THIRD
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❖ **India-Singapore Relations**

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THIRD CONCEPT

An International Journal of Ideas

Third Concept aims at providing a platform where a meaningful exchange of ideas can take place among the people of the Third World. The attempt will be to communicate, debate and disseminate information, ideas and alternatives for the resolution of the common problems facing humankind. We welcome contributions from academics, journalists and even from those who may never have published anything before. The only requirement is a concern for and desire to understand and take the issue of our time. Contributions may be descriptive, analytical or theoretical. They may be in the form of original articles, reactions to previous contributions, or even a comment on a prevailing situation. All contributions, neatly typed in double space, may be addressed to:

While the Editor accepts responsibility for the selection of materials to be published, individual authors are responsible for the facts, figures, and views in their articles. However, the Editor reserves the right to edit the articles for reasons of space and clarity.

INSIDE

Politics of Climate Change

Recently concluded climate change deal at Paris, after 13 days of intense bargaining, demonstrated a rare show of near-universal accord, as poor and wealthy nations from across the political and geographic spectrum expressed support for measures that require all to take steps to battle climate change. The agreement binds together pledges by individual nations to cut or limit emissions from fossil-fuel burning. Sincere implementation of the agreement entails the potential of putting nations on a course that could fundamentally change the way energy is produced and consumed, gradually reducing reliance on fossil fuels in favor of cleaner forms of energy. The Paris agreement has evoked mixed reactions expressed through the opinions of leaders which reveal both high praise and harsh condemnation of the global accord.

U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has welcomed the Paris agreement as "a monumental success for the planet and its people." Almost all Heads of State and Government who participated in this historic moment had hailed the agreement. The general view of the Paris agreement among climate scientists seems to be that while it won't halt global warming, it is an important step in that direction. The director of the Earth Institute, Jeffrey Sachs, has termed the agreement "historic" and "a diplomatic triumph." However, some climate change experts, climatologists and other observers find some chinks in the armoury of the Paris deal. It has been observed that the compromise accord is insufficient, by itself, to prevent global temperatures from rising by more than 2 degrees C above pre-industrial averages', an increase that many scientists believe is the maximum amount of warming the planet can sustain without massive disruptions in natural ecosystems.

James Hansen of the Earth Institute at Columbia University has called the Paris agreement as "just worthless words" and a "fraud." Gavin Schmidt, also of Earth Institute, says the agreement is "not the greatest thing in the world, but it is a necessary first start. While paraphrasing Winston Churchill's famous quote that democracy isn't perfect and "the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried," Schmidt says, "this treaty is probably the worst of all possible treaties, except the others." Demographic factors and financial implications are regarded as main hurdles in realizing the objectives of Paris accord. The Paris mandate, to keep global temperature increase to below 2 degrees C, is unlikely to be met since any potential gain in emissions cut by mid-century will be wiped out by an additional 2.6 billion people on Earth—with each new person struggling for his or her own space, abode, appliances, car, clothing, furniture, food and fuel.

Some experts opine that it would be difficult to believe that the accord is the best possible response to an emerging global catastrophe. On climate finance, it merely acknowledges the need for $100 billion a year to promote sustainable practices in developing economies. This is a pittance compared to over $1.8 trillion in yearly global military expenditures, or some 2.5 percent of world GDP. Undoubtedly, the dangers of climate change are all too real for India; nevertheless, the realization of 1.5 degrees target can avoid putting the lives of millions along India's coastline and those dependent directly on agricultural yields at risk. But by deferring ambitious carbon reductions from the developed countries post-2020, which will still remain voluntary, India has effectively accepted a scenario where a fair carbon budgeting is a distant dream. India, it appears, will instead push hard for greater financing and capacity building for a renewable energy transition.

India's demand for $ 2.5 trillion in finance for achieving its INDC by 2030 makes the global commitment of $100 billion pale into insignificance in comparison. The coming few years will consequently witness a greater push for materialising this finance through a variety and public and private channels. The Paris accord isn't legally binding on two key aspects. There is no obligation on developed nations to enhance mitigation targets or increase climate finance. India is reported to have signed the final agreement in a spirit of compromise to avoid the ignominy of being amongst the parties that derailed the negotiations and set it back by at least another decade. How the countries, including India, implement the accord will truly determine the future of climate change. ⎯⎯BK

India–Singapore Relations

C. Sivakkolundu*

Bilateral relations between the Republic of India and the Republic of Singapore have traditionally been strong and friendly, with the two nations enjoying extensive cultural and commercial relations. India and Singapore have signed the Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA) in order to increase trade, investments and economic cooperation, and expanded bilateral cooperation on maritime security, training forces, joint naval exercises, developing military technology and fighting terrorism. Over the last two decades, Singapore has positioned itself as the hub of India's economic, political and strategic relationships in Southeast Asia. Indian Prime Minister visited Singapore in November 2015 reaffirming fifty years of bilateral relations.

Trade Relations

- Singapore is the 8th largest source of investment in India. Its cumulative investment in India totaled USD 3 billion as of 2006 and was expected to rise to US 5 billion by 2010 and to USD 10 billion by 2015.

- India's economic liberalisation and its "Look East" policy have led to a major expansion in bilateral trade, which grew from USD 2.2 billion in 2001 to US 9-10 billion in 2006 and to USD 50 billion by 2010. Singapore accounts for 38% of India's trade with ASEAN member nations and 3.4% of its total foreign trade.

Exports of India

- Economic cooperation is a major pillar of our relationship. Singapore is our 10th largest trade partner globally and 2nd largest in ASEAN accounting for 25.9% of our overall trade with ASEAN (2013-14). India was

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Singapore's 12th largest trade partner globally (2014). Bilateral trade expanded after the conclusion of CECA from US$ 6.65 billion in 2004-05 to US$ 25.2 billion in 2011- 12 but declined to US$ 19.27 billion in 2013-14.

- India's exports to Singapore in 2005 included petroleum, gemstones, jewellery, machinery, mineral oil, transport equipment, non-ferrous metals, polished and unpolished diamonds, rice, electrical and electronic goods.

Imports of India

- Its imports are electronic goods, organic chemicals and metals, mineral oil, petroleum products, electrical goods, non-electrical machinery, project goods, transport equipment, organic chemicals and professional instruments.

- Major items of India's imports from Singapore during 2014-15 (Apr-Feb) constituted 35.43% of India's total imports from Singapore.

- Petroleum oils and oils obtained from bituminous minerals, styrene, digital processing units, nickel, light oils and Preparations, non-industrial diamonds, vinyl acetate.

- Bilateral trade expanded after the conclusion of CECA from US$ 6.65 billion in 2004-05 to US$ 25.2 billion in 2011-12 but declined to US$ 19.27 billion in 2013-14.

Bilateral Investments

- Singapore has emerged as the second largest source of FDI amounting to US$ 29.19 billion (Jan 2000-Nov 2014), and comprised 12.35% of total FDI inflows. Singapore became the largest source of FDI into India for the year 2013-14 overtaking Mauritius, with US$ 5.98

billion, accounting for about 25% of FDI inflows in the year.

- Banking, pharmaceuticals, telecommunications and information technology have been the focus of such portfolio investments, besides investments in ports, airports and infrastructure projects. Outward Indian FDI to Singapore increased from US $351 million in 2004- 05 to US $33.76 billion (Nov 2014), making Singapore one of the top destinations for Indian investments.

Air Services

- Directly-connected currently to 12 Indian cities - Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Chennai, Cochin, Coimbatore, Delhi, Hyderabad, Kolkata, Vishakhapatnam, Mumbai, Tiruchirappalli, Thiruvananthapuram, Singapore has the largest air connections to India with 9 airlines flying 232 weekly services (or 464 weekly flights) between Singapore and India.

Cultural Relations

- To promote inter-governmental cooperation in culture, a Memorandum of Understanding for Cooperation in Arts, Archives and Heritage was concluded in 1993, pursuant to which Executive Programmes have been signed.

- ICCR and National University of Singapore (NUS) singed a MOU in March 2010 to establish a short-term Chair on Indian Studies of Singapore, which has been renewed till 2017.

- Commemorative events are being held in India and in Singapore to mark the 50th anniversary of the establishment of India-Singapore diplomatic relations in 2014-15.

- Both sides have also reaffirmed exchange of cultural performances, exhibitions, film festivals, food festivals, and other events to celebrate the historic milestone.

- A number of cultural societies, namely Temple of Fine Arts, Singapore Indian Fine Arts Society, Nrityalaya, Kalamandir, promote Indian classical dance and arts.

Visa and Consular

- Visa and Consular India introduced a visa requirement for Singapore citizens in 1984 while Singapore introduced it in 1985. Tourists from Singapore are allowed 'Tourist Visa-on-Arrival' in select airports in India since 2010 on unilateral basis.

- The Tourist Visa-on-arrival Electronic Travel Authorisation (TVOA-ETA) scheme has been introduced in November 2014. In 2014, the High Commission issued 41,947 passports and 77,879 visas. Indian community of ethnic Indians constitutes about 9.1 per cent or around 3.5 lakh of the resident population of 3.9 million in Singapore. Tamil is one of the four official languages of Singapore. Approximately two-thirds of the Indian community in Singapore is of Tamil origin.

Political Relations

- Singapore took a major interest in India's economic reforms in the 1990s. Continued high level interactions in 2002 and signed the Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA) in June 2005

- Singapore's Foreign and Law Minister visited India on 30 June-5 July 2014. The two Prime Ministers met on the sidelines of the East Asia Summit on 12 November 2014.

- To mark the milestone of 50 years of the establishment of India-Singapore diplomatic relations, Singapore's President visited India on 8-11 February 2015.

- Indian Prime Minister visited Singapore on 29 March 2015 and it was appreciated by Singapore, as was the observance of a day of mourning in India on 29 March with flag flying half-mast throughout the country.

Diplomatic relations

- The growing breadth of our cooperation provides a larger framework for activities between the two Governments, the business community, and people-to-people exchanges.

- Outward Indian FDI to Singapore increased from US $351 million in 2004-05 to US $37.4 billion (April 2015), making Singapore one of the top destinations for Indian investments. About 6,000 Indian companies are estimated to be registered in Singapore.

Indian Community

- Ethnic Indians constitute about 9.1 per cent or around 3.5 lakh of the resident population of 3.9 million in Singapore. These 3.5 lakh Indian expatriates, holding Indian passports, are mostly serving in financial services, computer/software sectors, students, construction and marine sectors. Approximately two-thirds of the Indian community in Singapore is of Tamil origin. Punjabis, Malayalis and Sindhis are the other major Indian communities.

- Global Indian International School, Delhi Public School, National Public School, Yuvah Bharati International School, DAV School, Amity Global Business School and S. P. Jain Centre of Management have educational institutions in Singapore.

Conclusion

India and Singapore have signed many agreements in order to increase trade, investments and economic cooperation as well as to expand bilateral cooperation in different fields. Over the last two decades, Singapore has positioned itself as the hub of India's economic, political and strategic relationships in Southeast Asia.

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Globalization and Human Rights

Dr. Mohd. Asif1

[*The term 'globalization' has taken several meanings and definitional connotations over the centuries. It has had etymological, anthropological, socio-cultural, politico-legalistic and indeed economic and financial implications and attributes over the period. The Over-Land Silk Road that connected Asia, Africa and Europe is a good example of the transformative power of trans-local (global) exchange that existed in the old world. Philosophy, religion, language, art and culture spread and mixed as nations exchanged products and ideas in the 15th and 16th centuries, and with the passage of time global movement of people, goods and ideas has expanded significantly and the advent of electronic communication – mobile phone and the Internet, connected billions of people in new ways.]*

Thus the term 'globalization' has come to be referred to the emergence of an international network of social and economic systems. Sociologist Paris defined globalization as 'the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole'. Social scientist Martin Albrow defined it as 'all those processes by which people of the world also explain, 'globalization is a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recesses and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding.[1]

Globalization or the increased interconnectedness and interdependence of people and countries, is generally understood to include two inter-related elements: the opening of borders to increasingly fast flows of goods, services, finance, people and ideas across international borders; and changes in institutional and policy regimes at the international and national levels that facilitate or promote such flows. It is recognized that globalization has both positive and negative impact on development.

Globalization, although not a new phenomenon, has increased rapidly in recent years. It has been driven by technological advances and the reduced cost of making transactions across borders and distances, as well as the increased mobility of capital. These forces mean that globalization not only consists of economic activity, but also extends to political, cultural, environmental and security issues, and relates to the increasing interconnectivity of countries and communities. An economic crisis in the U.S., the decision of OPEC about the price of petroleum products, the tension between the Israelis and Palestinians are few examples which have repercussions of worldwide import. We are concerned, challenged and even affected by the catastrophes that occur far from us in this era of globalization.

Understanding globalization

The term 'globalization' was introduced by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1985 with reference to the process of integration of the global market by means of new economic and financial policies.[2] The process of globalization is intensified as a result of three new driving forces – Economic liberalization. Political liberalization and new information and communication technology.[3]

The 1994 Marrakech agreement that ended the Uruguay Round was a significant leap in

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integrating world markets. It brought not only unprecedented reductions in barriers to trade, but the introduction of multilateral rather than bilateral agreements and the extension of trade rules beyond traditional areas to issues such as intellectual property and services. It also led to institutional arrangements for enforcement of the agreements with the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO). These new arrangements foresaw more far reaching global impact on national economies than trade agreements had ever experienced before.[4]

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 broke down barriers to the flow of idea and movement of people in Eastern Europe and Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Another 1.3 billion people in China and Vietnam became exposed to the global contacts and communications. Similar process of political liberalization in Latin America and Africa also took place starting in the 1980s. In all, some 81 countries took significant steps towards democracy over the past two decades or more. Prohibitions on political parties were removed, censorship was lifted, civil society organizations flourished within and across national borders, and independent media multiplied and spread.[5]

The pace of technological progress began to accelerate to unprecedented levels in the past few decades. The introduction of Net Scape in 1994 and its free availability meant that the Internet became a generalized method of communication for the public rather than a specialized method used only by the scholars and businesses. These technological breakthroughs altered the frontiers of what was possible in many fields. They made global market integration in finance, investment, services and trade much more of a reality.[6]

These three drivers interact, often in mutually reinforcing ways because all three drivers – the political, economic and technological barriers to interactions across nations and distances – are driving globalization by shrinking space, shrinking time and disappearing borders. Events on the other side of the globe affect people's job, income and health.

Impact of Globalization on Human Rights

The recognition of human rights and the weaving of a web of globalization are probably the most important political developments of our times. The slow, quite power of human rights' pressures and aspirations helped in bringing down the Soviet empire, transform long suffering Latin America, and construct unprecedented international institutions, like the United Nations. Globalization and human rights both have roots in the powerful ideas of liberalism which includes the dignity of the individual, the desirability of freedom, the superiority of reason over belief and the possibility of progress through exhcnage.[7]

On the positive aspect of globalization, the increasing economic gaps have alerted the people to long neglected social and economic rights in global welfare stemming from globalization, indirectly enhancing the attainment of economic conditions necessary for economic and social rights. It is believed that market mechanisms and liberalized trade will lead to an improvement in the living standards of all people. Secondly, increased availability and more efficient allocation of resources, more open and competitive production and improved governance could lead to faster growth and more rights. Thus, social globalization also promotes direct personal contacts among people from different countries in the form of immigration and tourism.

Personal interaction among different people can have a positive impact on tolerance towards different lifestyles and increase acceptance for different gender roles, sexuality, religions and ethnic backgrounds. Proponents of globalization say it is a positive force that is making the world a better place because economic and social

indicators like poverty rates, infant mortality and educational status reflects that many people are better off than they were before globalization, even though they are still very poor.[8]

Similarly, the negative impact of globalization, especially on vulnerable sections of the community, results in the violation of various rights guaranteed by various covenants; in particular the enjoyment of fundamental aspects of the right to life, freedom from cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, freedom from servitude, the right to equality and non-discrimination, the right to an adequate standard of living (including the right to food, clothing and shelter), the right to maintain a high standard of physical and mental health, the right to work accompanied by the right to just and fair condition of labour, freedom of association and assembly and the right to collective bargaining, which have been severely impaired.[9]

Globalization has not caused developing countries to catch up with the developed world. Inequality has risen during this present globalization period. In the developed world, the intellectuals and policy makers view globalization as providing good opportunities for their countries and their people. Globalization can be preserved from two angles. One angle is that globalization is a means of increasing the wealth of nations and promoting international trade. However, globalization is a direct cause for the widening of economic gap between developing and developed countries.

