THIRD
CONCEPT

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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:

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INSIDE

Editorial

Ambiguous signals

The victory of BJP in Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh, where BJP retained power in Gujarat and wrested Himachal from Congress, sets a mixed trend and an alarming signal for both the national parties. While BJP claims that it has scored a record sixth straight win in Gujarat, the Congress argues that it has restricted the BJP tally in two digits, the lowest ever since BJP came to power in the state. Himachal. On the other hand has always alternated between Congress and BJP, without exception, a trend that continued this time as well. Presently, the moot question is whether this kind of identification with BJP is peculiar to Gujarat, or can be replicated in other states too. Some trends like substantial rural discontent can be seen, but this alone will not able to create a crescendo large enough to unseat BJP from its urban base that held intact and propelled them to power. The odds had seemed stacked against the BJP this time in its citadel of Gujarat, with discontent brewing on at several fronts—among Dalits, OBCs, Patels and the downtrodden. Rural distress and glitches in the transition to GST regime amid the hangover of Demonetisation were core issues. Congress too seemed more engrossed under an apparently more resolute Rahul Gandhi and newly minted leaders like Hardik, Jignesh and Alpesh has pooled their efforts in synergy. Yet the Modi – Shah combined led the party back to rule another day albeit with a reduced tally.

Actually, Gujarat was the original laboratory of Hindutva, and it remains a BJP bastion. The BJP confronted the anger at ground level, especially rural areas about lack of jobs, privatized health and education with unchecked social and demographic inequalities. BJP could overcome all this only after the intervention of Prime Minister during the last phase of campaign. Aggressive rhetoric and enormous resources were mobilized to keep intact more or less party's base-like in his previous election campaigns in Gujarat Narendra Modi highlighted the development plank before turning to a Hindu nationalist rhetoric, that had already been widely circulated on social media. This rhetoric culminated in references to the alleged anti-national collusions of the Congress Leaders with Pakistan and to the invocation of the riots in past, which were alleged to be orchestrated by the Congress. As a Son of soil, Modi. With his Gujarati discourse, could also play the Gujarati *Asmita* card to his advantage against an out sider Rahul Gandhi.

The BJP continued to win election after election, even as many voters continuously felt alienated. But three restless, young men emerged from Gujarat soil and things begin to look up. Hardik Patel, Jignesh Mevani and Alpesh Thakore began by voicing the concerns of their respective communities and maneuvered social engineering in political direction. But eventually, they brought ordinary people's agenda to the centre stage. This led to emergence of a pro people narrative around agrarian distress, employment, privatization in education, lack of civil amenities, subsidies to industry, dignity governance etc.

In this election, the Congress fought a prestige battle under the leadership of Rahul Gandhi and adopted a me-too strategy on Hindu issues. Data shows that the BJP which packed ideologically in Gujarat, pivoted quickly under radar to post-ideological formation in the past of North Gujarat and a huge swathe through central Gujarat to wrest previous Congress constituencies, while congress tactfully offset its losses in Patidar dominated areas of Saurashtra. Congress reaped the harvest of Patidar revolt, gaining as many as 18 new Saurastra Seats on a straight belt from Rajula at the Southern tip of the peninsula to Dasadao in the North but is was hit badly by its failure to maintain its traditional base in Central Gujarat. The campaign saw the emergence of Rahul Gandhi as an effective mobilizer. He held 34 major rallies across the state and exposed the loopholes of the "Gujarat Model" especially in rural area.

So, if the BJP's official plank is development, the subtext of the Gujarat polities remains ethno-religious. But 2.0, driven by renewed Rahul Gandhi may have fallen short of dethroning BJP but it has made significant gains. He has succeeded in capturing the rural narrative cornering BJP largely in agrarian Saurashtra and pockets of north Gujarat, a significant leap, indeed.

—BK

Rise of Women Entrepreneurs on Social Media

Dr. Deepa Viswam* Pooja K Jethwani**

[*Social media has made our connections simpler - instant messaging, online shopping, watching movies, besides edutainment the social media has made it possible for the entrepreneurs to open their business profiles online and sell their creativity and women have been successful in this venture*]

The world of social media is expanding at a high rate, it has made things simpler, opening doors to opportunities there is a certain feel of positivity where the passionate entrepreneurs focus on connecting with people online and expand their company, they create an identity for themselves, gone are the days of pamphlets distribution in order to catch consumers attention, but now with social media the reach is widened and millions of people spread across the globe get notified on the online platform making it simpler, faster and effective in terms of attention and cost as well, users are online on the go, all of our work is on networks, from paying our bills to shopping and then there is a personal touch to online entrepreneurship as well as it is the easiest way to advertise and flourish one's business.

Managing The Professional And Personal Life

Online entrepreneurship is what is trending today, focusing on how you can sell your creativity online and earn money especially for women it is possible now to connect to the audience and also make them financially independent. Women especially have been constantly bogged down by the 'glass ceiling' but now they have found a way to empower themselves, women are taking advantage of the social media and starting up businesses online, women are keeping a track of the latest social media advancements and showcasing their business skills, expanding their empires and have achieved success in connecting to people online, a woman is always seen as a 'typical house wife' being happily married and just taking care of the children and the chores, but when it comes to financial independence, all of it is managed by the men, but now times have changed, women are educating themselves with the apps and their access and target audience, and then deciding what would they like to sell to people online and they have proved this well by balancing both their personal and professional lives.

Women have been successful in climbing the business ladder. In the 21st century there are more of women entrepreneurs and successfully and proudly carrying out their business. Women have a very powerful communicating tact, good understanding, also very good at maintaining finances, a woman who can run a household can easily run her business, only that the formal office set up is absent but work at home through social media has made her life simpler, it is empowering for a woman to feel success in a personal and her professional platform, so this is the 'modern woman' for you, an independent woman who knows how to run her life and art of balancing her personal and professional life.

Creating An Identity

Social media entrepreneurship gives women a sense of independence and identity in terms of finance, they don't have to be dependent on their partners or also listen to orders of the world they are their own bosses, today everyone wants to be known , wants to execute and exhibit their talents, social media has made it possible in creating an identity for women who are doing great work but behind closed doors, it may be

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difficult for them to go out of their houses and find their careers due to any unforeseen commitments, but then social sites like Facebook, Instagram and Whatsapp have come to their rescue.

Once they have the power in their hands, this leads to power in their purses making them known from an ordinary house wife to a career woman, where she can exhibit her talent as well as show off her multi-tasking abilities, one can start off from zero and social media has the power of making you a hero, but be careful of your reputation, make sure you are a positive business oriented person, one wrong step in the wrong direction can actually make you face your worse, study other sites, be well equipped with technology, know what to post when, how to promote your product at the right time, preferences of the customers, keeping up with the trends and work for the welfare of your customers all of this counts and leads for success. Moreover be an Original, in a world of copies and plagiarism, deliver products as shown in the images, make sure you hand it over at the right time, make sure the customers don't receive damaged products, keep up your promises all this will earn you an identity, with this there will be a word of mouth spread among the customers and this is how you will add on to your customers.

Connect To Customers

Thanks to Websites like Facebook, Instagram, Bigolive, they have made entrepreneurship easy, today one can create a business profile on these sites, customise their pages and think of creative ways to connect to the people, and plan strategies in such a way that the products easily catch the attention of people and make them interested in purchasing their needs, putting up content is the first step, precise information about your criteria can be a great way to reach people, other thing is to be available to your customers all day long at least so that all of their queries are solved, it gives a chance for them to immediately connect to the entrepreneur and it is your responsibility to solve the problem, coming with new ideas so that you can stand out in the professional crowd and gain financial success as well.

Next, the seller can also keep an eye on the market, the progress they are making and the customers preferences, based on that when the improvements are made the customers feel happy and content, also have the courage to take complaints from the customers, do not be taken aback but take it as an opportunity to solve their problems, in this way you will be well liked and also gain customer's trust and satisfaction.

From a single person managing the business sometimes the business can do so well that one can create a community via the social media and soon if others also join in the community, there will be more of the expansion in business, creativity and the response is a hit, this is a great chance to have more contacts and it is a win-win situation and this makes social media business a hit.

Today the online web pages are created and the live chats are also done with people in order to connect to the audience, People who create these web pages can easily invite people to like their pages and post content, chat with their audience, by this way they are expanding their business and showing their expertise in the respective field.

Hetal and Lekhinee Desai, run a handloom, focused Indian ethnic company called "The Indian Ethnic Co". on Facebook and Instagram they manage all of their business online and they say "The response is much higher online because we reach far more people than a store would allow" they started this in April 2016 and are glad that they get a very positive response online.

Shubha, founder of Hathkargha manages her business online and her Instagram handle is filled with colourful and traditional sarees, who is quite active and tells that "I am very active on Instagram that is my main social marketing platform and always ready for Whatsapp and Direct Messages with her clients", being active and easily approachable to your clients is one of the secrets of success for an online entrepreneur, with this one can gain the trust and high reach of clients online.

"Varsha Kiran, a lactation counsellor connects to her customers online through Skype, Whatsapp, E-mail, Facebook and calls she says "Since this is a woman oriented profession only a woman will be able to relate to it and will be able to guide well.", She has a Facebook page named "Breastfeeding centre" and she constantly communicates with other women and answers all of their queries, this is the power of the social media, how well we are able to execute our ideas and put across to our customers is a priority and an absolute success.

Maintaining Your Reputation

So how will you start on? You have an idea, you have all your products but now you need to have a platform! Start off by creating an account and a business profile have a logo for your company, then once your profile has been created, make sure to display your products, write a short bio about your company, upload original pictures of your creativity and start off by inviting people to have a look at your page, as easy as it sounds once the real work has started off, managing can be tough and you have to dedicate your time to customers listening to their queries is some big time work, update, improve and keep adding fresh features to your page, only then will people keep a keen interest in your work.

Make sure you work and communicate like a real professional do not include any of your personal photos or something off subject posting, this will not give you clarity resulting in uninterested customers. Staying online is the key to staying and sticking to success, Be responsive to the feedback you get, take your customers to an exciting world of offers, surprises, Also a brownie point is earned if you reach your customer directly and make sure to home deliver their products, there are many websites with entrepreneurs who do a door to door delivery in order to make customers happy! Hathkargha, Happy Pique, Brand Outlets2, Muffinz Bakery based in Bangalore all of these pages are quite famous on Instagram and paved the way for their success, as they meet the needs of their customers by reaching out personally to their customers.

Next is also being active in communicating, maintaining the decorum of professionalism and being active geographically and quick innovative all these are certain techniques of gaining success socially also do not have attitudinal problems this can easily make you lose your audience, be friendly, calm this will lead to your success. So all these extra amenities which you provide to your customers helps in maintain your reputation, be authentic and true in the exhibition of your products only then will you be original and meet success. Also be prepared if the customer has a complaint against you, the same customer who appreciates your value and product at some time if he/she have a complaint for your product or services can as well post it on the social platform so the entrepreneur has to deal with the profits, losses the complaints and the praises all with great tact.

Progress Then And Now

Before people worked hard, today people work smart, people have a lot of ideas now, they cultivate from one idea to other and that's how they expand their businesses, in the olden days, people had to go from door-to-door convince the people for purchasing their products but now people have the internet access easy in their hands and they want products to be reached to them, and when the social media entrepreneurs manage to fulfill all of their needs without them taking the stress then they are a hit.

There was a myth regarding women that they can never fare well in business, as they are emotional, they work with their heart not head, women will not be able to travel long distances, but the tables have turned now and today's woman is confident, powerful, knows how to act when to act has a softer side but is not carried away, they know business, they understand the success ladder and financial market and they keep themselves updated technologically as well as professionally and achieve their targets. In the last three decades women have made great progress in terms of entrepreneurship and education.

With the progress of women, men feel a threat to their status, because women tend to have the

masculine traits in business as they climb up the ladder of success, career-oriented women do well and manage their life accordingly so thanks to the invention of social media, women are now self-employed, educated and are flourishing and earning a status.

Some Success Strategies over Social Media

1. Connect through popular websites like Facebook, constantly upgrade your websites and web pages. Make sure your profile is public and easy for people to search you.

2. Engaging with your client, build a community. Make sure you gain the customer's trust.

3. Be consistent making your videos, blogs and regularly connecting with the audience, continuous consistency results in continuous success. Surprise your customers with contests, gifts and quizzes. Don't keep it too simple, rather be creative

4. Keep yourself updated in your respective fields and latest market trends have full thorough knowledge so that you can immediately have answers to any queries.

Conclusion

The expansion of the internet and the growth in various sectors have thrown up great opportunities for women, the biggest pros of internet is the availability of it 24/7, women have also successfully vanished the myth of being in the kitchen and taking up the role of the homemaker. Women are born leaders and have turned their skills into power, with being greatly educated and technologically well-equipped have carved a niche for themselves, by doing this one woman is inspiring other women, which leads to women empowerment on the social platform.

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United Nations and Human Rights

Shivani Seth*

The extent of man's success in his struggle for the enlargement of his rights and freedom is a true measure of the progress of civilization. But, before the United Nations (UN) came into being in 1945, this struggle was outside the reach of international law. Human Rights issues were considered to be a matter between nations–states and citizens or subjects. The UN Charter, however, recognized the concept that the Human Rights demanded the universal application. The goal of the UN is the fulfillment of the rights of all mankind, without any discrimination. The Charter requires the UN "to Reiterate Faith in Fundamental Human Rights, in the Dignity and significance of every Human Person, in the Equal Rights of Men & Women, and of all Nations". The Covenant of the League of Nations, as well as the ILO constitution did contain reference to protection of minorities, child welfare etc., but these instruments did not cover the whole spectrum; nor embody the concept of Human Rights as such. The UN Charter is the first international instrument which accepts, in unequivocal terms, the obligation to promote "Universal respect for and observance of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion".

Endorsement of United Nations to Human Rights

The term "Human Rights" has been described seven times in the founding Charter of UN, making the promotion and protection of Human Rights a key purpose and guiding principle of the Organization. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights brought Human Rights into the dominion of international law in 1948. Since

then, the UN has actively protected Human Rights through various legal instruments and on-the-ground activities.

