

as 'utility' which is the source of happiness. According to this view, the guiding principle of public policy should be 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. In estimating 'greatest happiness of the greatest number' each individual should be treated as one unit, but in estimating the total amount of happiness derived from a thing or action, the disparity in the shares of particular individuals is likely to be ignored. See Gauba, O.P. Western Political Thought, New Delhi: MacMillan, 2011.

2. See Suda, J.P. Modern Political Thought, Volume 3, Meerut: Nath& Co Publishers, 2007.
3. Ibid.
4. See Arora, N.D. Political Science. Tata McGraw Publishers, 2010.
5. Consequentialism: In ethics, consequentialist doctrines are those which judge actions by their effects (or sometimes, their intended effects) rather than by their conformance to rules, rights and obligations. Consequentialist ethics are normally contrasted with deontological moral arguments (from the Greek deontos, meaning duty), which have been the overwhelmingly predominant form of moral judgements for most of human history. The most important tradition of consequentialist ethics is utilitarianism. See McLean & McMillan, Oxford Concise Dictionary Of Politics, Indian edition, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. See Gauba, O.P. Western Political Thought, New Delhi: MacMillan, 2011.
10. Self-regarding actions are those actions that have consequences only for the individual actor and nobody else, and other-regarding actions are those actions that also have consequences for others. Mill states that with respect to actions or choices that affect only one's self, self-regarding actions, the state (or any other external authority) has no business to interfere. Constraining actions by the force of law should only happen when other regarding actions cause serious harm to definite individuals. Otherwise society must bear the inconvenience in spirit of protecting freedom. See Political Theory , NCERT, 2006.
11. Laissez-faire: The term 'laissez-faire' means 'leave alone'; a more colloquial translation might be 'let them get on with it'. Since the late eighteenth century such phrases as 'a laissez-faire policy' and 'laissez-faire economics' have suggested a belief in the virtues of allowing individuals to pursue their interests through market transactions with minimal government interference. See McLean & McMillan, Oxford Concise Dictionary Of Politics, Indian Edition, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
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35. Refer to note 13, page 342.
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37. Ibid.
38. See Mukherjee, Subrata and Ramaswamy, Sushila. A History of Political Thought: Plato to Marx. New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Private Limited, 2004; page 330-8.
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THE WHITE TIGER: A REALISTIC PORTRAYAL OF THE “NEW INDIA”

VANDANA KUMARI*

The White Tiger was the debut novel by Aravind Adiga which was first published in 2008 and won one of the most prestigious literary awards, the Man Booker prize. India is rising as a power of modern global economy, science and technology. The glitter and glamour of the nation shines on the world map, but behind this still billion of people who are deprived of the basic necessities of life, who are leading a life of without basic amenities, as globalization gained during the latter part of the 20th century. The line of causality here clearly runs from globalization and liberalization to acceleration in the growth rate and then to poverty reduction.

The novel presents the negative aspects of modern India through a narrator in a humorous way. It highlights the gulf between the nation's new-found economic power and its enduring poverty. It stripes away the veneer of shining nation to reveal a society that is mired in corruption and injustice. Despite this progress, poverty remains one of the most serious international challenges we face. India's economic miracle has done little for millions still living in grinding poverty. The *White Tiger* reflects the struggle, humiliations, atrocities and cruelties of the dominating class towards the poor, inferiors and servant class. Despite the 7 percent economic growth and the rise of the middle class, 'the dark side' of India remains and despite a decade of economic expansion, a staggering 47 percent of India's under-three remains malnourished.

Globalization has accelerated the economic growth of the country but has also widened the gap of rich-poor. Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen once said, "The frustrating thing about India is that whatever you can rightly say about it, the opposite is also true. Interestingly enough, you can say exactly the same thing about China. Globalization combines capitalism with communism, poverty and disparity with fast economic growth, impressive industrial development with neglect of its environment, and a massive rural-urban divide. These contradictions exist in India as well, with the exception of the first one."¹

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The whole country is symbolically divided into two: 'The India of Light and an India of Darkness'. The protagonist's journey from darkness to light is a journey from poverty to wealth, from underdevelopment to progress, from rural to urban and then to cosmopolitan city life. This is a type of metaphor, in which he describes light and darkness. He discusses whole story in deceitful way. Weak structure of taxation, loopholes of government policies, the different shades of corruption and ill political system.