There is a relationship between globalization and equality and non-discrimination in a more concrete fashion. The two concepts are central to the corpus and ethos of human rights' instruments and practices. The Universal Declaration and other human rights' instruments are unequivocal in their declaration that all persons are equal, and that the right to non-discrimination is a basic and fundamental human right.[10]

Globalization and Women

Globalization is a multi-dimensional process of economic, political, cultural and ideological change. It has led to increasing violations of women's economic, political and cultural rights in large measure. Globalization has drawn millions of women into paid employment across the developing world. Today they are working in super markets and multi-brand shopping malls. Often being unorganized, they are facing harassment at work place and their human rights are being violated.

Women workers easily become marginalized and they hardly derive any fruit from the even new opportunities emerging in an open and competitive world trade. Commonly hired on short-term contracts or with no contract at all, they are working at high speed for low wages in unhealthy conditions. They do not have social security and maternity benefits. The harsh reality faced by women workers highlights one of the glaring failures of the current model of globalization.[11]

International response to the Problems of Human Rights in the era of Globalization

Globalization has led to an increased concern about the responsibility of all international actors to ensure the promotion and protection of human rights. International institutions and scholars have responded with various proposals for strengthening the international regime. First, human rights' activists and institutions have begun to posit the primacy of human rights law. The Committee on Economic Social, and Cultural Rights (CESCR) has emphasized that "the realms of trade, finance and investment are in no way exempt from these general principles (on respect for human rights) and that international globalizations with specific responsibilities in those areas should play a positive and constructive role in relation to human rights.

Second, the state responsibility for failing to control the actions of private parties has received considerable attention in the case law of international tribunals and the work of the United Nations. Third, international law is increasingly regulating non-state behavior directly. Finally, restructured international governance mechanisms are bringing a variety of international actors together to achieve common goals.[12]

Conclusion

Globalization has no doubt contributed to economic prosperity, but the question is prosperity for whom? While elitist sections have benefited from globalization everywhere, vulnerable sections continue to be in miserable position. Human rights approach to globalization requires us to evaluate the benefits of globalization from global point of view how mankind as a whole has benefited from this phenomenon.

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Perspectives on India-China Relations

Dr. Sachinkumar. M. Kattimani*

[The current debate on India-China relations among the members of strategic and academic community has raised a number of issues including the future prospects and the major challenges confronting the bilateral relationships. The last six decades of India-China relationship have seen more of mutual mistrust and suspicion than friendliness and cordial atmosphere. Such mutual mistrust and suspicion grew over the years and have gone beyond proportions in the current context. The challenge has always been to bridge the differences of opinion from both sides and reach to a common understanding on a number of sensitive issues including Sino-Indian border issues. At the same time, one should not come to the conclusion that both India and China have always been at loggerheads. A series of serious attempts have been made by both India and China to bridge the differences more particularly on the border issue.]

It must be emphasized here that India and China relations are expanding and deepening despite several divergences on many pertinent issues impacting the bilateral relations. The deepening of India-China relations was reflected when the two countries established the Strategic and Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Prosperity in 2005 and also signed *A Shared Vision for 21st Century* in 2008. Undoubtedly, India and China have emerged as the two rapidly growing economies and their bilateral relationship to a greater extent has assumed global and strategic relevance.

It would be important to appraise India – China experience in the past and then explore the mechanisms by which the bilateral cooperation can take a robust shape. There is certainly a very important element guiding India-China relations and that is the growing shared interests on a number of issues including trade and commerce. China and India have become important trade partners.

The objective of this paper is to assess and analyze the broad contours of India-China relations and explore the areas on which both the countries can work together on the areas of mutual interests. The trajectory of bilateral relationship has many positive as well as negative connotations. It would highlight both the convergences and divergences in India-China relations and then suggest ways by which the existing divergences can be bridged. It would also try and explain the rationale for a robust and constructive engagement in the evolving new world order with realigning regional equations.

Evolution of India-China Relations

India and China perhaps are the only countries in the world, which have a legacy of ancient culture and civilizations. Both also share a similar heritage of colonization. Both are two most populous countries in the world. India and China are still underdeveloped Asian countries. Despite a number of similarities, both have many times found themselves at different poles especially on bilateral contentious issues. There have, however, always been cooperative attempts on a number of sectors other than contentious sectors.

The past 60 years of India China relations have obviously signaled that both the countries have been seeking mutually acceptable solutions to the main contention relating to boundary issue. It is also generally believed that both countries never allowed the differences to come in their way of bilateral cooperation and engagement.

The major challenge confronting India-China relations has been to build mutual trust and confidence. The trust deficit created by both the sides has decimated the robustness of bilateral relationships. The element of trust is an essential component in forging a sustained bilateral cooperation. Somehow, the lack of trust and

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confidence between the two countries created lots of misunderstanding on a number of bilateral issues.

Despite the fact that India was one of the first few countries, which recognized the People's Republic of China, the bilateral relationship saw a number of downs than ups. The history of initial years of India-China relations more particularly during 1949 – 1958 depicts an era of friendliness. Both India and China were able to reach to a consensus and signed the Panchsheel Agreement, which basically dealt with trade and interaction between India and Tibet region of China in Beijing. Panchsheel became the guiding principles of India-China bilateral relationship. Zhou Enlai's trip to India in June 1954 was a symbolic messaging about China's intent and philosophy. It was historic in the sense that a Communist head of government was making a peacetime visit to a non-Communist state.

The animosity and hostilities grew during the period between 1959 and 1976, which saw the bad patch in the relationship during the war in 1962. The best possible assumptions – *Hindi-Chini bhai bhai* period got changed into Hindi-Chini bye bye period. The period during 1976 - 1988 has been characterized as an era of dispelling doubts and misunderstanding. The year 1988 was a landmark year because India-China relations took a new turn after India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China.

Undoubtedly, the period during 1988 - 1998 saw a new atmosphere and a new bonhomie in India-China relations. The post-1998 scenario, after India detonated a nuclear device, China emerged as one of the greatest critics and hence the relationship deteriorated. However, the situation changed after both the nations realized about each others' contribution in the global economy and to a greater extent started broadening the then existing bilateral ties. The strain in the relationship was replaced by friendliness. The era during the first decade of the twenty-first century has been an era of cooperation in economic sphere and also a mix of misunderstanding on political fronts.

Historical Overview

It must be reiterated here that India recognized China immediately after it came into existence as People's Republic of China in 1949. After establishing diplomatic relationships, both India and China shared a number of common concerns and challenges confronting their relationships. Both the countries had also reached to a common understanding on number of major international issues. The signing of Panchasheel Agreement in 1954 was a move towards achieving the confidence but somehow this confidence did not last long.

The Preamble of the Agreement reflected the growing consensus between the two countries. India accepted Tibet as part of China and also relinquished the British responsibilities and obligations in Tibet through the Panchsheel Agreement. The bonhomie created a very positive atmosphere and it paved the way for the then Chinese Premier Chou En-lai to visit India thrice during the period 1954-1957.

The then Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, visited China only once in October 1954. Nehru's visit to China was a landmark event because China accorded a warm and red carpet welcome. The euphoria and optimism created for the future of India-China relations was unprecedented. However, such euphoria and optimism proved short-lived.

Undoubtedly, India was aware of China's intention in drawing their bordering zone with India. Nehru had brought this topic for the discussion with the Chinese about the incorrect border lines and somehow it was ignored and not taken seriously by Chou En-lai. The Chinese view of the McMahon Line was absolutely different and had discarded India's view. Chou En-lai's successive visits to India saw a decline in mutual understanding on some of these pertinent themes including the border. China's intentions and their designs were reflected when a report appeared in the Chinese media that Sinkiang province of China had been linked to Tibet by road in the Aksai Chin area.

As far as the evolution of international dimensions of India-China relations were concerned, India from the day one was very clear in its approach. India had appealed to the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) forty times by sponsoring resolutions during 1950 – 1958 that the People's Republic of China should represent China at the United Nations. India also showed a great sense of

maturity in taking a stand on the Korean War (1950 – 53). India had openly voted against the UN draft resolution which declared China as an aggressor and abstained from voting for putting embargo on China.

Despite India's consistent and persistent efforts in reaching to a mutually acceptable position from each side on border issue, it failed in convincing China. It must be emphasized here that the Indian stand on the boundary issue was largely a reflection of its stand on the issue of Tibet. The 1959 Tibetan crisis became a turning point in down sliding India-China relations. It happened only because of India's sympathetic approach towards Tibet and providing political asylum to Dalai Lama. China since then has changed its approach towards India. The track-one level (Government to Government) meeting between India and China on the border issue during 1960 – 1961 had not produced any positive and desired result. The suspicion grew further. The bonhomie created by the two countries was really short – lived.

India-China Schism and the Conflict of 1962

The signs of deterioration of India – China bilateral relations became very prominent during the early part of 1962. The growing mistrust and suspicion led to a brief India – China conflict in October 1962. For China, it was a very easy victory over India. It happened also because of India's miscalculations and its inherent capabilities. The post-1962 India – China conflict period also saw an emergence of a very special relationship between China and Pakistan, which to a larger extent was based on countering India in the subcontinent. India's suspicion about the intentions of China and India's mistrust in China further grew because of some of China's actions.

The anti-India policy adopted by China was not only in the form of encouraging and inciting Naxal violence in India but also provided training to Nagas and Mizos in China to fight against India and keep fomenting trouble by sending them back after the training was over. The implications of India – China conflict of 1962 were also reflected on China's policies towards India during India – Pakistan Wars

of 1965 and 1971. China had already signed a friendship treaty with Pakistan in 1963.

The border row brought significant changes in China's approach towards India. China's nuclear test on 1964 added additional fear among Indian minds and key policy makers. Both the nations had lost mutual trust and confidence and since then it has been a great challenge to leave misunderstandings behind and forge a new relationship. Such process of forging friendly ties requires a strong determination and greater initiative to promote their friendship.

It is obvious that the India – China border conflict in 1962 brought about serious damage to the friendship between the Chinese and Indian Peoples and that led to a long term termination of friendly exchanges between the two countries. The shadow of the 1962 conflict has still not been vanished. Hence, it had really been one of the greatest challenges to change the mindset and look for zenith in India – China relations, which had reached to nadir in the aftermath of 1962 conflict.

As mentioned earlier, relations between China and Pakistan had dramatically and drastically improved and got strengthened over the years and decades and especially in the aftermath of 1962 conflict. Under these circumstances, India had to evolve a dual strategy to deal with the crisis in such an unfavorable strategic environment. Hence, the period during 1959 – 1976 in India – China relations has been characterized as a period of mutual mistrust, suspicion and unfriendliness.

1976-1988: Era of Dispelling Doubts and Misunderstanding:

India and China have seen inauguration of an important era during 1976 – 1988 where both the nations made maximum efforts in dispelling doubts and misunderstandings. These efforts were again in terms of understanding each other mainly to create a very positive atmosphere. The year 1976 was a landmark year in India-China relations because both the countries had been able to restore their diplomatic ties by exchanging their ambassadors.

It was also important from a very different angle. The annexation of Sikkim with India in 1975 had

jolted Chinese authorities. China had refused to accept and continued with its policy of denunciation. Despite such negativism on the part of Chinese mindset, India was able to restore confidence among the Chinese and reactivated its ambassadorial positions.

Chinese incursions in Vietnam during 1979 especially at a time when India's then Foreign Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee was in Beijing had lots of negative repercussions on India – China relations. However, the attempt was made once again by the officials of both the countries to resolve the unsettled boundary issue. It could not reach to a bilateral consensus and did not yield the desired result.

The first visit to India by a very prominent Chinese leader took place in June 1981 after almost two decades. The Chinese foreign minister Huang Hua visited India and this visit became not only remarkable but also very significant because there was an agreement and consensus reached during the deliberations that both sides, India and China would, exchange official delegations at track one level to resume bilateral talks on the issues impacting India-China relations.

India to a greater extent had changed its position and agreed to the resumption of bilateral talks. Earlier, India had always stressed on one fact that unless and until China would vacate Indian Territory, which it had occupied.

There was certainly a quantum shift in India's approach towards China in the aftermath of Huang Hua's visit. It was agreed during mid 1980s' by both India and China that the border problem needed to be tackled on priority basis and it would be in their interests. After the granting of statehood to Arunachal Pradesh in 1986 by India, China openly protested and denounced India's action. Once again, the situation got worsened but high level discussions from both sides were able to restore normalcy at the bilateral level. Both the nations resumed and renewed the bilateral exchanges to discuss on almost all the contentious issues. The later part of eighties saw an improvement in terms of understanding and this was possible only because of the ongoing track one dialogues.

1988-1998: Era of Creating New Atmosphere and Trust in Bilateral Relations

The period during 1988 – 1998 has been characterized as a period of creating new atmosphere and trust in India – China relations. The ice in the relationship was broken when the then Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi visited China in December 1988. It was historic because the Prime Minister of India was visiting China after more than three decades. Both sides agreed to cooperate for mutual development on a number of areas.

Rajiv Gandhi's visit was also significant because it happened after the famous Sumdurong Chu Valley event. The five-day visit proved to be of great significance because both the nations agreed to promote bilateral cooperation on a number of areas including science and technology, civil aviation and cultural exchanges. The hallmark of the visit was the creation of Joint Working Group (JWG) for resolving the boundary issue. The larger objective of the JWG was to articulate each others' concerns and analyse the options available before both the countries. At the same time, the objective was also to ensure the maintenance of peace and tranquility across the border during the negotiations process.

Since the creation of JWG in the year 1988, 13 rounds of border talks have been organized so far. But, unfortunately nothing concrete has happened in terms of resolving the border issue. The bilateral momentum has, however, been built but of no great significance and impact. What has happened in the last more than two decades that both the countries have been talking routinely not only on border issues but also exploring the mechanisms by which both economic and cultural engagements take a robust shape and the bilateral relationship is given a broader base.

There was a reciprocal visit to India by Chinese Premier Li Peng in 1991. It was again a historic one because a Chinese Premier had not visited in the last more than three decades. Both India and China signed five agreements during Li Peng's visit to India. These five agreements related to the Consul treaty between India and China, Agreement on Restoration of Consulate General in Bombay and Shanghai, Memorandum on the Restoration of Border Trade, India – China Trade Protocol for the

year 1992 and Scientific and Technological Cooperation in Outer Space for the Peaceful use by the aviation ministries of India and China.

The bilateral relationship got a new boost and also further strengthened when the then President of India R. Venkatraman visited China in May 1992. China conducted a nuclear test on the arrival of R. Venkatraman and it had paved a very difficult signaling towards India. However, it was handled by both India and China with maturity.

The signing of India-China accord on the Line of Actual Control (LAC) during India's Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's visit in September 1993 brought a new thaw in the bilateral relationship. The Agreement on Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility along the LAC in the India – China border areas signified that the border issue would be resolved amicably through peaceful and friendly negotiations. It was inherent in the Agreement that neither side should use force or threaten to use force against the other. The two sides should strictly respect and observe the LAC before the border issue is settled and each side should keep its military forces in the areas along the LAC to a minimum level. It was certainly a salutary development in India – China relations.

The other signs of improvement in India – China relations came when Chinese President Jiang Zemin visited India in 1996. It further boosted the bonhomie and created a very positive atmosphere in thinking and approach. During Jiang's visit, India and China had signed four important agreements – a) The agreement on confidence building measures (CBMs) in the field of military deployment along the LAC in the India – China border areas; b) The agreement relating to the maintenance of the Consulate General of India in Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the PRC; c) The agreement on cooperation for combating illicit trafficking in drugs and other related issues; and d) the agreement on maritime transport.

Post-1998: Evolving Trends in India-China Relations

The detonation of nuclear device by India in May 1998 to a greater extent received lots of criticism from China. Hence, the process of normalization,

which had been built over the years got derailed. China was vocal opponent of India's nuclear test and made a strong point that the nuclear tests were against the international trend. The nuclear issue featured as an irritant in India-China relations for some time, which really put the bilateral relationship in a limbo.

However, both the sides were able to resume talks once again in a span of nine months. The visits made by the then Minister of External Affairs Jaswant Singh in 1999 and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in 2003 opened a number of new vistas for cooperation. The boundary issue which had always been an obstacle in building trust and confidence was overshadowed by the issues relating to trade and commerce.

The opening of the border regions for trade including the Nathula Pass in Sikkim really signaled a quantum shift in India's approach towards China. This shift also in a way recognized Sikkim as a part of India. The reopening of border trade through Nathula Pass has certainly helped in forging greater economic ties between these two emerging economic powers of Asia. Historically, Nathula Pass has been a very important border from time immemorial in respect of trade. It is well known fact that Nathula Pass was closed after Sino-Indian War of 1962. The border trade through Nathula Pass formally got resumed on 6 July 2006.