It is of utmost significance to quote here Mr. Koffi Annan, 2005, then Secretary General of UNO—

"Human Rights are as fundamental to the poor as to the rich, and their protection is as important to the security and prosperity of the developed world as it is to that of the developing world. It would be a mistake to treat Human Rights as though there were a trade-off to be made between Human Rights and such goals as security or development. We only weaken our hand in fighting the horrors of extreme poverty or terrorism if, in our efforts to do so, we deny the very Human Rights that these scourges take away from citizens. Strategies based on the protection of Human Rights are vital for both our moral standing and practical effectiveness of our actions. Since its establishment, the United Nations has committed itself to striving for a world of peace and justice grounded in universal respect for Human Rights - a mission reaffirmed five years ago by the Millennium Declaration. But the system for protecting Human Rights at the international level is today under considerable strain. Change is needed if the United Nations is to sustain long-term, high-level engagement on Human Rights issues, across the range of the Organization's work".[1]

The Charter does not lay down legal obligations for member- states to observe Human Rights; nor does it authorize the UN to take appropriate action against violation of Human Rights, Article 2(7) of the UN Charter prohibits interference in matters of domestic jurisdiction.

One of the functions of the General Assembly under the Charter is to assist "in the realization

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of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom of all." Most, items relating to Human Rights are referred to the Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee of the General Assembly, though some items, falling essentially within the purview of the other committees- e.g. political, economic, etc. are dealt with by these committees. The General Assembly has, from time to time, also set up subsidiary organs as well as special committees for their assistance in discharge of its functions with respect to Human Rights.

The promotion and protection of all Human Rights is among the main objectives of the United Nations. The U.N. has established organizations to deal with Human Rights including the Commission on Human Rights, drafted various Human Rights instruments, encouraged states to accede to them, adopted resolutions requesting that states should improve their Human Rights situations, and organized a number of world-wide conferences.

For instance, in 1961, the General Assembly established what came to be known as the Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization, which has since played a major role in the work of the UN to accelerate the process of Decolonization. The Special Committee on Apartheid was set up in 1962. A special committee has been reporting annually since 1970 on developments affecting the Human Rights of the population of the territories occupied by the Israel.

In June 1993, World Conference on Human Rights adopted the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, which has a large impact on activities in the field of Human Rights. The post of the United Nations High commissioner for Human Rights was created in 1993, and Mrs. Mary Robinson, former President of Ireland, was appointed as the second High Commissioner in June 1997.[2] She has been active in coordinating relevant U.N. activities and international co-operations since she assumed the office. Japan firmly supports High Commissioner's activities including Human Rights field operations and advisory services and technical assistance.

Human Rights items on the agenda generally originated in the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), which, under the Charter may "make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for and observance of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom for all". Its important functions include the preparation of draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, calling international conferences and setting up commissions for the promotions of Human Rights. ECOSOC established two important commissions in 1946 - The Commission on Human Rights and the Commission on the Status of the Women. At this very first session in 1947, the Commission on Human Rights established the sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

A number of other UN Bodies are concerned with Human Rights from time to time and in varying degree. These include the Trusteeship Council, the International Law Commission, The UN Secretariat, and the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Court of Justice. At the International Level various bodies within the United Nation System monitor the compliance of States with their Human Rights Obligation. These are in particular so called "Treaty Bodies." The Security Council is obliged to take up matters involving international peace and security. The Security Council has in several instances designated the Violations of Human Rights on a massive scale as Threats to Peace, in particular, the policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa and the situation in Namibia.

The specialized agencies of the UN System, viz., ILO, UNESCO, WHO AND FAO, possess a special interest in the field of Human Rights. ILO, for instance, has formulated international standards on such Human Rights problems as Forced Labour, Equal Pay for Equal Work etc. UNECSO has prepared several conventions and recommendations relating to Human Rights, for example, the convention and recommendations against Discrimination in Education. FAO's aim, yet to be achieved, is to ensure that no one is

denied the most fundamental of all Human Rights—The Right to Freedom from Hunger. The Preamble to the WHO constitution declares that the Enjoyment of the Highest Attainable Standards of Health is a Fundamental Right of every human being.

On certain Human Rights problems, UN Organs have also called upon NGOs, non-governmental organizations, in consultative status with ECOSOC to supply information, particularly on existing *de facto* situations; such information has been founded to be useful in the preparation of studies by the Council and its subsidiary bodies.

The best known and most influential of international Human Rights Instruments is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which was approved by the General Assembly without a dissenting vote, in December 1948. It was an expression by the international community of the inalienable rights of human beings; as such it remains as valid today as it was 69 years ago. The declaration was proclaimed by the General Assembly "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of the society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure the universal and effective recognition and observance."[3]

The provisions of the Declaration have exercised a powerful influence, both at the national and international levels. They have been incorporated or cited in National Constitutions, Municipal Legislations, and Court Decisions. On many occasions the General Assembly has reaffirmed the historic significance of the Declaration and referred to it as a "Common standard of achievement". It has inspired the preparation of International Human Rights Instruments both within and outside UN System.

Together with the Declaration, two covenants make up the International Bill on Human Rights. These are the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political rights, alongwith the optional protocol to the latter. These were adopted by the General Assembly in 1966 and they entered into force in 1976.

The covenant on economic, social and cultural rights recognizes such rights as the Right to Work and to Social Security; the Right of the Family, Mother, Children and Young Persons to the widest possible protection and assistance; the Right to an Adequate Standard of Living; the Right to the Education etc. The Covenant on Civil and Political Rights provides for Protection of the Right to Life, to Freedom of Thought, Conscience and Religion, to Freedom of Expression and of Association, and for Protection of Minorities. It lays down that no one should be subjected to torture or arbitrary arrest or detention or be held in slavery, etc.

The rights and freedoms set out in the covenants are not absolute and are in each case subject to limitations. ECOSOC is responsible for implementation of the Covenant on Economic Rights, while the states parties are responsible for implementation of the Political Rights. Covenants have established a Human Rights Committee to supervise its implementation as well as that of its optional protocol.

Key Conventions adopted by UN for Promotion of Human Rights

Some other important instruments carrying legal obligations adopted by the General Assembly are:

1. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of the Genocide;

2. Convention on the non-applicability of statutory limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity;

3. International convention on the elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination;

4. Convention relating to the Status of Refugees;

5. Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees;

6. Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons;

7. Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness;

8. Convention on the Political Rights of Women;

9. Convention on the Nationality of Married Women;

10. Convention on the Consent to marriage, Minimum Age of Marriage and Registration of Marriages;

11. Convention on the International right of Correction;

12. Protocol amending Slavery Convention (of September 25, 1926);

13. Slavery Convention as amended;

14. Supplementary convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices similar to Slavery;

15. Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of others;

16. International convention on the Suppression and Punishment of Crime of Apartheid.

Regional Human Rights conventions also play an important role. One such is the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, which provides for establishing a European Commission of Human Rights, and a European Court of Human Rights. Another is the American Convention of Human Rights, which also recognizes two corresponding Regional Organs: The Inter- American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American court of Human Rights.

No doubt, the list of declarations and conventions adopted by the UN in the field of Human Rights is formidable, but the status of Human Rights in various parts of the world remains shaky. The International Instruments have set out far reaching principles, norms and standards. They have, as in the case of covenants, laid down legal obligations, accepted by member states that have ratified them. Nearly every state has statutory provisions for the protection of particular Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. But little progress has been made in furthering one of the important purposes of international action in the field of Human Rights, viz., to extend the Limits of National Protection. The Charter itself provides for ECOSOC organizing an international Reporting Procedure. Moreover, the UN and its subsidiary bodies ECOSOC, the Human Rights Commission and the UNESCO Sub-Commission as well as UNESCO have established procedures to deal with communications concerning Human Rights, even when they are sent by individuals. Nevertheless, the basic position remains unchanged: that the state alone can guarantee protection of Human Rights, and not any international entity.

In these circumstances, the UN lays a lot of emphasis on building up general awareness among the peoples and non-governmental organizations of the need for the promotion of Human Rights and strengthening Resistance against Violations of Human Rights, arbitrary arrests, political killings without trial, etc. Various UN activities are directed towards mobilizing moral and political pressure and exercising persuasion on states. These include the promotion of studies; the organization of conferences, seminars, debates and discussions on human rights problems and violations with a view to giving them wide publicity; and encouraging teaching and research work under its advisory services. Efforts are also directed towards obtaining further ratification of the covenants and other instruments.

For many developing countries, ratification will not, despite the best intentions, automatically lead to realization of the rights in question. Both the universal declaration and the international covenant on economic, social and cultural rights set out a number of Human Rights, the realization of which depends more upon the economic and social development of a country than upon the adoption of legislative or administrative measures by the government concerned. This was acknowledged when ECOSOC, on the

recommendations of the Human Rights commission in 1977, It also provided for the Secretary General to undertake a study of "the International Dimensions of the Right to Development as a Human Right in relation with other Human Rights based on international cooperation, including the right to peace, taking into account the requirements of the new international order and fundamental human needs." In more forceful terms, the General Assembly expressed deep concern, in its 1977 session, at the continuing existence of an unjust international economic order which, it said, "it constitutes a major obstacle to the realization of the economic, social and cultural rights in developing countries".[4] The assembly also set out another important concept, viz., "the full realization of civil and political rights without any enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights is impossible." It went on to urge that "Human Rights questions should be examined globally." In the interdependent world of today, only integrated global action can prove effective in creating conditions in which the noble goals of the declaration can be realized on a global scale.

There is the notorious case of the government of South Africa, which has a unique record of gross violations of Human Rights. The racial policies of South Africa have been always been a concern and subject of attention for the UN ever since. Apartheid, which is a system of institutionalized racial discrimination and dominance directed by a white minority against black Africans and colored people, has been termed as a crime against humanity under the international convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid adopted by the general assembly in 1973.

Indian Constitution and Human Rights

The framers of the Indian Constitution had always been influenced by the concept of Human Rights and guaranteed in Constitution of India most of Human Rights contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The draft Indian Constitution has been adopted on 26th of November, 1949. Part III of the Constitution of India guarantees Civil and Political Rights titled as Fundamental Rights. Part IV of the Constitution of India guarantees Economic, Social and Cultural Rights which have been designated as Directive Principles of States Policy. The inclusion of important provisions of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in the Constitution of India has given them supremacy over all other statutory provisions. On 12 October 1993, National Human Rights Commission has been established in India and State Human Rights Commissions are also operative in all states of India. The following table shows compatibility of Human Rights envisaged in Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the Constitution of India:

Civil and Political Rights

S. No.	Universal Declaration of Human Rights	Constitution of India
1.	Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person—(Art. 3)	Article 21
2.	No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms—(Art. 4)	Article 23
3.	Equality before law and non-discrimination—(Art. 7)	Article 14 & 15
4.	Right to Effective Remedy — (Art. 8)	Article 32
5.	Rights against Arbitrary arrest, detention and Right to Habeas Corpus—(Art. 9)	Article 22
6.	Rights ex-post facto law—[Art. 11 (2)]	Article 20 (1)

7.	Right to freedom of movement – [Art. 13 (1)]	Article 10 (1) (d)
8.	Right to Freedom of Thought, Conscience and Religion—(Art. 18)	Article 25 (1)
9.	Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression—(Art. 19)	Article 19 (1) (a)
10.	Right to Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association-[Article 20 (1)]	Article 19 (1) (b)
11.	Right to Equal Access to Public Service—[Art. 21(1)]	Article 16 (1)
12.	Right of Social Security—(Article 22)	Article 29 (1)
13.	Right to Form and Join Trade Unions—(Article 23)	Article 19 (1)(c)

Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

S. No.	Universal Declaration of Human Rights	Constitution of India
1.	Right to Work, To Free Choice of an Employment, To just and favorable conditions of work etc.—[Article 23 (1)]	Article 41
2.	Right to Equal Pay for Equal Work, Conditions of Work etc. [Article 23)(2)]	Article 39 (d)
3.	Right to Just and Favourable Remuneration—[Article 23 (3)]	Article 43
4.	Right to Rest to Leisure—[Article 24 (1)]	Article 43
5.	Right of Everyone and a Standard of Living adequate for him and his family—[Article 25 (1)]	Article 39(a) & 47
6.	Right to Education and Free Education in Elementary and Fundamental Stages—[Article 26 (1)]	Article 41 & 45
7.	Right to Proper Social Order—(Article 28)	Article 38

Human Rights Council of United Nations

The Human Rights Council (HRC) is the most important political Human Rights body of the United Nations. Its 47 members are elected by the UN General Assembly. Since 2006, the Human Rights Council is tasked with the regular examination of the Human Rights situation within all UN member states.[5] In addition, the Council follows up on the situation in individual countries by perusing country reports and resolutions. It also appoints Special Rapporteurs for specific topics.

To raise international awareness for Human Rights, a 10-year period beginning from 1995 has been proclaimed as the U.N. Decade for Human Rights Education. Under the Decade, U.N. Organizations, Governments, Human Rights Institutions in different parts of the world are expected to make head to the goal by promoting Human Rights education.

Security of Human Rights by UN Peacekeeping Operations

Many United Nations peacekeeping operations and political & peace building missions also include mandates relating to the Human Rights aimed at contributing to the protection and promotion of Human Rights through both immediate and long-term action; empowering the population to assert and claim their Human Rights; and enabling State and other

national institutions to implement their Human Rights obligations and uphold the Rule of Law. Human Rights teams operate on the ground work in close cooperation and coordination with other, civilian and uniformed components of peace operations, in particular, in relating to the protection of civilians; addressing conflict-related sexual violence and violations against children; and strengthening respect for Human Rights and the rule of law through legal and judicial reform, security sector reform and prison system reform.[6]

The UN Security Council can impose political, economical or military sanctions against states that systematically violate Human Rights, as it has done in 2011 against Libya in Resolution 1970.[77]

Conclusion

The road to the universal realization of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms is a long and arduous one. The contribution made by the UN in this field in the last few decades has been very significant. The limitations within which the world body functions are well known. In the final analysis the UN remains nothing more than an association of sovereign states. As things stand, its successes and failure are no more than the sum of the successes and failures of its members. It is not a supranational body. These facts impose obvious limitations upon its authority and effectiveness. That is why in spite of the great contribution made by UN in the field of Human Rights, not only is the international community still far from its goal, but continues to be confronted with cases of gross and flagrant violations of Human Rights. Even then, increase in literacy rate, spreading awareness about rights, frequent international cultural exchanges, fast means of communication, judicial activism, liberal governments and elected parliamentary systems, augmentation of concept of democracy,

are boosting up the development of Human Rights in positive direction.

