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Editorial

Common Man's Plight

The common man, hailing from all genders, has always been on the forefront of regime changes, revolutions, social movements and electoral campaigns and his wretched plight has been passed on from posterity to posterity despite tall promises. He has always been used as a scapegoat by the vested interests of the society for grinding their axe and thrown out like a tissue paper. The annals of the history of almost all civilizations across the spectrum are replete with plentiful tales of woeful plight of the common man. The term common man has come a long way since its inception. In olden times, it referred to a man who was not of a royal descent and who toiled in the fields and factories. Now-a-days the term is commonly referred to the blue-collared middle class, pen-pushing, desk job holding salaried masses. However, viewed in broad perspective, daily wage earners, labourers, vendors and others engaged in work in unorganized sector also fall in this category. The common man has always been the vital part of any society and, his plight and his story is unheard and for most part, uninteresting to the rest of the world. The plight of the common man is miserable. He has multiple responsibilities to shoulder and least resources to make his both ends meet. He has a family to feed, to nurture and to take care of.

His efforts to climb up the social ladder are met with disdain, disgust and uncertainty. The man himself is wary of taking risks, because too much is at stake. What if he fails? What if he gets broke? Where will he go? Who will take care of his family? He is worried, sick, tense and stressed beyond belief. The common man's plight is unheard, his tale unread, his problems unsolved and death unmourned. He dreams of a better life, a life without worry, secured livelihood along with basic amenities like shelter, healthcare and proper education and employment opportunities for his children. The common man has historically been at the hub of almost all popular struggles and movements and ultimately finding himself at the receiving end for exploitation and dejection. The leaders of Czarist Russia encouraged peasants to blame their problems on the Jews thereby deflecting blame off themselves. The hyper-nationalists in ancient Athens rather than accepting responsibility for their own errors blamed the very people who warned against their excesses. The Stalinist era Soviet Union blamed a fanciful mix of people for the problems caused by Joseph Stalin and tragedy befell many ethnic groups such as the Tatars who were deported *en masse*.

The present era characterized by globalization and increased penchant for democracy has been unable to ameliorate the plight of common man irrespective of tall promises and populist slogans. Rather the chasm between the rich and the poor has been widened giving rise to inequalities and diminution of opportunities, especially for the common man. The democratic system with its characteristic trademark of electoral process has seemingly emerged as the greatest and the largest exploiter of the gullibility of the common man. This analogy is aptly applicable in India which prides itself as the world's largest democracy. Elections to the Parliament and state legislative assemblies is a ritual that takes place every five years and sometimes mid-term polls do take place. Common man gets easily hoodwinked by populist slogans of *Achche Din/ Garibi Hatao* and when the ground reality stares at him, he is left with no option but to reconcile to his woeful plight by falling back on bad days and dark nights. The common thread is people suffering and leaders evading responsibility based on creating fears of others rather than solving the problems of those on the bottom.

Is this going to be the permanent destiny of a common man? The answer lies with him alone and let the common men across the spectrum unite. As Paul R. Mott says:

The world all together relies on us all to give out our hand and make our brothers stand tall.

So don't wait any longer for a celeb to rise up. It's these people below them who'll fill up the cup.

Never before has it felt so right to be the common man, helping a peer in his plight.

—BK

Trends in Indo-US N-deal

Dr. Dipen Saikia*

[Unveiling of a plan to 'break the logjam' that had existed since 2008 for operationalising their landmark civil nuclear agreement on 25 January in New Delhi at the summit meeting between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and President Obama, termed by President Obama as a 'breakthrough', can be said to have overcome a major hurdle in consolidating gains accruing from the recent visit to India by American President Barack Obama.]

Media reports indicate that the understanding on the civil nuclear programme resolves US concerns on both tracking and liability. The assurances have been given by India to the US side on both the liability clause and tracking issues.

Talks on the nuclear deal between India and US first commenced in 2005 when the then US President George W Bush and the then Prime Minister of India Manmohan Singh announced their intention to enter into a nuclear agreement during Singh's visit to the US.[1] This was followed by the US House of Representatives passing the 'Henry J Hyde United States-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act of 2006,' in 2006.[2]

The 123 Agreement between India and the US concerning peaceful uses of nuclear energy was signed on October 10, 2008.[3] According to the deal, India agreed to separate its civil and military nuclear facilities and to place all its civil nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards and, in exchange, the US agreed to work towards full civil nuclear cooperation with India. The nuclear deal had been stuck with India resisting US's intrusive "national verification" demands.

In the wake of these developments, it was expected that nuclear commerce worth billions of dollars would become the centrepiece of a new strategic relationship between the United States and India, allowing New Delhi access to nuclear technology and fuel without giving up its weapons programme.

In the aftermath of signing of the Nuclear Deal (herein after N-deal), it was understood that the major beneficiary would be American companies that supply reactors and the technology for power plants. Nevertheless, the companies backed off because of the liability clause — inserted in the deal because of the insistence of the BJP — that made the supplier jointly culpable for any mishap, instead of the prevailing practice of making the operator and the country's government solely responsible.

India's sad experience with the 1984 Bhopal gas tragedy[4] made the Opposition bring the supplier into the ambit. In the aftermath of the Bhopal gas tragedy, the Supreme Court laid down the "absolute liability" principle, which made the operator and supplier jointly liable, with no cap on the damages that could be sought from them.

Some opposition parties, including the BJP, had argued that the UPA government was going out of its way to circumvent the Indian law and favour suppliers. It was alleged that the government wanted to transfer responsibility onto the public-sector Nuclear Power Corporation India Ltd (NPCIL), the operator of nuclear plants and the damages would have been the liability of Indian taxpayers and victims.

Eventually, a formula was worked out: first, it shall be NPCIL's responsibility, as the operator of the plant, to pay the victims, whether or not it is at fault. Fair enough, because if a disaster happens following a terrorist attack, NPCIL can hardly expect the perpetrators to pay compensation to the victims. But the liability of the supplier to reimburse NPCIL

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kicks in only if the fault is proved to be the supplier's.[5]

Subsequently, in 2010 India passed the Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage Act, 2010 or Nuclear Liability Act, which aims to provide a civil liability for nuclear damage and prompt compensation to the victims of a nuclear incident through a no-fault liability to the operator, appointment of Claims Commissioner, establishment of Nuclear Damage Claims Commission and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.[6]

As a sequel to the enactment of the Indian nuclear liability law that makes equipment suppliers ultimately responsible for an accident, many American firms including GE-Hitachi, Toshiba's Westinghouse Electric Company and France's Areva had been held back from proceeding with the construction of reactors. These and other related developments had proved instrumental in withholding further progress in the Indo-US N-deal and it was widely held that the law couldn't be changed for want of political support at the highest level.

Towards Breakthrough

The nuclear logjam over the controversial clauses of the nuclear liability act continued during the previous UPA regime. In the wake of dramatic victory of the BJP-led NDA government in elections of May 2014, the Obama administration conveyed its intent to engage with the new government in New Delhi. Indian Prime Minister's visit to the United States in September 2014 proved instrumental in paving way for resumption of negotiations over the nuclear issues. However, President Obama's forthcoming visit to India in the last week of January 2015 accelerated this process.

Clearing the nuclear logjam over India's supplier liability law was going to be a tough issue to be negotiated at ensuing Obama-Modi meet. However, two new proposals from India entailed the possibility of paving the way for a resolution of the impasse: on an insurance pool, and clarifying the contentious Section 46 of the law. This has become a sticking point for U.S. nuclear companies to invest in India in spite of the U.S. facilitating the wavier for India

at Nuclear Supply Group (NSG) for nuclear trade. India also expects U.S. support for other nuclear regimes and the administrative arrangements to be readied ahead of any breakthrough.[7]

Media reports indicated that the proposals involve a $242-million general insurance fund for the fallout of any nuclear accident, and the other involved clarifying Section 46 of the liability law, which now doesn't differentiate between the civil and criminal liability of the suppliers. However, the government will have its task cut out if it intends to make any change to the law itself, as it is likely to be opposed in Parliament. However, some experts had cautioned against any 'optimism' over a breakthrough.

However, the deal on nuclear cooperation was clinched after talks between visiting US President Barack Obama and the Indian Prime Minister Modi that spread over three hours at the delegation level as well as one-on-one talks, besides a tête-à-tête at New Delhi on 26 January 2015. The Indian officials claimed that the deal was done.

In what President Obama called a 'breakthrough', the two sides have reportedly resolved key hurdles on the liability of suppliers of nuclear reactors in the event of an accident and the tracking of fuel supplied by the US and other countries for its proposed nuclear plants.

Prime Minister Modi said: "The civil nuclear agreement was the centrepiece of our transformed relationship, which demonstrated new trust. It also created new economic opportunities and expanded our options for clean energy. In the course of the past four months, we have worked with a sense of purpose to move it forward. I am pleased that six years after we signed our bilateral agreement, we are moving towards commercial cooperation, consistent with our law, our international legal obligations, and technical and commercial viability."[8]

Explaining that it would still be for US companies to assess the market and decide whether to partake in India's nuclear programme, the US ambassador to India Richard Verma told US journalists: "In our judgment, the Indians have moved sufficiently on these issues to give us assurances."[9]

Undoubtedly, details of the new plan are currently sketchy; nevertheless, sources reportedly say that the idea is to transfer the financial risk to insurers in case of an accident. In terms this plan, India has reportedly offered to set up an insurance pool to indemnify global nuclear suppliers against liability in the case of a nuclear accident. America, in turn, has forfeited its insistence on "flagging" or tracking the nuclear material they supply to India, required under its rules to ensure it is not being used for military purposes.

Both GE and Westinghouse, which have already been given land in Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh to begin construction of reactors, and they have welcomed the new development. The India nuclear insurance pool is a risk transfer mechanism which is being formed by GIC Re and four other public sector undertakings in the general insurance business in India. According to reports, the Indian state-run insurance company GIC Re and three others would contribute 7.5 billion Indian rupees ($122.09 million) to the pool and the balance would be contributed by the government on a tapering basis.

Economics of N-deal

Undoubtedly, the legislative hurdle holding up progress in the Indian nuclear sector has been partly addressed; nevertheless, the bigger challenge could lie at ensuring the economic viability of projects based on imported reactors such as the ones being offered by US vendors like GE-Hitachi and Toshiba-Westinghouse Electric, and France's Areva.

According to one report, as against the established benchmark of project cost of up to Rs 7 crore per MWe (mega watt electrical) for existing nuclear projects based largely on the indigenous PHWR (pressurised heavy water reactor) technology, the capital cost of projects being executed around the world based on imported Light Water Reactor (LWR) technology — including Westinghouse's four AP1000 reactors being deployed in China and Areva's EPR being set up in France and Finland —

ranges between Rs 12 crore and 25 crore per MWe.[10]

Under these circumstances, higher capital costs are likely to translate into a spike in generation tariff. Some experts concede that despite the N-deal, here are uncertainties over the insurance costs, and clarity on costing of projects would be contingent to India ratifying a global pact that widens access of participants in the country's civil nuclear sector to six global insurance pools.

India has set for itself an ambitious target of generating around 10,000 MW of additional nuclear energy by 2020-21 and then another 13,500 MW by 2032. Nuclear energy is a clean option—though risky as Fukushima has revealed forcing many countries to reconsider the option — but its initial cost is heavy. Each MW of nuclear energy costs about Rs 20-25 crore. So, at an average cost of Rs 20 crore, the investment for 10,000 MW in the next six years is estimated at Rs 200 thousand crore.

India's promise to the United States that it would buy reactors with a minimum generating capacity of 10,000 megawatts from American companies, a commitment made by the UPA government without any economic studies, or even a comparison of reactors available in the world market; may translate into $50 billion or more in reactor sales, going by the current capital costs of nuclear reactors.[11]

Conclusion

Some experts are disinclined to be optimistic about the immediate positive outcome of the N-deal for India. It is being referred to as a deal 'just for optics', which is unlikely to have a major impact on the ground in view of the fog surrounding the actual details of the deal.

Thus far the N-deal has been claimed as the *raison d'être* for the Indo-US nuclear relations both by the previous UPA regime and now by Modi regime, while glossing over its economic and viability aspects; nonetheless, it has fetched for India the acceptance of a *de facto* nuclear power.

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Perspectives on UN Peacekeeping

Dr. Nisha Sengar*

[The peace keeping operations are techniques that get originated and evolved purely in response to emerging crises. In the past, peacekeeping was largely limited between warring groups; today its meaning has changed, its role widened and its responsibility broadened.]

Since 1948 there have been more than 60 UN peacekeeping operations although there is no mention of peacekeeping in the UN Charter. The UN's role in peacekeeping is no longer "standing in the middle" and limited to a military holding operation that permits diplomatic negotiations. They also supervise elections, disarm opposing factions, monitor human rights, providing humanitarian assistance, and perform a wide range of administrative functions.

Genesis

The origins of peacekeeping go as far back as the Delian League of ancient Greece in the fifth century, BCE[1]. Besides, a new and radical idea was offered in 1623 by Emeric Crucé. He argued that all the worlds' leaders, including all those outside of traditional Europe, should be included in an alliance that tried to resolve international disputes through mediation at a world council held in a neutral location.

Over the next few centuries, more substantive European attempts were made to peace-orientated agreements included the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, Utrecht in 1713, Paris in 1763 and in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars the Concert of Europe in 1815-18. There were other attempts, but the first truly substantial system came into being after the horrors of World War I (1914-18).

The League of Nations was formed as an attempt of collective diplomacy and peace enforcement. It ultimately failed, but after the Second World War, the United Nations Organisation (UNO) became the mechanism to implement collective diplomacy and peace. The founders of the United Nations had

not foreseen the possibility of engaging in peacekeeping operations (PKOs); thus, PKOs are not mentioned at all in the original UN Charter.

As a result of the increasing disagreement between the two superpowers, the original collective security system, which was based on peace enforcement by the SC and consensus by major powers, became unworkable. This led to the conception of PKOs.

Early peacekeeping was a response to inter-state conflict, and ideally it was conceived as a non-violent use of military force in an effort to preserve peace between warring state actors. Peacekeeping fell between Chapter VI and VII of the UN Charter, and in the future it would be euphemistically referred to as "Chapter VI ½ operations.[2]"

UN Collective Security System

The Peacekeeping Forces are subordinate to the leadership of the United Nations. They are normally deployed as a consequence of a Security Council decision. However, on occasions, the initiative has been taken by the General Assembly. Only two UN operations, the First UN Emergency Force (1956 - 1967) and the UN Security Force in West New Guinea (l962 - 1963) were set up by the General Assembly.

Observers and troops for a peacekeeping operation are contributed by Member countries at the request of the Secretary-General, who serves as their Commander-in-Chief. Many UN staff members have also served as civilian observers. Operational control belongs to the Secretary-General and his secretariat.

The United Nations Peacekeeping Forces are employed by the world organization to maintain or

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re-establish peace in an area of armed conflict. The UN may engage in conflicts between states as well as in struggles within states. The UN acts as an impartial third party in order to prepare the ground for a settlement of the issues that have provoked armed conflict. If it proves impossible to achieve a peaceful settlement, the presence of UN forces may contribute to reducing the level of conflict.

The original system devised by the United Nations to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security is outlined in Chapters VI and VII of the UN Charter. It was intended to provide a collective security system for Member Nations.

The five major powers, which played a key role in the creation of the United Nations, are Permanent Members of the Security Council, and each is endowed with the right of veto. These nations are China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (now Russia), The United Kingdom, and the United States. The same major powers also make up the Military Staff Committee.

Thus, the Charter provisions on the collective use of force can be applied effectively only with their consent and with their continued cooperation. But because the Cold War broke out shortly after the establishment of the United Nations, these conditions could not be met due to the fact that the relations among the major powers, and especially between the two superpowers, became marred by mistrust and disagreement. This resulted in the SC having to resort to other means in order to preserve peace and stability.

Formation of the UN Peacekeeping

In 1945, delegates from 50 nations met in San Francisco to draft a charter for a new international collective security organization determined "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." Since 1948, the United Nations has conducted 67 peacekeeping operations from Central America to Southeast Asia[3]. For the vast majority of devastated populations around the world, the United Nations has become synonymous with peacekeeping. Yet,

nowhere in the 111 articles that comprise the United Nations Charter can the word "peacekeeping" be found.

The all-important justification for this peacekeeping function resides in Chapter VII of the charter, which stipulates that Security Council can authorize military action to safeguard international peace and security and respond to regional instability resulting from aggressive attacks on the sovereignty of member states.

The United Nations, like many collective security alliances, was created in response to the last great threat to peace and security, in this case the two world wars. As such, the United Nations was built to respond to interstate conflicts (between two or more recognized states) and to safeguard the sovereignty of its member states. In order to avoid the inertness that plagued its predecessor, the League of Nations, the U.N. was endowed with rather robust enforcement protocols.