By then, both the nations had experienced phenomenal growth rate in the bilateral trade. The trade relations have improved substantially and the bilateral trade until now has crossed the $ 50 billion US dollar figure. There was a downslide in the volume of trade marginally in between especially during the global economic meltdown.

However, China has been insisting from day one that Mac Mahon line is not acceptable to them and all of Arunachal Pradesh belongs to them. It has always been objected by India. India has the problems from Tsangpo which rises in Tibet and flows into Arunachal Pradesh as Dihang and becomes Brahmaputra when it enters Assam. India has the lingering problem in Ladakh where one third of its territory Aksai-Chin is occupied by China and claimed by them as the legitimate part of their country. Hence, there are certainly serious problems

and issues between India and China. Many of these lingering issues certainly require attention from both sides in the current international security environment.

The first decade of twenty-first century has seen many high level visits from both sides. It has also signaled that many of the lingering issues would be given paramount importance by both the countries. The visit of the Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao to India in April 2005 recognised India's inherent strength in Software industry. It was felt that China can help India in strengthening its hardware industry and India can help China in strengthening software industry. India and China also announced the establishment of a Strategic and Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Prosperity.

It must be emphasized here that Chinese President Hu Jintao's visit to India in 2006 and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's visit to China in 2009 could not make much impact on the bilateral relationships because of the deepening of mistrust from both sides. However, a 10-point Roadmap was drawn up to enhance the Strategic Partnership. Over the last few years, China has been both overtly and covertly engaging itself across India – China borders and making a number of anti-India gestures. The growing China-Pak nexus, opening of a number of China Study Centres in Nepal and its tacit support to the Maoists in the ongoing imbroglio in Kathmandu and its wider ramifications on Indian national security had added to the growing mistrust in India.

China's current posture towards India suggests otherwise. India's security concerns have been widening. It is certainly not "Pakistan-specific", and that it will have to take into account the environment and strategic considerations in its neighborhood. The all weather Sino-Pakistani relationship will thus be one of the main hitches when one envisions India-China relations in 2020. China certainly benefits more from close ties with Pakistan by extending its influence in South Asia.

Undoubtedly, China perceives itself to be a dominant military power in the whole of Asia and has henceforth systematically and consistently modernized and acquired strategic capabilities. The current trend suggests that nuclear weapons are going to stay in Southern Asia for different missions. The trend also suggests that modernization of strategic weapons will continue and grow in foreseeable future. Looking to the future, it is most likely that due to the Sino-Pakistan nexus, India might put more emphasis on nuclear weapons for its defense because its conventional weaponry is inferior to China in most respects.

China has also been maintaining a strong military presence in the Tibet Autonomous Region. It has also been making its presence felt in the Indian Ocean, North West Afghanistan and countries on India's periphery. Despite a number of existing misunderstandings, potential exists for both the countries to work together on a number of key international security issues including counter-terrorism and drug trafficking. More recently, both India and China have shown a great amount of understanding on a couple of very pertinent issues of global nature. This was apparent in almost all the G-20 summits to deal with the global economic meltdown since 2008 and the Copenhagen Summit in December 2009.

The visit of India's then National Security Advisor Shiv Shankar Menon in July 2010 who was also India's Special Envoy on China was again an indication of shifting interests and ignoring the real issue, which is mostly to do with the border. Both the countries are aware about the importance of resolving the bilateral irritant but somehow it has lost the direction. During Menon's visit to China, the two countries had discussed about opening up of new areas of economic cooperation. It was mainly to do with working together in Afghanistan on infrastructure projects and also in developing the country's mineral resources.

It was made obvious by both the countries that they would work jointly in Afghanistan. Afghanistan has shown interest in both of them for taking help in developing its vast mineral resources. India has already invested more than $1.3 billion in infrastructure projects and in other areas in Afghanistan. China has already spent a far greater amount in tapping the mineral deposits of Afghanistan.

Conclusions

There is no doubt in saying that the levels of engagement between India and China have increased certainly to a greater extent. India, at the same time, requires adopting sophisticated approach to deal with the emerging strategic challenges emanating from China. Despite the fact that China has become increasingly assertive not only at the regional level but also at the global level, India has not shown any displeasure so far in strongest terms. The border dispute with China will not be resolved in near future

It is high time that both India and China should start emphasizing on resolving the real border issues so that the relationship gets a boost and which ultimately would forge a greater and friendly cooperation. India also requires taking pro-active measures in countering China across its borders. A new pragmatism with a combination of both realism and neo-realism would shape their view of each other. The neo-realist perspective of international relations, where maximization of interests becomes the key factor would guide India – China relations in the future. The emergence of China as India's biggest trading partner in the year 2008 signals that both the countries have been ushering into a new phase of relationship mostly guided by economic and commercial factors.

The signing of an Agreement on "Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for the Settlement of the Border Dispute", by both India and China has shown that both the countries are moving ahead in terms of reaching to a consensus on this major irritant. It has been also agreed that both sides would maintain peace and tranquility on the border. But, at the same, it requires careful assessment especially on the intent and declarations.

China has also been following the tenets of the 'Monroe Doctrine'. The attempt has always been to deny access to other powers in the region that it perceives as exclusively within its sphere of influence. Such Chinese actions have been damaging the interests of other regions especially to the countries in the East and South East Asia. Many of China's actions in this part of the world would require very careful handling by India. It may be important for India in the current context to understand China's intentions and fundamental goals. India will always promote constructive engagement with China and avoid any direct confrontation. It would also be in China's interest if it forges greater and robust partnership with India in the twenty-first century.

References

1. Chinese President Hu Jintao has emphasized that 'the good neighborly friendship and cooperation between China and India and their common development not only benefit our two peoples but also serve the cause of peace and development of Asia and the entire world.' It was reflected during Hu Jintao's visit to India in November 2006.

2. The Prime India recognized the People's Republic of China as the legitimate government of China on April 1, 1950.

3. During September 1959, India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru tabled the First White Paper on India-China relations. It contains notes, memoranda and letters exchanged between India and China between April 1954 and August 1959.

4. Both India and China entered into Panchsheel Agreement based on the following principles:

a) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;

b) Mutual non-aggression;

c) Mutual non-interference in each other's affairs;

d) Equality and Mutual Benefit; and e) Peaceful co-existence

5. In 1958, Chou En-lai formally laid China's claim to Arunachal in Eastern Sector and Aksai Chin in the Western Sector. It was a great surprise for India.

6. Despite the nine rounds of talks from 1981 to 1988, it became impossible for both the countries to reach to a conclusion. There was a consensus that the border question should not become a hindrance in the development of relations in a number of other domains including trade and commerce.

7. Five sub-groups were set up in a number of fields including scientific, technological, cultural and economic during Huang Hua's visit. It was done mostly to improve the atmosphere and inculcate positive mindsets in both the countries so that the process of economic interaction and exchange can soften the process of bilateral relationships.

8. In the meeting with Rajiv Gandhi, the then Chairman of China's Central Military Commission Deng Xiaoping remarked "Let us forget the unpleasant phase in our past relations and do everything with an eye on the future".

9. The reports appeared in Chinese media that the Chinese had built a helipad in the Sumdurong Chu valley in Arunachal Pradesh inside Indian Territory. It created lots of tension in India. It was reported in August 1986.

10. It was agreed that the Indian and Chinese army commanders would meet every June and October at fixed points on the western and eastern sectors. An India-China consular connection was also established with the opening of consulates in Bombay and Shanghai in April 1994.

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Mergers and Acquisitions

Eddie James Girdner*

Jed recalled his problems at Deniz University when he first arrived in the new job. Since there were not enough offices for the whole staff, most would have to share rooms. As it turned out, the science and engineering faculty had most of the real offices. Social science was lower ranked and the staff would have to share offices. It was suggested that partitions would be erected in the rooms for a little privacy but most did not see any point of it. Generally a classroom would be converted into an office and shared by three people. This was clearly a step down as Jed had always had his own office in other universities.

He cabbaged on to the desk on the farthest corner from the door, next to a big window, thinking that it could give him the most privacy. A small bookshelf and cabinet was provided next to the desk. He placed his name on the top of the desk and a couple of books to prevent someone else from claiming the space. Who would he have for roommates? He figured that there would be at least two. Perhaps the worst fate would be to get two women who talked continuously, never allowing the possibility of concentrating upon his work.

This situation was somewhat of a nuisance, but Jed considered also that there might be a positive aspect.

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If there was no peace and quiet for work in his office, he could always use it as an excuse to not be there. Generally, the small library was a quieter and a more pleasant place to sit down and think alone. And the students had little use for a library. They now cribbed everything from the Internet. Another aspect was that most of the faculty spent as much time as they could down in the tea room, when they did not actually have to teach classes. There they smoked continuously and drank cup after cup of tea to while away their time.

The other corner on the window side of the room would be occupied by Hatice Hanum. She was a middle aged associate professor who had come from a big university in the city. Exactly why, Jed did not know. Now in her fifties, she had developed a thick body and lost her looks. Ted saw her as friendly enough and welcome as a colleague, although it was clear that she was not an intellectual and he did not see her as a credible academic.

Jed's world view and hers could not have been more different. Teaching business courses, she was crass and insensitive to the core. She shared none of Jed's critical view of middle class society. She did not have a notion of a critical perspective on contemporary society. He could never take her seriously, just put up with her stupidity. That was what he thought. She was a climber, an opportunist,

grovelling for whatever would get her further ahead. It was not really money that she was after, Jed saw. She already had a rich husband. He was a businessman. What she really needed was to become a professor and perhaps a dean or even a rector of a university, if she could pull the right strings or make the right political connections. As far as being an academic, she didn't have the first notion of how to even form a paragraph of an academic article. Nor did she have the ideas and concepts from which to form it. There were many such as her in the pores of modern academia as the business model gained traction.

Jed settled down at his desk after lunch. Hatice settled down in front of her computer. Bringing something up on the screen, she suddenly let out a wild laugh. "My son is crazy," she said. "Zeki is coming next week from the US for two days. He is paying two thousand dollars for his apartment in San Francisco. And now he will have a job at M.I.T. Crazy! Crazy!"

"Jed, my son is a genius. He works on computers all the time. He has gotten so many offers. He has been offered thousands of dollars a month." It turned out that her son had been studying at UC Berkeley. She produced a picture of her son in cap and gown receiving his doctorate at the ceremony on campus. She could not get enough of dropping bombs about how much money he spent, how much money he made, what sort of genius he was and so on until Jed had had quite enough.

He also discovered something about her life style. She too made frequent trips to the US, she said, to see her dear genius son, and to shop. She loved shopping centers and shopping. She asked Jed about the shopping centers where he had lived in California. "I don't know," Jed said. "When I was a graduate student there, we didn't have any money, so we never went to them." The truth was that Jed had a strong gut hatred for shopping centers.

He found out that Hatice Hanim was living in a hotel, the most upscale in the city. The Hilton Tower Hotel. "I don't like to live in an apartment," she said. "My son said, Mom, don't rent an apartment. You should live in the Hilton Tower. My son is a genius. He is crazy."

So it turned out that she lived in the Hilton Tower, paying half of her salary every month to live there. It was part of a package deal. She stayed four days a week in the hotel, and took the plane back to the big city every Friday. Then back on Monday morning to arrive in the office in the afternoon.

"I go swimming every day. There is a weight room. My trainer makes me do exercises in the morning. I love shopping, Jed, I love shopping, I am crazy!"

"Jed. I want to show you my I-Pad. Jed I have all my books on my I-Pad. I have the Wall Street Journal and Time and the Herald Tribune. I have all the latest business books. Jed, you can download them free from a site. I will give it to you."

She marched in quick-step to the side of his desk. Jed saw her chubby stomach and fat breasts bouncing as she approached his desk and tried to divert his attention from the revolting spectacle. She stopped suddenly, aimed the pad at his face and clicked a picture of him. Appearing at his desk, she showed Jed his face on the screen, blown up to an obscene size. Jed was rather horrified. Why am I to be tortured like this? He thought. She laughed. "Jed, you need an I-Pad." She said. "You can write things on the screen and show it to your students. I will show you. I have all my research books here."

She opened a page. Ted saw little squares pop up, which were the covers of the books. All recent Wall Street publications for Wall Street jocks, nothing at all academic. He read: "How the Stock Market works." "How to make a Million Dollars in the Stock Market in a Month." "Managing for Power." "The Power Lunch." There were several more rows of such rot. Jed suddenly felt nauseous. "I can read them right here," Hatice croaked. She opened one of them. "Here, you can read it." No way, Jed thought.

It was the last thing Jed would have dreamed of doing, except in his worst night mare, or if he was being threatened to have his throat slit by the Taliban if he did not. "I will give you the websites," Jed. "You can download them." Right. Jed thought. It went on and on. Jed had wanted to use the time to look up some articles for background for a paper

that he had in mind about the ongoing slaughter of thousands in Iraq by the US bombing. Instead, Hatice Hanim kept up the drivel. Students came in. Then she talked to them chattering unnecessarily. After a bit, Jed was tired and decided to bail out for the day. There was a limit to how much he could take of this game.

One day Hatice Hanim brought up the topic of her research. It was actually the research of others but she was piggybacking on their work by adding her name. She needed publications. "Mergers and acquisitions. That's my field," she announced. "That's a good topic," Jed lied. He felt a little sick. "Jed, our paper has just been accepted by a prestigious journal," she lied. "It just needs some editing, some touching up. I have printed it out. You can be a co-author if you like." Jed declined. It was a topic that he might work on at some point, although he had no immediate interest in it. But he would not approach it from a business perspective.

It could be instructive if approached from a radical, perhaps Marxist perspective, he reflected. "You could be a co-author and help us publish it and get a publication in the social science research index," she said. Jed got her drift. But he didn't want his name on some shit-eating business screed. "That's OK," he offered generously, "I don't mind to help you on the paper but it's not really my subject. I wouldn't ask you to include my name on it." "That's great Jed," she said. She pulled out the print of the article which she had concealed on a shelf below her desk. There was a stack of pages thicker than Jed had bargained for. She plopped it down in front of him. The lines were single spaced. Not an easy form to edit.

"This, Jed," she said, indicating the beginning paragraph, "is a sort of introduction. Could you check the English?" The article had three authors. She was the third. Jed focused on the paragraph, attempting to read through it. His eyes froze halfway through the first sentence. In the next sentence, his brain locked up too. He tried reading it through again a couple more times. It was garbled, unintelligible and crap. He thought about what they were probably trying to say. Even straightened out

in logical English it would still be crap but nothing could be done about that.

"I think you should word it something like this," he said. He then rewrote the whole paragraph out at the top of the page. "Isn't this what you mean?" Hatice read through it slowly. It was straightforward and logical. Straightforward bullshit, clearly appropriate for a business journal. It would likely hook in any editor. "Yes, yes, that's what we were trying to say," she said. "I understand it even better now than before," she lied.

Ted saw that he would have to practically rewrite the whole paper to edit it. Reading through it, however, he saw that that would not solve the problem of the article. Leaving aside the fact that the whole approach was bullshit, no one could understand what the authors were trying to say, if anything. Editing could not solve that basic problem. There was no thesis. The authors were not saying anything, just stringing material along, as many academics were prone to do. Who cared what sort of crap they dished out?

Once the article appeared it added some more brownie points to their curriculum vita and that was the whole point of the exercise anyway. Academics had no intention of being accused of enlightening anyone in this day and age. Once the number of brownie points topped the magical number, they would be advanced a notch up the academic ladder to associate or full professor and get a bigger pay check and more prestige. Whatever they wrote or said then would carry more weight, regardless of its veracity. Especially if it lacked any veracity, Jed thought. The cardinal rule of a successful and prestigious academic – never let the truth spill out.

"OK, I better take it home and work on it in the evening." Jed said. "Jed, You're great." Hatice Hanim croaked. No, just a sucker, he thought. I should never have gotten myself into this and it is going to kill my evening as well. Several evenings, that along with the pain in the gut from trying to stomach such unadulterated business crap. So much for mergers and acquisitions, he thought.

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Constitutional Law on Secularism

Sandeep Chowhan*

[The Preamble to the Constitution of India signifies that India is a secular state. The Preamble reflects the way of life adopted by Indian citizens for themselves after independence. In fact, every civilization has also been a mirror of way of life as well as reflecting movement of human spirit. Religion in each civilization has indicated about the faith of human beings in absolute values and a way of life to realize them. Religious faith is continuously providing the passion to preserve in the way of life and if it declines, obedience degenerates into habit and habit slowly withers way. Therefore laws, customs, conventions and fashion etc. are not the only means of social control but the religion and morality also formulate and shape the human behavior. Religion and morality are the most influential forces of social control as well as the most effective guides of the human behavior.]