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Indian Industry: GST Issues and Challenges

M. Vijay Kumar*

[*The developing economy like India is desired to be efficient in its resource treatment. Apart from various taxation policies that would maximize it distortion and obstacle to efficient allocation in domestic circles, international trade is . With view to on horizontal equity rather than vertical equity marginal rates of taxation, both in direct and indirect simple and translucent broad-based taxes with look The Goods and Service Tax is a single rate tax consumption of goods as well as services implemented only on the value added at every stage and there is no flow effect of taxes. With GST in place, in the long term, dealers would need to pay the SGST to common tax rate and reduce tax avoidance and shirking in the transference*]

Tax guiding principle partake an important role on both efficiency and equity. A good tax service income distribution supports government expenditure on public development. Flow of tax revenues have economy with relatively high burden argument that can be extended to international impinge on sectors of production in the economy factors lead to inefficient distribution of results in loss of income and welfare. Traditionally India's tax rule relied on customs and excise. The differential multiple tax regime deformation in distribution of resources, effect and providing full tax offsets are expected factors of production and exports. Government of India constituted financial Responsibility and Budget Management framework for fiscal policies to achieve as per Dr. Vijay L. Kelkar's recommendation suggested a common market and widen the tax base countrywide reducing tariffs and anti-dumping duties except lifesaving drugs, security items and international obligations.

The Joint Working Group of the Empowered Ministers submitted its report on the proposal to the Finance Minister in November 2007 to replace the state VAT and the CENVAT. Most of the indirect taxes would be subsidy duty, toll tax, passenger tax and road tax with some exceptions. There is a debate on band varying from 12 to 20 per cent. Neve one of the most important indirect tax reforms in India. "A well designed destination-based GST on elegant method of eliminating distortions structure, all different stages of product meager tax pass-through, and the tax essential the taxing jurisdiction." (Kelkar, 2009).

GST will be a game changing reform for common Indian market and reducing the cash goods and services. It will impact the Tax Computation, Payment, Compliance leading to a complete overhaul of the current taxation with a far reaching impact, for instance, pricing of products, IT accounting and tax compliance systems.

Objective of Study

1. The sector wise impact of Indian industry GST.

2. Issues and challenges after GST.

3. Major indirect Tax Reforms.

IT and ITES

Present IT and ITES industries are debt incurred––14 percent of tax coupled with 18-20 per cent after the load of GST. Also, an important point to perceive here is the lengthy undecided issue of software taxation will come to end with no difference between goods and services after the GST.

Telecom

Presently, the Telecom sector is debt incurred—14 percent of tax to the leading body as the circumstances will be taking the move after the

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load of GST. The expected rate of tax will come up to 18 percent and the companies would be expected to pass the burden on the postpaid customers. In general, it seems that this rule will be negative to the industry and the sector will well be in state where they can't pass the entire tax burden to the consumers particularly their prepaid segment.

Automobiles

At present, automobile sector, a debt incurred around 30 to 47 per cent of tax to the Indian government which is at the moment predictable to choice between 20-22 per cent, after the accomplishment of GST. And the generally cost hurt can be expected for the end user by around 10 per cent. Transport time should as well be reduced as the make sure points as Octroi goes away. Overall GST will bring a boom into the automobile sector.

Consumer Durables

This sector would be in general neutral or negative for the companies who take pleasure in tax exemptions and diminishing under any concessional tax group. On the other hand, it will be somehow favorable for the companies that were not excused from any tax scheme earlier. The 7th pay commission will as well give command to the sector and the warehousing will be seeing confident make better in their profitability by 300-400 bps.

Fmcg

At this time, the circumstances would be either neutral or negative for those companies who fall beneath any concessional tax collection or some kind of exclusion. Those who are likely to get some profit would be Havells, Blue Star, Bajaj Electricals, Symphony, Hitachi and the likes.

Nihal Kothari, executive director, Khaitan & Co. mentioned that "There is a realization that GST will be an authenticity soon and that readiness in this look upon cannot be postponed, All companies are pushing the pedal on implementation. But, while 70 per cent of the large consumer goods companies can meet the July 1 deadline, SMEs (little and average enterprises) are not in a position to do so. Many of them have begun work only now, employ consultants, doing impact analysis and understanding the documentation required."

Furnishing and Décor

In current, the sector debt incurred above 20 per cent of his share to the tax authority, and the prepared sector creates of 65-70 of the total. The main list of items is to minimize the tax liability of both organized and unorganized sectors and to furnish additional opportunities to the organized sector for being more faithful to the tax authority.

Logistics

Following the implementation of the GST, the organized players get the cost efficiency and would be enjoying the payback of large set-up. In addition, the inter-state flow of goods would go faster challenging for more efficient support services from logistics.

Cement

In the present circumstances, cement sector is currently under 27 to 32 per cent bracket tax. After the GST, this will improve the sector enlargement in a variety of stipulations like transportation by 20-25 per cent and the warehouse system because the justification would be easy in terms of state wise disintegration and also in the transportation cost as also the reduced transportation time.

Textiles and Garments

At present, this sector is debt incurred. Somehow, there is no thought about the collision of GST in this sector, but the output tax rate way above the ground reality will be have negative impact. Consequently, various sellers catering to foreign country will get some additional advantage from the duty disadvantage after the new GST implementation.

Pharmacy

At this time, the blow could be neutral seeing that the sector only contribute 6 per cent of its share to the tax authority. The sector also utilizes the incentive in tax benefits of location judiciously. There is a variety of concessional payback and exemption held for this sector. The

GST would also attempt to reduce the logistics cost and would as well try to see in to upturned duty structure.

Metal

This sector is completely unidentified from the obligation of GST tax rule. But, the sector is at this time debt incurred by 19-21 per cent to the tax body, with 4 to 5 percent of VAT in meticulous state, Excise duty of 12.5 percent and CST of 2 percent with unpredictable entry taxes in particular states.

Gold

Finance Ministry is in dedicated surveillance of the gold market and its upcoming moderations which could affect the whole line of trade after the goods and service tax inference in India. The ministry had gone through a thoughtful research and investigation to recognize the solution for this upcoming issue at the same time as determinant of all the facts and responsibilities. It has been established that the GST could be fixed at 3 percent on gold rate. At present, the authorities will not be cutting down import duties on gold.

Jewellery Export

According to the current stats, the gold jewellery exports grew by only 1.92% while at the same time, Silver recorded an amplification of 35.83% as the exports of slash and polished diamonds increased by 10.24 percent.

Pravin Shankar Pandya, chairman of the Gems & Jewellery Export Promotion Council (GJEPC) notifies that "If export is not brought under GST, then in the financial year 2018, exports are predictable to grow. If it comes under GST then it will have a blow. Import of rough diamonds should be out of GST. He also said that the government should afford a unique number to diamond traders on the lines of Belgium, which would help the government observe diamond trading as a substitute of bringing the Gems and Jewellery sector below the GST.

One more apprehension for Gems & Jewellery Exporters is political unsteadiness in Europe. Pandya said, "Since the declaration of Brexit last year, there is not much keenness in the European market. We are awaiting the outcome of the French election. Until the situation is clear about the European Union, the business is doubtful to grow faster.

Banking and Financial Institutions

The sectors are debt incurred by 14 percent right now, but not on the interest part of deal. After the GST, the tax horizon can be made bigger up to 18 to 20 percent on the fee based transactions. In general, input disbursement of operation will be likely to boost and also climb in the transactions of financial in environment such as loan processing fees, debit or credit charges, and insurance premiums.

Major Steps of Indirect Tax Reforms

1. 1974 Report of LK Jha Committee suggest
2. 1986 ucIntirond of a restricted VAT
3. 1986 Introduction of a restricted VAT called MODVAT
4. 1991 Report of the Chellaiah Committee recommendations accepted by Government
5. 1994 Introduction of Service Tax
6. 1999 Formation of Empowered Committee on State VAT
7. 2000 Implementation of uniform floor S related incentives granted by States
8. 2003 VAT implemented in Haryana in April
9. 2004 Significant progress towards CENVA
10. 2005-06 VAT implemented in 26 more stat
11. 2007. First GST stuffy released By Mr. P
12. 2007. F.M. Announces for GST in budget S
13. 2007. CST phase out starts in April 2007
14. 2007. Joint Working Group formed and rep
15. 2008. EC finalizes the view on GST structure

Major Issues

1. Abolition of Multiple taxes.
2. Increases in Voluntary tax Compliances.
3. Removes distortion in economy.
4. Removes in cascading effects of taxation
5. Enhances manufacturing and distribution

6. Widening the tax base.

7. It is destination based tax- determination

8. Centralized registration system in case

9. Increasing the production and distribution

10. In the GST system, when all taxes are i the taxation burden to be split equity services.

11. GST. Helps in removing economic distortion of a common national market by levied consumption based.

12. It also builds a transparent and corrupt system, where experts can predict that by implementing $15 billion a year, the same can be achieved.

13. In GST system, tax should be collected by central governments.

14. Some commodities are excluded from the tobacco, petroleum products etc.

Challenges

1. The GST Constitutional Amendment Bill 2015 could not be passed in RS which was a set-back faced by the government.

2. Central Government must also look into concerns of respective state governments.

3. Governments must also put GST bill before time to all stakeholders for them to comprehend.

4. For effective implementation of GST, central and state levels would require concept, legislation and procedure.

5. The success of GST depends on robust governments, trade and industry, banks and other support services mobilization on timely basis.

6. There is confusion with regard to additional 1% non-VAT tax on interstate.

Conclusion

The dual GST proposed to simplify and complement the conception at central and state levels— the central VAT base and multiple rates. Levy added on subsequent stages is not included in GST and the base will expand by merging wholesale and retail level rates. The amalgamation of service tax in GST input tax credit and mitigating the tax base of the prevailing VAT to include a number of other taxes in lieu of octroi and local taxes on the entry consumption, use or sale. Coordination of states would bring about significant gain for taxpayers. GST is the most logical steps in our country since independence. GST is provision of services as well combination of the industry, business including Govt. departments to bear impact of GST. All sections of eco units, intermediaries, importers, and exporter shall be directly affected by GST. Goods and Service Tax (GST) will boost overall growth and make economy stronger.

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Solution to meritime dispute between Croatia and Bosnia

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The bilateral international agreement on the state border between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia, known as the Agreement on the Border between the two states, or more familiarly, as the Tuðman-Izetbegoviæ Agreement, signed in Sarajevo on 30 July 1999 between the then President of the Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tuðman, and the Chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegoviæ, represents in its 23 Articles, conditionally, "a valid act since it has been applied until a new one is made" (V.Ð. Degan, 2013). This Agreement could also be perceived to contain a transitional or provisional solution, since it has never been ratified by any parliament and does not serve its ultimate purpose - the permanent establishment and determination of the land and sea border between the two neighbors. In this regard, it can even be argued that the Republic of Croatia *de facto* abandoned the execution of this Agreement when its official authorities decided to embark on the building of a permanent construction at sea. This all supports the fact that the issue of delimitation and demarcation at sea, especially in the area of the Bay of Neum and the Mali Ston Bay, is still permanently undefined and unsettled and thus requires, in our opinion, a serious step towards opening an official dialogue with Zagreb with the involvement of EU institutions, since the Republic of Croatia is a member of the European Union.

The second difficulty should be addressed together with the first. It would be especially important to define the sea boundary, regarding the tip of the Klek Peninsula and the uninhabited islets, Veliki and Mali Školj or, more precisely,

the rocks in the Mali Ston Bay, which are part of a unique geomorphologic unit, together with the Klek Peninsula. If we draw the line of equidistance for purposes of delimitation of two states whose shores in one bay lie or are opposite to one another (the Peninsula of Klek and Pelješac), which is in accordance with the international law of the sea, as well as Article 4 (3) of the bilateral Agreement which, *inter alia*, prescribes that border at the sea stretches "the median line of the sea area between the land of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia", it could be claimed that the disputed area would belong to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Closely connected to this, the question of Bosnia-Herzegovina's access to the High Seas or international waters of the Adriatic Sea and other world seas should be addressed, where no country in the world has territorial sovereignty, nor does it exercise any sovereign rights. High sea areas are world seas and oceans which are outside any state territory and provide a regime of free navigation and overflight, as well as other freedoms inherent to the High Seas. On this part of the planet, according to general customary international law, all countries in the world, under certain circumstances, exercise their jurisdiction over vessels flying the flag of their country.

The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea from 1982 (UNCLOS) ratified both by the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina) states in Art. 7 (6) of the Convention that, in declaring its straight baselines, from which the width of the territorial sea is measured, the coastal State may not cut off the territorial sea of another coastal state from the High Seas or the exclusive economic zone. As things stand currently, in order to get from the waters of Bosnia and Herzegovina by vessel to the High Seas, it is necessary to pass

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through the internal waters and the territorial sea of the other coastal state, so that, in crossing the line that represents the outer boundary of the territorial sea, one leaves the sovereign territory of the Republic of Croatia. Further into the High Seas, the Croatian Protected Ecological and Fishing Band (ZERP) has been declared and covers the sea area in the Adriatic Sea from the external border of the territorial sea in the direction of the open sea to its outer boundary, determined by the general international law, and temporarily follows the line of demarcation of the continental shelf established by the Agreement between Italy and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia concerning the Delimitation of the Continental Shelf between the two Countries in the Adriatic Sea from 1968.

In fact, it is essential for Bosnia and Herzegovina to secure a specific route, that is to say, a corridor, which will physically connect its waters with the High Seas, since it is in an unfavorable geographic position, due to its sealed coastline. At this level, it is state practice to support coastal states to limit the width of their territorial sea, due to the undisputed flow or passage of the other coastal state to the High Seas, in accordance with the above-mentioned UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, which represents a codification of this branch of international law. Examples of this are the Republics of Estonia and Finland in the Gulf of Finland in the Baltic Sea, in relation to the Russian Federation (St. Petersburg area), and the Republic of France in relation to the territorial sea of the Principality of Monaco in the Mediterranean Sea.