Peacekeeping is a technique used by the United Nations to interpose military and civilian personnel between the warring countries or communities to stop the fighting. The presence of peacekeepers helps create an atmosphere in which fruitful negotiations for lasting peace can be held.

As peacekeepers maintain peace on the ground, mediators from the United Nations meet with leaders from the disputing parties or countries and try to reach a peaceful solution to the problems.

Despite its focus on safeguarding international peace and security, the United Nations was not constructed to confront the type of intrastate conflicts (between groups and peoples within a single recognized state) that almost exclusively dominate its peacekeeping agenda today. Very soon after the United Nations' founding, the Cold War tensions complicated decision-making under Article 43.

Since any one of the Security Council's Permanent Five (P-5) can exercise veto rights in defense of broader geopolitical agendas, the ability of the U.N. to speak in a unified voice when authorizing military

action has often proved difficult—especially as the Cold War animosity between the United States and the Soviet Union crystallized.

Despite these challenges, the United Nations confronted threats to peace and security with military action far more effectively than the League of Nations before it. In doing so, however, it was forced to develop "peacekeeping" within the parameters laid out in Chapter VII's passages on military operations.

First-Generation Peacekeeping

From 1948 until the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, the U.N. developed first-generation peacekeeping. There are some stark differences between that first iteration and what comprises second-generation U.N. peacekeeping today, but there are also shared characteristics.

Then as now, U.N. peacekeepers had to be invited by the host state and would not deploy until a ceasefire had been established. The invitation protected the sovereignty of member states, a paramount concern for the United Nations, and the ceasefire provided some sign that the belligerents were committed to resolving the conflict.

Yet, first-generation peacekeeping was more passive than it is today. Peacekeepers were deployed to keep the peace, not to restore peace or stop ongoing fighting. U.N peacekeeping forces consisted of lightly armed troops deployed to serve in a neutral capacity, physically interposed or inserted between opponents.

Since U.N. peacekeepers were primarily a visible deterrent and a reminder of the international community's reciprocal commitment to resolving the conflict, peacekeepers did not need heavy weaponry and intentionally did not project an offensive military capability.

Armed only lightly and with their iconic light blue helmets, U.N. peacekeepers monitored ceasefires and remained in the field only so long as the invitation remained. Once an invitation was rescinded, the United Nations was obligated by its own rules of engagement to withdraw its forces and work to fulfill its mandate by other means.

This approach to peacekeeping was easy to reconcile with the language of the U.N. Charter, thus obviating any need to become fixated on the absence of the term "peacekeeping" in the Charter.

Nevertheless, this model was not without serious limitations. Perhaps the best illustration of the challenges associated with first-generation peacekeeping is the initial U.N. Emergency Force (UNEF I) mission that was deployed to the Sinai region of Egypt from 1956 to 1967[4].

Second-Generation Peacekeeping

The ethnic and communal violence that increasingly confronted the United Nations at the end of the Cold War moved peacekeeping beyond the passive interposition role into something far more involved and multidimensional. The early 1990s ushered in a short-lived optimism about U.N. peacekeeping. Tensions among the P-5 seemed to dissipate and many looked forward to a new era of peacekeeping operations purged of the partisanship generated by Cold War adversaries.

In the absence of Soviet or American patronage, many developing states around the globe began to fracture and spiral into chaos fueled by resurgent nationalism, political instability, and contested natural resources. Peacekeeping soon evolved from a limited role of symbolic deterrence primarily charged with monitoring an existing ceasefire to an active one that involved in-depth conflict resolution and peace enforcement.

United Nations peacekeeping missions were increasingly charged with laying the foundation for a self-sustaining peace: implementing political solutions to the conflict, shoring up transitional governments, providing economic assistance for post-conflict states and shouldering the responsibility for humanitarian assistance during the transition period.

The Balkan Crisis

It was the first full-blown peacekeeping missions of the 1990s. It clearly demonstrated how the playing field for peacekeeping had changed and foreshadowed the challenges ahead. The peacekeeping mission to the breakaway regions of Yugoslavia quickly began to redefine the structures and goals of second-generation peacekeeping. As the Yugoslav federation was torn apart, the rhetoric of all parties to the expanding conflict became increasingly laced with both nationalist and ethnically charged language.

By the time Bosnia declared its independence from Yugoslavia in 1992; many outside observers were unwilling to distinguish between the political objectives of the various nationalist leaders and the charges of ethnic division. In an attempt to referee the violence, the Security Council formed the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), which aimed to safeguard civilian populations caught up in the increasingly bloody dissolution of Yugoslavia. UNPROFOR initially relied on the traditional model of deploying lightly armed interposition forces into a conflict zone.

The massacre of 8,000 Bosnian Muslim people by Bosnian Serbs discredited UNPROFOR and disgraced the international community.[5] In the aftermath of this fiasco, NATO bombing of Bosnian Serb locations and a United States-led negotiation mission resulted in the November 1995 Dayton Peace Accords, creating the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH)[6].

The Experience of Africa

Responding to both the civil war and a mounting humanitarian crisis, in 1992 the United Nations created the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM), which was charged with enforcing a U.N. arms embargo, monitoring a U.N.-brokered ceasefire, and delivering aid to nearly one million refugees and 5 million sick and starving people.

In 1992, the United States was authorized by the United Nations to deploy the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) to Somalia and to use "all necessary means" to provide a safe operating environment for international relief workers. Despite deploying more than 37,000 highly trained and well-equipped troops, UNITAF faced an operating environment openly hostile to international intervention of any kind and a famine that was accelerating the humanitarian crisis in Somalia.

By 1993, UNOSOM and UNITAF were rolled into UNOSOM II, a U.N. peacekeeping mission with much the same mission as its predecessors, but more directly under U.N. control and with a larger operating environment. With approximately 22,000 troops, the U.N. peacekeeping mission was doing more with less and beginning to suffer the consequences of diminishing political will among its member states[7].

Cold War Era Peacekeeping

It is by a UN Security Council resolution that a peacekeeping force can be sent into a conflict, and the format of the Security Council allows for any of the five permanent members: the United States (US), Soviet Union (Russia post-Cold War), China, Britain, and France, to veto decisions or operations of which they do not approve. Throughout the Cold War, the UN was unable to effectively engage in collective action because of the East-West division that existed within the Security Council as a result of the Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union.

Peacekeeping was created as a way to overcome the stalemate that was plaguing the Security Council at the hands of the two great power rivals who could simply veto any operation they deemed to be unfavorable to them. The aim of this peacekeeping initiative was to maintain fragile ceasefires and stabilize conflict areas so that tension could then be resolved diplomatically.

Post-Cold War Peacekeeping

Undoubtedly, with the end of the Cold War, there was no longer a need for UN peacekeeping operations to keep the great powers out of conflicts;

nevertheless, peacekeeping operations remained in demand because they were now considered generally helpful aids to the resolution of conflicts.

Free of the tension within the Security Council that had existed between Eastern and Western rivals during the Cold War, the situation seemed promising for the UN to be able to more effectively undertake even more peacekeeping missions in the post-Cold War world.

This optimism was sparked by the hope that both the US and Russia would now be able to supply UN forces, making those forces stronger than they had been. Since each state was no longer as interested in protecting its own sphere of influence in the same way it had throughout the Cold War period, both states were also no longer as committed to managing security within those same regions by themselves, opening the door to the possibility of collaboration within the Security Council.

This involvement by the great powers also meant the overarching purpose of peacekeeping operations was no longer valid (to keep the US and the erstwhile Soviet Union out). It is for this reason that the utility of peacekeeping operations is often questioned because the very purpose and objective of peacekeeping no longer applies.

Even given this optimism for cooperation, operations after the Cold War have tended to be much more complex and multi-dimensional than before, now including humanitarian work, overseeing elections, and a number of reconstruction operations, all of which has made the pursuit of a straight-forward goal of the mission much more difficult.   .

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Selling Hope

Paramjeet Singh*

It was an honor listening to Amartya Sen, Nobel Laureate and a Harvard Professor, at the *Express Adda* in the Amphitheatre of India Habitat Center in New Delhi on December 20, 2014. I share Prof. Peter Ronald deSouza's disappointment, rather concern, that he expressed in "Speaking truth to power" (The Hindu, January 3, 2015), but in a different context. Prof. Sen appreciated Prime Minister Narendra Modi for generating a hope and giving people a sense of faith that things can happen.[1]

This observation of his made me ask him the first question from the audience comprising many notable 'names'. My question was about the relevance and the genuineness of that hope that Prof. Sen was appreciating the current leadership of this country for. Though Prof. Peter in his article does raise some important aspects with regard to what Prof. Sen said, the point is not who said what; rather, the issue is why what was said was said.

Prof. Sen is a development and welfare economist. Welfare and development are rooted in the realities of an economic system and mere sentiments, though could be crucial in running the stock markets of the world, have no role to play in delivering these to the people.

It is important to mention that when I use the word 'people', I am referring to everyone under the sun and not just those who hijack the policy framework of a country and manoeuvre it to serve their own economic interests to the detriment of the rest. Martin Gilens, Professor of Politics at Princeton University, concluded, in one of his studies pertaining to the USA, that the rich cast substantial impact onto the

government policy while the normal people have no or very little role to play.[2]

If this is, which is, the reality of the world, what is the relevance of the 'generating hope' comment? Instead of individualizing the discussion on the statement appreciating Prime Minister Modi for generating hope, I wish to draw the attention of the readers to the context of the statement and its relevance for us in the kind of world we live in.

What kind of world are we living in? The existence of 'cracks in capitalism'[3], as pointed out by Prof. John Holloway, a Marxist-oriented sociologist and philosopher, cannot be refuted but refusing to acknowledge the prevalence and acceptance of neoliberalism on a much wider scale, and across different economic levels, would be a folly. Neoliberalism is "the most successful ideology in world history"[4].

This article seeks to discuss the philosophical and ideological connotations, from a practical perspective, of 'hope' and its implications in deciding the context of an economic system we are a part of. Readers are requested to forego the hyper-technicality of semantics and understand the basics of complexities that exist today.

Last year, Oxfam International, at World Economic Forum in Davos (Switzerland), reported that the world's 85 (Forbes magazine updated the figure to 67 later that year[5]) richest people had wealth equal to that of the poorest 3.5 billion people.[6] Per the World Bank 2013 estimates, the population of the world is 7.125 billion people. Poverty line, as defined by the World Bank, is $1.2 per day. On the other hand, the world's richest man would take around 220 years to spend his wealth at the rate of $1 million per day.[7]

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Inequality is rising with advancing neoliberalism. In the words of the Senior Vice President and Chief Economist of the World Bank Group, Kaushik Basu, "[I] it is shocking to have a poverty line as low as $1.25 per day, it is even more shocking that 1/7th of the world's population lives below this line. The levels of inequality and poverty that prevail in the world are totally unacceptable".[8]

Now, the question is: if neoliberalism has caused and led us to this unacceptable worsening situation where the majority is in a disadvantaged position and the minority is in possession of the riches of the world, why is neoliberalism still there? The French economist, Thomas Piketty, recently observed, in an interview published in The Huffington Post, that "[G]rowth alone will not help us reduce inequality".[9]

Neoliberalism is running after the growth numbers like rising GDP count and increasing per capita income that work for the betterment of only a few and, more importantly, at the expense of (socio-politico-economic) life of the majority. The measures like *Gini coefficient* are ignored in the mainstream economic analysis.

Thomas Piketty' book, *Capital in the 21st Century*, has not only unfolded various dimensions of economic inequality but also has strived to bring them in the mainstream public discourse. Amidst all this, there must be something that is keeping the disadvantaged majority from ushering in a change into the world. That 'something' is 'hope', an economist like Amartya Sen is attaching relevance to without realizing its implications.

Neoliberalism sells 'hope' to the majority. What is the cost of this 'hope'? It costs everything that the majority has. If the majority is buying 'hope', the latter must be doing something for the former. What does this 'hope' do? Nothing! but still enough to keep the majority holding onto a mirage that a better world awaits them if they continue striving, not as a social lot but on an individual level, through the struggle of their lives.

In this process, the majority produces wealth for the richest but never enough for their own selves to get out of their miseries and translate into reality the 'hope' they have been given by neoliberalism. The question is not: Why the rich are so rich? It will not address the issue. We have to re-phrase the question - If everyone is a part of economic system, why is the system working in favour of only a few and treating others badly?

In the words of Prof. Richard Wolf, "[y]ou do not have to be a Marxist to see how the 1% tries to fool us that we too are sharing in their renewed wealth"[10]. Remember that *American Dream* dialogue every American President 'uses'? It is, unfortunately, not a reality but only 'dream-selling'. Anyone can be a 'Bill Gates' or a 'Warren Buffet' but not everyone can be a 'Bill Gates' or a 'Warren Buffet'.

The same is happening in India. If you, the readers, are thinking that referring to the USA economist Prof. Wolff's studies and the American illustration would allow the current India economic system to escape the liability, you are perhaps drawing a wrong conclusion. Though the details may vary, the underlying factual matrix and the values attached thereto are same everywhere in the world. As per the Credit Suisse' Global Wealth Databook 2014, India's richest 1% hold almost half of the country's wealth.[11] The richest 1% of the world control 46% of the world's wealth.[12]

I would again request you to not let your attention go to the individuals who are filthy rich, for it is not their fault. This would amount to deviating from the effective root cause analysis. We have to understand why the system allowed for this kind of obscene inequality to make its way into our economic system. We do not want to suppress the symptoms of the wrong that affects our society, for they will appear again. We have to go deeper and strike the real root cause of the problem and this can only happen if we look for the systemic solution. For systemic solution, we have to make the system the subject matter of our analysis.

When the leadership, whether of the USA or India or any other country of the world, come onto a public platform and shows us a vision of a brighter future that is in sharp contradiction to what exists and what has been existing since time immemorial despite repeated display of such visions, we should, instead of believing it, think. But, we choose to believe in the promises and not think. Why? Because of 'hope'.

Prof. Sen's remark makes him appear to be an admirer of generating hope. But this is to no avail if people keep on living under an impression that things will happen and, ultimately, nothing happens. This is what capitalism has been doing till date – promising everything, delivering nothing to the majority.

'Hope' has no meaning unless it becomes a reality, unless its genesis lies in sound policies and concrete actions. Of course, in the sanity of my mind, Prof. Sen, while making the comment, would not have undermined the importance of actions that mandatorily should follow the words. I should not shy away from saying, to the best of my recollection of the talk that day, that Prof. Sen expressed his disapproval of the policy that is forming the foundation of the current Indian leadership's generating hope stance.

Therefore, I agree with Prof. Peter's conclusion that "if his [Prof. Sen's] statements are coded, then he will issue an elaboration". In any case, as said before, we are discussing the issue and the ideology attached to it and not attributing anything to any individual as such. Leadership, be it of the dissent, is the face of thinking and not the thinking itself.

Coming back to our discussion, if 'hope' is not becoming a reality, why is the majority still holding onto it? The answer is simple. 'Hope' ignites and caters to, and the neoliberalists and their puppet governments, knowingly or unknowingly, understand this, the most fundamental human instinct i.e. 'greed'[13].

Some people consider 'greed' to be a 'social construct' but, in reality, it is inherent in human beings.[14] Greed is a natural[15] human instinct. Before going further, I would like to elaborate onto this point. If interaction of an individual with the outside world was limited to 'self-preservation', this world would have been a better place. But the obscene realities of life are out there in front of us.

It will be very naïve of us to assume, in contrast to what the world has been witnessing over the ages, that human beings gather (and/or want to gather) only those things and only in that quantity that they require for the very purpose of self-preservation. A possible argument to this could be: 'people would have been striving for self-preservation, if the social conditions were not such as they are'.

My response to this contention is that the social conditions may influence human behaviour which is the manifestation of a state of mind but they cannot be the reason for the development of a trait that is non-existent in a human being. State of mind is internal to a human body and is reflected vide human behaviour, in the real world. We are talking about 'greed' here and not 'self-preservation'.

Why are people inherently greedy? There are two reasons for this. *First*, our brain doesn't quantify our needs. For example, when you are exhausted (in biological sense), you have the 'desire' to eat. We will refrain from using the term 'appetite' here, for the term is technical. So, when your body needs energy, your brain doesn't tell you the exact number (quantity) of chocolate bars that you should consume for your body to get the exact amount of energy that it needs. What you brain, in fact, tell you is that you are hungry and you have a desire to eat food.

Neither the demand is quantified; nor is the supply. Though your brain might tell you to stop eating if you eat in excess of what you require (hardly happens; obesity is growing) or if your *tummy* gets filled up, you never stop accumulating food (outside your 'human body'). This analogy applies to the wealth too.