The social life of a man, in addition to its economics, political, philosophical, scientific and other aspects, has also religious aspects. Religion is the major concern of man. Man is always having religious quest which makes him able to become a restless creature even beyond the satisfaction of his physical needs. Religion revolves around man's faith in the supernatural forces. Religion is concrete experience which is associated with emotions, especially with fear, awe or reverence.

Many societies have a wide range of institutions connected with religion and a body of special officials, with forms or worship, ceremonies, sacred objects titles, pilgrimages, and the like. Looking at the definition of religion by Ogburn, "Religion is an attitude towards super human power", it may be submitted that religion explains the relation of man with god and also elaborate rules of conduct. Further, Max Muller defines, "Religion as a mental faculty or disposition which enables man to apprehend the infinite."

Max Muller has attempted to define religion as a matter of belief in supernatural forces. Man believes that he is at the mercy of the supernatural forces and shows his subordination to them by means of prayers, hymns, and other acts. Man believes that his disrespect and negligence towards religion would bring disaster so he is engaged in endless endeavour to adjust himself with the supernatural. He attempts to do only the acts which are righteous and sacred to please the supernatural. Behaving in accordance with the norms laid down by religion is righteous and going against them is 'sinful'.

Structural Characteristics of Secularism

If secularism has to be a process of overall development, it will have to be something much more than mere economic and technological development. Some of the structural characteristics which would be an internal part of secularism would be rational and emphasize upon cognition; scientific spirit; individualization and individualism; universalism and freedom, pluralistic loyalty such as those of caste, kinship, region, religion etc. rule of law; and achievement of ethics. These characteristics constitute an essential feature of modernization and secularism.

Is India a Secular State?

Looking at the various constitutional provisions, the answer is 'Yes'. The ideals of secular state have clearly been embodied under the Indian

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Constitution and provisions are being implemented in substantial measure. But the circumstances after independence have posed a challenge before secularism of India for a number of times. Sometimes it is also alleged that by Uniform Civil Code, the existence of minorities in India is in danger or it is an assault on the identity of minorities. India is still a traditional society that contains not one, but many traditions owing their origin in part to the different religions that exist here.

While India carries with it many traditions, it has managed to retain the secular character of its policy, while in many countries especially from the Third World, a secular authority has crumbled in face of conflicting traditions, In sum up, it may be submitted that it is beyond the scope of this paper to outline the implications of the conceptual failings of secularism in India; nonetheless we must attempt to raise issues and questions for continuing study of the problem. Clearly the judiciary in India is a significant site where contests under the banner of secularism have been taking place over the last fifty and odd year. Though the judiciary is trying to strike the balance in a harmonious way but the people of India should not forget the dream of framers of the Constitutions and the ancient philosophy of 'Sarva Dharma Sambhavah'.

Elements of Secularism

According to Donald Smith, upon closer examination it will be seen that the conception of a secular state involves three distinct but inter-related sets of relationship concerning the state, religion and the individual. These three sets of relation are:

- Religion and the individual [freedom of religion]

- The state and the individual [citizenship]

- The state and religion [separation of state and religion]

Having adopted this definition it may be noticed that the concept of secularism involves several elements, which are:

- One is that, every person must have the same rights as a citizen and must be entitled to the same basic human rights irrespective of the religion he professes and practices;

- There must be complete freedom of conscience, thought and belief and everyone should be entitled to profess and practice the religion of his own choice;

- And lastly, the state should not identify itself with any particular religion nor should it promote or support or discriminate in favour of any particular religion.

- Secularism and the Constituent Assembly Debates: Deliberate Omission

At the outset it must be pointed out that in the Constitution of India, as originally enacted, the word 'secular' did not appear in the Preamble to describe the character of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India, nor was the word 'secular' used in the relevant provisions of the Constitution which guarantee freedom of religion. The omission to use the word 'secular' was not accidental but deliberate. In the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, KT Shah made some attempts to introduce the concept of secularism by using the word 'secular' or 'secularism' in a suitable place.

The first of these amendments related to Article 1 of the Draft constitution which read: "India shall be a union of states" and the amendment sought to insert the words "secular, federal socialist" after the words "shall be a" in the said Article so that as amended that Article would have read: "India shall be a secular, federal, socialist union of states". The other amendment what KT Shah wanted to introduce was in the form of a new article and it read thus; "The state in India being secular shall have no concern with any religion, creed or profession or faith; and shall observe an attitude of absolute neutrality in all matters relating to the religion of any class of its citizens or other persons in the Union..."

Professor KT Shan tried a third time to get the said words incorporated through a third

amendment but failed. All these amendments proposed by KT Shan were opposed by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly and were ultimately rejected. A further proposal for incorporating the words "secularism" as part of the preamble was also rejected by the Constituent Assembly. Thus it is evident from the above paragraphs that the omission to include the word 'secular' was deliberate and not merely accidental.

Reason behind such Deliberate Omission

It seems that perhaps, the Constitution framers were apprehensive that if the words 'secular' or 'secularism' were introduced in the Constitution, they might unnecessarily bring in, by implication, the anti-religious overtone associated with the doctrine of secularism as it had developed in Christian countries. The Constitution makers might perhaps have felt that it was not necessary to use the word 'secular or 'secularism', particularly as it might give the impression of establishing a state structure inconsistent with the cultural ethos of Indian people.

The 42nd Amendment – Inclusion of the Word 'Secular' in the Preamble

During the Emergency imposed by the Government of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Preamble of the Indian Constitution was amended by the Constitution [Forty-Second Amendment] Act, 1976 so as to include the word 'secular' before the words "Democratic Republic". The Indian Republic at that time appeared to be undergoing communal strains and the word 'secular' was inserted to emphasize the secular character of the country.

Secularism and Judicial Observation

In ''St. Xavier's College v State of Gujarat, explaining the secular character of the Indian Constitution, the Supreme Court said:

"There is no mysticism in the secular character of the State. Secularism is neither anti- God nor

pro-God; it treats alike the devout, the antagonistic and the atheist. It eliminates God from the matters of the State and the ground of religion…"

In S.R. Bommai v. Union of India, a nine –Judge Bench referred to the concept secularism in the Indian context. According to SAWANT, J. "……religious tolerance and equal treatment of all religious groups and protection of their life and property and of the places of their worship are an essential part of secularism enshrined in our Constitution…"

"…while the citizens of this country are free to profess, practice and propagate such religion, faith or belief as they choose, so far as the state is concerned, i.e. from the point of view of the state, the religion, faith or belief of a person is immaterial. To it all are equal and all are entitled to be treated equally".

In Ismail Faruqui v. Union of India, VERMA, J., observed: "It is clear from the Constitutional scheme that it guarantees equality in the matter of religion to all individuals and groups irrespective of their faith emphasizing that there is no religion of the state itself. The Preamble of the Constitution read in particular with Articles 25-28 emphasizes this aspect and indicates that it is in this manner the concept of secularism embodied in the constitutional scheme…"

Secularism as a Basic Feature

In Kesavananda Bharti v. State of Kerala, the Supreme Court inter alia, held that secularism is one of the basic features of the Constitution (as per SIKRI, C.J., as he was then). In SR Bommai V.Union of India, the SC held that secularism is a basic feature of the Constitution.

Provisions Relating to Freedom of Religion: Application of Secularism in India

In the discussions of the 'secular' provisions of the Indian Constitution from the drafting stage onwards, this point has been made repeatedly clear, "When I say that a State should not identify itself with any particular religion. I do not mean to say that a State should be anti-religious or

irreligious. We have certainly declared India to be a secular State. But to my mind, a secular State is neither a God-less State nor an irreligious State."

Meaning of Religion

Before we go on discussing freedom of religion in India or application of secularism in India, we need to know meaning of the term 'religion'. The term 'religion' is not defined in the Constitution of India. According to Christopher Marlowe, "…religion is man's one true way to salvation, to righteousness and even to manhood…" According to Talcott Parsons, religion is a matter of "concern of the innermost core of the individual personality for his own identity and commitments".

In P.M.A. Metropolitan V. Moran Mar Marthoma, the Supreme Court observed:

"…religion is the belief which binds spiritual nature of men to super –natural being'. It includes worship, belief, faith, devotion etc. and extends to rituals. Religious right is the right of a person believing in a particular faith to practice it, preach it and profess it."

Article 25: Freedom of Conscience and Free Profession, Practice and Propagation of Religion.-

1. Subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of this Part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion.

2. Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State from making any law-

a. Regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice;

b. Providing for social welfare are reform or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of the Hindus.

Explanation 1:-The wearing and carrying of kirpans shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion.

Explanation 2:- In sub –clause(b) of clause (2), the reference to Hindus shall be construing as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jaina or Buddhist religion and the reference to Hindu religious institutions shall be construed accordingly.

Article 26. Freedom to manage Religious Affairs – Subject to public order, morality and health, every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have the right to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes;

● To manage its own affairs in matters of religion;

● To own and acquire movable and immovable property; and to administer such property in accordance with law.

Article 27. Freedom as to Payment of Taxes for Promotion of Any Particular Religion- No person shall be compelled to pay any taxes, the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or any religious denomination.

Article 28. Freedom as To Attendance at Religious Instruction or Religious Worship in Certain Educational Institutions-

1. No religious instruction shall be provided in any religious institution wholly maintained out of State funds.

2. Nothing in clause(1) shall apply to an educational institution which is administered by the State but has been established under any endowment or trust which requires that religious shall be imparted in such institution.

3. No person attending any educational institution recognized by the State of receiving aid out of State funds shall be required to take part in any religious instruction that may be imparted

in such institution or to attend any religious worship that may be conducted in such institution or in any premises attached thereto unless such person or, if such person is a minor, his guardian has given consent thereto.

Conclusion

In the light of the above discussion it can be concluded that secularism in India has assumed several forms or aspects and it has come to stand for all that trends to eliminate religion and caste as factors in political life; remove legal, economic or social inequalities based on religion or caste; ensure equal treatment by the state to various religious or sub –religious groups in the multi –religious society of India; and integrate various religious and caste groups into a single stream of national life.

In conclusion, the observation of the Supreme Court is worth mentioning, in Aurna Roy v. Union of India the Supreme Court observed that the concept of secularism is not endangered if the basic tenets of all religions all over the world are studied and learnt. Value –based education will help the nation to fight against fanaticism, ill-will, violence, dishonesty and corruption. These values can be inculcated if the basic tenets of all religions are learnt.

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Judiciary and Policy Process in India

Dr. Afifa Aisha Rahmat*

[*An independent and impartial judiciary plays a very important role in smooth functioning of a political system. The Indian judiciary has a unique position, under the Constitution, as an independent organ of State designed to provide a countervailing check on the functioning of the other two organs in their respective spheres. The three wings of any Government are the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. Legislature makes laws of land; executive is mainly concerned with the enforcement of laws and administration and judiciary guarantees justice and acts as the custodian of the Constitution.*]

A written and rigid Constitution cannot ensure a sufficient restrain on parliamentary majorities unless accompanied by an independent body (through judicial review) that can test the constitutionality of laws passed by the national legislature. If Parliament itself is the arbiter of the constitutionality of its own laws, it can easily be tempted to resolve any doubt in its own favor.[1]

Armed with the power to strike down executive, quasi-judicial and legislative actions as unconstitutional, the judiciary has, as the ultimate interpreter of Constitutional provisions[2], expounded the basic features of the Constitution of which the power of judicial review has been recognized as forming an integral part.[3] The

superior courts are empowered to declare a statute *ultra vires* of the Constitution and to nullify an executive action as unconstitutional.

These powers of judicial review are given not with a view to make the judiciary a supreme body superior to other wings of the constitutional framework, but to ensure a system of check and balance between the legislature and executive on one hand and judiciary on the other. The mechanism has been devised to function in such a way that the unconstitutional actions of one of the wings are corrected by the other and *vice versa*. It is not the purpose of judicial review to criticize legislative or executive actions, as the opposition is expected to fulfil this function in a democratic polity.

On the contrary, the judiciary's role is to review executive and legislative actions and declare

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whether those actions conform to the dictates of the Constitution of India. Justice A. S. Anand remarked: "The legislature, the executive and the judiciary are three coordinate organs of the State. All the three are bound by the Constitution. The minister representing the executive , the elected members of Parliament representing the legislature and the judges of the Supreme Court and the High Court representing the judiciary have all to take oaths prescribed by the Third Schedule of the Constitution . All of them swear to bear allegiance to the Constitution. When it is said therefore that the judiciary is the guardian of the Constitution, it is not implied that the legislature and the executive are not the equally armed to guard the Constitution. For the progress of nation, however, it is imperative that all the three wings of the State function in complete harmony".[4]

"A judicial decision either 'stigmatizes or legitimizes' a decision of the legislature or of the executive. In either case the court neither approves nor condemns any legislative policy, nor is it concerned with it wisdom or expediency, its concern is merely to determine whether the legislation is in conformity with or contrary of the provision of the Constitution it often includes consideration of the rationality of the Statute. Similarly, where the court strikes down an executive order, it does not in the spirit of confrontation or to assert its superiority but in discharge of its constitutional duties and the majesty of law. In all those cases, the court discharges its duty as a judicial sentinel".[5]

In India, the Supreme Court influences the public policy through the exercise of power of judicial review of legislative laws and executive actions, judicial review means the power of the courts to examine the constitutional validity of legislative and executive action of the Government. Judicial review may be defined as: "the power of a court to hold unconstitutional any law or official action that it deems to be in conflict with the basic law, or the Constitution."[6] Another scholar Hennery J. Abraham defines judicial review as "the power of any court to hold unconstitutional and hence unenforceable any law, any official action based upon it, and any illegal action by a public official that it deems to be in conflict with the basic law."[7]

The power of the judicial review flows from the power of the courts to interpret the Constitution. There are two models of judicial review[8]. One is technocratic model in which judges act narrowly and examine the validity of laws made by the legislature. In second model, the courts interpret the Constitution liberally and in the light of the spirit underlying it keeps the Constitution abreast of the time through dynamic interpretation.

The Supreme Court of India started off as a technocratic court in the 1950s, but slowly started acquiring more power through constitutional interpretation.[9] The Constitution provided for limited judicial review by saying in Article 13 of the Constitution that the State shall make no law that contravenes any provision of the parts of the Fundamental Rights, and if any such law is made or exists at the time of commencement of the Constitution it shall be void. The Supreme Court and High Courts are constituted as the protectors and guarantors of Fundamental Rights under Article, 32 and Art. 226.

One of the major instances of judicial activism in India was Keshwanand Bharti case, which overruled the decision given in Golakh Nath case and held that the amending power of Parliament cannot be limited by Fundamental Rights but also ruled that there are implied limits which could not be used to alter the basic structure of the Constitution. The theory of implied limits in the amending power with reference to the basic features of the Constitution propounded in Keshwanand case was the first great act of judicial activism by the Supreme Court of India.

By this decision the power of judicial review significantly increased. The Constitution confers power on the Supreme Court and High Courts to issue directions, orders or writs. The purpose of direction issued by courts is either to fill the gaps in legislation or to provide for matters that have not been provided by any legislation.

In Golakh Nath, Case, Subba Rao, C.J. explicitly claimed a law making role for the Supreme Court in the following words: "… Article 32, 141, and 142 are couched in such wide and elastic terms as to enable this Court to formulate legal doctrines to meet the end of justice. To deny this power to Supreme Court on the basis of some outmoded theory that the court only finds the law but does not make it, is to make ineffective the powerful instrument of justice placed in the hands of the highest judiciary of this country."[10]

In the case of *Vishakha v. State of Rajasthan* , reported in (1997)6 SCC 241, the Supreme Court lamented that the legislature had not brought in comprehensive legislation to deal with sexual harassment of women in the work place, and declared the law as follows : "in view of the above, and in the absence of enacted law to provide for the effective enforcement of the basic human right of gender equality and guarantee against sexual harassment and abuse, more particularly against sexual harassment at work place, guidelines and norms are hereby laid down for strict observance. This is done in exercise of the power available under Article 32 for enforcement of Fundamental Rights and it is further emphasised that this would be treated as the law declared by the Supreme Court under Article 141 of the Constitution of India."

This is a clear case of judicial legislation and usurpation of the power of legislation but ultimately it benefits people. When the legislature slumbers, judicial usurpation obtains legitimacy and approval from the general public. In *M.C. Mehta v. India* the Supreme Court gave directions for the protection of environment from pollution caused by the vehicular traffic and protecting people from road accidents. These directions laid downs that the vehicle should be equipped with speed control device, limits the maximum speed, of goods vehicle by 40 km/hr. driven by authorized driver, and should not overtake passengers vehicle. The court also laid down qualification of drivers of buses belonging to educational institutions used for transporting children.