Hence, Bosnia and Herzegovina should not accept the guarantee of the neighboring state that Bosnia and Herzegovina will have the right only to innocent passage for all vessels to and from Neum or, in the case of some other ports in the state territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, since Neum is extremely non conducive to the construction of a larger port which would be open to international traffic - we predict that a port of this type and category could be built on the Klek Peninsula, whose waters are much more suitable, especially in respect of access and sea depth, for the construction of an international port. This is because the right to innocent passage of a vessel is linked to the territorial sea, not to the internal waters of the coastal state. This should have been precisely defined in accordance with the principles and rules of international law, preferably by a bilateral international agreement between the two neighboring states, namely, the existence, the position, the proper width and the *legal regime* of such a corridor or waterway, which would probably be through the Neretva and the Korèula Channel, to move all vessels to and from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The legal regime of such a corridor should be explicitly articulated in writing, together with the rights and obligations of both contracting parties, all in accordance with international law.

Therefore, it could be understood that there is a noticeable difference between the right to innocent passage of foreign ships through the territorial sea of a coastal state and the formation of a corridor with a *special legal regime*. The latter would most likely pass through Croatian territory, as it would be unrealistic to expect that the Republic of Croatia in the area of such a corridor remains without its territorial sovereignty and integrity. This is regardless of the fact that it not very legally rightly inherited from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by its Maritime Code, the straight baselines under the conditions of more sovereign states whose coastlines are touched and lean on one another in the same sea area. Namely, the disputed area in terms of the declaration of these straight baselines is from the Cape Proizd (near the island of Korèula) all the way to the southwestern tip of the island of Vodnjak, near some of the more famous Paklinski islands (along the island of Hvar), as this act simply contributed to the "closure" of Bosnian and Herzegovinian waters. We have written "most likely to pass"

since it is hard to imagine that in the area of the Neretva and Korèula Channels, with a width of not less than 1-1.5 nautical miles, that condominium (shared sovereignty) can be established or that an international legal regime be determined completely outside Croatian sovereignty.

Finally, in support of the assertion that any coastal state should have unimpeded (not just innocent passage, which is subject to various restrictions on the part of the coastal state) access to the High Seas, there is the final determination of the arbitral award of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague in the case the Republic of Slovenia and the Republic of Croatia of 2017, according to which the Republic of Slovenia, through the so-called *junction* of 2.5 nautical miles wide, i.e. the physical link of its territorial waters with the high seas area of the North Adriatic was awarded a corridor from their waters, where Slovenia enjoys full sovereignty to the High Seas, where many freedoms are guaranteed to all countries of the world, both coastal and non-coastal, as well as to those with an unfavorable geographic position regarding access to the sea, as in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Namely, as the Chairman of the Arbitration Council in this very case, G. Guillaume, stated in the public statement of the arbitral award, "the junction between the Slovenian territorial sea and the High Seas is a space where ships and planes have the same right of access to Slovenia as well as in the High Seas. The Court identified the area of the Croatian territorial sea that is adjacent to the Italian waters within which a special legal regime would be applied. The corridor is approximately 2.5 nautical miles wide, and located immediately next to the border, according to the Treaty of Osimo, within Croatian territorial waters.

A special legal regime should guarantee the integrity of the Croatian territorial sea, and Slovenian free communication between its waters and the High Seas." It follows that the free communication of a coastal state between its waters and the High Seas is not the same as its right/obligation to innocently pass through the waters of another coastal state. It should, therefore, be concluded that the first term refers to the freedom of navigation and over flight to a little more extent than that provided by the institute of the innocent passage of foreign ships to territorial sea, which is only a necessary passage, since every foreign vessel must navigate through this area on the shortest conventional route, without disruption or delay. Moreover, this accessory or connecting corridor would have a kind of *limitation of Croatian sovereignty and jurisdiction*, since it would be in the spirit of this particular legal regime that would go in the middle of the Neretva and Korèula Channel. It would be worth questioning, moreover, whether Croatian internal waters should be left where they are now. The same question appeared to have been posed by a legal scholar from Croatia – "the question remains whether the waters of Croatia delimited by the territorial sea of Bosnia and Herzegovina can continue to be considered as having the legal status of internal waters." (B. Vukas, 2006).

Accordingly, a maritime corridor with a specific legal regime needs to be differentiated widely, or clarified in detail, so it does not necessarily represent identical international legal categories with the right to innocent passage of foreign ships and the right of transit passage. These latter terms are characteristic of the very specific maritime zones and parts of the sea which are not the subject of our current exploration and explication.

When all interconnected notions finally acquire their coherent power in terms of consistency, then will be the time to discuss continuing the construction of a permanent artificial installation on the sea, called the Pelješac Bridge (mainland – Pelješac Peninsula). Having understood that the Republic of Croatia only wants to connect two parts of the mainland, that is, the northern and southern ends of their country with a high-

quality road link, this modern traffic connection should not endanger, or be detrimental to, the interests of their neighbors.

Therefore, for the purpose of solving the traffic difficulties of the Republic of Croatia, the continuation of the construction of the Pelješac Bridge should be permanently solved by settling the so-called previous issues elaborated earlier - the permanent maritime delimitation on the Adriatic Sea as well as the permanent determination of the land border through a bilateral international frontier treaty, which will be applied equally and in good faith by both signatory parties and which will, above all, be confirmed in both the Croatian Parliament and the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties of 1969 would be applicable in the event of any dispute as to its application, and the interpretation of certain provisions thereof. In addition to this, as mentioned above, it is necessary to establish in an internationally appropriate manner the legal regime and the width of the future corridor, which will represent, *inter alia*, a junction between Bosnian and Herzegovinian waters and the High Seas of the Adriatic.

Hence, only after the final determination of all the aforementioned, and after a thorough, concrete and legally binding determination of the legal regime of the corridor above which the permanent bridge will be built, the scientific and professional processing of the project known as the Pelješac Bridge must be approached. This should meet all the technical characteristics of bridges that have already been built over water within the international legal regime, i.e. international waterways, such as the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge and the Bosporus Bridge in Istanbul that cross over the waters of the Bosporus strait which is under international legal regime, or the Oresund bridge (although most of the international maritime traffic takes place above the underwater tunnel) linking the Kingdom of

Denmark and the Kingdom of Sweden and which is also located over the international waterway. This means that if the agreement between the two neighboring coastal states in this part of the Adriatic Sea could be achieved, in the sense of completing its construction and opening it for all road traffic, the bridge of these dimensions must have a certain minimum navigation height and a minimum range between the pillars, or at least the central ones, so that big ships could also sail into the Neum waters.

Bosnia and Herzegovina always somehow tends to delay consideration of certain questions. If this continues, there is a great chance that there will be no single institutional response, with the result that the position of Bosnia and Herzegovina in relation to this important international legal issue will remain very vague and indeterminate. Additionally, there is a very long internal tradition which does not encourage political cooperation, and a lack of understanding of things that are of fundamental significance to the whole country, not just to one of its constituent peoples.

However, in expectation of any kind of determination on the part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with or without the Pelješac Bridge, the problem of the permanent "drawing" of the borderline between the two countries, both on the sea and on the land, will remain. The question of the access corridor or the connection of Bosnia-Herzegovina's waters with the High Seas will not be sorted out alone. So, is it wise to wait for the international community or the Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina (if it is still here?!) to take steps to protect the international interests of this state?

This is an opportunity to see the strength of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian diplomacy which will once again demonstrate its position on the international stage. There is certainly a consistent lack of unity, resulting predominately from the less than satisfactory territorial organization, and attempts to build a state on the basis of ethnicity.

This lack of unity is reflected in the impossibility of coming to clear institutional views on the part of the official state government. There may again be the emergence of a culture of conflict and non-cooperation at the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina (which could, adopt the declaration, as a political act, with precisely defined conclusions), the Council of Ministers and the Presidency.

But if dialogue is opened, perhaps after formal disagreement through a diplomatic note to the Republic of Croatia, the latter will surely have the advantage, or at least a better negotiating position, due to its European Union membership. This fact may well be crucial (since the European Union also recognizes the interest in land consolidation of its territory, so that its members can better monitor and control their state territory, with the goal of Croatia's entry into the Schengen area) to the success of the negotiations as a diplomatic mean of settling one international dispute, which surely here does exist, at least with respect to the territorial title. Finally, it is worth mentioning that an international dispute does not need to be specifically proclaimed, the essence is in the existence of a disagreement with respect to essential facts, or in their apparently different interpretations.

If there is an international dispute between two coastal states that share the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea - that is not debatable - it is now best to choose the most appropriate and effective means of settling the dispute with, if possible, mutual interest as its aim. In this respect, it would be best to choose the most appropriate means for peaceful settlement of disputes from a large palette of diplomatic and legal means that are equally available to each state. Based on the foregoing, a dispute can be brought before the ICJ in The Hague, the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) in Hamburg, or it can be "easily" settled through *ad hoc* arbitration, i.e. special arbitration tribunals.

But for the decision, which is the only outcome of these legal proceedings, it is necessary to wait for years, since such international legal processes can be very long-lasting and, above all, extremely expensive. In any case, Bosnia and Herzegovina will surely need to find a *modus operandi* in solving the above-mentioned issues with its western neighbor. This could be found in the Joint Team of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia for Negotiations on the Implementation of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and the Delimitation at Sea or, perhaps, on a general level, in a body that will be composed on a parity basis, such as the Inter-State Diplomatic Commission for the Determination of the Border Line, which should, *inter alia*, settle the border dispute over the Danube River between the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Croatia, still, so far, with little success. All this graphically demonstrates the complexity of the international law of the sea, particularly in the area of delimitation.

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Socio-Economic Situation of Agricultural Labour:
A Study in Karimnagar District

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[Agricultural labourers are predominantly landless and form a significant section of rural society mainly depends on wages from agriculture. Studies also confirmed that the labour force largely from the social category of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In this context, the paper discusses about agricultural labourers's socio-economic conditions locating Karimnagar district of Telangana state in India. It tried to examine characterization and categories of agricultural labourers. As it found that, income pattern of farm labpur has always been meagre, resulting in poor living and indebtedness. Even under rights based livelihoods under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) has also not changed much as limited man days evident in the study.]

This paper discusses agricultural labourers's socio-economic conditions located in Karimnagar district of Telangana state in India. It tries to examine characterization and categories of agricultural labourers. Agricultural labourers are those who work in the fields of others on wages for the major fraction of the year and earn a significant proportion of their income as an amount in the form of wages for works performed by them on the agricultural farms owned by others. Labour is the utmost significant input in increasing production in agriculture. In the early stage of development, since land was ample in size and availability of labour, supply channels made expanding uncultivated lands into cultivation (Parthasarathy, G 1998). At this stage of development the increase in labour supply was an advantage to the society. Agricultural labourers' households constitute the historically deprived social groups, displaced handicraftsmen and dispossessed peasantry (Parthasarathy, G 1998). However, its dependency on the sector is in quite large size in India but its contribution to overall GDP relatively low as it evident that the average per-capita productivity of the agricultural workers found to be low which led to very low rates of wages.

Agricultural labourers are predominantly landless and form a significant section of rural society mainly depends on wages from agriculture. Majority of them belong to the social category of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Income pattern in this sector has always been meagre, resulting in poor living and indebtedness. Much worse is observed in those who get casual agricultural work merely exist and do not live. Their scattered habitations were also restructured during the last four-five decades hence it may be appropriate restate their locality from 'scattered' to 'settled' in villages. However, still organized unions are largely absent except on party lines. As a result of it, daily wage labourers are failed to improve their lives even seven and half decades of developmental planning. A large number of agricultural labour forces are thus deprived of any form of social security measures. In this context the study tried to understand agricultural labourers' socio economic conditions in the state of Telangana.

As it was stated, the percentages of agricultural labourers have been increasing in absolute terms though the proportion has been decreased. However, impressive changes are not observed

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in their standards of living of agricultural labourers. This is the basic premise on which the study has focused on understanding the state of affairs applying in depth observations at national based on secondary sources in general and newly formed state like Telangana in particular. Among the ten districts (former) of Telangana, Karimnagar district has selected for the field investigation as it has huge potentiality in terms of agro climatic conditions and manpower and diverse mineral resources and it occupied first rank in paddy production in 2013. It consists 68 per cent of agricultural laborers with poor economic conditions and lack of good living environment compared with other districts. Thus, this research work taken up in the Karimnagar district of the Telangana state. The study attempted to examine the socio-economic conditions of the Agricultural labourers in terms of education, health, employment and Income in selected villages of Karimnagar district.

Critical Analysis on Socio-Economic Conditions

In view of the above, the study focused on different aspects of Agricultural labourers' life such as education, health, Employment, income, gender equality etc. The purposive multistage sampling method is used. In a first stage, Karimnagar district was selected as sample district based on the presence of highest percentage agricultural laborers. In a second stage, study had chosen two mandals - Korutla and Chandurti. The reason is to select Korutla relatively well irrigated compared to Chandurti Mandal which is considered largely as a non-irrigated area. In the third stage, two villages from each Mandal were selected mostly by adhering to the principle of stratified sampling with focus on irrigated and non-irrigated areas. Thus, two hundred respondents were selected randomly from above two mandals. Caste wise proportional sampling was made amongst the agricultural labourers covering the categories of OC, OBC, SC. Gender wise sampling also done accordingly.

Location of Study

The study located initially in the following villages: Chinnametpalle, Madhapur, Rudrangi and Moodapally covering 50 respondents from each villages selecting first two villages from Korutla mandal and remaining two villages from Chandurthi mandal of Karimnagar district (See Table 1).

Table 1: Selected Villages

S.No.	Villages	Frequency	Valid %
1.	Chinnametpalle	50	25.0
2.	Madhapur	50	25.0
3.	Rudrangi	50	25.0
4.	Moodapally	50	25.0
5.	Total	200	100.0

Source: Field Study

Working Persons and Land Holdings

It has been understood that there has been tendency to have more than one working labour in each family. Hence, it was tried to understand the working population in a household. As it presented in table evident that 15.5% of households have at least one working or earning person in family whereas 2 earning persons shown in 84.5%. It may be revealed that majority households are with 2 working persons which may more beneficial in terms of availing more wages in a particular agricultural contexts (Table 12). Further, it shows the respondents distributed on the basis of families' land owning pattern. It may be seen that of the total respondents, 41.5% are landless people while 58.5% are having land holdings.