Human beings accumulate or amass more than what they need. Here, the space limitation, as was

applicable in the case of *tummy* getting filled up, doesn't apply as space for wealth accumulation, such as bank accounts, can hold as much wealth as one is able to amass. *Second*, the greed come from within and the things that we need to satisfy that greed come from without. Greed is a void having some value.

In the same manner, the object of greed satisfaction has to have certain value for it to fill in the void of greed. As our brain doesn't quantify our greed and, thus, the void's value, the measure of value attached to the object of greed satisfaction has, also, to be external. Therefore, not only the object of greed satisfaction is external, the value allocated to such an object is decided by external considerations prevailing in a social setup.

The very 'external' nature of the satisfaction of greed creates insecurity in human beings. If resources were unlimited, there would not have been any problem because, then, people would have got what they wanted without excluding others from it. But this is not so. People are constantly worried about whether they would be able to acquire the object of greed satisfaction or not.

Hence, social externalities cause insecurity which further intensifies greed. For example, if the social norms allocate more value to a luxury brand of clothing, your greed to satisfy your clothing desire will become more intensified in the sense that your actions will now be directed towards acquisition of clothes hailing from that luxury clothing brand. Capitalism is the only system conducive to such an instinct.

How does capitalism cater to the greed and its satisfaction in the most conducive manner? This is related to what we were discussing about, the reasons for people holding onto 'hope', before embarking upon the discussion on the inherent nature of greed. Considering the line of arguments, it can be put forth that people hold onto the hope afforded to them by neoliberalism, even in the worsening situation that owe its existence to the system, because that hope presents them with the prospects,

regardless of their feasibility, of greed, a fundamental human instinct, satisfaction. How does this happen?

Capitalism provides a scope, yes! 'scope' only for a few, in real, and for the rest, only in theory, for it will never materialize for the majority, that property one amasses will be his private property, to the exclusion of others, and this very aspect addresses the issue of insecurity. The insecurity that crops up from the externalities pertaining to the object of greed satisfaction are put to rest the moment you make available an environment that excludes others from the object of greed satisfaction.

This works even if you do not have anything concrete in present because the aspirations to have something that is non-existent now entails the existence of that 'something' in future. This is an individualistic concept of greed satisfaction in a social environment.

What goes contrary to the capitalism-oriented individualistic approach is the fact that the earth and the resources available on it belong to everyone. If a man lived on a planet of his own to the exclusion of others, neoliberalism would have made sense. But, in reality, everyone lives on the same planet with limited resources and everyone claims, rightly so, to have a share in it. Therefore, the allocation of resources should ensure socio-economic justice i.e. the economy should fall to the share of everyone. The extent of the said share is a different issue and relates very closely to the concept of 'greed'.

Socialism and communism, as ideologies, and not the socialists and the communists who did something else in the name of socialism and communism, respectively, claim to effectuate social-justice. But these ideologies, despite being more appropriate means of ensuring social-justice with economic development than capitalism, suffer from an inherent defect. The problem with the alternative systems like *socialism* or *communism* is that they discard 'individualism', completely.

This is a big mistake. One should never forget that individual is an individual first and then an integral

part of a social system. For the survival of a social set-up, individualism, to some extent, has to be protected because, like any other basic human instincts, 'greed' can be controlled or suppressed but never be destroyed. Socialism and Communism seek to do the latter and therefore, have failed miserably.

The focus should be on controlling the greed and only 'fear' can do that. The 'fear' I am talking about does not have its genesis in a despotic regime which is, at the end of the day, still an 'individualistic' phenomenon that conforms to the notions of libertarianism and neoliberalism, but in the rule of law that is strictly adhered to by a democratically elected government.

People should have a fear that laws are there to be implemented in the strictest sense and, thus, they cannot afford to let their greed loose and cause havoc in the system. But it must not be forgotten that the 'law' should be just and fair to every constituent of the society. If a government has been brought into the power at the expense of funding by a few neoliberalists, probability of having a law not biased towards the latter's aspirations is low.

If 'greed' is allowed to be satisfied to a certain extent in a system, it will also address the problem of deciding what portion of economy should fall to one's share. Communists limit themselves to "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs". This principle is impossible to be sustained as it totally discards venting out the "greed" that every single person, normally, is supposed to harbour. If one cannot or do not have hope to satisfy one's greed, there is no more incentive left to move ahead in life.

Therefore, to the said principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs", "to each according to what he deserves" should be added. Of course, the criterion to decide what one should deserve is altogether a different task but it is not impossible to establish standards for the same keeping in mind the principle of equality

and one's real contribution to the economy as a whole.

However, there should be a cap on this share too; the proposition flows from the very concept of 'equality' as well. But, unfortunately, socialism and communism as ideologies might be flexible but most of their proponents are rigid to accommodate this aspect.

Keeping in sight the limitation of existing notions of socialism and communism, it is difficult to assume that neoliberalism will ever give way to the former. As long as people hold onto a 'hope' that their dreams will come true, neoliberalism will persist.

There is one more crucial aspect involved in this debate. Whatever is happening in today's world, whose fault is it? The blame is on the system that created the inequality and not of the people used the system to be where they are today. If the rich got richer in neoliberalism, the poor became poorer in the same system.

People are people, whether rich or poor. The oppressed want to change the system not because they consider the change to be good, in general, but because they do not want to remain the oppressed.

The divide always exists; it is just that people cross over. Therefore, I always say that it is the 'divide' that should be struck against; neither the rich nor the poor. As is clear from the aforementioned, the only reason for 'divide' to be there is the 'hope'; otherwise, neoliberalism has not literally been imposed onto the majority. The majority, the sufferers, have 'chosen' to be exploited because they bought the hope that neoliberalism gave them; a hope that things will improve one day.

But nothing will change unless either the 'hope' shatters which is almost impossible and might even be a very ugly state of the mankind to witness or actions follow the words falling from the leadership of the country. Those actions should not merely be a sham in order to prevent the onslaught of the oppressed onto the oppressor; rather, they should

be directed towards really delivering development and welfare of all.

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THIRD CONCEPT *welcomes your valuable comments on articles published in each issue. Suggestion to further improve quality and get up of your favourite magazine, which has a record of uninterrupted publication since 1987 are also*

Water Scarcity and International Relation

Jayasmita Barik*

[In the traditional paradigm, security is mainly centred on state and its military establishments. States are both the source of security to its citizens and to itself as well as source of security threats to other states. Neo-realists and realists always define security in state-centric terms. In the 1980s an intellectual upsurge took place calling for rethinking security as the then prevalent narrow understanding and definition of security could not meet the challenge coming from non-state centric sources: such as environmental change, poverty, spread of diseases, migration, etc. Out of all these non-state centric challenges, scarcity of resources; especially water remains paramount. In the earlier days water was used as an instrument to settle scores with the enemy states, where water resources happened to be trans-boundary.]

Water is a renewable resource, but its availability is variable and limited. Nearly every country in the world experiences water shortages during certain times of the year (Gleick 1993a), and more than 80 countries now suffer from serious water shortages (Falkenmark and Lindh 1993). In addition, factors such as pollution, erosion, run-off, and salinization associated with irrigation, plus the overall inefficient use of water, contribute to the decline in water resources (Pimentel et al. 1994).

Supply and usage of water

Humanity has approximately 11 trillion cubic meters of freshwater at its disposal. Groundwater aquifers contain over 95% of this water, while rain, rivers, and lakes make up the remaining 5%. Approximately 1,700 m3 of water exists for every person on the planet, an alarming low number. According to the Water Stress Index, a region with less than 1,700 m3 per capita is considered "water stressed".

The global supply is not distributed evenly around the planet, nor is water equally available at all times throughout the year. Many areas of the world have seriously inadequate access to water, and many places with high annual averages experience alternating seasons of drought and monsoons.

Water usage differs highly between developing countries and developed ones. Developing countries use 90% of their water for agriculture, 5% for industry, and 5% for urban areas. Developed countries use 45% of their water for agriculture, 45% for industry, and 10% for urban areas.

Increasing Demand

The agricultural sector, by far the largest consumer of freshwater resources, accounts for 70% global consumption. Irrigation consumes most of the water in the agricultural sector, and has become an integral part of modern civilization because of access to groundwater aquifers.

Once farmers were freed from relying on rain to water their crops, highly efficient commercial farming became increasingly common. This innovation also underpinned the Green Revolution, which dramatically increased crop production throughout the Third World in the 1960s. Unfortunately, water is being drawn from many of these aquifers faster than it is being replaced.

Industrialisation and water pollution

The companion of modernization has always been pollution. In developing countries that are just entering the industrial age, water pollution presents a serious

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problem. According to United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP), "in developing countries, rivers downstream from major cities are little cleaner than open sewers".

The UNEP also reports that 1.2 billion people are being affected by polluted water, and that dirty water contributes to 15 million child deaths every year. In recent years, scientists have become aware of the problems involved with the contamination of groundwater. Aquifers move very slowly, so once they are polluted it takes decades or centuries for them to cleanse themselves.

Food production contributes significantly to water contamination. When nitrogen fertilizer is applied to a field, the water runoff will contain excess amounts of nitrates. Nitrates have been shown to have a very harmful effect on plant and animal life, can cause miscarriages, and can harm infant development. The industrial livestock business also presents a serious danger to water systems. The disposal of vast amounts of animal faeces destroys nearby ecosystems and is very hazardous to humans.

Global warming and climate change

The process of evolving extraordinary rise in earth's temperature is due to increasing atmospheric pollution. This pollution results from the increasing consumption of petrol and diesel and soil erosion due to cutting of forests and mountains. It is feared that it will give rise to climate change, the melting of polar ice and consequent rise in sea level.

Impact on fresh water resources

Freshwater-related risks of climate change increase significantly with increasing greenhouse gas concentrations (*robust evidence, high agreement*). The fraction of global population experiencing water scarcity and the fraction affected by major river floods has increased with the rising level of warming in the 21st century. Climate change over the 21st century is projected to reduce renewable surface water and groundwater resources significantly in most dry subtropical regions (*robust evidence*, *high agreement*), intensifying competition for water

among sectors (*limited evidence*, *medium agreement*).

Estimates show that in presently dry regions, drought frequency will *likely* increase by the end of the21st century under RCP8.5 (*medium confidence*). In contrast, water resources are projected to increase at high latitudes (*robust evidence, high agreement*).

Climate change is projected to reduce raw water quality and pose risks to drinking water quality even with conventional treatment, due to interacting factors: increased temperature; increased sediment, nutrient, and pollutant loadings from heavy rainfall; increased concentration of pollutants during droughts; and disruption of treatment facilities during floods (*medium evidence, high agreement*).

Adaptive water management techniques, including scenario planning, learning-based approaches, and flexible and low-regret solutions, can help create resilience to uncertain hydrological changes and impacts due to climate change (*limited evidence, high agreement*).

Agriculture

The main point here is that farmers may be more concerned with survival and thus prefer to grow food crops or pay more attention to such crop than the cash crops of the scheme or programme. Government is interested in marketable surplus, and may be also the smooth running of things. Other actors interfere in this "social arena" (Harriss 1976).

Competition for Water

There have always been shortages of water in some places on earth at some times. Whenever this happened where there were people, there was competition for water and sometimes conflict. But humans always learned to adapt or cope, sometimes by moving. At first people followed the water, settling near rivers, lakes, and springs, and moving to others if these dried up because of climate variability.

As technology evolved, people moved the water to them by building reservoirs, aqueducts, and pumping stations. However, in the past hundred years our population has mushroomed and large cities and

megacities have developed. Water consumption has risen to feed us, quench our thirst, and supply the industries that feed our economic growth.

Pollution loads have outstripped the capacity of our ecosystems to respond. Locally and regionally, competition for water is increasing. To this must be added the threats to regional and global ecosystems caused by anthropogenic and natural climate change.

Conflicts over water could be looked upon as consisting of three key spheres: hydrosphere, economic, and political. There is a strong potential conflict between the ecosystem's needs for water and human needs. Even within the context of human needs, conflicts over water are often affected by problems in the economic and political spheres as much as those generated within the water sphere itself.

Similarly, problems in the water sphere may lead to conflicts or disputes in the other two spheres. Inequities are increasing between the rich who can afford to cope and the poor who cannot. Earth may have neared a point of discontinuity in human civilization.

Causes of conflict

Conflicts can arise from the use of common water resources. In order to further our understanding of such conflicts it would be appropriate to distinguish between conflict arising through use, and conflict arising through pollution. A utilization conflict, for example, could be the construction of a power-station on the upper-course of a river. The possibility of conflict increases in such cases where this construction has harmful consequences for the lower-lying states, for example, polluted waste water.

The situation becomes more pronounced when the lower-lying states withhold their consent for such construction because of fears of, for example, water shortages. This could include a situation where the construction of a dam on the upper course of a river, that not only serves the energy needs but also the major irrigational works of the lower-lying states, threatens to stem the flow of water.

A relative conflict of distribution would present itself where a disparity over the use of water exists between the upper and lower-lying states. An absolute conflict of distribution would exist when there simply is not enough water to meet all the legitimate needs of the riparian states.

The distinction between the different causes of water conflict leads us to the supposition that conflicts arising from the use or pollution of a water resource would be easier to solve than those conflicts that arise from the distribution of a scarce and finite resource. In the first two cases there are contested costs which can be manipulated in order to come to an agreement. In the case of a distributional conflict we are faced with a different scenario whereby a solution is only possible when the privileged state agrees to give up certain of its advantages.

Conflicts over water

According to" classical" conflict theory (Coser 1956, Boulding 1962, Simmel 1955), conflict is looked upon as a form of social interaction, a struggle over claims to scarce resources (power, or eliminate rivals (Coser 1956). Conflict is usually conceived as being different from competition, and there are several cognitive layers of conflict.

A constant state of competition – as, for example, all organisms dependent on water, is not necessarily conscious and has, therefore, also been termed meta-conflict or indirect conflict (MacIver 1937). Direct conflict, "real" conflict, "open" conflict, is always a conscious process, where parties perceive that they are in conflict with some other party over this resource.

Such conflicts can be predicted, and some of the material below concerns areas of potential conflict. Conflict can be looked in a variety of ways. For our purpose we have chosen a hierarchical organisation of the types of conflicts we are going to discuss, from international conflicts to conflicts at the local level. Much of the discussion also concerns situations with a conflict potential.

Conflicts over International Rivers

According to the UNEP, there are 263 rivers in the world that either cross or mark international boundaries. The basins fed by these rivers account for 60% of the world's above ground freshwater. Of these 263 rivers, 158 have no international legislation, and many are the source of conflict.

Water has always been a central issue in Arab-Israeli situation. Ariel Sharon once said the Six Days War actually began the day that Israel stopped Syria from diverting the Jordan River in 1964. Decades later, the Egyptian military came close to staging a coup against Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, who had proposed diverting some of the Nile's water to Israel as part of a peace plan.

The Nile River, which runs through Ethiopia, Sudan, and Egypt, exemplifies the potential for future water conflicts. The banks of the Nile River support one of most densely populated areas on the planet. In the next fifty years the number of people dependant on the Nile could double, creating a serious water crisis in the region. The Nile is not governed by any multilateral treaties, and Egypt would not shirk from using military strength to guarantee its future access to water.

The potential for water conflicts are less likely outside the Middle East, but nevertheless there are many problematic areas. The Mekong River is the lifeblood of South East Asia, but it begins in one of the most water poor countries on Earth: China. The Indus River separates Pakistan and India, and aquifer depletion by Indian farmers has one of the highest rates in the world.

U.S.-Mexican relations are already strained over water use on their mutual border. The Niger River basin in West-Central Africa runs through five countries. Surging populations coupled with decreasing rainfall in the region seriously threaten water security for millions of people.

Although the spectre of international water wars can seem very real, in the last 50 years there have only been 7 conflicts over water outside the Middle East. While a global water crisis has the potential to tear international relations at the seams, it also has the potential to force the global community into a new spirit of cooperation.

Had, for instance, Canada and the U.S.A. followed the boundary waters treaty of 1909, prescribing in article IV that "boundary waters (waters flowing across the boundary) shall not be polluted on either side to the injury of health or property of the other", today's water pollution problem in these waters would have been non-existent (Utton, 1978). Evidently the pressure to follow treaty recommendations is often overruled by technological development, and national interests rationalized behind the principle of sovereignty.

Some Key Problems

The general situation concerning joint use of international rivers may be considered to be vague status of the basic principle of equitable utilisation which is no more than a set of recommendations from a non-governmental scientific organisation. Also, the content of the principle is disturbingly vague and uncertain and in fact nothing more than an appeal to the international conscience (Utton 1978).