The court issues direction to fill the vacuum left by the legislative or executive branch of the Government. And these directions of court could be replaced by the legislation of legislature or by the executive. In Bandhua Mukti Morcha[11], the court declared that the non-enforcement of welfare legislation like the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 and the Bonded Labor (Abolition) Act, 1976 would tantamount to "denial of the right to live with human dignity enshrined under Article 21 of the Constitution.

In the mid-90s, following a writ petition, the Supreme Court took cognizance of the growing mismanagement of hazardous waste and constituted a Committee to look into the problems and present the findings periodically for immediate and appropriate action. The committee recommendations include the need for immediate closure of industries operating without authorization or without having fulfilled the conditions under which the consent to operate was established; the development of clear mechanisms for improved implementation; the need for environmental protection authorities to adhere to the purposes of their creation and the creation of structures and agencies that would supplement or supervise in order to ensure implementation remains effectives.[12] The Committee concluded with a significant recommendation of setting up a monitoring Committee akin to the role of a 'project manager' to ensure that the tasks that required to be carried out time-bound and more importantly supervised.

Based on the report of the Committee, the Supreme Court passed a detailed order on the issue of implementation of hazardous waste management in October 2003. As recommended, the Supreme Court also constituted the Supreme Court Monitoring Committee (SCMC). The SCMC, while supervising the execution of the order passed directives from time to time to SPSBS on pressing issues – control of flaring by petrochemical plants in Manali industrial area (North Chennai), on closure of units in Cuddalore SIPCOT industrial area (Cuddalore, Tamil Nadu) or remediation/restoration orders pertaining to

the mercury pollution caused by a thermometer manufacturing plant[13] (Kodaikanal, Tamil Nadu), to name a few in the State of Tamil Nadu alone.

Further, the SCMC, in consonance with the order, directed the SPCBs to convene Local Area Environment Committees (LAECs) to assist in implementation at the level of the region (town, industrial State, industrial clusters or individual industries). These LAECs included members of the local communities, experts and NGO representatives and were meant to be 'eyes' and 'ears' of the SCMC in reporting mismanagement and violations.

Some decisions of judiciary may carry the risk of conflict with the executive or legislature. R.K. Barik has criticised the role judiciary assumes in policy making and argued that policy making is the exclusive domain of legislature or executive, and judges are neither elected nor accountable to the people, are trespassing into an area for which they are not qualified.[14] Earlier the then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had advised the judiciary not to go into policy-making after the top court had asked the Government to provide food grain to the poor free of cost instead of letting it rot in godowns.[15] The other two branches of Government are also restrained by the determination of constitutional provision by the judiciary.

In democratic society, there is a limit on the extent of Government's power. Such limits include periodic elections, civil rights, independent and impartial judiciary to protect the rights of the citizen and ensure the redressal of grievances against governmental action. The judiciary plays a significant role in the formation of social policies and laws regarding such matters as equal protection before law, corporations, employer-employee relation, status of women in society etc., which have been developed and applied by the courts in the shape of common law.

Anderson has stated that "not only are the courts getting involved but they are playing a more positive role in policy formation, specifying not only what Government cannot do but also what it must do to meet its legal or constitutional obligations."[16] The Indian courts are actively engaged in prescribing specific policies regarding public school, labour conditions and some welfare policies as well.

The Supreme Court cautioned High Courts against interfering with or quashing Cabinet decisions of State Governments on policy matters. "The decision of the Cabinet generally ought not to be interfered with in judicial review as lightly as has been done in the present case [in Himachal Pradesh]. The quashing of the Cabinet decision, without analyzing the pros and cons, in the manner [that] seeks to restrict the State's constitutional authority and powers to frame policy especially in such vital areas like imparting technical education is not acceptable," said a Bench of Justices P. Sathasivam and B.S. Chauhan.

Writing the judgment, Justice Sathasivam said: "The court does not substitute its views in the decision of the State Government with regard to policy matters. In fact, the Court must refuse to sit as appellate authority or super legislature to weigh the wisdom of legislation or policy decision of the Government unless it runs counter to the mandate of the Constitution."[17]

Justice A.K. Mathur and Justice Markanday Katju while deciding a case, made some stern remarks on the power of the judiciary and "judicial activism". A division Bench of the Supreme Court comprising the two judges said:

"If the judiciary does not exercise restraints and over stretches its limit, there is bound to be reaction from politicians and others. The politician will then step in and curtail the powers or even independence of the judiciary. The judiciary should, therefore, confine itself to its proper sphere, realizing that in a democracy many matters and controversies are best resolved in a non-judicial setting.

Expressing their apparent anguish over the judicial over reach, the judges further added: " … We are compelled to make these observations because we are repeatedly coming across

(instances) where judges are unjustifiably trying to perform executive or legislative functions. In our opinion, this is clearly unconstitutional. In the name of judicial activism judges cannot cross their limits and try to take over functions which belong to other organs of State"[18]

The Constitution in various places expressly confers upon the Indian judiciary the power to examine policy. The judiciary does not entertain challenges to a policy on the ground that it is unwise, but does not flinch from examining its legality where it trenches upon constitutional right or Rule of Law. Theoretically, though the judiciary is expected to adjudicate or evaluate the policies promulgated by the legislature or executive wing of the Government, it equally importantly checks excesses committed by the other two branches and enforces the rights of the people in case of default or distortion by the legislature and executive in the discharge of duties, using the power of judicial review.

The court attempts to strike a balance between remaining within its sphere of influence while continuing to ensure answerability and accountability of the organ of the state. Thus, the ordinary courts and the administrative tribunals have a creative role in the implementation of public policies.

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The Editor, Staff of the Journal, Authors, Reviewers and Readers
A Very Happy and Prosperous New Year

Empowering Rural Women via Microfinance

Dr. Prakash Kattimani*

[*Microfinance refers to small savings, credit and insurance services extended to socially and economically disadvantaged segments of society. It is emerging as a powerful tool for poverty alleviation in India. Microfinance program in India is growing rapidly and receiving increasing attention from the financial institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the Government, as an instrument that can transform lives of the poor. Microfinance is considered as a development tool to alleviate poverty in Asian, African and South American countries.]*

Microfinance gives quick and tangible results to the poor people, especially women. Empowerment refers to increasing the economic, political, social, educational, gender, or spiritual strength of an entity or entities. Microfinance can be called a novel approach to provide saving and investment facility to the poor around world. Improved access and efficient provision of savings, credit, and insurance facilities in particular can enable the poor to smooth their consumption, manage their risks better, gradually build their asset base, develop their business, enhance their income earning capacity, and enjoy an improved quality of life.

Until the recent past, women in rural India usually lived in virtual isolation, unable to access even the most basic of services. But, with the formation of Women's Self-Help Groups, these women are now achieving social and physical mobility. It is recognized that while the empowerment of women is a process that will not happen automatically, SHG is a suitable means for the empowerment of women. The impacts of SHGs on socio-economic status of women were found significant. Microfinance programs like the SHGs in India have been promoted for their positive economic impact and the belief that they empower women. Micro finance for the women has gained importance because of the fact that it leads mainly to women's empowerment and this gradually helps in poverty reduction. Microfinance programs like the SHGs in India have been promoted for their positive economic impact and belief that they empower women.

Microfinance

Microfinance is the provision of financial services to low income clients who traditionally lack access to banking and related services. It helps in reaching out to the vulnerable segments of the society like women SCs and STs, which are outside the purview of formal institution. Dr Yunus had set up Grameen Bank as a project in one of the village in Bangladesh in 1976 to assist poor families by providing credit to them. There are classified microfinance institutions such 1. Domestic Commercial Banks and it is including Public sector, Private sector and local Banks. 2. Regional Rural Banks. 3. Co-operative Banks. 4. Co-operative Societies. 5. Registered NBFIs. 6. Unregistered NBFls. 7. Others include Societies and Trusts.

Today micro-finance has been widely spread all over the world as an effective tool to poverty eradication. Today agencies like Government as well as Non-government Organizations are involved in micro-finance development initiatives. Features of Microfinance are as follow:

● Borrowers are from the low income group

● Loans are of small amount called as micro loans

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- Short duration loans

- Loans are offered without Collateral

- High frequency of repayment

- Loans are generally taken for income generation purpose

Growth of Microfinance in India

Poverty alleviation has been one of the guiding principles of the planning process in India. Government has considerably enhanced allocation for the provision of education, health, sanitation and other facilities which promote capacity building and well being of the poor. The Indian government puts emphasis on providing financial services to the poor and under-privileged since independence. The commercial banks were nationalized in 1969 and were directed to lend 40% of their loan at concessional rate to priority sector. The priority sector included agriculture and other rural activities and weaker section of society in general. The aim was to provide resources to help the poor to start their micro enterprise to attain self sufficiency.

The government of India had also launched various poverty alleviation programs like Small Farmers Development Scheme (SFDS) 1974-75, Twenty Point Programme (TPP) 1975, National Rural Development Programme (NRDP)1980, Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)1980,Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP)1983, Jawhar Rozgar Yojna (JRY)1989, Swarna Jayanti Gram Swarojgar Yojana(SGSY)1999 and many other programs. Government tries to help them by way of subsidies and other help but these initiatives hardly reduce their poverty levels and are not a long-term solution. This section of society, if given with guidance, power of capital and productive assets can emerge as the successful entrepreneur. This can easily be achieved by empowering them with power of microcredit.

India's development planning has always aimed at removing inequalities in the process of development, recognizing that women lag behind due to several socio economic, cultural and political factors and the five year plans have been paying attention to women's welfare, female education, and their access to resources and empowerment.

Empowerment

Empowerment literally means making someone powerful; facilitating the weak to attain strength, enabling someone to confront injustice and oppression. Empowerment is a process which makes the powerless to acquire and control over power through awareness, capacity building, participation in decision making, acquiring information, attaining confidence and self employment.

Microfinance and Women Empowerment

Micro-finance programmes not only give women and men access to savings and credit, but reach millions of people worldwide bringing them together regularly in organized groups. Majority of microfinance programmes focus women with a view to empower them. There are varying underlying motivations for pursuing women empowerment. Some argue that women are amongst the poorest and the most vulnerable of the under-privileged and thus helping them should be a priority.

Self-help groups intermediated by microcredit have been shown to have positive effects on women, with some of these impacts being ripple effects. In recent years microfinance has spread throughout India, making an impact on the lives of the poor by providing them with microcredit to start their own small businesses, so they can generate income and provide for their families. Many of these loans are distributed to women in rural areas providing them with tools to become self-sufficient and independent.

Microfinance programmes are currently being promoted as a key strategy for simultaneously addressing both poverty alleviation and women's empowerment. Where financial service provision leads to the setting up or expansion of micro-

enterprises there are a range of potential impacts including:

1. Increasing women's income levels and control over income leading to greater levels of economic independence.

2. Access to networks and markets giving wider experience of the world outside the home, access to information and possibilities for development of other social and political roles.

3. Enhancing perceptions of women's contribution to household income and family welfare, increasing women's participation in household decisions about expenditure and other issues and leading to greater expenditure on women's welfare.

4. More general improvements in attitudes to women's role in the household and community.

In rural areas the women micro entrepreneurs continue to produce the traditional designs for local markets. Women in SHGs produce a large variety of essential products, village crafts and homemade snack foods. Many are engaged in retail trading of groceries and textiles. These enterprises represent a substantial supply resource for semi-urban and urban markets. SHGs are also viable organized set up to disburse micro credit to the needy entrepreneur women and encouraging their promotion of poverty alleviation activities and programmes.

Vast sections of the rural poor are even now deprived of the basic amenities, opportunities and oppressed by social customs and practices. Several programmes were implemented by various governments and nongovernmental organizations to uplift them both economically and socially. It has been an accepted premise that women were not given enough opportunities to involve themselves in the decision making process of the family as well as in the society.

Microfinance and women's empowerment: virtuous spirals

Source:http://www.google.co.in/imgres?imgurl=&imgrefurl=http%3A%2
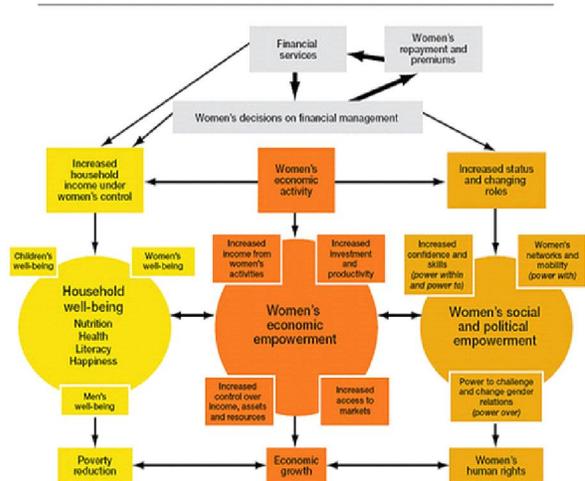
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Micro finance as a tool of poverty reduction and women's economic empowerment is gaining an extensive recognition. Micro finance in India is playing an important role in introducing several innovative financial services to the poor. The role of microcredit directed by the SHG's movement in empowerment of women is gaining recognition. Microfinance is helping women in economic roles by empowering them. MFIs are considering women as a preferred client because their income benefits their families in terms of health, education and wellbeing.

Microfinance and Interventions

There are currently a few social interventions that have been combined with micro financing to increase awareness of HIV/AIDS. Such interventions like the "Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity" (IMAGE) which incorporates micro financing with "The Sisters-for-Life" program a participatory program that educates on different gender roles, gender-based violence, and HIV/AIDS infections to strengthen the communication skills and leadership of women. "The Sisters-

for-Life" program has two phases where phase one consists of ten one-hour training programs with a facilitator with phase two consisting of identifying a leader amongst the group, train them further, and allow them to implement an Action Plan to their respective centers. In India various NGOs, Microfinance institutions, Government and SHGs are taking vital role for empowering the women in rural area.

Future of Microfinance and Empowering Women

Developing women's leadership is important to deliver the promise of microfinance in alleviating poverty in the continent. Increasing women representation in microfinance and helping women develop the leadership skills to become innovators in their sector is the key to moving microfinance to a new level.

Barriers to the empowerment of women

Many of the barriers to women's empowerment and equity lie ingrained in cultural norms. Many women feel these pressures, while others have become accustomed to being treated inferior to men Even if men, Legislators, NGOs, etc. are aware of the benefits women's empowerment and participation can have, many are scared of disrupting the status quo and continue to let societal norms get in the way of development. Research shows that the increasing access to the Internet can also result in an increased exploitation of women.

Releasing personal information on websites has put some women's personal safety at risk. In 2010, Working to Halt Online Abuse stated that 73% of women were victimized through such sites. Types of victimization include cyber stalking, harassment, online pornography, and flaming. Recent studies also show that women face more barriers in the workplace than do men. Gender-related barriers involve sexual harassment; unfair hiring practices, career progression, and unequal pay where women are paid less than men are for performing the same job. Such barriers make it difficult for women to advance in their workplace or receive fair compensation for the work they provide.

Suggestion to Meet Challenges

Developing women's leadership is important to deliver the promise of microfinance in alleviating poverty in the continent. Increasing women representation in microfinance and helping women develop the leadership skills to become innovators in their sector is the key to moving microfinance to a new level. There are several restriction related to the growth of women empowerment in India, still these can be resolved, if Micro Finance providing Institution focuses on the following points.

- Enhance basic education and literacy programs for women in rural area.

- Recognizing and esteeming women's activities, talents and priorities and provide training related to the business.

- Develop effective structures for participative management and directing women towards work life balance and quality of work life

- Motivate women to develop leadership quality and enhancing the abilities of women to use specific technologies for which finance is required, formation of groups, and provide marketing information to have awareness of the market.

Conclusion

Microfinance can prove to be an important tool for women empowerment. The high illiteracy rate among women in India requires governments and microfinance institutions to be proactive in organizing forums for educating women about their rights. However, social backwardness, indebtedness and presence of other microcredit programs in the same or nearby villages have a significant positive influence on women's participation in empowerment.

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Women's Political Participation in Uttarakhand

Nibha Rathi* & M.M. Semwal**

[Women form the axis of any society and as such have an important role to play in every realm of life-be it social, economic or political. India, as a democratic country, ensured voting rights for women as early as in the 1stLoksabha polls held in 1951-52, on the basis of gender equality. Yet, ironically, women's participation in the politics in our country is negligible even today and on this count we rank amongst the worst faring countries in the world. In this research paper an attempt has been made to highlight women's participation in the political process in India since ancient times with special emphasis on the state of affairs in the hill state of Uttarakhand.]