Table 2: Working Persons

S.No.	Working size	Frequency (N=200)	Valid %
1.	1 Member Earning	31	15.5
2.	2 Members Earning	169	84.5

	Land Owned		
3.	Land Holdings	117	58.5
4.	Landless	83	41.5
	Holding Size		
5.	Landless	83	41.5
6.	0-2 Acres	77	38.5
7.	2-4 Acres	35	17.5
8.	Above 4 acres	5	2.5

Source: Field Study

The land distribution of the respondents is indicating (See Table 2) that below 2 acres of land holders more (38.5%) than those who holds land between 2-4 acres (17.5%) and above 4 acres (2.5%). Though the proportion of landless labourers (41.5%) are more than remaining land holding households, the presence of households which holds land between 2-4 acres and more than 4 acres is very less. It may be further observed that agricultural labour households' holds largely below 2 acres of land though some had more than that, still predominantly dependent on agricultural wages. It also reveals that marginal land holders need more supportive measures in terms of capital and loans for farming.

Land Titles

Further, the study investigated that on whose names the titles of land were registered. Initially, the titles were found on the following heads - head of the family, wife and others which include parent of the head of the family and children. The data shows that 35% titles are head of the family whereas, interestingly, 9.5% titles were on wife's name and 14% lands registered on others as it stated that others include parent of the head of the family and children. The land is divided into two different types based on institutional recognition by the government – Patta lands and Assigned lands (Table 3). The proportion of patta lands is 49% whereas assigned lands just about 9.5%. It is clear that

there are more umber of patta holdings present in this study area.

Table 3: land Heads and Titles

S.No.	Titles	Frequency (N=200)	Valid %
1.	Landless	83	41.5
2.	Head of the Family	70	35.0
3.	Wife	19	9.5
4.	Others	28	14.0
5.	Total	200	100.0
Lands			
6.	Landless	83	41.5
7.	Patta Land	98	49.0
8.	Assigned Land	19	9.5

Source: Field Study

Land Lease Pattern

The study further examined what extent the land was leased out by the agricultural labourers. As the data presented in table 4, it reveals that 6% of respondents leased out about an acre of land while two acres by 5%. However, only about 0.5% respondents equally leased out their lands which account 4 and 5 acres respectively.

Table 4: land Lease Pattern

S.No.	Land size	Frequency	Valid %
1.	Landless	83	41.5
2.	No Lease	93	46.5
3.	1 acre	12	6.0
4.	2 acres	10	5.0
5.	3 acres	1	.5
6.	4 acre	1	.5
7.	Total	200	100.0

Source: Field Study

Cropping Pattern

Table 5: Cropping Pattern

S.No.	Crops	Frequency	Valid %
1.	Not Indicated	83	41.5
2.	Paddy	45	22.5
3.	Maize	24	12.0
4.	Cotton	30	15.0
5.	Others	14	7.0
6.	Paddy & Maize	4	2.0
7.	Total	200	100.0

Source: Field Study

As the data presented in table 5, majority cultivated paddy (22.5%) in their respective farms followed by Cotton (15.0%), Maize (12.0%), other millets (7.0%) and both - paddy and maize (2.0%). However, it may be noted that the predominant crop is paddy as it reported in the study. Though irrigation is limitedly observed, water intensive crop i.e., paddy was dominated and cotton has been reported as an extreme dry crop. Still, unsafe or unprofitable in terms of expenditure has been observed among the labourers in this study.

Main Income Source

Apart from their regular livelihoods sources which include farm and non-farm activities, specific examination was attempted to understand what main income source among agricultural labourers is. As the data shown in table 6, majority viewed that their main income source is from farm sector which account about 95.5% whereas remaining is considered to be non-farm. Though very few viewed that their main income source is non-farm, further tried to understand what specific source is available in this particular case. As it indicated in the data (Table 6), sheep rearing is found to be main income source from non-farm. But, in larger agricultural context, sheep rearing is also considered as farming activity. So, it may be obvious that sent

percent respondents dependent on farming activities for their main income sources.

*T*able 6: Main and Non-farm Income Source

S.No.	Income Source	Frequency (N=200)	Valid %
1.	Farm Sector	197	98.5
2.	Non Farm Sector	3	1.5
Non-Farm			
3.	Not Indicated	197	98.5
4.	Sheep-Goat rearing	3	1.5

Source: Field Study

Number of days worked on MGNREGA

In addition to farming labour days, man days under MGNREGA is also documented. As the data presented in table 25, responses on this aspect is insignificant as only 0.5% reported to be 100 days of work whereas 21.5% availed only 50 days of work under the program. Surprisingly, majority respondents (42.5%) replied that they did not involved in this program. As the data presents different man days in a year, the practice or implementation of the right work under MGNREGA is uncertain. The trend available based on primary source is an important to scrutinize its implementation at ground so as to maximize rights of majority labour force in rural areas. Average daily wage rates under MGNREGA are observed and it largely the wage rate is Rs.80 sometimes followed by Rs 70 and Rs.90. This may be considered to be important in labour economics.

Table 8: MGNREGA

S.No.	MGNREGA	Frequency	Valid %
1.	10 days	8	4.0
2.	15 days	1	.5
3.	20 days	12	6.0
4.	25 days	2	1.0

5.	30 days	16	8.0
6.	40 days	7	3.5
7.	45 days	2	1.0
8.	50 days	43	21.5
9.	60 days	19	9.5
10.	80 days	3	1.5
11.	90 days	1	.5
12.	100 days	1	.5
13.	No Response	85	42.5
14.	Total	200	100.0

Source: Field Study

Conclusion

The paper brought about agricultural labourers's socio-economic conditions concentrating in four villages of Karimnagar district of Telangana state in India. It examined characterization and categories of agricultural labourers. As the data presents in the above analysis confirms that agricultural labourers still deprived and constitute in some confined social groups as mentioned by Parthasarathy, G (1998). However, it was found that dependency on the farn labour is in quite large but its economic contribution to labour relatively low as it evident that the data reveals. The major crops in the study area are paddy, Cotton, Maize, other millets and both - paddy and maize. However, main income source is from farm sector and some considered being non-farm. Concerning, wage rates per day, it was seen that per day agricultural wages is Rs. 120 and some extent seen as Rs.100 per day as a daily wages for farm labour. Enchantingly, Rs. 150 per day is also evident in some cases. In addition to farming work, man days under MGNREGA are also analysed. As the study reported insignificant proportion reported to be 100 days of work.

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Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Contemporary Relevance

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[*Maulana Azad, a rare combination of secular India, continues to remain relevant even after 60 years of his death. His ideas about Two National Theory, Partition of India, Hindu Muslim Unity, Scientific Islamic Thought and Modern Education are extremely important in the context of ongoing political developments. India celebrates 11 November as National Education Day to commemorate the noble ideas of Maulana Azad. Despite odds and challenges, Maulana Azad remains truly a secular leader of India.*]

Popularly known as 'Mohiyuddin Ahmed' during the early part of his life, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is always remembered as one of the most prominent thinkers and true freedom fighter of modern India. An extraordinary profile, Maulana Azad was a multidimensional character, a Hero of Nation, secular, liberal, visionary and a true lover of Hindu Muslim Unity. As the only Muslim Leader of India, Maulana Azad was free from criticism unlike several other Muslim Thinkers of Modern India.

It is widely believed that Maulana Azad was among the last generation of Prophet Mohammed who enlightened the world ever since 6th Century. Maulana Azad was born in Mecca on 11th November 1888 and traditionally came from a *Pir* (devotee of *Mazar*) family, a successor of Mughal Emperor who gained leadership of excellence and scholarship ability in secular Islamic Thought. As an exceptional Muslim leader from Indian soil, Maulana Azad boldly and recklessly broke the traditional boundary of Indian Muslims by his scholarly writings in just at the age of 12 and thereby became the youngest ever scholar to join the mainstream of India. At the age of 14, Maulana Azad successfully launched a weekly journal *Lasan-e-Sidqua* and at the age of 16, he became the youngest teacher of Philosophy and Mathematics. Maulana Azad became the milestone in breaking the traditional

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barriers of theological belief, became a scholar of Bible and Quran and boldly fought against religious intolerance by beautifully synthesizing Islamic Contents with the real world. Unlike Sir Syed, Shauket Ali, Khan Abdul Gaffar, M.A. Jinna; Maulana Azad was altogether a different person who appeared at the political map of India on right time and encouraged Indians to join frontline of independence. Maulana Azad successfully established *Hizbullah* Society (Family of God) and openly warned the Muslims of India against the ideology of separatism, hedonism, communalism and thereby developed the rational thinking despite limitations on his journalistic mission. Azad remains a rare example who opposed Iqbal, Sir Syed and Mauddi, often called as 'Self Separated' who advocated the unity of Hindus and Muslims. As an unparallel with immense erudition in Islamic Science as depicted in *Hadith* (Sayings of Prophet) and *Fiqh* (Cannon Law), Maulana Azad remains a constant source of inspiration now and then.

Maulana Azad was actively associated with Rowlett Act (1919), *Khilafat* Movement (1919-1924) and helped several personalities.[1] Maulana Azad's interaction with leaders like Jamaluddin Afghani (Afghanistan), Mustafa Kemal Pasa Ataturk (Turkey), Abdul Nasser (Egypt) and many more helped to add new dimensions of thought.[2] In fact, Maulana Azad was concerned with over 400 million Muslims living in different parts of the world, understood their problems and raised voice against injustice.

Maulana Azad deeply calculated the historical events of Ottoman Empire, French Revolution, Russian Revolution, Pan Arab Nationalism, Tipple Alliance in Central Europe, Gandhian Movement in South Africa and Non Cooperation Movement in India. Maulana Azad was also inspired by western thinkers like Bentham, Spencer, Mill, Huxley, and Indian thinkers like Tilak, Bin Chandar, Aurobindo, Malviya, Lajpat Rai, Annie Besant. Hindu Reforms, Bible Fellowship, Deoband, Wahabi Movement and Aligarh Movement also added his vision. Maulana Azad firmly believed that *Quran* is the final revelation of God to man and Prophet Mohammed is the highest ideal of human contact. Whereas Mecca and Medina are the perfect pilgrimages based on *Imam* (belief) and *Amal-i-Sahih* (right action), which the world has to review scientifically. In fact *Quran* assures that religion is not one rather it is the combination of ideologies, communities, practice of life, supporter of universal tolerance and eternal truth.

Some Important Excerpts of Maulana Azad

Maulana Azad has delivered thousands of lectures and speeches time and again. Let us have an overview of some of his prominent secular speeches.

i. Eleven Hundred years of common history have enriched India with our common achievements…Language, poetry, culture, art, dress, manner, custom bear the stamp of our joint endevour.

ii. The Muslim either should destroy themselves or live in freedom. There is no third alternative in Islam.

iii. If you stand against partition, I am afraid India is lost.

iv. I am a Muslim, I feel proud that I am an Indian.

v. I consider it (nationalism) a bounden duty to liberate my country from the yoke of slavery.

vi. 70 million Muslims of India should so combine with their 200 million Hindu Brethrens to form one nation.

Maulana Azad as a Secular and Realist Thinker

Maulana Azad is often called as the 'Epitome of Hindu Muslim Unity'. As an exponent of Indian Nationalism, he always convinced the masses of India for 'unity and integrity' despite the fact that a sizeable sections of Indian community had worries about the consequences of partition. In fact, India experienced several communal incidences time and again. The noted ones: Thane: Ganapati Procession (1971), Moradabad –Eid Prayer (1980), Bhagalpur-Minority issues (1989), Ayodhaya- Babri Masjid - Ram Bhoomi controversy (6 December 1992), Godhara Carnage (28 February 2002) and Dadri Mob Lynching (28 September 2015) which were witnessed after death of Maulana Azad. Had there been true application of Maulana Azad's secular ideas, such incidences would have not taken place. In fact, both media as well as policy makers played damaging role in patronizing the role of Indian Muslims by calling them as anti-nationalists. The stereotype image of Indian Muslims established by Indian media became the serious concern which was never equated with the secular ideas of Maulana Azad.

Today, RSS – a coordination of Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Bajrang Dal, Rashtriya Shiksha Mandal and Akhil Bharitya Vidrathi Parishad, and Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh are lynching aggressive campaigns against the Indian Muslims. Maulana Azad's formula 'One India and One People' is extremely relevant who strongly supported a cause for federal India, center state autonomy, decentralized power, and constitutional provisions. In fact, the Cabinet Mission Plan (1946) was the best alternative. Azad's well known work *India Wins Freedom* is full of text and messaged about the worries and consequences of Indians after the partition. The original plan of Muslim League about the resolution of Pak was a harmful end. In fact, Maulana Azad strongly opposed Jinnah's Two Nation Theory and supported co-religious sentiments. Maulana Azad's secular emotions shattered when India was finally partitioned in 1947 when Maulana Azad out rightly rejected

Pak Formula and requested millions of Indians to stand for One Nation and One India. Even Maulana Azad publicly urged five million Hindus and Muslims to stand firm against Pakistan. But all these virtually failed due to political gimmicks, corrupt bureaucracy and administrative unaccountability which defeated Maulana Azad's secular stands.

Maulana Azad was often the victim of Orthodox Muslim who aimed that all religions are based on universal truth, one God Worship, eternal truth of religion, right conduct and singe brotherhood. By virtue of being a Muslim, Maulana Azad did not stand for Muslim but for whole India in the most difficult time. Representing various academic and political interest, Maulana Azad was the Organizer of *Khuddam –e-Kaba* Movement (1913), *Khilafat* Movement (1921), President of All India Congress (1923), Promoter of Indian National Congress (1930), Member of Congress Working Committee (1932), Organizer of All India Congress Committee (1934) and member of Congress Parliamentary Board (1935) which symbolized his dedication and commitment towards nation building.

Champion of Hindu-Muslim Unity

Maulana Azad has reserved a due place in the history of modern Indian political thought through nationalist Muslim who challenged the separatist assumptions of the Aligarh School. A great cementing force between Hindus and Muslims, he sought to bring the Muslims into the national mainstream. Azad broke barriers and his genius came out when he started reading books on different subjects irrespective of race, region, nationality, color and religion. Azad realized at a very early period of life that religious intolerance and dogmatism was not comprehensible and so he developed doubts and at one stage rejected his faith in God. Consequently, as a rebel against his father and the family tradition, he wandered for some years as a skeptic. With bold and reckless efforts, Maulana Azad's renewed faith in Islam helped to combine with a development of broad mindedness in the matters of religion. Maulana

Azad realized that the Muslims of India must come out of their isolation and join the national mainstream for India's freedom. Against the odds and challenges of Aligarh Movement and secular commitment to promote social journalism, Maulana Azad developed broad perception through powerful writings, created a stir in the Muslim world and forced Indian Muslims to see the error in their thinking. It was only Maulana Azad who brought Hindus and Muslims on one platform during the Rowlatt Act (1919) and the Khilafat agitation and thus became the brain behind the struggle against the British along with other important leaders like Maulana Mohammad Ali, Hakeem Ajmal Khan, Mahatma Gandhi and Tilak. Azad came forward as the great champion of Hindu-Muslim unity and asked the Muslims to see the reality of the situation. He said: "Eleven hundred years of common history have enriched India with our common achievements… As a Muslim, I for one am not prepared for a moment to give up my right to treat the whole of India as my domain and to share in the shaping of its political and economic life".