Need for international code of conduct

Adequate ways have to be found to persuade governments to act in line with the equitable sharing principle. Even if the persuasion is conveyed primarily by the river-basin commissions, they have to be backed up by some sort of global support. There is, therefore, a clear need for a global advisory body to take on international leadership by giving advice, developing a code of conduct that would, in the long run, persuade governments to follow the principle of equitable sharing and helping to clarify its implications in different situations.

In the field of shared water resources, research activities are badly needed. Persuasion can be foreseen to be very slow process, taking into account the primitive views that are being expressed in today's world in the field of shared water resources. Therefore, possible positions of the governments have to be analysed. Much imagination has to be devoted to developing new forms of incentives and disincentives. Constructive ways of developing a

more open-minded approach by governments in their decisions have to be created.

Conclusion

The traditional conflict/war between and among nations over water has been understood as strategic and militaristic. With the worldwide spawning of population growth and its increasing demands on water resources for various purposes, water has become a scarce commodity not easily accessible to all without turning out to be a point of conflict among people and nations. The modernity and requirements of an industrially civilized life has been a stress on the ever decreasing water resources.

Water which was pure and unpolluted has now become worst polluted making people flee for pure and drinkable water. The Western concept of development based on industrialization has resulted in climate change which is having serious and devastating consequences on water. As predicted by IPCC report published recently in 2014, the coming century will witness serious water crisis in the world with the potential of scarcity of water being a cause and/or amplifier of water conflict or war between and among nations.

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MGNREGA in India: An Analysis

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[*This article provides a panoramic overview of various schemes of the rural employment undertaken by the Central government from the 1970s onwards with specific emphasis on MGNREGA and its impact in generating rural employment. While dwelling on the overall impact on poverty reduction and employment generation, the article also briefly deals with MGNREGA's impact on SCs, STs and women.* Ed.]

The Government of India in April 1971 initiated the Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (CSRE) to alleviate the poverty and prevailing conditions of unemployment and underemployment in rural areas. The duration of the scheme was three years. The Programme Evaluation Organization's (PEO) evaluation revealed that the programme neither generated sizable employment nor provided any guidance for employment planning.

The experience of CSRE indicated the need for more concerted efforts to tackle the problem of rural unemployment and poverty. The Bhagavati Committee on Rural Unemployment drew attention to this aspect in its report, and recommended the initiation of the Pilot Intensive Rural Employment Project (PIREP). This scheme was implemented during 1972 to 1976 in 15 Community Development Blocks situated in various parts of the country with different economic and ecological conditions.

It was an action–cum-pilot study project on the characteristics of employment in selected areas. Though PIREP proved to be slightly a better programme as it threw light on certain characteristics of rural unemployment, but the Review Committee pointed out that due to certain organizational problems, PIREP could not be of much use in evolving a comprehensive programme for the whole country (Singh, K 2008).

During the first two Five Year Plan (FYP) periods the government had given much emphasis to reduce the unemployment in the primary sector. The Rural Works Programme (RWP) paid more attention during the third FYP to capital accumulation and generation of employment as well as raising the supply of wage goods.

It was expected that RWP would provide increased employment opportunities and in the process create productive assets to strengthen the rural economy. It had been proposed to provide employment for an annual average of 100 days to about 1 lakh persons in the first year and to about 2.5 million persons by the end of the Third Plan Period.

In the process Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) was launched in 1983 and continued up to 1989, with an aim to improve and expand employment opportunities for rural landless by providing guarantee of employment to at least one member of every landless labour household up to 100 days in a year.

As per India's official poverty line of monthly per capita consumption of Rs.356 in rural and Rs.593 in urban is taken as benchmark, 300 million Indians are poor. Even though, the share of the poor has dropped steadily from 55 per cent in the early seventies to 28 per cent in 2005, but what has not changed is the deep-rootedness of poverty in rural areas where three quarters of the poor live (Planning Commission 2008b).

Persistent poverty anywhere is said to have created a threat to prosperity of the country. The main reason for the high poverty in rural areas lies in the fact that

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India is still largely an agrarian economy. Of the rural poor, 41 per cent are informal agriculture labourers and 22 per cent are self-employed farmers with tiny landholdings.

This also affects urban poverty as the poorest households in the cities are distressed migrants from rural areas with stagnating farming incomes (Planning Commission 2008a). Further agriculture sector absorbs 52 per cent of labour force but contributes less than one fifth to the country's GDP. Labour absorption capacity of agriculture sector slowed down considerably, form 1.8 per cent annually between 1983 and 1994 to 0.4 per cent between 1994 and 2005 (Planning Commission 2008a).

One main reason for low productivity of agriculture (per worker) is excess of (under-employed) farming labourers. As the workforce continues to grow the earning situation for both landless and land owning becomes worse. With the decrease in available land plots both in numbers as well as size from generation to generation, the share of land-owning farmers holding less than one hectare of land has increased from 56 per cent in 1982 to 70 per cent today (Planning Commission 2008a).

The low value of labour could be due to the fact that most of the workers are engaged in unskilled work with low wage rates, mainly in agriculture work. The problems of low wage rate, seasonality of agriculture employment, informal nature of work etc are some of the causes to the prevalence of large scale unemployment among states of India.

The government took initiatives in the form of wage employment programmes. Among those programmes, Rural Works Programme (1961), CSRC (1971), FFW (1976) NREP (1981), RLEGP (1983), NFFWP (2001), SGRY (2001) were important in terms of providing employment to rural workforce. Owing to centralized nature of these programmes, their performance was not up to the expected level and it was felt that there should be rights-based and demand-led wage employment programme would be effective.

In brief, one can say that MGNREGA is the continuation of earlier wage employment programmes aiming to eradicate poverty and unemployment by providing legally guaranteed 100 days of employment to each rural household. Nevertheless, this 'Rights-based' intervention is conceptually and quantitatively different from the earlier ones. Hence, it is essential to appraise the performance MGNREGA at macro and micro level to examine its impact.

MGNREGA's National-level Performance

The Centre for Science and Environment (2006b) indicated in its report that the 1st phase 200 backward MGNREGA districts where the Act is more desirable but at the same time less feasible. Their unique socio-economic and governance problems will pose major challenge to the implementation of the MGNREGA. Hence, it is essential to appraise the performance of MGNREGS for the last five years at national level. The secondary data pertaining to some important indicators were obtained.

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act has been a subject of lively debate since its inception. Unfortunately, the factual basis of this debate has been, so far, rather thin. (Dreze and Oldiges 2007). On the other hand CSE (2008b) has claimed that in 2006-07 alone NREGA has created more than half a million productive assets, mostly water and soil conservation structures. Each of them has potential to root out poverty from villages. However, the Act was not able to generate the kind of employment demand as expected.

The above data presents the summary fact-sheet of MGNREGS developed and based on the data from the website www.nrega.nic.in. Obvious as it may be, the first point to note is the extraordinary scale of the MGNREGA. In the first year of implementation, about 90 crore person-days of employment was generated to about 2.11 core participating households.

The total days of employment increased gradually with increase in the number of MGNREGS districts from 220 to 620 districts by 2009-10 and this extension was relatively 'smooth' in the sense that what was achieved during 2006-07 was achieved

in the next four years of implementation. It had created at an average 43 days and 46.8 days of employment in 2006-07 and 2010-11 respectively.

The performance in 2009-10 was significantly higher than in the other years due to severe drought situation in the country and cry for employment from rural workforce due to lack of employment opportunities in agriculture sector. But the percentage of households completed 100 days of employment was only 12.08 during the same year.

During 2010-11 it was relatively better because of better monsoon and hence the demand for MGNREGS may be less. One interesting thing is that during 2006-07, 2007- 08 and 2008-09, the number of households demanding employment was higher than the number of households provided with employment. However, unemployment allowance details are not available from the website.

Two important changes can be noticed from the above data First the share of 'STs' in the MGNREGA workforce declined from 36 per cent to 21 between 2006 and 2010, presumably owing to the fact that the initial 200 districts had particularly high share of ST households in the rural population. One more important aspect is that providing employment to SCs and STs was not the objective of MGNREGA as no such reservation to SC and ST workers was seen in the Act.

However, the share of employment to SCs and STs was more than their share in the population at national level. Secondly, there has been substantial increase in the wage rates over last five years in several states and also at all India level. There was an increase of about 38 per cent in the average wage rate (S.No. 10 of the above table), in nominal terms from Rs.65 in 2006-07 to Rs.99 a day in 2010-11.

In real terms, this corresponds to an increase of average 10 per cent per year. This increase was mainly due to the fixation of wage rates by Government of India during December 2009.

However, the minimum wages fixed under MGNREGA for different states were less than the minimum wage rates fixed under the Minimum Wage Rates Act, 1948 in many states. As mentioned by

Prof. Dreze and others, the interstate variation still exists with (say) Kerala paying more than twice as much as Rajasthan does and hence the Union Government fixed the state-specific wage rates by following indexation of wage rates to each state based on the Consumer Price Index for Agriculture Labour (CPIAL) in the month of January 2011

While analysing the data it was observed that the employment levels were much higher in the Phase-I districts than in the Phase-II districts. This is mainly because the Phase-I districts were able to build on the foundations they had laid in the previous years but also because the demand for employment was greater in those districts compare to Phase-II and Phase-III districts. A noteworthy point is that Phase-I districts are poorer than Phase-II and Phase-III districts.

The data pertaining to women's participation is plausible and increased gradually year by year, which indicates the inclusion of unemployed and under-employed women into workforce. From the studies of NIRD, it is evident that this is mainly due to the availability of work in the village itself at minimum wage.

For the first time throughout the country, equal wages were ensured through this Act for both men and women in public works, which motivated women to take part in MGNREGS. The website provides the share of days of employment by women in the total days of employment. However, one cannot estimate the number of women who have participated in MGNREGS from the website as it is not traceable.

Conclusion

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act got nationwide popularity and to some extent facilitates provision for the poverty eradication among the rural poor. Though, there is an increase in job cards of beneficiaries but not ensured to get total employment among the rural poor. The beneficiaries may be SCs/STs and other backward sections, this scheme achieved only 50 to 60 % of its target. The other unemployed and unskilled people from the lower social categories

are still struggling hard for their daily livelihood. Overall, this scheme at national level and at the state level has more provisions for the eradication of poverty and to provide guarantee of employment to the rural poor.

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Development of Buddhist Culture in Karnataka

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[*Siddhartha Goutama was born as a prince in southern Nepal over 2500 years ago. Seeing that life's pleasures fade quickly, he set out in search of lasting happiness. After six years of mainly solitary practice committed to cultivating and purifying the mind, he discovered the timeless truth of existence and realized enlightenment: the complete cessation of greed, hatred and delusion, which are at the root of all discontent deep within the mind. Henceforth, he is known as the Buddha. He devoted the remaining 45 years of his life to teaching and helping others to attain the same sublime happiness of liberation that he had discovered.*]

Today, two main strands of Buddhism are recognized: Theravada Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism. The Theravada Buddhism is main religion of Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos; it is also prevalent in Malaysia, Singapore and Nepal.

Mahayana Buddhism is the main religion of Tibet, Mongolia, Taiwan, Korea, Vietnam and Japan; it is also prevalent in China, Malaysia, Singapore and Nepal. The variations in practice among Buddhists from person to person and country to country are often shaped by cultural rather than religious factors.

Significant Buddhist beliefs are as follows: All Buddhists believe in reincarnation. This belief shapes their attitude to life and death, making them more at ease with a premature or unexpected death of a loved one and more accepting of their own death when it is imminent. Each individual should bear in mind that such stoicism in the face of tragedy comes

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from their religious beliefs and not from fear or denial.

Buddhists also believe in the Law of Karma, which explains that one's own happiness or suffering, success or failure, health or illness and so on, are caused by one's own bodily, verbal or mental actions (karma means action). Karma is not fatalism, since Buddhists realize that karma is 'work-in-progress', so that even now they are generating the causes for future prosperity or failure. Thus, in times of distress, Buddhists will seek to do good karma to alleviate any unpleasantness.

Buddhism is not a God-centered faith. Thus, Buddhists do not worship, nor surrender their fate to a divine being. However, the majority of Buddhists will have statues of the Buddha, Kuan Yin (the Goddess of Mercy), Maitreya (the future Buddha) and other icons in their temples and houses, and pray in front of them for favours. Though these images are meant to be merely images of reflection, to generate inspiration, they are regularly used as a focus for aspirations, that is, for praying and meditation.

Buddhists also accept the truths of science, such as evolution, the 'Big Bang', genetics and so forth. Buddhists place strong emphasis on compassion. Since Buddhism holds that one can be reborn from the animal, ghost, heaven or lower realms, and that one can also reincarnate back into those realms (as well as back to the human realm).

Buddhists show compassion to animals and insects. In practice, compassion takes the form of not doing anything that harms another or oneself, but instead strives to bring happiness to all beings, including oneself. This leads to the basic moral conduct for Buddhists which are being called as the Five Precepts.

Buddhists try to live by these Five Precepts of harmlessness. However, if they fail, they are still fully accepted within the Buddhist community. The Five Precepts which are strongly encouraged are as follows:

1. Refraining from intentionally killing any living being.

2. Refraining from any form of stealing.

3. Refraining from sexual misconduct, in particular from committing adultery.

4. Refraining from any form of lying.

5. Refraining from taking alcohol and non-medicinal drugs.

Buddhism - Prayers & Meditation

Buddhism has a distinctive culture of its own. Buddhists do not worship the Creator of the Universe i.e., God. They practice meditation which, however, can be compared to it to some extent. Prayer forms may vary from country to country depending on the prevailing customs and traditions. For instance, Tibetans chant mantras while they pray.

They believe that reciting mantras give rise to beneficial vibrations within a person. And these vibrations could ultimately lead to opening the mind to a certain level of consciousness which is beyond words and thoughts.

The same procedure is also being practiced in some parts of the state of Karnataka. In Japan, you can notice that Buddhists praying to the Armida Buddha, the Buddha of infinite Light. Belief exists that Armida has created a Pure Land in the west and those who pray to him and recite his name would be taken to the Pure Land. At the same time, they also believe that Armida is nowhere, but within themselves.

Buddhist Shrines & Images

The shrines and images that you can come across within Buddhist homes or temples mainly include the image of Buddha. They keep the image only to remind and recollect the noble qualities of Lord Buddha. Besides the images, you can also find some ancient scriptures or photographs of Buddhist monks. These assist the devotees and followers to gain inspiration from the enlightened beings of the past and thus, continue on their path to Dharma, which is the truth which every individual on this earth has to follow to lead a life which is full of peace and prosperity

Art historians say that Aihole was a workshop for temple architects and sculptors patronized by early

Chalukyan monarchs. Here are some of the earliest structural temples in stone in the country, dating from 450 AD and, among them; it is one of the four Buddhist shrines in Karnataka. So we make our way to Aihole's hillock, Meguti, to the rock cut Buddhist shrine. It is of special interest to us because it is the most important surviving Buddhist temple in Karnataka.

The Chaitya, a double-storey structure, is half structural and half excavated in rock. The sanctum sanctorum is in the upper storey. It has a rectangular verandah of 8.78 m x 2.15 m. In the centre of the Verandah's ceiling is a relief (statue) of Buddha in preaching posture.

Of the three Buddha sculptures at Aihole, this is the best preserved and is 61cm in Height. He is seated on the *padmapitha* in the *satvaparyankasana*, that is, his right hand is placed against his chest in the *vyakhyan mudra* while the left is placed on the right foot with the palm facing upwards. His right shoulder and right breast are uncovered. There is a triple umbrella above him and his attendants are nearby to Buddha.

Buddhist Festivals

Buddhist festivals are a crucial part of the Buddhist culture. The festivals are joyful occasions that are celebrated by the Buddhist community all across the globe. The Vesak Festival is held in the month of May to commemorate Lord Buddha's enlightenment and his noble teachings.

People meditate and participate in chanting mantras. Sermons are delivered and followers listen to it with all respect. Most of the temples and Buddhist sites welcome non-Buddhists also with whole-heartedness. Rituals comprise offering incense, chanting of texts from holy Sutras and performing meditation.

Objectives

1. To find out aspects of Buddhist Cultural Development or cultural transformations in relation to cultural diffusion and invention.

2. To explore religious rapprochement in Karnataka with regard to Buddhism.

The present research makes an elaborate study of development of Buddhist culture in Karnataka to fulfill above mentioned objectives. It is evident from the different Buddhist sites of state. Mundgod in North Karnataka is a site offering a glimpse of Tibetan settlements, multi-coloured stupas and painted prayer halls in South.