Raison d'être behind creation of Uttarakhand as a separate state was development or rather lack of it. Development and equality go hand in hand. Without equality there can be no development be it in Uttarakhand or, for that matter, anywhere else. Equality here means removal of disparities between men and womenfolk. For removal of disparities women need to be as active in political matters as in economic ones. Their participation in political process is absolutely essential for achieving this goal. Political participation by the masses is a collection of activities that forms the basis of lawmaking. Activities that directly influence or are aimed at influencing the results in a political system may be termed as political participation[1].

Political participation ensures removal of inequality between the ruler and the ruled. According to McLosky, political participation is the medium in a democracy through which a mandate is granted or cancelled and rulers are made answerable to the ruled.[2]

Political development is a corollary of political participation. During the course of political development masses are closely associated with politics in modern political system. They convey their views and demands to the government and lend validity to its programs and policies through the process of political participation. Equality occupies the central place in political development which means the process that empowers the ruled to become a citizen and participate in the activities of governance on an

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equal footing. Women's participation in politics is indispensable in this context3.

If we analyze the political scenario of India we are struck by the near absence of women. Obviously women are lagging far behind their male counterparts in the area of political development. Before they can be a partner in overall development, it is obligatory that they are given their due in politics and power[4].

An analysis of Rigvedic and later Vedic era from sociological viewpoint reveals deep changes in the position, existence and social life of women in the post-Vedic era. In Rigvedic period women's place in the family and the society was quite honorable but by the time of later Vedic era, the society had turned into a male dominated one[5], (reveals a downward journey for women as far as their position and place in the society is concerned. A woman's existence and her social life undergo deep changes in the later Vedic era where we can see the ushering in of a male dominated society as compared to Rigvedic era during which women held a respectable place in the society.)

Politically women held a high place in the Rigvedic era when three types of assemblies were functional- Sabha; Samiti & Vidath. Sabha was the assembly of the rural folk while Samiti was basically a traders' assembly. But the most important political assembly was Vidath which was represented in equal proportion by the men as well as the womenfolk. But later Vedic era witnessed a steady decline in women's position when they were debarred along with "Sudras" from studying Vedic scriptures and their entry in Vidath was prohibited.

Their position improved again during Magadh empire which may be linked to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. Their position remained somewhat intact till the advent of Sultanate period when a sizeable portion of Indian subcontinent was under Muslim rule and in spite of general atmosphere being that of religious fundamentalism; Razia Sultan managed to ascend to the throne of Delhi who was the first and the last female ruler of Delhi Sultnate[6].

The most visible decline in women's position set in during the middle ages. It was not until the ushering in of the modern age, when owing to untiring efforts of our great reformers, women's uplift programmes were launched. Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 and it carried forward the work of women's upliftment side by side with its political agenda. When Annie Besant became the president of the INC in 1917 it fuelled a new wave of consciousness among the educated women of India. It was during this period that Sarojini Naidu and Amman Bibi occupied their place in the forefront of National Movement. In addition to these personalities Vijaya Laxmi Pandit, Kasturba, Hansa Mehta, Aruna Asaf Ali, Kamla Devi Chattopadhyay and many others also actively participated in politics and ensured a place for women in National Renaissance[7].

Credit is given to Annie Besant for her advocacy to ensure voting right for women in India. When South Bora Commission visited India in 1919 to discuss the issues of Universal Adult Franchise, a delegation of Indian women led by Annie Besant met the commission to press for the voting rights to Indian women. About the same time the British Parliament had legislated women's franchise a matter of domestic legislation for India[8].

Spread of political consciousness among women in real sense took place only after independence of the country. During the last three decades, women's participation in the political process has grown phenomenally. Today, it has become even more imperative for women to increase their numbers in the legislative assemblies and the parliament to the maximum to solve their innumerable problems as well as to increase their share in the governance and the power structure of the country.

In democracy, the real power is vested in the hands of people but questions which are raised in the parliament in parliamentary system of democracy have to be answered and explained by the concerned minister as to what steps have been taken by the government to resolve the issue.

This is why politically aware and active women have been demanding 33% reservation for women in the legislature in the 21st century because it is only pressure politics that works in a democracy. When more and more women reach the legislature, the government will be forced to listen to their voice and pay attention to their problems and suggestions. The government will be in no position to ignore the issues raised by women parliamentarians[9].

Political Participation by Women in India

So many women's conferences are held in India but their share of participation in the political process is considerably low. In spite of great hue and cry being raised from every quarter to press for women's representation there has been no increase in their representation in the parliament or the legislative assemblies. Women's Reservation Bill that intended to reserve seats for women in the parliament and state assemblies could not be even tabled in the parliament due to gender bias and prejudice of the political parties and the politicians.

This is the first instance in the history of Lok Sabha when a bill has been pending for such a long period. Besides, there are other social and political obstacles that deter women from active participation in politics. Inadequate training and lack of social interaction weakens their ability to communicate effectively which in turn also acts as an obstacle to their entry into politics[10].

If we discuss the level of women's participation in politics in various Indian states, we find out that their presence in different state assemblies is rather negligible. As per statistics released by the Election Commission of India, out of 294 seats in the West Bengal assembly, women candidates were elected on 34 seats only, which make it 12%. In Bihar, the position is slightly better with 34 women candidates being elected against the total number of seats-243. In Andhra Pradesh also it is the same story with 34 women candidates being elected in the house of 294 members. The worst position is probably reflected in the most populous state of Uttar Pradesh where women represent only 32 seats in a house of 403 members which makes it a measly 8%. Number of women legislatures in three small Indian states- Mizoram, Nagaland and Pondicherry is zero, which should be a matter of greatest concern.

Political Participation by Women in Uttarakhand

Uttarakhand was carved out of Uttar Pradesh as the 27th state of the Indian Union on 9th November 2000. Women, known as "Matrishakti" were in the forefront of the agitation that swept through the hilly regions of Uttar Pradesh for creation of the separate state of Uttarakhand. Women belonging to this area have traditionally been active on social and political issues even before creation of this new state.

Besides political issues, women have strongly expressed their concern on the matters of social relevance- be it the anti-liquor agitation of "Tinchari Mai" in the 1960s or the "Give us Employment and not Intoxicants" movement or the world famed save the trees "Chipko Movement" for environment protection, women's role in all such movements of socio-economic importance has been a leading one in Uttarakhand, which bears testimony to their awareness and concern.

Development of the state of Uttarakhand is also closely linked with women's participation. Genuinely people- oriented and long-term development of the state is not possible until women are adequately represented in the state legislature. The major workforce in the state of Uttarakhand is women so it is only natural that women have an adequate knowledge and understanding of social, economic and political concerns of the state[11].

During the last assembly elections of Uttarakhand in 2012, role of women in the electoral process had been quite significant. Out of total 70 seats in the assembly, 13 seats were reserved for SC, 02 for ST, thus leaving 55 for the general category candidates. 45 general category; 15 SC category

and 03 ST category women contested the polls on seats belonging to respective categories in these elections but unfortunately only 05 women could emerge victorious[12].

Participation of Women at Different Levels of Legislature in Uttarakhand

Women's aspiration for political intervention is growing increasingly as they come across the fact that in a democratic set up a person or a group of persons can solve its problems only through political representation[13]. That is why women are striving today to move ahead in the political arena right from the Panchayat level to the Parliament level.

As table 1.1 shows, women in Uttarakhand are gradually trying to increase their level of political participation. Political parties have an

Table 1.1

Representative Body	No. of Women Representatives
Parliament	01
State Assembly	05
Gram Pradhan (Village Head)	3650
Kshetra Panchayat	1566
Zila Panchayat	198
Nagarpalika	22

important role to play in this regard. They took a commendable step in this direction by giving away tickets to women candidates for contesting assembly elections.

Position of Women Candidates in Uttarakhand Assembly Elections 2012

Table 1.2

Sl. No.	Particulars	Women	Men	Others	Total
1.	Total Candidates	63	724	1	788
2.	Candidates Elected	05	65	0	70
3.	Candidates losing their deposit	47	566	1	614

Source: Election Commission of India: Uttarakhand Assembly Elections 2012

Table 1.3

Sl. No.	Name of the Political Party	No. of Women Candidates fielded
1.	Indian National Congress	08
2.	Bharatiya Janata Party	07
3.	Communist Party of India	01
4.	Bahujan Samaj Party	02
5.	Samajwadi Party	03
6.	Lok Janshakti Party	04
7.	Rashtravadi Congress Party	02
8.	Janata Dal (United)	02
9.	Regional Parties	04
10.	Independents	30
	Total	63

Source: Election Commission of India: Uttarakhand Assembly Elections 2012

If we look at the statistics given in Table 1.2 and 1.3, it can be surmised that the number of women candidates participating in Uttarakhand Assembly elections is somewhat satisfactory. Contents of Table 1.3 reveal that at least a beginning has been made by the regional and national level political parties to encourage the participation of women in politics through distribution of tickets.

Indian National Congress, the major political party of India in 2012, gave away 08 assembly

tickets to women contestants against its earlier practice. Not wanting to be left far behind, BJP, the opposition party in Uttarakhand, fielded 07 women candidates in assembly elections. But the major chunk of women candidates- 30 out of 63 contested on their own as independent candidates. The situation may not look very rosy or desirable but a positive trend pointing towards increasing participation of women in the political process as well as representation in the state is probably too obvious to miss.

Table 1.4

Performance of Winning Women Candidates in Assembly Elections 2012

Sl. No.	Constituency	Candidate	Party	Votes Polled	Result
1.	Kedarnath	Shailarani Rawat	INC	19960	Elected
2.	Yamkeshwar	Vijaya Barthwal	BJP	13842	Elected
3.	Nainital(SC)	Sarita Arya	INC	25563	Elected
4.	Haldwani	Indira Hridyesh	INC	42627	Elected
5.	Ramnagar	Amrita Rawat	INC	23851	Elected

Source: Election Commission of India: Uttarakhand Assembly Elections 2012

Contents of Table 1.4 reveal that out of 63 women contestants only 05 managed to win their seats. This situation is indicative of the fact that even though women are quite eager for active political participation, they are yet to win the confidence of the state's electorate. Their representation in the state legislative assembly is just 7% which is not laudable. On the other hand their participation in the electoral process as voters is growing quite appreciably and may be considered as the right step in the direction of women's empowerment. The rising voting percentage of women in the state is not only a commendable trend, it may also be indicative of their growing desire to have an increased share of participation in the political affairs of the state.

Voting Pattern of the Women Voters in Uttarakhand Assembly Elections 2012

Table 1.5

Particulars	Male	Female	Others	Total
No. of Registered Voters	3352984	3024946	0	6377330
Votes Polled	2159501	2060193	0	4219694
Voting Percentage	64.41%	68.12%	0%	66.17%

Contents of Table 1.5 reveal that participation of women in the electoral process as voters in comparison to their male counterparts is much higher in percentage terms in the Uttarakhand assembly elections. Their voting percentage of 68.12 as compared to 64.41 of male voters is indicative of a healthy trend. It also shows that awareness among women voters regarding their voting rights is much more than male voters. In spite of being outnumbered by their male counterparts by 0.33 million they polled only 0.09 million less votes. Coupled with their higher voting percentage, the data given in Table 1.4 indicates that women's participation in the political process of Uttarakhand, at least in the capacity of a voter, has truly come of age.

In the light of above facts, we may conclude that women's participation in the political process

in Uttarakhand is increasingly getting stronger. Prior to 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, women's presence in the politics of Uttarakhand was only exceptional. But once these amendments became law, not only their participation and representation increased in local bodies and Panchayats, they also started realizing that their enhanced representation in the political arena holds the key to resolution of many women related issues.

At the same time it becomes a responsibility of the NGOs and women's organizations operating in Uttarakhand to embark upon an aggressive campaign to spread awareness among women and field common candidates in elections. Additionally, there must be an initiative for political education of women so that they feel empowered and capable enough to assume leadership of the womenfolk in the state. Historically women have been quite active and vocal on socio-political issues in Uttarakhand but what is imperative today is to educate them in modern political process and increase their numbers in the legislature.

50% reservation for women in Panchayats has undoubtedly led to their enhanced participation in politics but in real terms their socio-economic condition remains pathetic even today. In order to improve their condition it is absolutely necessary to change the prejudiced mindset of the male-dominated society. Besides, the current political environment which has become synonymous with criminalization, black money and character assassination must also be cleansed so that women can feel safe and are encouraged to their level of participation in politics without any fear or uncertainty[14].

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Bodo Movement *vis-à-vis* Telengana Movement

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[*The Government of India, in the long run, accorded its approved to the creation of Telangana as a separate state. At present, besides union territories, Indian territorial union is divided into 29 states. After a tumult agitation in the name of 'Joy Telengana' which started from 1969, although the demand for separation was raised in 1952, the people of Telengana have been able to reach their destination. Historical evidences reveal that peaceful or violent and relentless agitation, protests like fasting etc. are inevitable for attaining success in such a liberal democracy like India which is mostly populated by multicultural as well as multilingual and multi-religious inhabitants from the time immemorial. It has successfully happened to the people of Telengana which can be recognized as new 29th state constituting 10 districts of the entire Andhra Pradesh. But it cannot be ascertained whether or how much the inhabitants of the very new state would come to develop themselves or be benefitted in all aspects or to what extent, they feel satisfied either spiritually or mentally. All this will be experienced later in days to come.*]

In the context of Telengana, the attempt of mine is to focus on the theme of Bodoland for which the people belonging to Bodo community have been launching unbridled boisterous movement since 1967 when the first memorandum incorporating the aims and purpose was submitted to the Central Government. The prime issues which can be drawn as aims and purposes envisaged in the memorandum are: alienation, unemployment, exploitation and preservation of tribal language, culture, customs and traditions. The memorandum contained seventeen chapters and eleven appendices.

In short, it was written about the Plain Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) which has been constituted to secure justice in all matters i.e. social, economic and political for the promotion and welfare of the Scheduled Tribes living in the plain districts of Assam. So far as the language is concerned, the members of PTCA want Hindi to be the state language and demand mother tongue to be the language for instruction in the primary level.

In 1986, the charge of the movement was taken over by All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) as the previous political organization submitted another memorandum to the Prime Minister of India on 22 January 1987, raising some issue like Assamisation policy of the Assam Government, Anti-tribal attitude, repressive behaviour of the State Government and exploitation by non-tribal. These aims and purposes have made them to demand a separate state i.e. Bodoland. In a nutshell, the aims and purpose of Bodoland can be brought under the subheads of identity, authority and freedom.

Identity

Identity is now a common purpose which causes to grow a separatist attitude in the minds of the Bodos. The Bodo people want to ensure their own identity. In fact, it has been emphasized to widely accept the view that the Bodos were the aboriginal earliest inhabitants of Assam. In greater sense, Bodos comprise not only the people known today as the Bodos but also those communities like Dimasa, Rabha, Deori, Lalung, Tiwa, Madani, Morang, Hajong, Tippera and Mahalia.

Authority

Bodo people have been longing for the authority from the Central Government through the Government of Assam under Sixth Schedule and as per accorded, the Bodo Tribal Council is

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authorized to exercise the power to rule over themselves.

Freedom

Freedom needs nomenclature for separate homeland which claimed to be adequate and so the Bodo people proposed separate Bodoland although regarding names of the territory, different agitating groups made four options i.e. Udayachal, Mishing-Bodoland, Tribal land and Bodoland. But finally the All Assam Bodo Student Union (ABSU) rejected all the names and chose 'Bodoland'. Freedom is essentially required for the land covering the total area of 25, 478 Sq. Km.

From the historical experiment, it can explicitly be said that without factors or causes, no movement takes place. Bodo movement is also not an exception. The important factor which led to the growth of this movement is mainly exploitation by others on religious, linguistic, socio-cultural, economic and political matters.

Exploitation on Religion

Religious movement which was founded by Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma played an important role in the establishment of unity, integrity among different sections of the people. He preached Brahma Dharma, socio-religious reform movement which ultimately spread all over India under different leaders. After Kalicharan Brahma, the succeeding leaders of this religious movement were quite successful in their mission. Bodo people too marched towards the movement for the reconstruction and establishment of community, identity, development of language, literature etc. Kalicharan Brahma devoted his life for restructuring the Bodo society through Brahma Dharma movement.