Maulana Azad's opposition on Two Nation Theory power of constitutions, concept of superior inferior, a mediator of varying parties (Muslim League, INC, Cabinet Mission Plan and Indian Independence Act, justified the best cause of Hindu Muslim Unity. He supported Non Cooperation Movement, negotiated Cripps and the Cabinet Missions, federal autonomy and remained President of INC for several terms which all confirmed Maulana Azad's secular stands. His deep learning and scholarship combined with intellectual resourcefulness made him a great leader of his time. In the words of Dr. Tara Chand: "Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad was a rare combination of scholar, statesman of the old world refinement and culture and modern ardor of freedom and progress. He spent a great part of his life in the struggle. He staked all in the service of the cause." As a nationalist Azad stood unmoved and unaffected. He, soon, became recipient of respect and regard from several important members of the Hindu community. His counsel and advice were sought

on important political problems after India's independence. He was not only one of the great scholars of the Koran in modem times but due to his command over Arabic and Persian, he was held in high esteem as a *Quoranic* interpreter in the countries of the Middle East and Africa. After independence, he helped in the formulation of India's foreign policy under Nehru Cabinet.

Secular Education

Maulana Azad deserves credit of being the first Education Minister who played crucial role in promoting India's Higher Education System and helped to develop large number of research and academic organization bearing his name and fame and thus has due role in shaping the destiny of Modern India. The prominent ones: Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR); Maulana Azad Oriental Research Institute, Hyderabad; Maulana Azad Medical College, New Delhi; Maulana Azad Library & Research Centre; Aligarh Muslim University; Maulana Azad Institute, Calcutta; and Maulana Azad Medical College, New Delhi. The list is exhaustive as there are also large numbers of schools, trust organizations, NGOs and scholarship schemes for minorities, running on the name Maulana Azad. In memory and honor, India celebrates Maulana Azad's Birthday (11 November) as National Education Day since 2008 where hundreds of programmes and polices run throughout India and the world to commemorate Azad Foundations. Maulana Azad was of the opinion that education was the right of one and all. He was also responsible for setting up of apex bodies such as All India Council of Technical Education (AICTE), University Grants Commission (UGC); Indian Institute of Technology (IITs), Indian Institute of Science (IISc); and School of Architecture and Planning were also his brainchild. The celebration of the day as National Education Day is only fitting to his legacy. Maulana Azad was also a prominent journalist of his time and championed the cause of Indian Nationalist movement. He understood the correlation between educational and national development. He strongly advocated free and compulsory education for children up to the age of 14 years. He knew that India was a nation with abroad cultural spectrum and hence needed educated citizens to participate in nation-building tasks. Understanding that even though independent, India was widely illiterate and hence he advocated adult education and literacy and also stressed on vocational training and diversification of secondary education. Not just primary education and literacy but, Maulana Azad was also instrumental in promotion of culture and literature through education. Most of the cultural and literary academies we see today such as Lalit Kala Academy, Sahitya Academy etc. were established in memory of Maulana Azad.[3]

India Wins Freedom: Maulana Azad or Mahatma Gandhi?

It remains debated topic as who is more important for India's independence: Maulana Azad or Mahatma Gandhi. In fact, the credit of India's freedom equally goes to Maulana Azad apart from Gandhi and Tilak who deserves praises for his great achievements in promoting the Pan Islamic Thought based on free India. His deep learning and scholarship abilities equated with intellectual resourcefulness were the ideal conditions of India's freedom. Maulana Azad was a rare combination of scholar, statesman, culture and modern developments unlike other conservative thinkers. He is an epitome of national liberty, a multidimensional profile who helped to assimilate the intensified intents of Indian nationalism from the clutches of English rule. Despite odds and challenges, Maulana Azad was ever ready to give any sacrifice for Indian's freedom struggle. As an embodiment of millions of Indians, Maulana Azad was a true representative of Indian culture and heritage. Even today, he occupies a place of pre-eminence in egalitarian society against the divisive, disruptive and fissiparous tendencies. [4] Despite best efforts, Maulana Azad finally failed to convince the masses in the midst of saffron agenda, communal disharmony, religious diversity and differences of leadership in the

midst of divided India. In short, Maulana Azad is not less important than Gandhi in the race of India's freedom movement.

Contemporary Debates on Maulana Azad

Despite the very fact that Maulana Azad was among the most secular thinkers of Modern India, but he is not free from criticism across India. Even several Muslim thinkers were not happy from the secular approach as it was found not in favour Indian Muslims as Sir Syed did. Islamic contents and hidden Philosophy continue to remain critical in the eyes of saffron media and minds of India. Several Hindu thinkers do not support unilateral philosophy of one God. But Azad stood firm for Hindu Muslim Unity till his death.

Now the time has come to review the nature and working of Indian constitution, bureaucratic set up and censorship on media within the broader parameter of Azad's secular ideas. Leaders of cross sections should sit together to decide the precise form of media, mind and ideology so as to promote the spirit of secularism in real practice. If we leave the ongoing development of democracy without due care, it may spell doom to our unity and integrity. It is the high time to initiate Maulana Azad's debates to find out the causes to promote social integrity, national harmony and universal love. There is greater need to understand the hidden agenda between Islam and Hinduism where all communities of India need to assess the true character of environmental Islamic Ethics, especially the Non-Islamic Followers. A democratic governance marked by equality and freedom should focus on the issues of the ordinary Indians, human rights, communal harmony and national integration that work for everyone. In general, Maulana Azad preferred to offer a positive and motivational journalism to respect the sentiments of all Indians. Global India needs the Media Program to assists the development and establishment of democracy marked by freedom, pluralism, and the inclusion of minority voice. The time has come to re-create media world so as to promote interdependent image of global village. Remember: one true ethical message is worth for millions. Let the blessings of Maulana Azad flourish over the Indian sub-continent to put all on one platform.

Relevance of Maulana Azad in Contemporary India

The question as how the present ruling elites under RSS agenda and *Hindutva* Nationalism is alienating Muslims, *Dalits* and marginalized communities, remain a subject of debate now and then. Maulana Azad was not simply an Islamic Scholar, rather more close to religious tolerance by uniting 'Hindu Muslim, One India, One Nation and One People'. Maulana Azad's co religious sentiments are now questionable for over 125 million Indians. Maulana Azad remains a rare example who is often compared with Sir Syed, Iqbal and Muaddi. Often 'Self Separated' form the Muslims, Maulana Azad advocated the unity of two communities but he must be given due attention to interpret hidden the philosophy of secularism for true love, share and care of divided India.

Maulana Azad remains an unparalleled with immense erudition in the Islamic Science as depicted in *Hadith* (sayings of Prophet), *Fiqh* (cannon law), Kalam (theological philosophy). A knowledgeable of Urdu, Arabic, Persian, English and literature, Azad's perspicacity, vigour, witty, charming personality, gifted with genius, aristocracy in making and dignified without personal ambition, and free from factionalism, all are important dimensions. With an iron will and true resolution, he was widely trusted, respected and enjoyed the confidence of all parties, ideologies, and high minded politicians. So, Maulana Azad repudiated the conformity (*taqlid*), accepted innovation (*tajdid*), the critical examination of dogma, doctrine and finally emerged as triumphant over spiritual struggle and inner purity.

Maulana Azad's true Islamic thought remains an emotional transformation, and a learned experienced worldwide. No doubt Maulana Azad believed in the emancipation of Muslims who

were worried about the partition of India supported by Jinnah. For Maulana Azad, Islam and nationalism are based on sociological arguments, an evolutionary process, and the union of paternalistic family. In fact, Maulana Azad never permitted any mind or intention to inferior any other religion as he believed in real practice of life.

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Energy—Russia's Foreign Policy Tool and Ukraine

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New realist thinker Keohane and Nye propounded the theory of 'Complex interdependence' in international relations. Energy ties between two former constituent of Soviet Union can be attributed as complex interdependence (Puglisi 2003). Oil and gas have been critical at the twentieth century and the beginning of the 21st century. It is a mainstay of Russian foreign policy which constitutes an important source of political power projection and international prestige. Due to its ability to produce and supply energy, Moscow enjoys the privileged relations with leading EU countries including Germany as well as USA. Russia shares the world's largest natural gas, the second largest coal reserves and Seventh largest Oil reserves (Lough 2011). Russia is the world leading country in terms of reserves (23% of the world reserves) and annual production of natural gas. The country pro-vides 25% of the world trade in natural gas, dominating both on the Eu-ropean gas market and on the gas market of the Commonwealth of In-dependent States. Russian gas accounts for approximately 30% of the overall gas consumption in the European countries (Russian Energy Strategy policy 2009).

In the Soviet Union era, energy industry had played significant role in shaping the budget. The oil and natural gas pipelines crossed over the former Soviet Republics and the former Soviet allies in the Eastern Europe. This situation became an important advantage for post-Soviet Russia to export energy via these pipelines. During the 1970s the Soviet Union used to produce about 1 billion tons of oil every year. Moscow's energy ties with capitalist countries were based on pragmatism with the purpose of making economic profit (Sudo and Kazankova 1998).

The Energy strategy policy provides some important objectives in the following way: The objective of the Russian energy policy is to maximize the ef-fective use of natural energy resources and the potential of the energy sector to sustain economic growth and promote strengthening of foreign economic positions of the country. Russia will thus not only retain its position as the largest energy sup-plier in the world, but will also qualitatively change its presence on the world energy market by diversifying its commodities structure and des-tinations of energy export. This will make it possible to reduce the dependency of the Russian en-ergy sector on export of energy resources to

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Europe, as well as increase profitability and efficiency of the international business of Russian en-ergy companies without substantially increasing export of primary en-ergy (Energy Strategy of Russia 2009).

There is a complex interdependency between both the states. Ukraine's energy dependence on Russia and the Russia's transit dependency on Ukraine[1] have been the outstanding features of Russia's economic partnership with Ukraine. Ukriane remains dependent on Russia after the 17th year independency and Moscow has been the primary energy supplier for Ukriane. Ukriane imported 90% oil and almost 60% gas from Russia in every year. Energy production accounted 25% of Russia's GDP in 2000 (Trenin 2011). The economic system of the both country remain closely connected. Energy transit is not only Russia's dependence, but also for joint projects, especially in the military area where military-industrial complexes developed during the Soviet period. On the other hand, Russia is the market for metals, pipes, chemical industry and agriculture products. Such interdependencies make vulnerable to the economy of the both country (Balmaceda 2008).

Moscow adopted energy as a tool mechanism in three different ways: first, cut-off energy supplies; Second, Ukrainian energy debt. Gradually, this debt was converted into Ukrainian state debt toward Moscow. And Russia welcomed this growing debt which provided a kind of "rain-check". Russia has used it not only for economic and political concessions but also at the more concrete level of issues such as control over its gas transit system and Black Sea fleet. Third, Moscow provides energy at the very favorable conditions i.e. lower than world prices (D'Anieri 1999). These three different ways has been defined as the "carrot- and –stick" approach in Russia's energy policy (Balmaceda 2008). Russia currently supplies two-thirds of Europe's imported natural gas-42 percent of total European consumption; Central and Eastern European countries depend on Russian gas for more than 90 percent of their needs. It is estimated that

Europe will import 84 percent of its gas needs by 2030. European Union and individual countries are broadly recognized their national security dependency on Russian energy. Europe has now "stepped up its attempts to reduce its exposure to potential Russian blackmail over energy supplies" (Traynor 2008). In Early 1990s, Russia's willing to use energy as weapon was clearly visible in Ukrainian case. It was reflected in Russian behavior during the 1993 Massandra Summit[2]. Then Ukrainian President Kravchuk noted regarding the meeting:

"In the Massandra, it was said in no uncertain terms…..if Ukriane did not find the means to settle its debt and make payments for energy carriers, that are due now, Russia would be forced to suspend oil and gas deliveries to Ukriane entirely. This was said in no uncertain terms, rather than hinted at…..this was the situation that delegations had to work in" (D'Anieri 1999)

During these years, the oil prices in international markets were quite low which adversely affected Russian economy. Eventually Moscow began to follow a passive foreign policy while trying to deal with its domestic problems (Sonmez and Cobanoglu 2016). In 1994, Moscow sought to use an excise duty in order to putting pressure on Ukriane for joining the CIS Custom Union (Smolansky 1996). This has been interpreted as covert threat (Balmaceda 1998). Jonathan Stern stated that it was "Ukrainian political sensitivity towards Russian influence, which was a considerable to finding any commercial solution that involves Gazprom taking some degree of ownership in Ukrainian gas transmission and storage assets". The 1997 agreements on the Black Sea Fleet illustrate how energy concessions were used to deal with political issues. In the early 90s, Ukraine's consumption of natural gas reached 115 billion cubic metres per year, dropping gradually over subsequent years and reaching 68.6 billion cubic metres in 2000. At the same time, Ukraine's domestic production decreased from 28.1 billion cubic metres in 1990 to 18.0 billion cubic metres in 2000. Nevertheless, the proportion of domestic

production in the energy balance increased (Olszaski 2001).