Adiga sketches the gap between poor and rich. The people of darkness with their dark bodies, filthy faces and the animal-like ways living under the huge bridges and over-passes are easily distinguishable from the rich sitting in air conditioned cars. He comments on a rising global power that has created rift between the rich and the poor. 'A rich man's body is like a premium cotton pillow, white and soft and blank. Ours are different.' (p-26, Adiga)

Every statement of Balram draws the readers into darkness and compels to think about the emotional and psychological state of lower class people like drivers, servants, guards and rickshaw-pullers. The protagonist Balram said, 'Me and thousands of others in this country like me are half-baked because we were not allowed to complete our schooling' (p-10, Adiga) because he had replied the school inspector question, the inspector of school promises to arrange a scholarship and a proper schooling for the young boy, but it was a daydream.

Political system and bureaucratic set up, according to the novel, refer to the darkest areas of our country which breed "rotteness and corruption". (p-50, Adiga) The *White Tiger* protagonist exposes the rot in the three pillars of modern India - democracy, enterprise and justice. The protagonist states, 'The darkest areas of our country which breed "rotteness and corruption". (p-50, Adiga) He states, Most of the politicians are 'half-baked. That's the whole tragedy of this country'. (p-10, Adiga) Politics is the last refuge for scoundrels. Government doctors, entrepreneurs, tax payers, and industrialists-all have to befriend a minister and his sidekick to fulfill their vested interests. Election, though we feel proud of glorious democracy of ours, are manipulated, power transfers from one hand to another but the common man's fate remains unchanged. Money-bags, muscle power, police, strategic alignment of various factions and power to woo the underclass assure the victory in the political game. Balram reports: "I am India's most faithful voter, and I still have not seen the inside of a voting booth" (p-102, Adiga) Adiga observes that we are lagging behind China because of 'this fucked up system called parliamentary democracy. Otherwise, we'd be just like China' (p-156, Adiga)

This rotten system has created new distinctions and classes. In the old days there were one thousand castes and destinies in India but now there are just two castes: "Men with Big Bellies, and Men with Small Bellies. And only two destinies: eat- or get eaten up" After independence the British left- the cages had been let open; and the 'animals' had attacked and ripped each other. Those that were the most ferocious the hungriest, had eaten everyone else up, and grown big bellies. That was all that counted now, the size of your bellies. It didn't 'matter whether you were a woman, or a Muslim, or an untouchable-anyone with a belly could rise up' (p-64, adiga).

Adiga sarcastically remarks on the democratic election procedure where all the illiterates' votes are cast by someone else. Booths are captured, votes are bought and elections are contested by criminals 'having ninety three criminal cases pending, 'ministers are in jail but continue to be ministers. Bribery is prevalent at every stage. Ashok bribes one officer after another and one minister after other to get tax exemption."

Adiga depicted a vast picture of Indian society-rural as well as urban. The *White Tiger* is a tale of this underclass and its life- begging for food, sleeping under concrete flyovers, defecating on the roadside, shivering in the cold, struggling in the 21st century, for its freedom. The population of the city had doubled; shopping malls and high-rise apartment buildings had reshaped the skyline. Adiga noticed a group of drivers and homeless men- the part of underclass who seemed to have been left out of the story of India's growth. It is extreme poverty which creates darkness in the life of the rural as well as urban people and it perpetuates the sufferings of the underclass. Illiteracy, unemployment, Zamindari practice, social taboos, rigid caste discrimination, caste and culture conflict, corrupt politicians and bureaucrats, economics disparity,

superstitions, corrupt education system and health services, shrewd entrepreneurs, flood, mall culture etc. contribute to the sufferings of underclass.2