Exploitation on Language

The resolution to the effect that in all educational institutions under the purview of two existing Universities in Assam, the medium of instruction should be Assamese, adopted by the Assam Legislative Assembly on 23rd of September 1972, had an adverse impact on the Bodo people who considered it dictatorial and unilateral. Such a resolution had made think that they have often been repressed and reproached. Their mother language seemed to have menaced as well as mitigated by domination of the Assamese medium.

In 1952, there was formed Bodo Sahitya Sabha (BSS) which attributed three main objectives to reach. They are: a) creation of common Bodo language and literature by synthesizing Dimacha, Kok-Brook and Bodo languages, b) up-gradation of Bodo as the medium of instruction and c) development of Bodo culture and construction of Bodo nationality through literary works.

Exploitation on Socio-Cultural aspects

From historical evidence, it can be ascertained how a homogenous, egalitarian and archaic community of people through the process of Sanskritization and upward social mobility, gradually transformed into a number of social groups with the feeling of opposition to each-other's superiority and inferiority. Inequality in caste and tribe system leads to untouchability especially at the bottom of its hierarchy and the idea of purity and pollution is loosely maintained among them.

In fact, Bodos and other tribes of Bodo family at the bottom have been victimized as untouchable. For instance, in the hierarchy of Bodo tribes, Khena is at the bottom while Brahmin at the top. The other people of Bodo family in ascending order are Sarania, Pani Koch, Soru Koch, Bor Koch, Rajbongshi, Kalita and Mahanta nest to Brahmin. Divide and rule policy leads to the caste and tribal inequality and cultural exploitation. It tries to alienate the Bodo people from the mainstream of the society of Assam. Hence, with a view to saving their culture and heritage, the Bodo people had to confine themselves to their own social as well as cultural periphery and leading movement.

Exploitation on economic and political aspects

Another important factor is the policy of isolation which is considered a kind of exploitation.

During the British rule, the dominant Hindu community strongly advocated the policy of assimilation as the process of nation building. But unfortunately, the British Government followed the policy of isolation in regard to the protection of small tribes and ethnic groups. At that time, other tribal area the free entry of the non-tribal people was restricted. But with the implementation of 'Grow more food campaign', the access of non-tribal people was allowed in certain areas for clearing forest land for agricultural purpose. After the abolition of line system, modified version of Land Revenue Regulation was passed by the Assam Assembly and with this regulation the Tribal Belts and Blocks were created for their self protection and preservation.

But during the post-independence era, the Government like an agent took initiative for eliminating the tribal Belts and Block areas. Moreover, rehabilitation of unauthorized refugees has occupied the tribal land which posed a great threat to the native Bodo land. But the Government took no step to prevent such illegal encroachment for its vested political interest. Further, Government also imposed many taxes on the tribal people which crushed them. Amidst these activities of the Government, the policy of divide and rule had come to light. In the wake of this type of discrimination, indifference and inequality meted out to the Bodo people, they exerted their struggle to have equality and stepped up their demand for political autonomy.

After the age-long tumult agitation, there had a series of talks by the Central Government with the help of the Government of Assam making an effort to fulfill the aspirations of the Bodo people in respect of their cultural identity, language, education and economic development. The talks finally resulted in the creation of an autonomous self-governing body known as Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) formed under the sixth schedule of the Constitution of India.

This body aims to fulfill economic, educational and linguistic aspirations, to preserve land rights, socio-cultural and ethnic identity of the Bodos and also to speed up the infrastructural development. So far as powers and functions of the Council are concerned, it has legislative, executive, administrative and financial powers on various subjects of its own jurisdiction although the status of their Bodo land is unlike that of Telengana.

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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*

CSR and Inclusive Social Development

Priya Dahiya* & Rinki Dahiya**

[*Corporate social responsibility (CSR) deals with the motivation and encouragement to take up socially responsible activities that will improve the economic and ethical standards. Companies should make sure that environment is no way affected by executing their business activities. Another dimension for CSR is to go beyond everyone's expectation in giving back to society. This will display the commitment made by the company to serve its employees and the common public. This is a popular practice in the Western countries. However, it is still in nascent stage in India. Though, the industries grow by a double digit ratio every year, there are several problems like illiteracy, poverty, lack of basic amenities etc. Government cannot eradicate all these problems at once and people need help from such companies also. This article tries to examine these aspects by providing a brief introduction of CSR, argument in favor and against and implementation of it. We strongly believe that a careful study of the various dimensions of CSR would contribute to the process of strengthening and fine-tuning the CSR initiatives that are still in a fledgling state in our country.]*

Corporate social responsibility (CSR, also called corporate responsibility, corporate citizenship, responsible business and corporate social opportunity) is based on the idea that business has obligation beyond earning profits. A corporation is responsible not only to its shareholders but to all the stakeholders-customers, suppliers, employees, social communities and government, as well as the environment. Corporate Social Responsibility is thus defined as the voluntary activities undertaken by a company to operate in economic, social and environmentally sustainable manner. It is a concept whereby companies decide voluntarily to contribute to a better society and a cleaner environment; a concept whereby companies integrate social and environmental concerns in their business operation and in their interaction with their stakeholders on a voluntary basis.

In the long run, social responsibility is consistent with profit motive. A business cannot survive and grow without serving the society. By fulfilling its social obligations, business creates an environment which is conductive to its success. What is good for the society is ultimately good for the business. The concept of social responsibility is based on the premise that a business firm is more than an economic instrument. CSR is based on the ethical conduct as it involves the application of moral values in business. The CSR policy should normally cover following elements:

● Care for all stakeholders

● Ethical functioning

● Respect for workers' rights

● Respect for human rights

● Respect for environment

● Activities for social and inclusive development

Arguments for CSR

The scale and nature of the benefits of CSR for an organization can vary depending on the nature of the enterprise, and are difficult to quantify,

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though there is a large body of literature exhorting business to adopt measures beyond financial ones to found a correlation between social/environmental performance and financial performance. However, businesses may not be looking at short-run financial returns when developing their CSR strategy.

- Human Resources: A CSR programme can be seen as an aid to recruitment and retention particularly within the competitive graduate student market. Potential recruits often ask about a firm's CSR policy during an interview, and having a comprehensive policy can give an advantage. CSR can also help to improve the perception of a company among its staff, particularly when staff can become involved through payroll giving, fundraising activities or community volunteering.

- Risk Management: Managing risk is a central part of many corporate strategies. Reputations that take decades to build up can be ruined in hours through incidents such as corruption scandals or environmental accidents. These events can also draw unwanted attention from regulators, courts, governments and media. Building a genuine culture of 'doing the right thing' within a corporation can offset these risks.

- Brand Differentiation: In crowded marketplaces, companies strive for a unique selling proposition which can separate them from the competition in the minds of consumers. CSR can play a role in building customer loyalty based on distinctive ethical values. Several major brands, such as The Co-operative Group and The Body Shop are built on ethical values. Business service organisations can benefit too from building a reputation for integrity and best practice.

- Better Public Image: Good public image is necessary for business to serve more customers, better employees and higher profits.

Business develop favorable public image by supporting the interest and goals of society. Consumers, workers, media and other sections of society are now well informed and more active. In such a scenario, it will be disastrous for corporate to overlook their social responsibility.

- Freedom of Enterprise: When business fails to behave in a socially responsible manner, government intervenes and regulates their activities .Such regulation and control is very costly to business both in terms of money and time. It also restricts flexibility of business decision–making. Socially responsible behavior can prevent government intervention and control.

- Environment Protection: In the course of their functioning, business firms damage the surrounding environment. It is their duty to repair this damage so as to maintain the ecological balance.

Argument against CSR

The concept of corporate social responsibility has been criticized on the following grounds:

- Vague Concept: The idea of corporate social responsibility is vague and there are no clear guidelines as to the extent of this responsibility.

- Loss of Incentive: Assumption of social responsibility causes erosion of the profit motive. There is no substitute for self-interest and profit as the drive towards efficiency. The concept of social responsibility is fatal to the efficiency of the business system.

- Conflicting Consideration: Business managers will be guided by two conflicting considerations, namely profits and social responsibility. Decisions-making will become very difficult.

- Disregard of Market Mechanism: The Doctrine of social responsibility is based on the implied

assumption that political mechanism is better than market mechanism as the basis for allocation of scarce resources. Distortion of market mechanism is likely to result in inefficient utilization of the country's resources.

● Arbitrary Power: Involvement of businessmen in social affairs would provide them an arbitrary power. They may dominate social institution and perpetuate their own value system to the detriment of wider society.

● Burden on Consumer: Assumption of social responsibilities involves additional costs. Business firms are likely to transfer such cost to consumers by increasing prices of products and services.

● Responsibility of Government: To run schemes and programmes for the welfare of weaker sections of the society is solely the responsibility of the government. Business should not be involved in these activities.

Corporate Philanthropy & CSR

1. Corporate Philanthropy

● Those activities that companies voluntarily undertake to have a positive impact on society, including cash contributions, contributions of products and services, volunteerism, and other business transactions to advance a cause, issue or nonprofit organization.

● Dating back to 19th century, it emerged because of concern for welfare of the immediate members of corporation. Philanthropic activities include charity, provision for health care facilities, contribution of social-cultural activities etc.

● Corporate philanthropy refers to the practice of companies of all sizes and sectors making charitable contributions to address a variety of social, economic and other issues as part of their overall corporate citizenship strategy.

● Corporate philanthropy is a key component of a corporation's broader social responsibility and includes cash gifts, product donations and employee volunteerism. It serves as a major link between the corporation and its communities.

2. Corporate Social Responsibility

● Obeying the letter and spirit of the law; mitigating or remedying operational harm; and sustainable development of natural resources.

● Achieving commercial success in ways that honor ethical values and respect people, communities, and the natural environment.

● Addressing the legal, ethical, commercial and other expectations society has for business, and making decisions that fairly balance the claims of all key stakeholders

● Companies that consciously integrate strategies that seek to maximize the creation of environmental and social value within their core business models, operations and supply chains.

Developing CSR Policies

Firms that acknowledge the influence of stakeholders on their business can provide effective and successful CSR programmes which can deliver real value in the form of reputation, customer attraction, employee loyalty and investment opportunities. Moving from theory to practice and putting corporate responsibility into action can be achieved in a number of ways including:

● Incorporating a clear CSR policy into mission, vision and values statement

● Adopting a meaningful code of ethics that is implemented consistently

● Publishing formal social and environmental reports and audits

- Community Investment Programmes

- Providing products and services

- Employee volunteering schemes

- Public education and awareness programs

- Mentoring programs

- Corporate community partnerships

- Supporting good causes in marketing campaigns

Some of the forces that are making corporation increasingly conscious of their social responsibilities are:

- Globalisation

- Good Employees Relations:

- Image Building.

- Increase in market share.

- Legal Requirement.

- Cost Saving.

- Pressure from investors.

CSR: The Indian Scenario

With the retreat of the state in economic activity in India, the imperative for business to take up wider social responsibilities is growing. At all levels, there is a felt need for companies to graduate to strategic interventions in CSR, which at present in many cases remain ad hoc. A sense of strategic direction is a vital component in an effective approach to corporate responsibility. Yet, for all these signs of progress, CSR in India has yet to realise its full potential. Individual and collaborative initiatives continue to be dominated by self-assertion rather than accountability.

There is certainly no lack of CSR programmes and projects in India: what is absent, however, are clear metrics for evaluating their actual impact in improving social conditions. Many Indian business houses, private sector and public sector companies have undertaken major initiatives till date and have adopted several modes of practice related to CSR in India. Several innovative measures have also been adopted by companies towards the institutionalization of CSR that includes CSR initiatives by Lupin, Cipla, Ranbaxy, NIIT, TCS, BPCL, and Ion Exchange.

For long-established industrial dynasties, such as the Birla's and the Tatas, concepts of nation-building and trusteeship have been alive in their operations long before CSR become a popular cause. Alongside these are the leading Indian companies with strong international shareholdings, such as Hero Honda, HLL (Hindustan Lever Ltd), ITC, and Maruti Udyog, where local dynamics fuse with the business standards of the parent or partner.

Another tradition emerges from the public sector enterprises, such as BHEL (Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd), HDFC (Housing Development Finance Corporation), NTPC (National Thermal Power Corporation), and ONGC (Oil and Natural Gas Corporation), where social obligations remain an integral part of their business despite the march of privatisation. And then there is the new generation of enterprises that has surged on the back of knowledge based globalisation, such as Dr Reddy's, Infosys, Ranbaxy, and Wipro, where less emphasis is on minimising negative impacts and more on maximising the positive spill-over effects of corporate development.

India has a long tradition of paternalistic philanthropy. The process, though acclaimed recently, has been followed since ancient times albeit informally. Philosophers such as Kautilya from India and pre-Christian era philosophers in the West preached and promoted ethical principles while doing business. The concept of

helping the poor and disadvantaged was cited in several ancient literatures. In the pre-industrialized period philanthropy, religion and charity were the key drivers of CSR.

The industrial families of the 19th century had a strong inclination toward charity and other social considerations. However, the donations, either monetary or otherwise, were sporadic activities of charity or philanthropy that were taken out of personal savings, which neither belonged to the shareholders nor did it constitute an integral part of business. During this period, the industrial families also established temples, schools, higher education institutions and other infrastructure of public use.

The term CSR itself came into common use in the early 1970s. The last decade of the twentieth century witnessed a shift in focus from charity and traditional philanthropy toward more direct engagement of business in mainstream development and concern for disadvantaged groups in the society. In India, there is a growing realization that business cannot succeed in isolation and social progress is necessary for sustainable growth. An ideal CSR practice has both ethical and philosophical dimensions, particularly in India where there exists a wide gap between sections of people in terms of income and standards as well socio-economic status. Currently, there is an increased focus and a changing policy environment to enable sustainable practices and increased participation in the socially inclusive practices.

Conclusion

Corporate Social Responsibility is one such niche area of corporate behavior and governance that needs to get aggressively addressed and implemented tactfully in the organizations. At the same time CSR is one such effective tool that synergizes the efforts of Corporate and the social sector agencies towards sustainable growth and development of societal objectives at large. India is a fast growing economy and is booming with national and multinational firms. At the same time, the Indian land also faces social challenges like poverty, population growth, corruption, illiteracy just to name a few.

Therefore it is all the more imperative for the Indian companies to be sensitized to CSR in the right perspective in order to facilitate and create an enabling environment for equitable partnership between the civil society and business. The impact of CSR is under close scrutiny. There are three primary areas of concern: Product responsibility; Strategies for sustainability; the quality of CSR management. Therefore, with the growing importance of human capital as a success factor for today's organisations, the role of HR leadership will become ever more critical in leading and educating organisations on the value of CSR and how best to carry out the strategic implementation of CSR policies and programmes in India and abroad.

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Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Architect of the Indian Constitution

Dr. R. M. Sonkamble*

India attained independence on 15 August 1947. Consequently, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru formed a broad-based National Government and included some prominent non-Congress men in his cabinet.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was one of entrants. He was appointed as free India's first Minister of Law. With the transfer of power to India, the Constituent Assembly became sovereign and unfettered in all respects. So it turned its attention to the important task of giving formal shape to the Constitution. On August 29 1948, therefore, the Assembly appointed one of its most important Committees namely, the Drafting Committee with Dr. Ambedkar as chairman and six other members, namely N. Gopalswami Ayyangar, Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, Saiyed Mohd. Saladulla, K.M. Munshi, B.L Mitter and D. P. Khaitan. Later, N. Madhavarao was appointed in B. L. Mitter's place and T. T. Krishnamachari was appointed to replace D. P. Khaitan after his death.

The Drafting Committee devoted 141 days and prepared a draft Constitution which was presented by the chairman of Drafting Committee, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to the President of the Constituent Assembly on 21 February 1948. Thereafter, the Draft Constitution was circulated to all the provisional legislatures and general public for their comments/views. On 4 November 1948, the father of the Indian Constitution introduced the draft to the Constituent Assembly.

On 17 November 1949, the Constituent Assembly began the third reading of the Constitutional Bill. Dr. Ambedkar replied to the mid-day debate in the afternoon of 25 November. Speaking with a great relief, he gave a graphic picture of the work done by the Drafting Committee and the Assembly. He also thanked the Assembly for having given him an opportunity of serving the country.

To quote his words: "Looking back on the work of the Constituent Assembly, it will now be two years, eleven months and seventeen days since it first met on the 19 of December 1946. During this period, the Constituent Assembly had altogether held eleven sessions. Out of these, the first six were spent in passing the Objectives Resolution and consideration of the reports of the Committees on the Fundamental Rights, Union Constitution, the Union Powers, provisional constitution, Minorities and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The seventh to the eleventh sessions were devoted to consideration of the Draft Constitution. At the end of the consideration stage, the number of Articles in the Draft Constitution increased to 386. In its final form the Draft Constitution contains 395 articles and 8 schedules. The total number of amendments to the draft constitution tabled was approximately 7,635. Out of them, the total number of amendments actually moved in the house was 2473."