Rising high Prices of Gas and Oil since 2000: Since 2000, there has been a mutual relationship between the Russian energy policy and the energy prices in the global markets. The increasing energy prices have permitted to Moscow for adopting more powerful and proactive foreign policy. Natural gas and oil companies with a monopoly power such as Gazprom serve not only as an economic tool, but also as a political tool for pressure (Sonmez and Cobanoglu 2016). Since the 2000, Russia's economic and political power has increased in world forum due to the rise of Oil prices. World oil prices have been increased six fold during 1998 to 2005. Similarly in December 2005 Putin sought to punish Ukriane for following a pro-Western foreign policy line by rising prices. A steady increase in the global Oil price changed its international position and its leader's attitude towards partners. In 1999, the price of Brent crude was under $ 18 a barrel which hit $ 147 in 2008 (Lough 2001). Consequently, Moscow started to pursue pro-active foreign policy on a global scale and strengthened Russia's bargaining power to use oil and gas deliveries for political pressure[3]. The overlap between its foreign policy and energy was clear visible in the Energy Strategy 2003. Russia's significant energy resource and powerful energy complex was an instrument for conducting domestic and foreign policy and that the role of the country global energy markets to a great degree determines its geo political influence (Energy Strategy of the Russian Federation 2003).

Energy as a potential factor in Putin's foreign policy: Russia's economic comeback is largely the result of its high-priced oil, natural gas, and metals, and its arms exports, construction, and consumer boom. The Kremlin has used energy exports to Europe as a foreign policy tool, through threats to disrupt oil and gas exports to countries that oppose Russia's national interests. Russia's economic prosperity under Vladimir Putin had helped restore the country as a major world player and as a challenger to Western influence. Russia's war with Georgia was as much about Moscow's plans to annex South Ossetia and Abkhazia as it was to reassert economic domination of the Caucasus by force and prevent additional oil and gas pipelines from being built outside Russian control (Cohen and Szaszdi 2009). Putin's primary tool in implementing his foreign policy has been energy and commodity exports. For example, building a gas pipeline from the Arctic Yamal peninsula into the heart of Europe through Belarus and Poland has been the significant steps. Such a route will weaken Ukraine by denying Kiev tariff revenue from the pipeline and will prevent unauthorized siphoning off of Russian gas (Cohen 2001). Moscow has explored the energy card particularly under period of Putin's regime. During his first tenure, the energy prices increased on a global level and Russia increased its energy exportation. These two factors strengthen the Russian economy to gain a developmental speed.

Eventfully, Russia tried to sustain this economic development and restore its power as in the cold war era. Putin launched periodic "gas wars" (2006, 2008, and 2009) to strengthen Russia's hold on Ukraine by means of energy leverage. Russia suspended gas supplies on 1 January 2006. It quickly affected Ukriane including many other countries Slovakia, Romania, Poland, Austria and Hungry etc. it reflects that the Kremlin sought to use energy dependencies for political purposes in order to pressure on former Soviet republics for not "too close" ties with the west. US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice criticized Russia by making remarks: Russia's actions were "undoubtedly directed by political motives" (Moscow News 2006). Russia stopped supplying gas to Ukraine (2006 and 2009) and Georgia (2006) by increasing the gas price. This gas war served as a serious threat to energy security for European countries that get 1/4 of their imported gas from Russia. Russia was seen as a country that has constructed an energy weapon with its superior status to threat Ukraine and Georgia (Yun & Park 2010). The gas dispute in January 2009 seriously affected countries in the Balkans.

The two sides failed to agree a price for Russian gas supply to Ukraine and a tariff for the transit of Russian gas to Europe. Russian exports to Ukraine, 16 EU member states and Moldova were cut off. Russia has restarted deliveries to both Ukraine and other European countries following the signing of two new ten year contracts. This crisis has serious consequences in terms of energy security in European country. This gas war has seriously affected the reliability of Russia's as a supplier to Europe and Ukraine's as a transit country. European countries began to diversify away from Russian gas, as well as transit away from Ukraine. The gas pipeline such as the North Stream and South Stream pipelines are likely to be prioritized (Pirani 2009). In order to end the dispute, the heads of Gazprom and Naftogaz signed supply and a transit contract on 19 January 2009 for the period of 2009-19.

During the 2004 Orange Revolution, Moscow intervened in Ukrainian affairs by openly backing Viktor Yanukovych's bid for the presidency. It became evident that Ukraine had become Vladimir Putin's personal project. He began treating Ukraine as a Russian domestic issue that he could exploit in order to strengthen his own regime (Shevtsova 2007). Moscow sought to the electoral victory of the proponents of Russia by increasing natural gas prices before the elections in Ukraine. This method was applied before 2006 Parliamentary Elections after Orange Revolution as well as the Presidential Elections in 2010. Moscow wanted to raise the price of gas per 1000 cubic meter $50 to $230 in 2006 and from $250 to $418 in 2009 ((Sonmez and Cobanoglu 2016). This policy has been successful in terms of election results such as pro-Russian Yanukovych came through 2010 elections. In 2004, Russia had backed the pro-Russian Victor Yanukovich against the pro-Western Victor Yushchenko in 2004 Presidential elections. Russia offered to Ukraine gas contracts at reasonable prices (US $50/tcm) (Larsson 2006). In 2013, another crisis took place between Russia and Ukriane while not signing the EU Customs Union Agreement by the pro-Russian President Yanukovich. The Kremlin started to put pressures on Ukraine to pay its debts. Annexing Crimea, the eastern region of Ukraine, has been the result of the crisis between Russia and Ukraine. In a 30% discount in the gas price, Ukriane conducted an agreement with Russia which allowed Russian Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol to stay there until 2042. To make a discount in the gas price in 2012, Russian Prime Minister Medvedev expressed that Kiev also should be a member of Eurasian Economic Union established under Russia's leadership.

Gas Transit Routes from Russia to the EU:

Gas Transit Route	Capacity	Name of Gas pipeline/status
Bypass through Ukraine	>100 bcm/year	Brotherhood/1967
Russia to Germany	55 bcm/year 55 bcm/year	Nord Stream/2012, Nord Stream 2 Proposed for 2019
Russia to Turkey	16 bcm/year	Blue Stream/2003
From Western Siberia to Germany via Belarus and Poland	33 bcm/year	Yamal Pipe line /2006

Source: Gazprom Export, Institute of Energy Economics at the University of Cologne

Russian Gas Exports to Europe via Ukraine (2013-14) Source: Gazprom's annual report 2014.

Countries	Exports-2013	Exports -2014
Hungary	6.00	5.4
Italy	25.3	21.7
Greece	2.6	1.7

Romania	1.4	0.5
Slovakia	5.5	4.4
Austria	5.2	4.2
Bulgaria	2.9	2.8
France	8.6	7.6
Germany	41	40.3
Poland	12.9	9.1
Finland	3.5	3.1
Netherlands	2.9	4.7
Switzerland	0.4	0.3
UK	16.6	15.5
Czech Republic	7.9	4.76
Croatia	0.2	0.2
Estonia	0.7	0.4

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Revisiting Dictatorship: Democracy is Failed Government, Indeed

Endy Bayuni*

[The writer, editor-in-chief of The Jakarta Post*, took part in the Bali Civil Society and Media Forum, organized by the Institute for Peace and Democracy and the Press Council, on Dec.5-6.]*

Democracy is both: the procedure and the content. It is a periodically revisited, fine-calibrated social contract that ties all horizontal and vertical segments of society. Although sometimes slow, tedious and consuming, this is still a truly comprehensive, just and sustainable way to build on its past, live the presence and pursuit the future of a nation." Following the known lines of professor Anis H. Bajrektarevic on ties that bind, hereby is the fresh take from one of the largest democracies of the world – that of Republic of Indonesia.

The late Soeharto has become something of a poster boy for leadership as the nation searches for a president who can effectively deliver the goods.

Photos of the smiling president, who ruled Indonesia between 1966-1998, appear everywhere, with the caption in Javanese "*piye kabare, isih penak jamanku, tho?*" (How are you, better in my era, wasn't it?), a reminder that for some, life was so much better then. The Soeharto posters and memes have been going viral since the 2014 election and are still circulating now.

Soeharto was a dictator, there is no doubt about it, though his supporters would claim that he was a noble one. But the point of the poster is that Indonesia had a leader who delivered the goods, something that no other president since then has been able to match, so his supporters claim.

Soeharto, who ruled with an iron fist, did deliver justice, security and welfare, but it is debatable whether his successors have fared better or worse. Ruling the country for 32 years, he was bound to have delivered something, while his successors have been subject to periodic democratic elections and limited to ruling for no more than two five-year terms.

The bigger question, and this was one of the topics discussed at the recent Bali Civil Society and Media Forum, is whether democracy can deliver justice, security and welfare to the people, all the people.

Indonesia, now a democracy for nearly 20 years, albeit a struggling one, makes a good case study to answer this question, by comparing the ability of the two political systems in bringing greater prosperity to the people.

The track record of Indonesia since 1998 has not been bad, although perhaps underappreciated.

The economy has improved significantly, in terms of overall GDP and per-capita-income growth, and the government today provides many services such as free health care, 12-year compulsory free education and cash assistance for the poor. Indonesia is today the 16th-largest economy in the world, and many predict that it will be in the top 10 by 2025 and top five by 2040.

We have a growing middle class, reflected by the number cellphones, cars and motorcycles, and a growing appetite for holidays, both at home or abroad.

And there is freedom, all kinds of freedom, something that distinguishes today's era from that of Soeharto's. Why then, do some people still feel that they miss Soeharto?

Perhaps they don't really miss him, but they miss the certainty, the swift way decisions were made and the security he provided. They miss the effectiveness and efficiency that an authoritarian regime can deliver.

Democracy, unfortunately, is almost anything but.

Decisions are made through an arduous and cumbersome process, and the government is often mired in stagnation. Every single major decision has to undergo the democratic processes, meaning noisy public debates and endless deliberation by legislators.

We also have legislators who are good at grandstanding but ineffective in producing laws that reflect the aspirations of the people. In many ways, Soeharto's regime produced some better laws because they did not go through the lengthy debates we see today.

On security, Indonesia faces challenges in ensuring protection for people who are attacked or persecuted because of their faith, race, sexual orientation or even ideological leanings.

The attacks on the Shia and Ahmadiyya followers, the forced closures of places of worship, the recent attacks against people because of their leftist ideological leanings, and the return of anti-Chinese sentiments, reflect that freedom and the protection of freedom have been denied to some.

Soeharto would not have tolerated any of this, but then, he would not have tolerated a lot of other things, including dissent and differences of opinion.

Populism, the hallmark of democracy and one way of getting elected, also means leaders addressing only popular issues but avoiding more fundamental problems.

These failings of democracy in Indonesia may have revived our memory of the "good old days" of Soeharto (while forgetting the worse aspects of his regime), but they should not be used as a pretext for a return to authoritarianism.

Democracy in Indonesia is still a work in progress. We have been in this game for only 20 years, and it still has not been able to ensure justice, security and welfare for all.

Democracy, as the popular saying goes, is the worst form of government, except for all the others. The alternative, an authoritarian regime, may be swift and efficient. But if authoritarianism comes at the cost of our freedom, an absence of checks and balances and endemic corruption, then yes, give us democracy any time.

We just have to work harder, through the democratic process, to fix these problems. We have to have faith in democracy.

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Women Domestic Workers
of Informal Sector in Chennai

K.Sivasubramanian*

[The present study emphasizes the crucial issues of women domestic workers of informal sector in Chennai city with respect to their poor wage rates and working conditions. The domestic work sector is a growing employer of women in the city of Chennai. Report says that the number of domestic workers is upto 90 million in India; women constitute 71 percent of this sector. National estimates for 2004-5 suggest 4.75 million workers were employed by private households; 3.05 million of these were urban women, making domestic work as the largest female occupation in Urban India. It is found from this study that 44.35 percent of the respondents are illiterates. The working hours are relatively high when compare to their wages paid. The domestic employer wants to complete maximum work in minimum time, because the domestic worker wages are paid on hourly basis. It is exposed from the data that an average of 25 rupees per hour is paid as wages. Majority of the sample respondents (33.87 percent) are earning a lesser income of 1500 to 2500 per month. The study found that almost all the sample respondents are affected by the occupational health issues.]

The present study emphasizes on the crucial issues of women domestic workers of informal sector in Chennai city with respect to their poor wage rates and working condition. The domestic work sector is a growing employer of women in the city of Chennai. It has no regulation of employment, and there is an extremely low level of organisation of workers. Domestic work is considered "unskilled" work, and therefore is usually the primary kind of employment for women, especially migrant and young women, entering the job market through local links. Domestic work forms one of the principal occupations of female employment in the urban informal sector. Domestic worker are unorganized workers and the sector remains unregulated and vulnerable. The domestic workers are not covered under any significant labour law mainly because of the nature of their work and the employment relationship. The rights and the regulated work conditions, wages and conditions of employment, which are available to other class of workers, are currently not available to domestic workers. This is mostly

because the domestic workers commence work in private homes rather than commercial establishments forming a part of the care economy. They work in terrible conditions, with no attention under the existing welfare measures and systems for social security, old age pension, health and maternity protection etc.

The statistics on domestic workers vary from 4.75 million (Employment and unemployment NSS 61st round, 2004-05) to 6.4 million (Census 2001). Report says that the number of domestic workers may be upto 90 million in India; women constitute 71 percent of this sector. National estimates for 2004-5 suggest 4.75 million workers were employed by private households; 3.05 million of these were urban women, making domestic work as the largest female occupation in Urban India. A large population of such domestic workers comes from vulnerable communities and backward areas. Most domestic workers are poor, vulnerable, illiterate, unskilled and do not understand the urban labour market. Domestic work is undervalued and poorly regulated, and many domestic workers remain overworked, underpaid and unprotected. Many of them are maltreated, exploited, ill-treated and

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suffer violence and many are sexually abused. The domestic workers may also include child domestic workers, in-spite of the Government banning the utilization of services of child workers below 14 years of age in any domestic work. The main issues that concern domestic work are: lack of decent wages and work conditions, no defined work time, no weekly offs, loneliness, violence, abuse, and sexual harassment at workplace, victimization at the hands of traffickers/ placement agencies, forced migration, lack of welfare measures (such as health insurance, maternity protection, old age security), and lack of skills development resulting in stagnation and no career growth.