We can see corruption in every aspect of life. Corruption is a dark spot of shining India. Aravind Adiga writes candidly about Delhi police. He narrates to Mr. Jiabao, 'The main thing to know about Delhi is that the roads are good, and the people are dead. The police are totally rotten'.(p-124,Adiga) Balram says that if police sees anyone without a seat belt, one has to bribe them a hundred rupees. Police masterminds the forced out confession to protect the rich men from the legal proceedings and get huge money in lieu of that. The hit and run case which legally belongs to Pinky is shifted to Balram: "The jails of Delhi are full of drivers who are there behind the bars because they are taking the blame for their good, solid middle-class masters. We have left the villages, but the masters still own us, body, soul, have left the villages,"(p-170,Adiga). Even judges ignore to see forced confession, because they "are in the racket too. They take their bribe; they ignore the discrepancies in the case. And life goes on" (p-170,Adiga). The close nexus between criminals, police and media persons is also exposed. Balram Halwai transformed into Ashok Sharma- a Bangalore based successful entrepreneur-is confident that he is "one of those who cannot be caught in India"(p-320,Adiga). Balram's tale deals with "How he was corrupted from a sweet, innocent village fool into a citified fellow full of debauchery, depravity, and wickedness"(p-197,Adiga).

Delhi corrupted Ashok because he learnt the trick how to take work from political leaders, ministers, brokers, police and judges. One Pinky Madam smashes a child while she is heavily drunk, but Balram is compelled to take the blame of this accident on himself. But there is a nexus with police and judges and the case is solved. So nothing happens to anyone. Thus the novel exposes the corruption in this country which is deeply rooted in the politics. Pinky Mam becomes tired of this system and returns back to New York without informing Ashok.3

The writer is young and daring; he has raised voice against the system and writer about the corruption which is in the politics. There is no original political thinking during last fifty years. They try to fool public. They promote the bribe system and train the poor innocent people like Balram to get involved in this corruption. Balram in hope of better life learns this new morality. The writer describes about the honesty of the poor people, poor driver and their loyalty towards their masters. He says that the trustworthiness of servants is the basis of Indian economy: "Masters trust their servants with diamonds in this country! It's true. Every evening on the train out of Surat, where they run the world's biggest diamond-cutting and polishing business, the servants of diamond merchants are carrying suitcase full of cut diamonds that they have to give to someone in Mumbai. Why doesn't that servant take the suitcase full of diamonds? He's no Gandhi, he's human, and he's you and me". (p-175,Adiga)

Prostitution is another dark area of India. In the big cities, due to poverty most of the women are forced to adopt this profession. In Dhanbad, Delhi and Bangalore, there are red light areas; one can negotiate a price with these women. And the price depends on, "High class or low class? Virgin or non-virgin?"(p-227,Adiga). In Delhi, especially rich people prefer "golden-haired women" (p-232,Adiga). Forgery is also involved in this racket; suppliers present a woman dyed in golden hair to get the maximum price. Nepali girls, Ukrainian students and poor labourers from the village working in construction of mall allow their women to go for prostitution.

In an interview Adiga makes his point clear in regard to the origin of the internal unrest and outbreak of terrorism in India: "These problems have been brewing for a long time. The causes are complex, but one common theme I find is the heightened tension within the country that's caused by the growing gap between the rich and the poor. The flare-ups can often take the form of ethnic or regional protests, but the underlying grievances are often economic: "those people who live over there are doing much better than we are." Fixing the economic disparities has to be part of any attempt to address India's growing unrest. The country's intelligence and police agencies need to be reformed and modernized; right now they seem way behind the terrorists. In particular, the police have to make an effort to reach out to Indians of all religions-right now many religious minorities are intensely suspicious of the police and with good cause".4

Adiga emphasizes the importance of redistributive justice and need to reward the under-privileged adequately for their work. By exploring social, economic and political injustice spread in a democratic country like India, Adiga interrogates people, the political parties and the government who are responsible for this situation. He seems to suggest that the prevalent corruption at all levels should be prevented by social awareness and close monitoring of functioning of government machinery. This is the need of hour and if we don't pay heed to it there is no surprise if we have more Balramps, in the society.

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Book Review

Tanya Mathur

GIVING FRESH INSIGHT

Amidst the ongoing surrogacy debate, author Pinki Virani has come out with a book that is no less than a revelation. *Politics Of The Womb* draws on a wide-ranging investigation and research to present a damning indictment of what is sold to desperately wanting-to-be parents as miraculous medico-technology.

It states the actual failure rates of IVF and other reproductive techniques. It points to the futility of such artificial assistance that deals with a father passing on his genetic infertility to his IVF-child.