It needs no emphasis that in drawing up and finalizing the Constitution of India, which is the longest of all the written Constitutions of the world, Dr. Ambedkar's erudition in law and jurisprudence was of immense help. His qualities of head and heart, and centering efforts, devotion and dedication to the task assigned to him were fully appreciated and acknowledged by his colleagues in the Assembly which prepared this historic document.

The Constituent Assembly met for the last time for a day on 24 January 1950 in order to sign the Constitution. On that day, therefore, all members

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of the Assembly, 308 in number, signed two hand-written copies of that historic document, one in English and the other in Hindi. A printed copy in English was also signed. Two days later i.e. on 26 January 1950 the Constitution of India became the law of the land and ushered in an era of hope, peace and prosperity.

The tributes paid to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar by the members and the president of the Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who had seen and watched him from close quarters working day and night unmindful of his failing health, in order to accomplish the herculean task of framing India's Constitution, give a glimpse of the deep impression left by Dr. Baba Sahib Ambedkar on the minds of his contemporaries.

Prime Minister Nehru, while paying a glowing tribute to Dr. Ambedkar in the Lok Sabha upon his death on 6 December 1956, said that Dr. Ambedkar had played a most important part in the framing of India's Constitution. In fact, he added, 'Dr. Ambedkar had a very constructive role in the making of the constitution even before his election to the Drafting Committee.' Thus, to quote Nehru again, "it is true to say that but for Dr. Ambedkar, it would have been impossible for the Constituent Assembly to achieve what it achieved and give a worthy constitution to the country in the shortest possible time".

Lastly, to quote Dr. B.R. Ambedkar on Constitution, "I feel that the Constitution is workable, it is flexible and it is strong enough to hold the country together both in peace and wartime, if I may say so, if things go wrong under the new Constitution the reason will not be that we had a bad Constitution, what we will have to say is that man was vile"

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Evaluating Indian and International Accounting Standards

A.Kumar*

[The rapid growth of international trade and internalization of firms, the developments of new communication technologies, and the emergence of international competitive forces is perturbing the financial environment to a great extent. Under this global business scenario, the residents of the business community are in badly need of a common accounting language that should be spoken by all of them across the globe. A financial reporting system of global standard is a pre – requisite for attracting foreign as well as present and prospective investors at home alike that should be achieved through harmonization of accounting standards.]

Accounting standards are the policy documents issued by recognized expert accountancy bodies relating to various aspects of measurement, treatment and disclosure of accounting transactions and events to the codification of generally accepted accounting principles (GAAP). These are stated to be norms of accounting policies and practices by way of codes or guidelines to direct as to how the items, which go to make up the financial statements and should be dealt with

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in accounts and presented in the annual accounts.

The aim of setting standards is to bring about uniformity in financial reporting and to ensure consistency and comparability in the data published by enterprises. Objective of accounting standards is to standardize the diverse accounting policies and practices with a view to eliminate to the extent possible the non-comparability of financial statements and the reliability to the financial statements. The Institute of Chartered Accountants of India, recognizing the need to harmonize the diverse accounting policies and practices, constituted an accounting standard board (ASB) on 21 April, 1977.

Why accounting standard

Accounting standards are used as one of the main compulsory regulatory mechanisms for preparation of general purpose financial reports and subsequent audit of the same, in almost all countries of the world. Accounting standards are concerned with the system of measurement and disclosure rules for preparation and presentation of financial statements. They appear with a set of authoritative statement of how particular types of transactions, events and other costs should be recognized and reported in the financial statements. Accounting standards are devised to furnish useful information to different users of the financial statements, to such as shareholders, creditors, lenders, management, investors, suppliers, competitors, researchers, regulatory bodies and society at large and so on. In fact, such statements are designed and prescribed so as to improve and benchmark the quality of financial reporting.

Current status of Indian and international accounting standards

In India, the statements on accounting standards are issued by the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India to establish standards that have to be complied with to ensure that financial statements are prepared in accordance with generally accepted accounting standards in India. From 1973 to 2000 the IASC has issued 32 accounting standards.

Accounting standards issued by the institute of chartered accountants of India are disclosure of accounting policies, valuation of inventories, cash flow statements, contingencies and events occurring after the balance sheet date, net profit or loss for the period, prior period items and changes in accounting policies, depreciation accounting, construction contracts, revenue recognition, accounting for fixed assets, the effect of changes in foreign exchange rates, grants, accounting, accounting for amalgamation, employee benefits, borrowing cost, segment reporting, related party disclosures.

Accounting for leases, earning per share, consolidated financial statement, accounting for taxes on income, accounting for investment in associates in consolidated financial statement discontinuing operation, interim financial reporting, intangible assets, financial reporting on interest in joint ventures, impairment of assets, provisions, contingent assets, financial instrument, financial instrument: presentation and financial instruments, disclosures and limited revision to accounting standards.

But it is observed that many countries are not adopting the standards in the presentation of accounting information. With a view to examine the time gap for Indianisation of international accounting standards, the information is analyzed. Accounting standards are being established both at national and international levels. But the variety of accounting standards and principles among the nations of the world has been a sustainable problem for globalization of the business environment.

Company law and accounting standards

In India, though accounting standards is presently being done by ICAI, one could discern a tentative and half-hearted foray by company legislation into the making of accounting rules of measurement and reporting. This action by itself is not the sore point but the failure to keep pace with the changes and simultaneously not allowing scope for someone else to do it is disturbing. A study of the requirement of company law regarding the financial statement reveal several lacunae like earning per share, information about future cash flow, consolidation, mergers, acquisitions etc.

Income tax and accounting standards

The Income Tax Act does not recognize the accounting standards for most of the items while computing income under the head "profits and gains of Business or Profession". Section 145(2) of the I.T Act has empowered the Central government to prescribe accounting standards. The standards prescribed so far constitute a rehash of the related accounting standards prescribed by ICAI for corporate accounting. On a close scrutiny of these standards one is left wondering about the purpose and value of the effort. Example is application of prudence over form, adherence to principles of going concern, etc.

Other regulations in accounting standards

In respect of banks, financial institutions, and finance companies the Reserve Bank of India pronounces policies among others, revenue recognition, provisioning and assets classification. Similarly the foreign exchange dealers association provides guidelines regarding accounting for foreign exchange transactions. Since the Security and Exchange Board of India (SEBI) is an important regulatory body it would also like to have its own accounting standards and in fact, it has started the process by notifying cash flow reporting format. It is also in the process of issuing a standard on the accounting policies for mutual funds. It appears as if several authorities in our country are keen to have a say in the way of development of robust, continuously evolving and dynamic accounting theory and standards.

Criticism of Indian accounting standards

The standards are too broad and general to ensure that similar accounting method is applied in similar circumstances. For instance, the accounting for expenses incurred under a voluntary retirement scheme, in which the methods used range from pay-as-you-go to amortization for the present value of future pension payments over the period of benefit. It may be noted that in several important areas, when the Indian standards are implemented, the accounting treatment in these areas could lead to differences in restatement of accounts in accordance with US GAAP. Some of these areas are, consolidated financial statements, accounting for taxes on income, financial instruments and intangible assets.

Need to harmonize the accounting standards

There are divergent accounting practices for the same transaction, which in effect is defeating the comparability of financial statement. The reasons for the different accounting practices may be too many alternative accounting treatments in the accounting standards and lack of harmony among government, standards setting body, and regulatory agencies. Adoption of different accounting standards causes difficulties in making relative evolution of performance of companies. This phenomenon hinders the valuation and consequently the decision making process.

To overcome these problems, harmonization of accounting standards has already been started. Accounting harmonization is not an end by itself, but it is a means to an end. The ultimate objective of harmonizing accounting

practices among countries is to foster international comparability of accounts. But still the harmonization process has a long way to go. Many standards setting bodies and regulators of different nations are ardent protectors of their local standards; they are in no mood to allow their job being taken over by a foreign entity.

Thus winning the consent of these bodies is vital for international accounting standards to don the mantle of common accounting code that is harmonization of common accounting standards, which will make implementing countries more competitive internationally. Accounting standards vary from one country to another. There are various factors that are responsible for this, some of the important factors are, legal structure, sources of corporate finance, maturity of accounting profession, degree of conformity of financial accounts, government participation in accounting and degree of exposure to international market.

Diversity in accounting standards not only means additional cost of financial reporting but can cause difficulties to multinational groups in the manner in which they undertake transactions. It is quite possible for a transaction to give rise to a profit under the accounting standards of one country where as it may require a deferral under the standards of another. When a multinational company has to report under the standards of both the countries it might lead to some extremely odd results. For instance, Daimler Benz, who was the first German to secure stock market listing in the United States, reported a net profit of DM 158 m for the six month to June 1998 based on German GAAP. The US GAAP reconciliation statement revealed that the company had incurred a loss of DM.949M.

Conclusion

India is slowly entering the arena of accounting standards. But the progress of formulation of accounting standards has been very slow compared with the developments at international levels. Bringing about harmonization in accounting practices among countries throughout the world is indeed a very formidable task. The vision of a harmonized accounting world may inspire many minds but in the practical field it is hard to go about embracing a situation where accounting principles and procedures are perfectly harmonized among countries throughout the world. The development of harmonized accounting rules and a uniformity of approach among countries towards education and training on professional accountants should accompany principles.

Furthermore, the harmonization of accounting rules and principles among countries should also be accompanied by inter-country harmonization in auditing principles and standards. Harmonization initiatives are now working much more effectively than ever before. Many of the initial progress towards harmonization accounting principles and procedures among countries have already been achieved.

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Women Workers in India: A Case study of Bellary city

Sanjay Gandhi*

[Women in India are enjoying equal status and rights on par with men, as they play a vital role in every walk of life. The women who adopt a career in life are called working women and they work in all areas like industry, education and Even in army as well. Since a long time, women have been trying to prove their worth and strength and they sought support from government on the key issues like sexual harassments at working place, in India. 31per cent of women are working in IT sector and 45 per cent of women are in industrial sector and 24 per cent of women work in non-allied sectors. Over the years, participation of women in the management world has also increased in India but women have been settled in low position in the field because of their promptness' and domination of men over the women and only a few climb the ladder and enjoy the positions like CEO and Managing Director.]

Though women have achieved a status in society; nevertheless, they have to juggle between work and their personal life, as they have to take care of their parents and children which makes them to think twice as to what they do as the society will be looking at. A recent survey found that women want a corporate environment that recognizes their strength and skills not distinct from male colleagues but equally intrinsic to the organization's success, and more than two-thirds of female respondents believe that they were not recognized equal to that of men i.e. eight of ten agreed that companies did not place a high value on their skills and women wanted to shift their attention to family and childcare issues.

Enron Corporation's (Power Division) CEO Rebecca Mark, a woman, has inadvertently highlighted that women are taken at par with men in government and business. She managed to rescue a contract her company had won but had run into trouble with a state government in India.

UNEPA (2011) reveals that 78% of graduate Indian women are employed in agriculture sector and 20% of women are working population with a regular income which is less than of men and 2% of women are holding high position in society.

However India has more working women than any other country in the world this includes female workers at all levels of skill, on an average women in India are socially, politically and economically weaker than men.

Objectives of the study

1. To understand the socio-economic background of women workers;

2. To study the job profile of working women;

3. To analyse the work satisfaction among women workers;

4. To study the provision of social security measures of women workers

Review of literature

1. *The National Commission on Labour (1964 :23)* The spread of education particularly in urban areas has opened up more employment opportunities for women in non-manual clerical administrative and professional work. The largest expansion of opportunities has been involvement service.

2. *Pramila Kapur (1970:25)* Observes that the phenomenon of the increasing number of educated working wives is a feature of modern Indian society and it has for its mainspring the growing economic necessity for the wives to

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* M A Sociology.

contribute their earnings to the family income. Since marriage is not a spiritual communion in a vacuum but also two human beings who need clothes food and a place to live, material foundations are indispensible and wife's participation in procuring the required family finance becomes essential in times of economic hardship. The attitude of society towards married women taking up jobs has also changed.

3. *Dhingal (1972:198)* and others have thrown light on the social and behaviour pattern and the attitudes of working women. The wife's participation in obtaining the required family finances many times becomes essential to overcome economic hardship and wife's income is often essential to family's standard of living.

4. *Srivastva (1978)* finds that in certain situations the rate of female participation in the labour force increases with the general prosperity. Perhaps this is due to employment generation when a large number of jobs become available to the educated that seek employment. These educated women find career options available to them.

5. *Sanjay Ketan (1993)* In his study, *Working women and modernization*, he observes that the modern concepts like entry of women in different jobs and equality of status between sexes have been acceptable to a large number of women in the sample. They wanted jobs mainly to have economic independence and to improve the family income. A high percentage of unmarried women preferred to continue in their jobs even after marriage.

Importance of study

Women play a vital role in every aspect of man's life as she takes part in every sector and every stage of man's life though she is able to compete with a man in every sphere of activity. She has been looked down because of the concept of inferiority and ego of men or of traditional customary reasons as well. However she faces many problems at every walk of her life, Since

1960, a number of studies have been conducted on educated women and these studies deal with the role of women in family, childcare and about their settling, but very few studies have been conducted about problems faced by women at work place, about their harassment taking place at outdoors, disparities in their salaries and other benefits and about their working conditions etc. Hence, the present study is important.

Hypothesis

1. Women workers in urban area get ample opportunity than rural women;

2. Women workers in rural area face less problems than urban women workers;

3. women in urban area will have higher benefits than rural women workers.

Methodology

Researcher has adopted empirical study and collected primary and secondary data as well.

Area and sample

Researcher has opted Bellary city for a research and it (Bellary city) consists of 1050 working women and adopted for 10% of universe i.e. 100 working women were taken as sampling of the study who were selected on the basis of stratified random sampling.

Problems faced by Working Women

1. *Sexual Harassment:* This is the major problem among the working women as they are treated as a toy of sexual satisfaction rather than a human being, as while working a woman has to mingle with men when she will move close with wok motive she will be taken in other sense and the harassment begins at work place.

2. *Rumours:* This problem found mainly among the employees, this problem begins when women resist to do the things as per the wishes of men and they (women) are being subjected to mental harassment and create a lot of problem at work place.

3.Travelling problem : This is common among the industrial workers as they use to travel to the outskirts of the city where the industry setup is located and while travelling women face problems from men who are travelling in same bus, as they are placed in unavoidable circumstance they have to bear them.

4. Night-shift: We found this problem among IT sector as they (women) have to work for the minimum wage and have to work for maximum period of time and this creates family tension, misunderstanding as well, and this leads to create other problems like separation, divorce, and wife-battering.

5. Lack of authority: Though women are coping up themselves with men but they are suppressed by the rights that are given to women to take their own decisions as they have been dominated by men in taking family and economic decisions. So we can say that though women earn more than men on economic grounds, but they don't have the right or freedom to spend on their own wish.

Table 1

Age composition

Sl. No	Age	Respond-ents	Percent-age
1	12-17 Years	10	10%
2	18-23 Years	30	30%
3	24-29 Years	55	55%
4	30-35 Years	05	05%
	Total	100	100%

The above table explains that 55 percent of working women belonging to the age group of 24-29 want to become economically independent and they are in a capacity to have their own decisions and 30 per cent of women belonging to the age group of 18-23 want to support their families economically rather than to earn for their own benefit.

Table 2

Religion of Respondents

Sl. No.	Religion	Respon dents	Percen tage
1	Hindu	60	60%
2	Christian	25	25%
3	Muslim	10	10%
4	Others	05	05%
	Total	100	100%

This table reveals that 60 percent of working women belong to Hindu religion as this religion has given wide opportunity for women to have development as people are of liberal mind so we see more women are coming out from their home while 25 per cent of women are Christians and only 10 percent of women are Muslims as they have religious restrictions.

Table 3

Residence of Respondents

Sl. No.	Place of Resi dence	Respo ndents	Percentage
1	Urban	85	85%
2	Rural	15	15%
	Total	100	100%

This table reveals that 85 percent of working women belong to urban area while only 15 percent of women belong to rural areas. This shows that urban areas have wider scope and ample opportunity for women than rural areas.

Table 4

Family Background of respondents

Sl.No	Family backg round	Respon dents	Percentage
1	Nuclear	88	88%
2	Joint	12	12%
	Total	100	100%

(........*Contnued the Next Issue*)