Currently, the complex houses comprising 9 camps with two monasteries and a nunnery. Kanaganahalli is an important Buddhist site where an ancient Buddhist Mahastupa, brick built structures of Chaityagriha, votive stupas, Buddha padas, sculptured panels of Jataka stories and life of Lord Buddha were excavated during 1994 to 1998.

Ruined remnants of a monastic complex also belonged to Kanaganahalli. Also, 50 inscriptions were discovered from this glorious site, including an important excavation of Emperor Ashoka's sculpture. Namdroling Monastery near Mysore is a Buddhist town where around 5000 lamas, (both monks and nuns) practice and preach the lineage of Tibetan Buddhism, forming its largest teaching center of the Southern India. Recent excavations at Banavasi in North Karnataka unveiled the Buddhist Stupa structure remains like a dharma chakra.

The other important Buddhist sites of Karnataka in general and North Karnataka in particular are Rekulgi Mount in Bidar district, a Sariputra Budha Vihara, Dhammagiri, Shahapur which is situated under the Natural Sleeping Budha and a very biggest and significant site of Buddhist prayer and meditation centre is situated in the outskirts of Gulbarga city. This vital Buddhist centre is blessed by his holiness Dalai Lama. Here Buddhist cultural rituals and traditions are practiced on a regular basis.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that Buddhist culture is growing rapidly in Karnataka. Material culture has significant speedy development in the state, but the development of non-material culture like art, belief, faith, customs, traditions, practices is considerably slow. It is a slow and steady development which will help for the growth of Buddhism in each and every corner of Karnataka. The inspiration of

Buddhism for those people who are downtrodden in the society will surely be responsible for cultural transformation in the state.

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Truth in Gandhi's Philosophy

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The experiment of Truth in Gandhi's philosophy is one of the important concepts which is the central focal point of his entire philosophy. All his thoughts are derived from this principle. In Gandhi's consideration 'Truth is God'. Truth bears all the concept and things of the world. He said, where there is true knowledge that is Truth and where there is no true knowledge that is false or illusion like Advaita philosophy.

Gandhi mentions that there are number of paths to assimilate Truth. Among them non-violence or ahimsa is one of the essential path. He said non-violence and Truth are inseparably related. They are like two sides of a same coin. Truth is the ultimate reality and non-violence is the way.

There is no any moral way except non-violence, which can be applied in all the fields of the society. Satyagraha is another moral principle which we can use in political field. He used Satyagraha as a political weapon to reach the highest goal in politics. Without moral and spiritual value in politics, it becomes aimless.

Gandhi criticized modern civilization to reach Truth because modern civilization is based on modern technical machines. Gandhi said that, the technical machines have abolished human labour and lost their moral and spiritual foundation. He did not support the ways which are not based on moral and spiritual foundation.

Moral and Spiritual Values of Truth

The concept of Truth in Gandhi's philosophy is an important concept which occupies a central place in the system of Gandhian thought. Truth is the centre to understand Gandhi's entire philosophy. In Gandhi's philosophy, Truth is the foundation of his thought which is reflected in his autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. In his autobiography he expressed the view that his whole life relentlessly searched for Truth. He said, "The quest for Truth is the *summum bonum* of his life"[1]

The word Satya (truth) is derived from Sat and it means "being". Nothing is or exists in reality except truth. That's why "Sat or Truth is perhaps the most important name of God."[2] Therefore, Gandhi thought that, "truth is God" than to say "God is truth". Such names of God are called as 'King' or 'The Almighty'.

Therefore Gandhi said that Sat or Satya is the only correct or significant name of God. Truth is the basis of all rules in life. All activities of our life should

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be centered on truth. Without truth it is impossible to maintain our day-to-day life.

Gandhi's concept of Truth bears multiple meanings. For Gandhi, Truth is not only a metaphysical category but also a moral and spiritual concept which leads human life to the highest good. Gandhi said, Truth is not merely truthfulness in word, but truthfulness in thought and deed. He used Truth in wide sense. Gandhi holds that Truth resides in every human heart and everyone has to be guided in his activities by it.

Truth is the highest good or *Summum Bonum* for every individual being which is difficult to attain. Every religion or human being follows Truth for the right direction. Gandhi stated that for realizing Truth man has to give up his lust, anger, greed, infatuation, pride, falsehood, selfishness, hatred etc.

A man, swayed by passions, may be truthful in word, but he will not be truthful in deed. Therefore Gandhi said, "A successful search for Truth means complete deliverance from the dual things such as love and hate, happiness and misery".[3]

Gandhi's Truth is sovereign principle which includes numerous other moral principles. His concept of Truth is free from any theological connotation. His quest for Truth is epistemological as well as ontological one. For Gandhi there is no God, there is only Truth, because in Hindu religion there are numerous names of God which create conflicts among religious people. Therefore, Gandhi said that in place of God if we replace Truth there is no conflict.

There is same value between Truth and God. On that reason Gandhi said, "Truth is God". So, Gandhi does not intend to keep truth within the domain of religion alone. Truth transcends the rigid framework of all religions.

Like Gandhi, Hindu religious people also consider Truth as God. Seshagiri Rao explains Hindu perspective of Truth as, "Brahama is the whole Truth. It is immanent and transcendent, dynamic and static, personal and impersonal. These qualities appear to be incompatible to our limited minds, but in Brahaman all paradoxes are resolved incompatibilities are reconciled."[4]

So, we know that every religion describes that God or Brahma which Gandhi considered as Truth is the foundation of world and relative Truth is the right way to achieve it. In Gandhi's view there is no gap between Truth and God. He said, relative Truths are essential for achieving the Absolute Truth. According to him, Absolute Truth is the supreme state and relative Truths are subordinate to assimilate the supreme Truth.

Relative Truths are nothing but experimental habits which we have applied in our day- to-day life. Though it may be wrong sometime, yet it should not be avoided because God is the author of all our activities. Gandhi advises us to follow Advaita philosophy's idea "*Brahama Satyam Jaganmitya*"[5] (Braham is real, all else unreal). It implies patience and humility which helps to unite with Absolute Truth.

Devotion to Truth is the sole justification for every human being. So, bhakti is the path that to leads to God. Cowards or defeated persons cannot pursue supreme truth because they have no capacities to struggle against the evil. The quest for Truth involves tapas or self-suffering which goes unto death. There can be no self-interest in place of Truth.

Gandhi's discovery of Truth requires self-examination and self-purification. That's why; Gandhi's idea of Truth is a practical experimental process. Gandhi does not support only theoretical truth because theoretical truth has no practical moral value. Therefore, he supports both theoretical and practical experience of Truth. Gandhi's practical Truth is a very useful and meaningful principle because it has the capacity to realize the highest Truth.

So the experimental or relative truths are the primary means to realize the higher Truth. Gandhi believes that to realize Absolute Truth, not only soul but also human body is one of the important factors which follow the value of Truth. Gandhi's views of experimental Truth are:

- ³ Only experimental Truths exist and are accepted.

- ³ There is no restriction to practice the experimental Truth. All people can practice it.

- ³ The result of experimental Truths is provisional, because the experiments may sometime fail and sometime succeed.

- ³ Experimental Truths are empirical and open to inspection and revision by all.

Thus Gandhian experimental Truths are provisional, empirical and open to revision for all human beings. Gandhi's entire life was attached to this experimental Truth where he sometimes failed and sometimes succeeded. His autobiography is one of the famous examples of experimental truth.

Gandhi attempted to understand various religions by applying the test of Truth. He rejected "what is inconsistent with that test and appropriated all that is consistent with Truth."[6] Like Vivekananda, Tagore and Radhakrishanan, Gandhi's religion is also not confined in temples, churches, books, rituals and other outer forms.

Swami Vivekananda's views of religion are: "Temples and churches, books and dogmas are simply the kindergarten of religion to make the spiritual child strong enough to take higher steps… Religion is not in doctrines, in dogmas, nor in intellectual argumentation; it is being and becoming and it is realization"[7].

For Gandhi also – religion does not mean a set of dogmas nor does it mean conformity to rites and rituals. Therefore, Nehru said, "Gandhi's conception of religion had nothing to do with any dogmas or custom or religion"[8]. His religion is universal. Gandhi's Truth goes beyond starting point of Truth what we normally mean by.

Here Gandhi conceived Truth as eternal substratum of reality. Behind the absolute reality, there is only illusion and appearances like Advaitya philosophy. Absolute Truth is the essential reality which is behind appearances as the substratum of Dhama or the moral law. Gandhi's Truth functions as "the absolute of Rta, the cosmic order and Dharma, the moral law"[9].

There is no ontological absolute but a moral substratum. He uses Truth in different sense- "To me God is Truth and love; God is ethics and morality. God is fearlessness. God is the source of light and life and above and beyond these entire God is conscience. He is even the atheism of an atheist…He transcends speech and reason".[10]

According to Gandhi, where there is Truth, there is true knowledge and where there is no truth, there is no knowledge or false knowledge or that is illusion. That's why, the word *chit* or knowledge is identified with the name of Truth. It is understood as pure consciousness. For that reason Sankara defined *chit* as consciousness without subject and without object.

For Gandhi, where there is true knowledge there is bliss. There is no place for sorrow. Truth is eternal and therefore the bliss derived from it. Hence, we know that Gandhi's God is as 'Sat-Chit-Ananda.' He said, "God is love, God is Truth, above all. In his experiment, if it is possible for fullest description of God, then it is not wrong to say that God is Truth"[11]

So, Gandhi thought that the nature of reality is realized as Truth. God could be experienced through Truth. To the people who have realized this Truth, they have full knowledge and nothing else remains to be known, because all knowledge is included in Truth. What is not included in, that is not truth or not true knowledge and there can be no inward peace. Therefore, if we learn how to apply this, we will never fail in search of Truth. We will be able to find out what we should do, what is our duty for ourselves as well as our societies. All these activities have been done according to Truth.

Therefore, Gandhi said that Truth is knowledge and it is acquired by our identity. Truth is an integral experience of reality which is known through intuitive knowledge. When Truth is experienced, all doubts, differences, discords and discrepancies are vanished. Human life can be transformed by the realization of Truth.

According to Gandhi, Truth is an organic unity with the combination of morality and religion. Morality is the source of Hindu religion. For Gandhi, Truth is supreme moral law. There are number of subordinate moral laws by which Truth can be realized. But as the concept of Kantian moral law emphasizes, there is only moral reason, which is prescribed by a religious authority. Truth transcends all the subordinate moral laws. Truth is the highest moral order which is established by the religious principle. Therefore, it cannot be subordinated by any particular domain of Truth.

Gandhi was a practical philosopher and, therefore, he translated metaphysical principle into life and action. His combination of metaphysical view and absolute Truth which formulate a new form that is absolute reality and it is end in morality and spirituality. For him, our aim is absolute Truth which can bring through religious life by the practice of relative Truth.

For Gandhi, the absolute Truth has certain character. They are-

(a) Truth is not man-made, but it is pre-supposed by human existence.

(b) Truth is transcendental in character. It is not a matter of fact in the world but it is the ground of the world. The description of things and events in the world are the part of Truth.

(c) Truth is the Absolute Reality which is metaphysically ultimate.

So, Gandhi's Truth is absolute or supreme reality where there is no any alternative truth. Gandhi perceives Truth both as value as well as reality. Nothing surpasses Truth in its supremacy as reality and value.

To achieving the absolute Truth *ahimsa* or nonviolence is the main path. Both *ahimsa* and Truth are inseparably bound up with each other. Gandhi says that *ahimsa* is the best means and Truth is the highest value as an end. "They are like the two sides of a same coin or rather a smooth unstamped metallic disc"[12]

Gandhi considers nonviolence as the foundation of human civilization because it is the principle that prevents destruction of the human race. It is the principle that has made man realize that human progress lies in the mutual love and respect for one another's life. Man has come to realize this Truth through experiment of *ahimsa*.

It has already been said that nonviolence is a means by which a nonviolent person can achieve the Truth. Truth which is the supreme principle of existence and it is attainable only by that person who loves all existence. Nonviolence can bring love for all beings. Thus truth is fortified by fundamental principles of existence. One who realizes the ontological principles he can only follows nonviolent principle. Though both Truth and nonviolence are moral laws but the law of Truth is more fundamental because the law of love presupposes it.

Gandhi writes: "I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of nonviolence is not meant for the rishis and saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Nonviolence is the law of our species and violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law- to the strength of the spirit."[13]

In the process of Truth, *Satyagraha* is another important political principle which can be practiced through non-violent way. *Satyagraha* is a process of nonviolent action and its aim is to assimilate with Truth. It means self-suffering and self-sacrifice for the poor people. On that reason *Satyagraha* is also path of Truth. But the application of *Satyagraha* for human being is a very difficult task.

A Satyagrahi does not sacrifice his life for the sake of Truth. A Satyagrahi is spiritually strong to suffer for the sake of Truth. Satyagraha is a political weapon. Gandhi explains that morality and politics has never been separate from one another, both go together. Gandhi said that without morality, politics is an empty notion.

Satyagraha makes politics strong and only morality can bring satya or truth which Gandhi considered

in his philosophy as religion. Both are the ways of Truth. Gandhi said that politics and morality are not self-sufficient or end in themselves. Gandhi believes that morality itself is the way to the realization of Truth. The realization of Truth is the foundation of the Gandhian morality and politics.

The goal of Satyagraha is realizable through the principle of Truth. Truth is the supreme principle of existence and discloses itself in the 'inner voice' of man. Truth speaks to man via his inner voice. Thus compelling man to respond to truth is the most intimate way, which Gandhi calls as nonviolent way of life which is associated with religious and spiritual discipline. Gandhi had reinterpreted the very idea of a religious life in terms of *Satyagraha.*

To establish Truth, Gandhi has criticized modern civilization, because modern civilization is based on modern science and technology. In his *Hind Swaraj,* he has outlined moral civilization because of its excessive reliance on the material values. Gandhi's view of science and technology is that, in Western countries people have gradually minimized the spiritual foundations of human civilization and they have forgotten their moral goal.

Gandhi rejects the ideal of science and technology which consists in securing human progress and happiness through introduction of machines and other mechanical devices. Science and technology carry misery to the human societies. In the relentless pursuit of material progress if people realize the value of Truth, nonviolence, Satyagraha then, it will bring spiritual progress and happiness to all human beings.

The result of introduction of machines and industrialization is poverty and misery, because man has been displaced from his natural habit and work. This has made man dependent on the heavy machines and it has replaced human labour. In Western countries, industrialized civilization is the cause to take of moral and spiritual values. In this way modernity has failed to bring progress to mankind. Modernity is associated with the material progress and consequently loss of human values. Hence, Gandhi rejects modern civilization.

Gandhi's critique of modernity is based on his ideal of spiritual progress of humanity which is based on

the pursuit of Truth and nonviolence. A spirituality enlightened human society will be far more nonviolent and wedded to truth than any other civilization. The foundation of this new society will lie in our total dedication to truth and nonviolence. So, Gandhi's attitude on Truth is- "Modernity should be based on the cognitive idea of truth as the foundation of a scientific world view".[14]

From the above discussion, we come to conclusion that Truth is the most important contribution of Gandhi's philosophy. It has both moral and spiritual values. To realize Truth, ahimsa and Satyagraha are two important aspects for psychology and moral phenomenology. For moral psychology, motivation leads the growth of moral being. The activities which lack motivation are meaningless.

Gandhi's contribution of Truth and nonviolence has the capacity to formulate a new moral society. It has also the capacities to remove all the evils from modern technical society. Gandhi's conception of Truth has a connection to Hindu religion. Gandhi's beliefs of Truth have an organic morality and religion. Gandhi was a relevant thinker of moral psychology and phenomenology.

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Thorstein Veblen and the Theory of Business Enterprise

Eddie J. Girdner*

Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929) sought to burst the big pretentious bubble built up over the nineteenth century by professional economists. Veblen was an influential American economist and sociologist. He is best known for his book *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899). This is a book which pokes fun at the lifestyle and habits of the rich and the business class. For Veblen, religious denominations that set up churches were "chain stores."

Veblen was the leader of the Institutional Economics Movement and used anthropological analysis to understand "economic man." He was a student of the famous economist, John Bates Clark, at Carleton College in Minnesota, USA.

Veblen challenged the central truths of classical and neoclassical economic theories. Capitalism was a form of modern barbarism, according to Veblen, and savage in nature. He laid out these views in his first and most famous book, The Theory of the Leisure Class (1899), which was a satire on the aristocratic class.

Veblen seemed to be observing society as if he had just arrived from outer space and saw that people were engaged in strange but interesting behavior. It has been said that Veblen was alienated from society.

He did not feel a part with his fellow man and was cynical about their motives. This was the perfect perspective for analyzing society the way an anthropologist observes primitive tribal behavior.