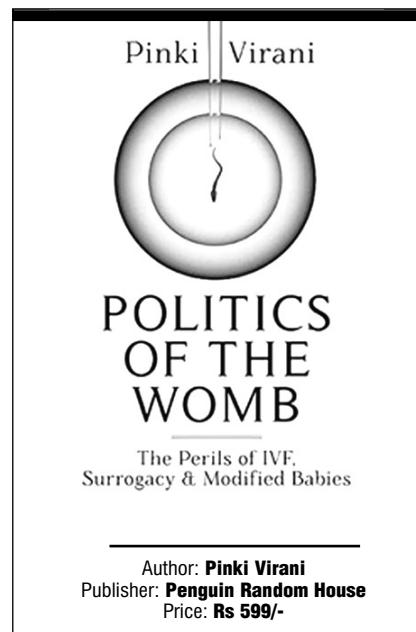
The book uncovers something called an 'IVF-package' which becomes the woman and her unborn, through which a newly born baby is denied colostrum - its fundamental foremost-hour feed, from breast milk.

This shocking, first-of-its-kind exposition of the workings of the reproduction industry also lays bare what is done to a woman's body through such hyper-medicalisation. As it does the placing of parts of the womb in the marketplace, divided up and traded as ova, uterus. With little concern for the cancers which can be a possibility.

The development of reproductive technologies and the associated commodification of pregnancy since the 1980s are inseparable more so, in a country like India where people suffer from abject poverty and impoverishment.

Politics Of The Womb comprehensively tracks the death of commercial surrogates. The emotional exploitation of a female's body. The genetic thefts. The rampant human and ova trafficking. The moral compass lost procedures behind "designer offspring". And the very real risk of broken babies and breaking mother. Are such secrets being intentionally suppressed? Buried, because of the bottom line which is a just business for a burgeoning repro tech industry?

For long, women in our society have been blamed for not being able to get pregnant and take the family name further. Through this book, Virani has highlighted the basic essence of a journey of a woman's life, childless. Among life's choices is to have children or remain child free. Yet those who want a child and find themselves unable, live through the trauma of



infertility cruelly attributed as their fault to undergo the tribulations of assisted reproductive technology. But how safe is aggressive IVF, invasive ICSI, exploitative ovarian hyper stimulation and commercial surrogacy?

Virani proves that there can be broken babies and breaking mothers; it rips away the romanticism around uterus transplants, warns of genetic theft and designer babies , and points to the human element being sacrificed, as artificial reproduction uses, reuses and recycles the woman.

The author combines investigation with analysis to question those who lead the worldwide onslaught on the woman's womb in the name of babies, and squarely confronts what has become the business of baby-making by a chain of suppliers that manufactures on demand.

The Surrogacy (Regulation) Bill, 2016, cleared by the Cabinet, only allows "altruistic surrogacy" for childless couples who have been married for at least five years. Then too, the surrogate mother should be a "close relative" of the couple, should be married and have borne a child of her own. It bars single parents, homosexuals, live-in couples, foreigners married woman who has at least one child of her own can be a surrogate mother only once in her lifetime. Childless or unmarried women are not allowed to be surrogate mothers.

The Bill also requires all surrogacy clinics to be registered. Clinics can charge for the services rendered in the course of surrogacy, but the surrogate mother cannot be paid. National and state surrogacy boards will be the regulating authorities.

While some consider the Bill a boon in the surrogacy world, some say it lacks setting the standards for medical practice and completely ignores the regulation of the third party agents who play a pivotal role in arranging surrogates such as surrogacy agents, tourism operators and surrogacy home operators.

In the book too, Virani suggests that a regulatory board or authority should ensure that licences for assisted reproduction clinics are given out selectively and these are monitored rigorously but is this bill the answer? Only time will tell.

This book is recommended for people who wish to find the truth on the perils of IVF, surrogacy and modified babies. People have been talking about how this whole system is full of loopholes and lacks jurisdiction... Virani talks about how one needs to understand this better from a woman's point of view.

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gorkha

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Gorkha: In Search of Identity has been researched well. The book is recommended for academics, social and political activists of the community, and supporters of Gorkha cause – **Lt Gen Arvind Sharma, U.S.I Journal**

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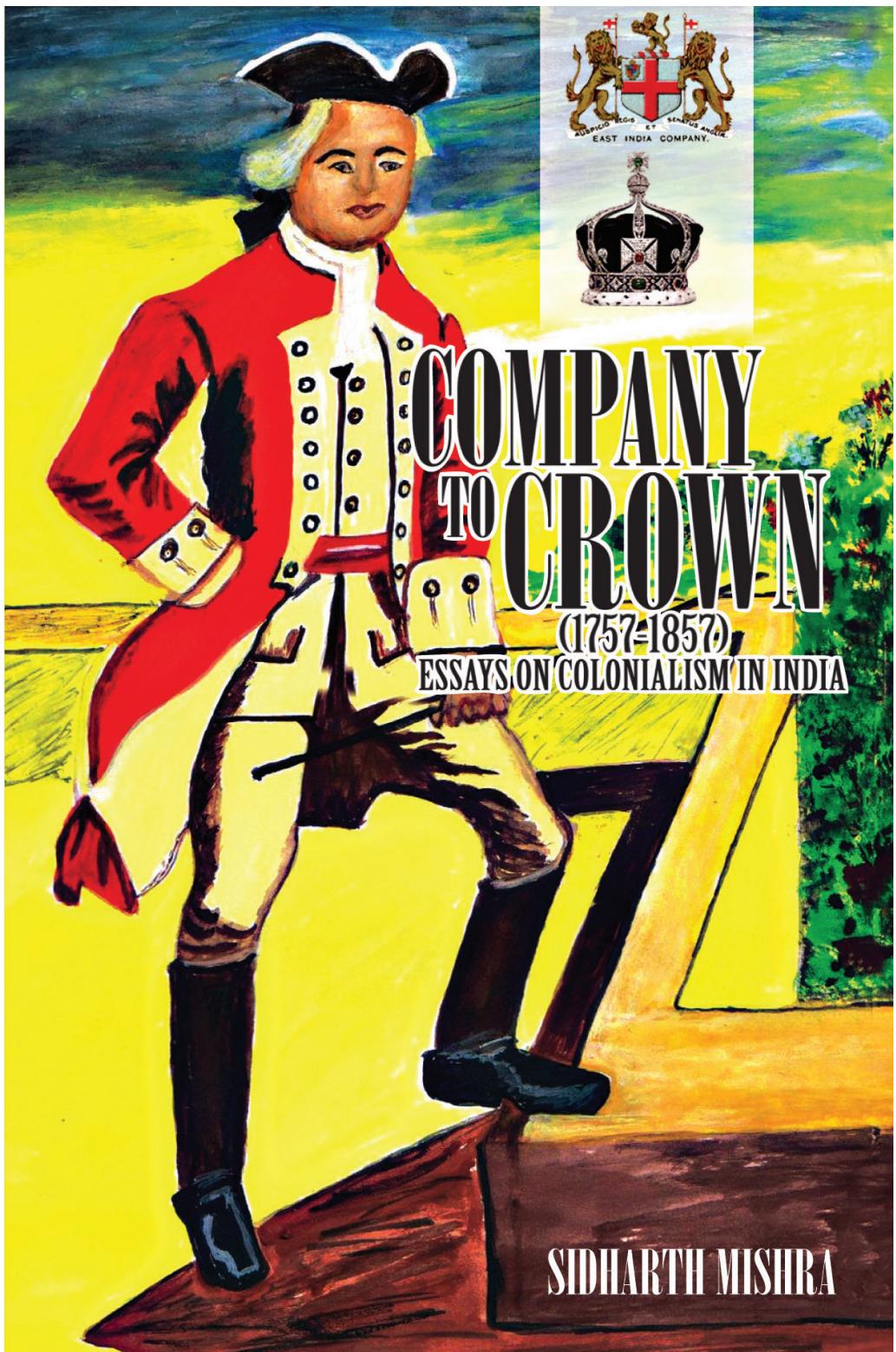
The author feels that the community had made so much sacrifice for the Indian Union that it is entitled to its imagined homeland of Gorkhaland as demanded by various fora of the Nepali speaking Indians over time – **AC Sinha, National Fellow, Nehru Memorial Museum & Library**



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