The American economy did not fit the theories coming from European economic thinkers which had laid the basis for neoclassical economics. Unlike the assumptions of neoclassical economics, humans did not exhibit rational behavior when they engaged in conspicuous consumption.

Businesses often used brutality and violence to crush their competition. Economic behavior was socially determined, according to Veblen, and not based upon individual rational action. More important were the human instincts of emulation, predation, workmanship, parental bent, and idle curiosity.

Veblen thought that there was a fundamental split in society between those who make their livelihood through exploitation and those who make their way through industry. In early barbarism, the difference is seen between the hunter and the gatherer. Later the division is between the landed gentry and the indentured servant. The enterprise of the leisure class is to exploit.

Veblen defines the leisure class as those who lack productive economic activity and who are

committed to demonstrate their idleness. This conspicuous leisure gives way to conspicuous consumption. The demonstration of wealth is the basis for social status. The way one can gain status is through wasteful consumption. If it is not wasteful, it is not reputable.

In Veblen, emulation and predation play major roles. People try to impress others, whether rich or poor. Engaging in conspicuous leisure and conspicuous consumption are useful ways to gain social status. This also produces conspicuous waste, which also has an important economic function. Imagine, if everyone used their purchases to their full utility, what the effect upon the economy would be. Economic health depends upon increasing consumption and vast waste.

The economic behavior of the leisure class must be predatory. That is, the members of this class must obtain their wealth by force or cunning, rather than in actual labor in production. Society would then see them as strong and able when they used force and violence. Gaining wealth by force was honorable and dignified, but human productive work was just the opposite. Leisure class occupations include government office, the military, sports, religious office, and engaging in business for profit.

Environmentally, it was typical that the elite laid waste to nature, with hunting and killing things in the wild.

Society was still barbarian in nature and human nature was savage human nature. While force was no longer used to seize women, it could be used to seize money. The motives behind human behavior are not rational, as the mainstream economists thought, but irrational and come from deep within human nature.

In emulation, the poor and working class try to appear as the rich. This is a sort of different type of class struggle. The lower classes admire the savage values of the upper classes. Marx thought that struggle between the classes would lead to revolution, but Veblen believed that the revolution did not happen because the lower classes have a common attitude and values with the leisure class. They actually admire their conservative and brutal

behavior. So they emulate the rich. Veblen believed that this leads to social stability.

Mark Twain understood this too, when he wrote about the poor putting on shows and pretending to be dukes and kings from some European country in his novel Huckleberry Finn. In this way, they got all the farmers and hicks around the country to come to their entertainment.

Veblen gives many examples of how one may show that they spend their time in idleness. One way is to demonstrate much useless knowledge, like knowing the names of all the fancy breeds of dogs and their characteristics. There is no economic utility to such knowledge, and because of that, it is impressive and admirable. Another example is sports trivia, such as knowing the names of players on many teams and how many games they have won over the years.

Veblen published The Theory of Business Enterprise (1904). In this book, he turned economic theory upside down. For Veblen, the businessman, as the central figure, was actually out to sabotage the economic system. With the rise of machine production, Veblen saw economic progress as mechanical. Society could be seen as a big machine, like a clock, produced by the rational machine.

However, while those technicians and engineers who ran the machines were interested in production, the businessman only wanted to make money. He did not care about production. In fact, profits could best be made by working against the machine. If the businessman could cause breakdowns in the system, values would fluctuate and in this confusion, open up avenues for making a profit. Economic crises present the greatest opportunities to make a killing in the market. Capitalist enterprises which survive emerge stronger than before.

One way to profit was to build a financial superstructure on the real economy. This involved loans, phony capitalizations, credit and today, derivatives. This is the financial sector, versus the real economy. This opened up great opportunities for profit. This profit seeking was disrupting society and not infrequently leading to financial crises.

Financial crises were the big apples which opened up unprecedented opportunities for accumulation, if one was lucky. Veblen surely had great foresight, as the financial sector has virtually taken over the American economy in terms of where profits are made today. It has extended its tentacles across the globe.

So for Veblen, the businessman works against production. He is interested in making money, not in producing commodities. The financial bubble becomes much bigger than the real economy. Businessmen were predators, for Veblen. They were engaged in "watchful waiting," for opportunities to make a killing in the market. For Veblen, they were like a fat toad waiting for flies and bugs to come along so that they could snatch them.

In the end, Veblen thought that the machine would do away with the businessman. The engineers who ran the machinery would take over production. It was a case of the machine verses the businessman and the businessman was fully dispensable. The machine was driving social change. Engineers would take over the business system and end the chaos caused by the businessmen. This was necessary if there was to be progress.

Veblen thought that if this revolution did not happen, then society would turn into a brutal struggle and lead to fascism. Veblen contributed the perspective that the machine was the leading cause of change in the twentieth century. It was the triumph of science and technology. Society was not the peaceful equilibrium suggested by economists such as Leon Walras, Alfred Marshall, the Austrians, and so on. And it was also not the class conflict as thought by Marx. It was more like a primitive jungle raised to a slightly higher plane. Veblen tried to discover why people behave as they do. And this was not the way predicted by the mainstream economists through the previous ages.

The machine was rational. Man was human, not rational. Human nature must give way to the dictatorship of the machine, the dictatorship of technology in modern times. We have now reached the point where the computer tells us what we can do and cannot do and there is nothing we can do about it.

Veblen was sympathetic to state ownership of industry. His views are often compatible with Marxism, socialism or anarchism. He attacked production for profit. Veblen thought that society would reach socialism through the technological developments of engineering. In this way, his views are similar to Saint Simon.

Taking a closer look at Veblen's arguments, there are two major classes in the modern system of barbarianism, called capitalism. One is the class of industrial engineers. They are simply interested in making production efficient. The modern machine system could not run without them. The second class is the business class that provides business management. Not only are they not the solution, they are a genuine nuisance who work against the engineers to prevent the economic system from working efficiently. Veblen believed that the advance of human society depends upon the annihilation of the business class. They are parasites who suck the blood of society for a profit to the detriment of the people. They are always anxious to disrupt the system of production and distribution if a profit can be made out of it.

Veblen begins by noting that the modern society is mechanical. Modern society itself is a machine. To function efficiently and rationally in modern society is to function as a machine. This, however, is contradictory to human nature, as in Charlie Chaplain's Modern Times. The architects of the system, as in Visvakarma, the Celestial Carpenter, are the engineers. They provide the cornucopia of wealth, but this is out of keeping with traditional life. Businessmen, on the other hand, have no interest in production and consumption, that is, the needs of society. Their interest lies only in pecuniary gain. They frequently sabotage the system for the purpose of making a profit.

This is a very accurate description of the economic system today, more than a hundred years after Veblen wrote the theory. The 2008 financial crises in the United States was brought about by totally irrational actions of the bankers. This then spread to Europe.

The bankers made bad loans, spun the market, invented new financial products called derivatives, and sank the system while making great profits. Businessmen do not always have an interest in the smooth operation of the economic system. Disturbances open up great opportunities to make a killing in the case of an economic crisis. These facts, however, go against the typical way businessmen are viewed in society.

In the machine age, everything becomes standardized. Not just inanimate objects, but people too become standardized. For example, political science professors. They specialize in some narrow field and must demonstrate that they have been accurately produced and honed to standardization before inserted as a cog wheel into the educational machine. They then turn on their hub in some department of a university for their productive years. They are not just human scholars with a brain, but functionaries. While their human brain might tell them that "national security" did not mean a new generation of nuclear weapons, they will readily accept more nukes as the standard solution as the machine is in control. They will recite the orthodoxy of the textbooks in a mechanical way in their lectures, papers, conferences, and go right on turning out the same nonsensical phrases, platitudes, and journal articles. In fact, they generally have to do this in order to keep their job. Anyone who questions their knowledge will be seen as a defective product and useless.

In modern society, there is a subject-object reversal as seen in Karl Marx. The machine or dead matter has come to control human consciousness.

In business management, the more sophisticated the management, the more damage that is being done. Mergers and acquisitions, for example, disrupt and slow down the system. Efficient inventions are hidden or destroyed as they may damage profits. A real example is the destruction of the fleet of electric cars produced in the United States some years ago, because they threatened some big auto companies. Veblen states that: "It is a casting out of businessmen by the chief of businessmen." Advertising is largely "unproductive work." It is only a slight service to the community and largely a "disruption." But just because it is "unproductive" does not mean that it is not useful for pecuniary profit.

Creating an image is also important for business in the quest for profits, no matter how misleading. There are the concerns of "reputation," the image of honest dealings, trademarks, privileges, and copyrights. The "earning capacity" of the firm must be established to build its value in the stock market, normally through "misinformation" and "partial information."

It is no longer a matter of supplying the needs of society. Now business principles have come to dominate life. It is largely a question of price in the market. But today, "hard times" happen just as frequently as in the past and they are generally brought on by the operations of businessmen themselves. Depressions and expansions become the normal situation.

In business "dull times" is the norm and expansion is an exception. This is an earlier version of the views of Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff at Monthly Review Journal in New York, after the l950s. Businessmen generally cling to the old-fashioned view that there is a natural cycle of boom and bust, but not true. When a crisis does occur, it is merely a pecuniary shrinkage, not a material shrinkage. It is merely that reflected in price.

Here, Veblen sets out a theory of crisis, similar to the theory that would be forwarded by Hyman Minsky in the l960s. This movement starts with new investment in a certain area. An initial disturbance in prices opens up opportunities. More is produced as demand increases. (For example in the housing sector.) This is buoyed up by speculation and future contracts. This tends to become reckless, what Alan Greenspan liked to call "irrational exuberance." Property values increase and the inflated property is used as collateral for new loans. This cycle continues till prices start to fall. Meanwhile, wages have advanced very slowly during this prosperity.

Eventually, the differential advantage is lost and capital will not sustain the loans. Earnings fall off. When this happens, credit dries up and liquidation of the operations begins. The creditors have the most to gain and the debtors will generally lose. But Veblen

says that the creditors do not push as hard as they could because they do not have the foresight or the intelligence. They are also afraid that they might collapse the whole business system and then the money value of goods would collapse. Veblen accuses businessmen of being shortsighted and "lacking intelligence."

Of course, in an expansion, the big businessmen gain the most. Workers only gain steady work while the expansion is going on. But any gains they make are eaten up by higher prices. The increased profits are only made at the expense of the worker as there is little increase in wages. If wages did rise, it would cut away the differential advantage which is the basis of profits.

Veblen brilliantly saw the virtue of waste in capitalist enterprise. This is also why war is so important to capitalism as it is a vast source of waste. Karl Marx once observed that war was the equivalent of dumping a significant portion if the national wealth into the ocean. War, however, has the function of being able to prevent an economic crisis. When the war stops, and thus the waste, this frequently brings on a crisis.

"Useful waste" includes such things as war, armaments, diplomatic establishments, public projects, and edifices. Rulers like to build themselves palaces and buy Mercedes automobiles that cost half a million US dollars. A simpler man, like Pope Francis who wants to ride in a modest car just does not understand the value of high consumption and waste in the modern economy.

Nevertheless, even all this above is seldom enough waste to fit the bill. The government is forced to pursue ever more vast sources of waste. War is surely the greatest, especially if something non-existent can be invented to fight against, so that the war will go on forever and only get bigger and worse. Today the so-called war on terror fits that bill nicely.

Of course not a little is spent on torturing some poor helpless souls grabbed up in the far corners of the earth and water boarded until they croak. A couple of trillion US dollars wasted in Iraq. Another trillion in Afghanistan. More billions on drones. More

wasted on weapons. Whether they are ever deployed is irrelevant.

Only monopoly can set aside the grinding effect of a crisis. To keep up prices, it need not be a complete monopoly, but the more the better from the business perspective.

There are two factors that lead to a depression. First the increasing effectiveness of the machine. Not everything can be sold. However, Veblen does not use the term "overproduction." There is always a need no matter how much is produced. Secondly is the interdependence of different lines of business since they affect each other. This leads to the formation of a trust. A contradiction exists between competitive business and the machine process. The need for efficiency leads the system toward mergers. It seems that Veblen is saying that businessmen are just in the way and the sooner they go away and let the engineers run the system, the better.

The government best attuned to business sabotage will naturally be a liberal government. "A constitutional government is a business government." And "Representative government means, chiefly, representation of business interests." Governments have to modernize to fit this bill. Veblen wrote: "The degree to which a government fails to adapt its policy to these business exigencies is the measure of its senility." Business comes to control the government. Veblen says that "the ring of business interests which secures the broadest approval from popular sentiment is, under constitutional methods, put in charge of the government." This is certainly true today in the age of neoliberalism.

Business men are regarded as meritorious and productive and it is believed that they serve the public good. But Veblen argues that this is not true.

Veblen also notes that there is a handsome profit margin to be made dealing with other countries, which he refers to as "pecuniary unregenerative populations." But again, frequently force is required and this entails armaments. The need for "warlike demonstrations" arises. The nation in control has to show the flag. If there is actual war and the war

burden becomes very large, so much the better for the businessman. It opens up opportunities for more profit. Much livelihood will be destroyed, but this is of no concern to the businessman who is just out for the profit.

In modern enterprise, the machine changes the culture and produces a certain kind of worker. First, the intellect of the worker must be "standardized." He must learn to function in the mechanical process and the machine provides discipline. Veblen does not think that the intelligence of the worker needs to be lowered, as Marx argued, but merely become standardized and disciplined as far as intelligence goes. His standard thought will provide "quantitative precision." This seems like Taylorism in the workplace.

Any other intelligence on the part of the worker is useless, indeed, "worse than useless." This is because it would blur the worker's "quantitative thinking." It will be necessary to keep the philosophers away from the assembly line. They could only screw things up like Charlie Chaplain's little bum.

Thought that is required in work is not anthropomorphic. It is not a human type of thought. It is impersonal. It is to think like an engineer, and more accurately, to think like a machine. We have all come across these inorganic types of individuals.

The culture of the engineers and the culture of the businessmen are totally different and they cannot understand each other. The thought of the business class is old fashioned. Businessmen think in terms of natural rights in property and are conventional. They can never question property rights. Moreover they are conservative and reactionary. This is a mark of the "higher barbarian culture."

Others who think in barbarian terms are soldiers, politicians and the clergy. However, these are more disciplined than the business class. This culture persists in the Western world despite the universal presence of the machine. They lack thrift and need to engage in conspicuous waste in their life style. To keep up their reputation, they have to consume beyond any need and squander the wealth of society.

After machine production has been established for some time, trade unionism arises. It is a "concomitant of the machine age." Veblen says that trade unionism denies the natural rights dogma. It denies individual freedom of contract to the worker. It denies the businessman the freedom to carry on the business on his own terms. It hampers individual liberty and free trade and logically leads to socialism. The institutions of the past are unfit for the work of the future, which may be under socialism. In fact, it is machine technology and the mechanical process which has given rise to socialism.

"The machine is a leveler, a vulgarizer, whose end seems to be the extirpation of all that is respectable, noble, and dignified in human intercourse and ideals." There is some protest from some quarters, such as "Christiandom," but the machine discipline spreads to ever wider circles.

For Veblen, this means that business enterprise is falling into decay. There is a great struggle between the machine which marches on and the culture of the businessman steeped in archaic ideals. Which will win out ultimately? This is the crucial question that Veblen addresses in the last part of the book.

Is it possible to slow down the decay of the ancient barbarian values of the business class? One possibility might be through the use of charity. Another possibility is the strengthening of military barbarity, the promotion of a warlike culture. A third possibility might be the strengthening of Christianity.

The problem is that things may have gone too far already. Natural liberty based upon petty craft industry and trade was unstable. This peaceful industry has now been replaced with a warlike industry under a coercive government. The vulgarization of modern times is far advanced. This has only increased with computerization.

Could this cultural heritage be saved by charity organizations, clubs, and societies to help the indigent? Veblen believes these are irrelevant as they are not part of the business culture. The solution must be found within the business culture itself.

One problem, however, is that business requires insincerity. It must cater to a low average level of

intelligence and follow the tastes of "middle class affluent snobs." Business pretends to promote the bourgeois values of thrift and solvency, rather than aristocratic manners. So people see business principles as good. They come to permeate the educational system and are seen to be practical. But it actually corrupts the workers and promotes conspicuous consumption.

A second way to save the system might be through warlike values. The problem with democracy is that people will no longer take orders. On the other hand, the military promotes patriotism and subordination. The barbarian values of subordination might be strengthened to counteract the vulgarization of modern life by the machine. As Veblen notes, the military is "an effective school in the barbarian methods of thought." This could bring back the ancient virtues of allegiance, piety, servility, and prescriptive authority. In addition, war is a business proposition, It is profitable. This might guide the nation back into the archaic conventional ways and restore dignity and stability,

A third possibility is Christianity. This would give a sacramental serenity to the outlook of citizens but probably not get rid of materialistic greed. But the problem is that it would lead to a decline in business itself.

Veblen says that it is a "blind guess" which of these cultural tendencies will prevail. But he concludes that in any event, business enterprise is bound to lose in the end. This reminds one of Joseph Schumpeter who believed that the entrepreneurial spirit could not survive into the future. Presumably, the business culture must end primarily because it is simply too disruptive of society and the economy.

The logical thing is to let the engineers and industrial managers run society. This seems to suggest that Veblen saw the future society as possibly socialist. It is not clear, however, that Veblen was completely happy with this. While it might be efficient in providing the livelihood of society, it would, nevertheless, have dragged society down to an exceedingly vulgar level.

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Shaping Attitude for Achieving Higher Altitude

Dr. Ritu*

[The process of human change begins within us. We all have tremendous potential. We desire good results from our efforts. Most of us are willing to work hard and to pay the price that success and happiness demand. Each of us has the ability to put our unique human potential into action and to acquire a desired result. But the one thing that determines the level of our potential-that produces the intensity of our activity and predicts the quality of the result we receive-is our attitude.]

Attitude determines how much of the future we are allowed to see. It decides the size of our dreams and influences our determination when we are faced with new challenges. No other person on earth has dominion over our attitude. People can affect our attitude by teaching us poor thinking habits or unintentionally misinforming us or providing us with negative sources of influence, but no one can control our attitude unless we voluntarily surrender that control.

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No one else "makes us angry". We make ourselves angry when we surrender control of our attitude. If we select a volatile attitude by becoming hostile, if we want to receive the rewards the future holds for us, then we must exercise the most important choice given to us as members of the human race by maintaining total dominion over our attitude. Our attitude is an asset, a treasure of great value which must be protected accordingly.

Beware of the vandals and thieves amongst us who would injure our positive attitude or seek to steal it

away. Having the right attitude is one of the basics that success requires. The combination of a sound personal philosophy and a positive attitude about ourselves and the world around us gives us an inner strength and a firm resolve that influences all other areas of our existence.

Always remember that the greatest gift that all of us have, no matter what, is the power of self-control. All of us have the power to control our attitude with all that happens to us on a daily basis. It can be the slightest thing to throw us off and causing us to have a bad attitude which can throw off the entire day and affect your productivity.

Personal Effectiveness

What is personal effectiveness? It can't just be achieving our goals because we could do so in a very wasteful, time consuming or sloppy way. How about making best use of our time and all other personal resources at our disposal? This means achieving our goals efficiently, like investment, getting the best possible return. Personally effective people are thus more than just people who get what they want.

They really have two qualities: They make good use of their resources and they are skilled at achieving their goals. People are personally effective in different ways because everyone has different goals, values and priorities. Skilled communicators, for example, can be effective in numerous ways depending on what they want to achieve.

What Does Personal Effectiveness Mean?

³ Getting my work done to high quality standards

³ Taking care of my family and making them happy

³ Career advancement

³ Influencing people

³ Making and keeping new friends

³ Earning a lot of money

³ Earning the respect of my colleagues

³ Becoming an expert in my field

³ Or something else

People who are personally effective make good use of their skills. They don't squander them. They use them to achieve their goals and do so in a way that is efficient and cost effective. How can you become more personally effective? Start by clarifying your goals, values and priorities. What is it that you want to achieve, in the short term at least, if you aren't sure about the longer term? What skills do you need to acquire in order to achieve your goals? Then: what is the most efficient, easiest way you can get what you want? That is, how can you apply your skills? How can you invest your time and effort to get the best return on all your efforts and talents?

Personal Effectiveness and Confidence

It is hard to be effective if we aren't confident. Our confidence grows when we play to our strengths and have a confident attitude. To build and maintain strong self-confidence, it's important to say positive things to yourself. Even if you haven't achieved much in your life, try to do nice things for others. That makes you a better person and is something to be proud of. You will fail at some things. Everyone does, but use a diary to keep track of everything you achieve, even little things.

Review it regularly to celebrate your success. Building self-confidence and personal effectiveness is a gradual process of building on past successes, taking stock of where you are and moving onto bigger things. Don't worry if you don't have a long term goal. Very few people do. The key is to create a foundation of success on which to build. As you achieve more and try new things, continually push yourself outside your comfort zone.

Self Esteem

Your self-esteem determines your performance. Your personal effectiveness is in direct relationship to your level of self-concept. The fear of rejection is the major reason for failure. The greater the fear of rejection, the worse is the performance and the more self-esteem goes down. The easy way to keep up your self-esteem:

1. "KEEP YOUR HEAD UP AND YOUR OVERHEADS DOWN"

2. The One Million Rupee Question:

3. "How can I build my self-esteem?"

4. Health, Appearance & Positive Attitude is all directly related to self-esteem.

5. No one can teach you how to increase self-esteem; you have to do it on your own.

Art of Leading and Influencing

To lead or influence people effectively, you must have a sufficient power base. There are eleven sources of power: five personal sources (knowledge, expressiveness, history, attraction, and character), five organizational sources (role, resources, information, network, and reputation), and one meta-source, will). Power in people is like power in batteries. The higher the voltage of a battery, the more electromotive force it can deliver and thus the more impact it can have. A 1,000-volt battery is far more powerful than a 10-volt battery.

Likewise, people with greater sources of power are better able to lead and influence others than people with fewer and lesser sources of power. The more powerful you are, the more influence you will have.

Personal Sources of Power

Knowledge

Your knowledge, skills, talents, and abilities, as well as your learning, wisdom, and accomplishments are your assets. Power derived from what you know and can do. People rated high in knowledge power are three times more influential than people rated low in knowledge power.

Expressiveness

Your ability to communicate powerfully and effectively in written and oral forms is significant. Power is based on the clarity, energy, conviction, and eloquence of speech. In its most powerful form, expressiveness is related to charisma. Building this power source will increase your influence effectiveness more than building any other power source. Expressiveness is strongly correlated with three other power sources: character, attraction, and reputation.

History

Shorthand for â€œ history with the person you are trying to lead or influence? Power derived from familiarity and trust with another person. Based on the psychological principles of liking, similarity, and reciprocity between people who know each other well, this can be the most important power source. High ratings on history power are strongly correlated with high ratings on interpersonal skills.

Attraction

The ability to attract others by causing them to like you is based on physical attractiveness as well as authenticity; commonality of values, attitudes, or beliefs; personality; character; wisdom; shared experience; and many other factors. Globally, it is one of the strongest power sources. High ratings on this power source more than triple your influence effectiveness.

Character

Power based on people's perceptions of your character, including such elements of character as

integrity, honesty, fairness, courage, kindness, modesty, prudence, and so on.

How Influence Works

Influence is the application of power to accomplish a specific purpose. Research shows that people typically try to lead and/or influence others using ten positive influence techniques: logical persuading, legitimizing, exchanging, stating, socializing, appealing to relationship, consulting, alliance building, appealing to values, and modelling. There are also four negative or "dark side" influence tactics: avoiding, manipulating, intimidating, and threatening. For a complete explanation of these influence techniques, see my forthcoming book *Elements of Influence: The Art of Getting Others to Follow.*

Your 'Lead Influence' can be as complex as forming an alliance of nations to try to influence a rogue country's leadership to change its policies or as simple as a child smiling and extending his hand in an offer of friendship. Every time we try to affect how other people think, behave, or decide, we are trying to influence them. A smile and a handshake are attempts to socialize (see below), to form a connection and break down barriers. As people get to know us and like us, they are more likely to say yes to our requests.

Team Building and Collaboration

Building a good team is the single most important thing a Project Manager can do to achieve a successful project. With the right attitude, a team will overcome almost any difficulty to succeed in its goals. In most projects there will be times when only the determination of the team can overcome the difficulties and carry the initiative through to success. Even when there is no pressure, the team's spirit and enthusiasm will be reflected in the quality of the solution and the extent to which other people buy-in to it. There is a whole area of academic study and practical experience about building good teams.

Business psychologists present many theories concerning the way in which people interact. A world-class project manager needs to be an amateur psychologist and a manipulator of human behaviour. Here are some of the factors which generally lead to a good team. Shared belief in the value and achievability of the team's goals, awareness of the value of the individual's own role and contribution, recognition of the value of other team members (whether they are key specialists or just non-specialist, junior assistants),desire to work collaboratively, sharing thoughts, ideas, concerns, etc, friendship - enjoying working together with a common purpose, supporting each other in recognition that the team's success requires all members to be successful, coaching junior members rather than bossing them, listening to ideas and advice from other team members, making time to communicate with other team members, celebrating successes, rewarding good team behaviour in financial and non-financial ways.

The classic analogy is the donkey, motivated by the promise of a carrot and the threat of a beating with the stick. Most psychologists believe that the positive experience of the carrot is much more successful than the negative threat of the stick. They would argue that the stick should be applied only on rare occasions with good cause - or, maybe, never at all. The carrot should be offered as a constant reward for performance.

Remember that the emphasis is to build a good team. The right attitude can be promoted throughout all these activities. In addition, you should plan appropriate formal and informal activities that build the desired attitudes and behaviours. In most cases, some form of team social event should be held early in the project. Informal social activities can also be planned - even where they are intended to look unplanned.

Communication Skills

Effective communication helps us better understand a person or situation and enables us to resolve differences, build trust and respect, and create environments where creative ideas, problem solving, affection, and caring can flourish. As simple as communication seems, much of what we try to communicate to others—and what others try to communicate to us—gets misunderstood, which can cause conflict and frustration in personal and professional relationships. By learning these effective communication skills, you can better connect with your spouse, kids, friends, and co-workers.

What is effective communication?

In the information age, we have to send, receive, and process huge numbers of messages every day. But effective communication is about more than just exchanging information; it's also about understanding the emotion behind the information. Effective communication can improve relationships at home, work, and in social situations by deepening your connections to others and improving teamwork, decision-making, and problem solving. It enables you to communicate even negative or difficult messages without creating conflict or destroying trust.

Effective communication combines a set of skills including nonverbal communication, attentive listening, the ability to manage stress in the moment, and the capacity to recognize and understand your own emotions and those of the person you're communicating with.

While effective communication is a learned skill, it is more effective when it's spontaneous rather than formulaic. A speech that is read, for example, rarely has the same impact as a speech that's delivered (or appears to be delivered) spontaneously. Of course, it takes time and effort to develop these skills and become an effective communicator. The more effort and practice you put in, the more instinctive and spontaneous your communication skills will become.

Time Management

Time management is the act or process of planning and exercising conscious control over the amount of time spent on specific activities, especially to increase effectiveness, efficiency or productivity.

It is a meta-activity with the goal to maximize the overall benefit of a set of other activities within the boundary condition of a limited amount of time.

Time management may be aided by a range of skills, tools, and techniques used to manage time when accomplishing specific tasks, projects, and goals complying with a due date. Initially, time management referred to just business or work activities, but eventually the term broadened to include personal activities as well. A time management system is a designed combination of processes, tools, techniques, and methods. Time management is usually a necessity in any project development as it determines the project completion time and scope.

The major themes arising from the literature on time management include the following:

Creating an environment conducive to effectiveness, setting of priorities, carrying out activity around those priorities and the related process of reduction of time spent on non-priorities;

Incentives to modify behaviour to ensure compliance with time-related deadlines.

Time management has been considered to be a subset of different concepts such as:

Project management: Time Management can be considered to be a project management subset and is more commonly known as project planning and project scheduling. Time Management has also been

identified as one of the core functions identified in project management.

Attention management: Attention Management relates to the management of cognitive resources, and in particular the time that humans allocate their mind (and organize the minds of their employees) to conduct some activities.

Creativity

Creativity is defined as the tendency to generate or recognize ideas, alternatives, or possibilities that may be useful in solving problems, communicating with others, and entertaining ourselves and others. In order to be creative, you need to be able to view things in new ways or from a different perspective. Among other things, you need to be able to generate new possibilities or new alternatives.

Tests of creativity measure not only the number of alternatives that people can generate but the uniqueness of those alternatives. the ability to generate alternatives or to see things uniquely does not occur by change; it is linked to other, more fundamental qualities of thinking, such as flexibility, tolerance of ambiguity or unpredictability, and the enjoyment of things heretofore unknown.

Creative thinking skills are as much about attitude and self-confidence as about talent. Creativity is often less ordered, structured and predictable. As you are not looking for 'one' answer, you are likely to come up with lots of suggestions that are not 'right'. This can be difficult if you are more used to analytical and logical approaches. It can also be experienced as 'risky' as the prospect of making a mistake or not coming up with an answer is more likely.

Problem Solving

Problem can be any task or assignment or project that you need to complete. Usually, it involves several different steps or stages. Some of these will require specific methods that are particular to your subject area. However, there are generic skills and processes that contribute to success for any kind of 'problem', whether writing an assignment, conducting a student project, undertaking projects at work, or taking on an undertaking in your personal life.

Working through basic problem-solving processes

To approach most problems you will need to:

1. Define the task clearly. What exactly is required?

2. Set priorities. What must be done first? What can be left until later?

3. Develop an appropriate strategy: what steps must you take to address the task?

4. Use experience from similar problems: what do you already know or what have you already done that would offer a starting place or guidance on how to approach the current problem?

5. Set targets: what steps must you accomplish by when? How will you know you have achieved each target? How will you measure your progress?

6. Develop an action plan. List all the steps necessary to achieve each target. Identify the best order for accomplishing each step and a deadline for each.

7. Get started. Do not wait until the last minute, start early on the tasks that you can begin straight away. Keep yourself focused and motivated.

8. Monitor your performance against targets and indicators. Check regularly whether you are meeting your targets and revise your action plan accordingly.

9. Evaluate your performance. How well did you achieve your targets? What did you learn that

will be of use to you for future problems and tasks?

Values and Ethics

Personal beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviour

A belief is an idea that a person holds as being true. A person can base a belief upon certainties (e.g. mathematical principles), probabilities or matters of faith. A belief can come from different sources, including: a person's own experiences or experiments the acceptance of cultural and societal norms (e.g. religion) what other people say (e.g. education or mentoring).

A potential belief sits with the person until they accept it as truth, and adopt it as part of their individual belief system. Each person evaluates and seeks sound reasons or evidence for these potential beliefs in their own way. Once a person accepts a belief as a truth they are willing to defend, it can be said to form part of their belief system.

What is a personal value?

Values are stable long-lasting beliefs about what is important to a person. They become standards by which people order their lives and make their choices. A belief will develop into a value when the person's commitment to it grows and they see it as being important. It is possible to categorise beliefs into different types of values – examples include values that relate to happiness, wealth, career success or family. A person must be able to articulate their values in order to make clear, rational, responsible and consistent decisions.

What is an attitude?

Attitudes are the mental dispositions people have towards others and the current circumstances before making decisions that result in behaviour. People primarily formulate their attitudes from underlying values and beliefs. However, factors which may not have been internalised as beliefs and

values can still influence a person's attitudes at the point of decision-making.

Typical influences include the desire to please, political correctness, convenience, peer pressure, and psychological stressors. The potential for these influences to sway attitudes will be greater if the person has not clearly thought through their beliefs and values. This process includes considering the principles by which they might reconcile or prioritise competing values. A lack of self-awareness or critical insight, or the presence of ambivalence or uncertainty about values, can lead to a less rational attitude to choices, and ultimately to undesirable behaviour.

Conclusion

To be successful in any area in life you need to have the right attitude, which means you have to approach any task or job with determination, tenacity and above all plenty of enthusiasm. In business, when it comes to choosing the right individual for a certain post or promotion, I have always gone for people who have PMA – in other words Positive Mental Attitude.

Of course, it is important for people to have skills, training and experience but I have always been a huge believer in putting attitude above aptitude. You can come fully equipped for a role but without real enthusiasm the best skill-set will count for very little. You can train somebody and give them the tools but you can't give them the right attitude. More importantly, having the right attitude can have a real impact on the business in terms of its performance.

The key to real success is an ability to adapt to change, and that will never happen if you approach every challenge with a negative attitude. People with the right mental attitude can always take something positive from a difficult situation and most important of all, will be constantly looking at ways of moving a business on to the next stage of its journey or development.   ◆ ◆

Women's Studies as an Academic Discipline

Deepan Das*

[The subject of Women's Studies mainly deals with women. It is a new subject developed only during 19th century. The subject got its importance when scholars started focusing on women's needs, functions and role from different perspectives. Nevertheless, movement for women's rights was really kicked off when the first Women's Conference was held in Seneca Falls in America in 1848. It set in motion the need for evaluating female role both at home and outside and thereafter the need was felt for having women's own organization.]

The subject of Women's Studies owes its existence to the movement for the liberation of women. The feminist movement exists because women are oppressed. This subject is as diverse as its components and has its mission of a world free from sexism, which includes commitment to free from all kind of national chauvinism, free from all kinds of known and unknown bias targeted by society and by social norms.

The current development of the subject of 'Women's Studies' is the result of struggle to evolve knowledge, theory, pedagogy and organizational models appropriate to the uplift and growth of women.

The usefulness of Women's Studies has been its refusal to accept sterile division between academy and community, between growth of mind and the health of the body, between intellect and passion, between individual and society.

It is indeed a way away from deconstruction of human being into different categories such as ethnic, racial, religious, economic, age and sexual orientation – which interact to produce complex dominating behavior from one group to other groups.

Meaning of Women's Studies

Actually advocacy to bring about greater recognition for women's contribution in all aspects of society served as the basis for Women's Studies. It is an endeavor suitable for concentrated study, which arose from a grassroots movement of female scholars and community activists who felt women's lives and perspectives were absent from the halls and class rooms of advanced learning.

As the public and private spheres of life started to be depicted more prominently, the criticism about inequality and deprivation of women become more common. The new questions started to come up about gender discrimination, condition of working women, women's participation in the National Freedom Movement, their conditions during war and peace times, sexual division of labour etc.

Women's Studies started to deal with these and other related questions. Women's Studies draws special attention to the issues like poverty, women in marginalized sections, socio-economic conditions of women, women's role in policy making etc.

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Thus first concrete shape of Women's Studies as an academic discipline came into existence only during the 1970s when San Diego State College first initiated the study.

Since it is evolving as a subject matter, 'Women's Studies' owes its origin to the Feminist Movement. The word "feminism" comes from the Latin word "Femina" which means women. It was Mary Wollstonecraft's "Vindication of the Rights of Women" (1792) which inspired feminist movement to evolve.

According to Macmillan Dictionary, Women's Studies mean "to study the position and treatment of women in society". 'Women's Studies' is a multidisciplinary study of the social status and societal contribution of women and the relationship between power and gender.

Women's Studies also known as feminist studies are an interdisciplinary academic field that explores politics, society and history from women and or feminist perspectives.

Nature of Women's Studies

'Women's Studies' is inter-disciplinary in nature. Women's Studies programs draw much inspiration from practical field. It focuses on the power structures, oppression, inequality and social suffering, as it draws inspiration from feminist movement. The sex-gender dichotomy is becoming a controversial issue in Women's Studies. The feminism attempts to demolish the whole fabric and all ideas which justify male superiority.

'Women's Studies' is the platform for that feminism to embark on the advocacy of women's right of which Women's Studies is the mirror. The public-private debate is very much genuine in Women's Studies.

'Women's Studies' is a part of society and unlike other academic platforms it has drawn every inspiration from society, from practicality of women's life. It is, therefore, natural that every theory of Women's Studies has been influenced by the sufferings and subjugation of women.

That is why it refuses to draw distinction in its study between individual and society, between academy and community. The integrating nature of mind and body is always seen in 'Women's Studies'.

Undoubtedly, the subject of 'Women's Studies' as an academic discipline developed only during the 1970s; nevertheless, Plato is said to be the first supporter of feminism in the world for his justification of women's role in politics and society. The true nature of feminist movement can be traced back to the 19th century Seneca Conference.

'Women's Studies' as a discipline got inspiration from feminist movement, suffragette movement (the Political Rights Movement), suppression that women experienced in every walk of life. It is a holistic approach towards empowering women.

I. Women's Studies is universal in nature. It studies universal problems that women face like political rights, gender discrimination, discrimination in work place, social justices, health, education etc.

'Women's Studies' has many a times been termed as being parallel to gender studies as both focus on gender and identity and are multidisciplinary in nature. However, there are some fundamental differences between the two:

a. Women's Studies analyze gender by focusing on women whereas Gender Studies may or may not focus on women.

b. 'Women's Studies' is very much related with feminist movement, study, methodology which is not found in Gender Studies.

c. Women's Studies emphasizes only on women, both from theoretical and practical perspective but Gender Study emphasizes both male and female.

II. Women's Study is an interdisciplinary academic field: 'Women's Studies' is closely related to sociology, politics, economics, history, education, anthropology, literature, environment etc. It discusses every aspect of social science independently. Moreover, the nature of Women's Studies is to analyze the projection of women by different fields of social science.

III. Women's Study is against Patriarchy: 'Women's Studies' identifies patriarchy as the root cause of all sorts of oppression against women. It criticizes the exploitation, discrimination and torture against women in the patriarchal system and it wants to abolish patriarchal system to bring equality and justice for all in the society.

IV 'Women's Studies' is related to the feminist thoughts: 'Women's Studies' examines and analyzes various issues and problems faced by women in different parts of the world. It also analyzes the status of women, their rights and freedoms, their struggle against male domination. It also focuses on the emancipation of women, female education and social consciousness and improvement of women's standard of living as well as their status in both social and political fields.

V. Another nature of 'Women's Studies' is that it wants to create a new identity for women. Within the ambit of this field, the presence of women can be felt in every aspect of society whether it is history, economies, science or environment. 'Women's Studies' depicts how women are very much part of all these aspects and eco-

feminism shows women's role in protecting environment.

'Women's Studies' encompasses the deconstruction of traditional disciplines in terms of their subject matters and their structure. It has attempted to produce theories and concepts keeping in mind the feminist concerns and principles.

Objectives of Women's Studies

The objective of Women's Studies include –

1. Findings about women by raising new questions and accepting women's perceptions and experiences as real and significant.

2. Correcting misconception about women and identifying ways in which traditional methodologies may distort knowledge.

3. Theorizing about the place of women in society and appropriate strategies for change.

4. Examining the diversity of women's experience and the ways in which clan, race, sexual orientation and other variables intersect with gender.

5. Highlighting the social problems of women.

6. Academic analysis of the feminist thoughts.

Scope of Women's Studies

'Women's Studies' is an interdisciplinary study. Its scope is very vast ranging from women's movement and politics to women's reproductive behaviors, leadership, health and religion. It has broadened the concept of research and opened new vistas in research like women as a subject in conflict, in military and defense studies and history.

The 'Women's Studies' has also helped the government in formulating policies. It can help the

NGO's and other grassroots level organizations with their working and to plan the programmes according to the needs of the women. As 'Women's Studies' is a conglomeration of academic and practical activity, it can help to study the deprivation of women, their socio-economic status, their role as a marginalized section and bring out the truth.

As developed due to the result of women's movement, 'Women's Studies' has the scope both in social and physical sciences. The need to study women's conditions becomes mandatory in social sciences, from research to policy formulation. But in physical sciences scholars like Vandana Shiva have played an important role in bringing up topics like eco-feminism through her book *Staying Alive*.

Women's Studies disseminate knowledge and field action. Now being an independent teaching department, the development of 'Women's Studies' has given wide range of ideas to accumulate. As research is a part of it, interdisciplinary research including de-construction and reconstruction of theories, developing of new ideas etc will help the students to get a broad knowledge of it.

As it has broad vistas, 'Women's Studies' can be seen in wider context of common democratic struggles, of linking women's rights to the rights of other marginalized groups etc. It has its scope among the media studies also. Cinema and other media which have played important role in the society and have greatest impact on it can be studied through Women's Studies.

Women and their issues are basically the subject matter of Women's Studies. This discipline studies women comprehensively –their lives, struggles, works, desires, accomplishments and every other things related to their lives. It studies the status of women in society, and their contribution to its progress. It also studies the role of women in different aspects as economic, political, legal or moral.

Human rights, which are inherent for every human being, are many times violated in case of women and children; therefore, 'Women's Studies' can take up those issues too.

Women's Studies as an Academic Discipline

Development of Women's Studies can be traced back to the Feminist Movement that has been carried out by the works of scholars like Marry Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of Rights of Women* (1792), J. S. Mill's *The Subjection of Women* (1869), Jean de Meung and Marie de Gurney.

The Feminist Movement first began out of reform groups such as the abolition of slavery, Social Purity and Tempera movements. Women started to realize their position in the society and started campaign on issues ranging from guardianship of infants, property rights, divorce, access to higher education, equal pay and safety of the female workers.

The period between1790-1860 may be called the beginning of the Feminist Movement dominated by the enlightened ideas. Margarett Fuller, Elizabeth Starton, and Lucretia Mott were some of the early activists of the Movement.

Increasingly as women started to feel the need for their political rights, the feminists started campaigning for Women's Suffrage separate from and independent of political parties and other organized groups. As a result, in 1928, women got to cast their first ever right to vote in Britain. It was known as Suffrage Movement (1860-1930).

During the1940s and the 1950s women took up challenges and started doing jobs ranging from white collar jobs to labour trade union workers.

The Second Wave Feminism grew in the shadow of movements launched by students and blacks in the 1960s. This shows radicalization of the Feminist Movement. "Women's Liberation" became the top most priority. The private-public demand cropped up and emphasis on right to abortion on demand, free childcare provision and equal pay started building up.

It was during the Second Wave Feminism that 'Women's Studies' as a discipline first emerged. This linkage of the academic world to a social movement meant that the setting up and teaching of such courses was a profoundly political act. It is connected to social change which broadly defined the recognition and analysis of women's oppression and their subordination in patriarchal and capitalist societies.

Although there have been debates as to whether Feminist Movement is responsible for development of Women's Studies; however, it needs to be admitted that feminist ideas like personal being political, separation between public and private spheres, oppression that women faced due to their gender, sin, clan, caste, ethnicity and age etc, were some of the important developments which influenced Women's Studies.

Concluding Observation

As an academic discipline, the 'Women's Studies' was modeled as American Studies and Ethnic Studies. The first two Women's Studies Programmes or WSP were established in 1970 at San Diego State College and Sunny – buffalo in the US. Both the colleges, before taking up the projects, made intensive programme on organizing rallies, getting views of the people especially women, operating unofficial classes etc.

Carol Rowell Council was the student co-founder along with Dr. Joyce Knower. SUNY BUFFALO

programme was also the result of intense debate on feminist perspective led by Elizabeth Kennedy and it was birthed out of the American Studies departments. In1972, Sarah Lawrence College become the first institution to grant Master's degree in Women's History.

In Britain, women were involved with left politics and the Women's Movement in the 1960s and the1970s began to set up Women's Studies courses within higher education and in an adult education content, and it was in the latter where, for instance, women's health, history and self assertiveness courses got developed.

Though there are some courses offered in Britain within polytechnics and universities, but it was only in 1980 that the first M. A. was offered in Women's Studies at the University of Kent. Gradually, Post-Graduate courses followed by under-graduate courses.

On the other hand, in India, the first university research centre for Women's Studies was set up in 1974 by the SNDT Women's University, Mumbai. The University Grants Commission has played a significant role in developing Women's Studies as a discipline in India.

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Conceptualizing Women Empowerment

Suravi Gohain Duwarah*

[Women empowerment is a decisive factor in the process of the development at the national, provincial, village and community levels. Emphasizing the role of women in society, Jawaharlal Nehru had said: "Women should be uplifted for the upliftment of the nation, for if a woman is uplifted, society and nation is uplifted."][1]

Women constitute a vital component of the mainstream socio-economic development and as such their empowerment assumes added significance. Swami Vivekananda has rightly observed that there is no chance for the welfare of the world unless the conditions of the women are improved because it is not possible for a bird to fly on one wing.

Women have come to play an important role in the task of national reconstruction. Comprising almost one half of the global population, women still form the visible majority of the poor. They either solely or largely support an increasing number of families. In a male-dominated world, women often experience poverty more than men. When money is given to men it may not benefit the family but when women manage money, it is often found to be put to better use.

Thus, in order to make projects and programmes designed to improve the living conditions of the poor more effective; it is essential to ensure women's participation in the formulation and implementation of those programmes as contributors as well as beneficiaries. It is aptly observed that enhancing the capabilities of women and empowering them "is the surest way to contribute to economic growth and overall development."[2]

The dignity and greatness of a society can be determined from the status of women in that society. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in 'Young India' in1918 that "woman is the companion of man gifted with equal mental capacities. She has the right to participate in the minute details of the activities of man and she has the same right of freedom and the liberty as he."[3]

Concept of Empowerment

The notion of women empowerment can better be comprehended by understanding the term 'empowerment.' In common parlance, empowerment is construed in terms of vesting power and as such power is the key word of the term empowerment. According to the International Encyclopedia, power means having the capacity and the means to direct one's life towards desired social, political and economic goals or status. Power means control over material assets, intellectual resources and ideology.

According to *Webster's English Dictionary*, the term 'empower' means to give ability and authority. Therefore, 'Empowerment' is a multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives and in their society, by acting on issues that they consider as important.

According to one opinion, the phenomenon of empowerment takes place within sociological, psychological and economic realms and at various levels such as individual, group and community and

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challenges our assumptions about the status quo, asymmetrical power relationships and social dynamics.[4] Broadly speaking, empowerment is a process through which people or communities increase their control or mastery of their own lives and the decisions that affect their day-to-day life.

Empowerment is an intrinsic as well as extrinsic process. The intrinsic process enables women to have the power to think, act freely, and have the right to control one's life, which in turn leads to increased self-confidence, self-reliance and conscience transformation and this further helps in overcoming external barriers of physical, financial resources, beliefs, attitudes (extrinsic) to change the old ideologies.[5]

The World Bank defines empowerment as "the process of increasing the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices and transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes. Central to this process is actions which both build individual and collective assets and improve the efficiency and fairness of the organizational and institutional context which govern the use of these assets."[6]

The notion of empowerment is viewed as a process - and also as the result of the process - whereby the powerless or less powerful members of society and the women gain greater access and control over material and intellectual resources, and challenge the ideologies of discrimination and subordination, which justify this unequal distribution.[7]

In development parlance, the term 'Empowerment' is often used as a synonym for 'making people better off'. Where women suffer from subordination in multiple spheres, it is reasonable to assume that helping provide access to material resources (e.g. micro-credit) which will in general tend to generate more power for women in their relations with men.

Empowerment has been construed in myriad ways and variously understood as a process, a movement, collective action, etc. In the area of land rights of women, where the term carries economic significance, empowerment is described as a process that augments the ability of disadvantaged and powerless individuals or groups to challenge and change in their favour, existing power relationship that places them in subordinate economic, social and political positions. Empowerment can manifest itself in acts of individual resistance as well as in group mobilization.[8]

Thus empowerment is a multi-dimensional process that refers to the expansion of freedom of choice and action in all spheres - economic, political, social/cultural, personal and familial - to shape one's life.

The Concept of Women Empowerment

It is being increasingly realized that empowerment of women will instill a greater degree of self-confidence, a sense of independence and capability to resist discrimination imposed by the male-dominated society. Women empowerment is a stage of acquiring power for women in order to enable them understand their rights and to perform responsibilities in a most effective way.

Empowerment is a comprehensive term that encompasses aspects such as women's control over material and intellectual resources. It is a process, which challenges traditional power equations and relations. Abolition of gender-based discrimination in all institutions and structures of society and participation of women in policy and decision-making process at domestic and public levels are but a few dimensions of women empowerment.

According to one opinion, empowerment, in the context of women, is a process whereby women become able to organise themselves to increase self-reliance, to assert their independent right, to make choices and to control resources which will assist in challenging and eliminating their own subordination.[9]

Women empowerment has also been defined as any process that "provides greater autonomy to women through the sharing of relevant information and provision of control over factors affecting their performance."[10] It has also been referred to as a process of 'exposing the oppressive power of the existing gender (and social) relations, critically challenging them and creatively trying to shape different social relations'.

Empowering women means to enable women to do certain things and in most cases it connotes women wielding political power. Viewed in a broad spectrum, the very concept of empowerment of women which is based on equality between genders is a long drawn, conscious and continuous process comprising enhancement of skills, capacity building, gaining self-confidence and meaningful participation in decision-making. It seeks to ensure an equitable division of resources and carve a clear role for them in decision-making. It helps them articulate theirs' as well as others' rights and participate actively in the democratic processes.

Conclusion

The empowerment of women entails the prospects of leading to an assured progressive growth of a society. This can only be achieved by affording an opportunity to women to have their say in familial, social, economic and political spheres. Women empowerment is to develop the capacity of the fairer sex to influence the course of social change and thereby ensure a better social and economic order.

Women's empowerment entails the potential of leading to a world where women - and the 'new men' - ensure that resources are utilized not just equitably, but sanely and safely; where war and violence will be eliminated, and the Planet Earth restored to a clean, green place for the coming generations. Investing in women's potentials is one of the definite ways of contributing to a nation's growing potential and for the future generation.

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