This study has constructed in three sections namely the introduction part which includes the meaning and definitions of domestic workers, objectives of the study and research methodology. The second segment presents the review of the literature and the third section accentuates the analysis of socio-economic conditions of the sample respondents along with main findings of the study

Objectives

1. To find out the socio-economic conditions of informal sector women domestic workers in Chennai city

2. To understand the working conditions of women domestic workers in the study area

3. To visualize the occupational health issues of domestic workers in the study area

Research Methodology

A field survey was carried out in Anna Nagar, Adyar, Alwarpet, Besant Nagar, J.J Nagar, K.K Nagar, Mylapore, Mogappair, R.A Puram, Saligramam, Velachery areas in Chennai city during the year 2016-2017 to collect the data on the wage and work related information of women domestic workers. The survey area was limited with selected major areas in Chennai; the simple random sample method was adopted for the data collection. The information was collected with a semi-structured interview schedule. The data was collected in eleven areas of Chennai city from 124 sample respondents; they are purely women domestic workers who carry out the sweeping, cooking, cleaning of vessels, cleaning of cloths, floor and lavatory cleaners. The collection of information concerning to age, educational status, wage determination, level of income and expenditure, family size, and working conditions. The collection of data from the respondents carried out near the apartments; out-side of the working premises and the household survey.

Review of Literature

Employment of domestic workers is no longer restricted to the affluent but has become a necessity for the middle class, even lower middle-class families, given the disappearance of the social infrastructure of support in urban nuclear families. With the cost of living rising and educated women asserting their right to economic independence, many women from the middle and lower middle class families are choosing to seek employment either voluntarily or due to economic reasons, and the double burden of doing household chores is passed on to paid domestic workers without upsetting the patriarchal structure in any way.

According to the International Labour Organization (2010), paid domestic work is an important source of employment, with an estimated 52.6 million workers in the sector across the world in 2010. The number represents an increase of more than 19 million since the mid-1990s. This number is probably an underestimation, as many more millions are unregistered, hidden and non-enumerated by labour force surveys and censuses, domestic work accounted for 7.5 percent of women's employment worldwide, with a far greater proportion in domestic work in some regions. According to the National Sample Survey data for India, for 2004-05, only around 24 percent of the urban female working population (aged more than 15 years) was employed compared to 79 percent of men. By 2009-10, the proportion of urban female working population had declined

to 19 percent. Around 1 in every 7 addition to the female workforce is a domestic worker, which underscores the importance of domestic work as a means of livelihood for a large section of urban families. The rural-urban migration might be seen, in part, as being encouraged by this form of occupation.

In Tamil Nadu, domestic work was brought into the schedule of the Minimum Wages Act in 2007. An advisory committee was formed to study the minimum wage for domestic workers in 2009, which recommended that the state government set the minimum wage at Rs. 30 per hour. The recommendation has yet to be implemented to date, and there remains no statutory minimum wage for the sector. Domestic work is included in around 64 categories of employment in Tamil Nadu covered for social security benefits. The various legislations toward regulation of domestic work, while suffering from either poor enforcement or a lack of will to be implemented, still serve the purpose of defining demands in the sector and helping workers organise around these common demands.

ILO (2011) Domestic Workers Convention (C189) was adopted by the ILO at the 100th International Labour Conference. The ILO Convention (C189) was an important victory for organisations and advocacy groups that were campaigning for the rights of workers in the domestic sector. India did not ratify the Convention, which came into force on 5 September 2013. The Convention, among its other provisions, requires ratifying countries to ensure minimum wage protection for domestic workers. It also recommends regulations for occupational health and safety and the social security of workers in the sector. Hours of work and extra work of domestic workers in every area stated that they chose their work hours according to their family's needs. Thus, while younger domestic workers went out to work while their children were at school, they also had more employers. This meant they worked in more households for shorter periods, thus had to work more intensively.

Dithhi Bhattacharya, et al., in their study shows that the participants stated that harassment at work, including sexual harassment, was rampant, even though none of the respondents admitted to having been sexually harassed in any way. Many of the workers said that they were often scolded for coming to work late or taking a leave. "Sometimes they ask us to wash clothes that we have already washed. I am even asked to wipe the floor with a cloth after mopping, if the employer feels that it is not clean enough". Another complaint expressed was that "employers are always finding fault. You will never hear anything positive about our work" Health problems reported included severe backache; aching limbs due to heavy work like hand-washing heavy bed linen, sitting on the floor to sweep and swab the floors or climbing several flights of stairs to fetch water; colds and fever from working even in extreme weather conditions; skin infections due to unsafe acidic detergents used to wash dishes and clothes.

Analysis of Feild Data and Findings

The women domestic workers are classified on the basis of their age in the following table (Table: 1). It is revealed that a majority of 29.04 percent domestic workers are in the age group of 35-40. Moreover, 50 percent of the sample respondents are belongs to the higher level of age group like 30-50. The remaining young women domestic workers are in the lower age group of 20-30. The table clearly shows that only 5.65 percent of the respondents are above the 45 age group. It is evident that the domestic employers desire to employ the workers in the young and middle aged women rather than the seniors, because they cannot extract more work and pay less.

Table: 1 Age-wise distribution of Sample Respondents

S.No	Age Group	Frequency	Percentage
1	20-25	20	16.12
2	25-30	30	24.2
3	30-35	11	8.87

4	35-40	36	29.04
5	40-45	20	16.12
6	Above 45	7	5.65
	Total	124	100

Source: primary data

Analysis of the data collected from the sample respondents on the basis of their community shows that a greater part (42.74 percent) of them are belongs to scheduled caste. Most backward class (MBC) peoples are registered for 26.62 percent and 24.19 percent are the backward class (BC). A meagre percentage of 6.45 are belongs to the general category. It is clearly shows that the people are socially deprived are mostly engaged in this occupation.

Table: 2 Distribution of Sample Respondents on the basis of Community

S.No	Community	Frequency	Percentage
1	General	8	6.45
2	Backward Class	30	24.19
3	Most Backward Class	33	26.62
4	Scheduled Caste	53	42.74
	Total	124	100

Source: primary data

It is found that in the following table, 44.35 percent of the respondents are illiterates and 25 percent and 20.96 percent of them are just studied up to primary (5th standard) and middle level (8th standard) respectively.

Table: 3 Education status of the Sample Respondent

S.No	Education	Frequency	Percentage
1	Illiterate	55	44.35
2	Primary Level	31	25
3	Middle Level	26	20.96
4	High School	12	9.67
	Total	124	100

Source: primary data

The remaining of just 12 respondents (9.67 percent) among the total respondents are only have attained high school level (10th standard). It shows a very strong evident that most of women domestic workers are illiterates and less educated.

The working hours are relatively high when compare to their wages paid. The domestic employer wants to complete maximum work in minimum time, because the domestic workers wages are paid on hourly basis. Almost 58 percent of the sample respondents are working less than 8 hours of work. The remaining 42 percent of them are getting 10 to 12 hours of work per day. It is revealed that on an average of 3.5 hours of working wages only paid to a domestic worker.

Table: 4 Hours of Work by the Sample Respondents

S.No	Hours of Work	Frequency	Percentage
1	4 hours	16	12.9
2	6 hours	25	20.16
3	8 hours	30	24.19
4	10 hours	33	26.62
5	12 hours	20	16.13
	Total	124	100

Source: primary data

The following table 5 represents the wages of the sample respondents calculated for on monthly basis for the study from hourly wage rates. The wages paid to the domestics workers are much lesser than the minimum wages act set by the government. It is exposed from the data that an average of 25 rupees per hour is paid as wages. Majority of 42 sample respondents (33.87 percent) are earning a lesser income of 1500 to 2500 per month. Among total respondents 39 (31.45 percent) are earning 2500 to 3500 rupees and 16.12 percent are earning rupees 3500 to

4500 per month. A diminutive of 6.45 and 12.1 percent of them are earning 4500 to 5500 and 5500 to 6500 respectively.

Table: 5 Wages of the Sample Respondents

S.No	Wages per month (In Rs)	Frequency	Percentage
1	1500-2500	42	33.87
2	2500-3500	39	31.45
3	3500-4500	20	16.12
4	4500-5500	8	6.45
5	5500-6500	15	12.1
	Total	124	100

Source: primary data

Domestic workers are severely affected by many occupational health issues like skin problems; eye issues back pain and knee pain. A majority of 55.65 percent of the sample respondents are affected by skin related issues in lieu with the domestic works like hand washing of cloths by using the strong detergents and soap oils. Moreover, the acids which they are using for floor and bathroom cleaning are harshly affecting the skins.

Table: 6 Occupational Health issues of Sample Respondents

S.No	Health Issues	Frequency	Percentage
1	Eye Issues	20	16.12
2	Skin Issues	69	55.65
3	Back Pain	20	16.12
4	Knee Pain	15	12.1
	Total	124	100

Source: primary data

The eye issues and the problems with back pain and knee pain is registered 16.12 percent and 12.1 percent respectively. It denotes that all the sample respondents are affected by the occupational health issues

Conclusion

This study focuses to bring out the problems faced by the domestic workers in Chennai city. The major issues were found from the present study is that the women domestic workers are poorly paid, heavy work load, and exploitation by the domestic employer, poor working condition and affected with occupational health issues.

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Democratic Governance, Inclusive Development and Decentralisation

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Democratic Governance, Decentralisation and Inclusive Development have already occupied the centre-stage of development discourse today. Inclusive development is not possible without a decentralised and democratic system of governance. Success of a democratic system depends on policies capable of leading to the goal of social inclusiveness. The very legitimacy of the democratic system will be in question if majority of the people are excluded from the fruits of development. The idea of welfare state emerged from this understanding. The Indian leadership realised that political democracy and socio-economic justice have to go together. Democracy and Development so far has largely been exclusive as it has failed to include the most marginalised and the deprived in the society. The development paradigm that India implemented after independence under the Nehruvian model failed not only to eliminate poverty, particularly in rural areas but also failed to include the majority of the population in the democratic process. Democracy remained confined to voting only, thus becoming formal instead of substantive.

Historically speaking the process of democratisation in India is quite different from other countries. The national liberation movement is not only a powerful democratic revolution in the annals of human struggle for liberation but unique in the sense that it was able to mobilise millions of common voiceless people to participate actively in the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial resistance. But it laid the foundation of the Indian democracy and its value system. The language of democratic resistance, engagement, dialogue entered into the minds of the common

people not through preaching but through their struggles and active participation in the movement. The common people including a vast majority of the marginalised like dalits tribal women and poor identified themselves with the freedom struggle overcoming alienation during the colonial as well as the pre-colonial feudal period. This has been the biggest strength of Indian Democracy. The Constitution that emerged on the very foundation of this struggle created the formal democratic state and its governance structure. The discourse of democracy in the freedom struggle was based on the concepts of rights and of participation. The first one was reflected in the constitution. Theoretically the provisions for rights for ensuring freedom and democracy is exhaustive and one of the best in the world. But so far as participation of the common men is concerned the experience since independence is discouraging, if not frustrating. The Governance structure that emerged in post-independent India remained largely centralised excluding the common man's participation in it.

The laws, rules and regulations enacted by central and state governments in reality are far from the rural areas of the country. The local elites are in hegemonic position in because of their control over the resources as well as by their position in the social hierarchy. The power structure is completely controlled by these elites in terms of both class and caste to the complete disadvantage of the majority of the marginalised and the deprived, despite the system being democratic, at least theoretically. The democratic political system that emerged out of the constitution with its commitment to socio-economic political equality could not challenge the existing unequal power relations in the rural India. So it was thought that Local self-government could change

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the power equations in the rural areas towards democratisation and equality.

The number strength of the poor can check the dominance of the elites through electoral process at the grassroots level. The fruits of growth could not be distributed equitably and the major impediment was the hierarchical, unequal socio-economic structure in the rural areas. So there was a need to use democracy to have more equitable distribution of the fruits of growth. This means that there was a need for inclusive growth. The Community Development programme was inaugurated on 2nd October, 1952. After a few years of its implementation it was realised that inclusive rural development is not possible without an agency at the village level which will be able to plan and lead. Then a committee under the leadership of Balwantrai G Mehta (1957) was appointed to make recommendations for the revitalisation of the Panchayati Raj System and define its role in the development process. This report was published with the recommendation of a three-tier system of rural governance. So the first generation of Panchayati Institutions came into existence and ushered the beginning of the historic journey of decentralised democratic governance in rural India. But after Nehru thesis, institutions, though limited in many ways lost their importance at the national level. The PRI s declined due to many factors. Prominent among them are, lack of finance, lack of devolution of power, lack of regular elections, resistance of both the local and national elites.

 PRI s became the new mode of reinforcing the hegemony of the rural elites. The national elites found theses institutions to be their new found bases of vote bank politics. The entire system was reduced to serve the political requirements of the ruling class and caste instead of being spaces for deepening democracy through genuine democratic participation of the common people at the grassroots level. A nexus developed between the local elites and the local bureaucracy. A change of government at the centre changed the political discourses and the political forces that came to power in 1977 in the centre had interest in agrarian system and so obviously in rural areas. The New Government called for full time planning machinery at the block level and at the district level and will call for more public participation. The five year plan (1978-83) also had its focus on decentralisation of power. In this background Ashok Mehta Committee was appointed in December, 1977 to suggest measures to revive the democratic, decentralised system of governance in the country. The committee recommended for a two-tier system with focus on Zilla Parishad. The Planning Commission in 1982 in its report on district planning laid stress on the participation of the people to reduce the unequal distribution of power in the rural areas. It also observed that the existing PRIs have fallen prey to the power manipulations of the rural elites. Another committee of the Planning Commission (1985) realised the need of planning at the local level as well as the formulation and implementation of the policies and the best institution for these would be the PRIs, it felt. Then the central govt. under Rajiv Gandhi introduced 64th Amendment Bill in the Lok Sabha in 1989 on the basis of the above recommendations. The thrust was on two aspects, Panchayats should be the self-governing institutions and these institutions should be provided by the constitution. However the bill was defeated in Rajya Sabha. Then it was again considered and became an act in 1993, known as the famous 73rd Amendment Act.

This Act is revolutionary in the historic journey towards decentralised democracy and a great improvement over the past attempts at democratic governance in rural areas. Uniform three-tier system, Gram Sabha, mandatory elections, reservation for the maiginalised, state finance commission etc. are different features of this act that ensures more democracy and decentralisation than the previous PRIs. The various categories of deprived citizens like SC, ST Women have been given spaces in the system making them more participatory. This in itself can be equated with a kind of silent democratic revolution at the bottom challenging the very notions of democracy and representation that are in practice for

decades. It produced about 30 lakh representatives of which 15 lakhs are women and 6and half lakh are dalits and tribal. The conservative, feudal and class-based ideas that women, dalits tribal etc. lack leadership qualities and administrative skills and will not be able to govern these PRIs were demolished. But the biggest challenge before the new institutions was to deepen and widen the bases of democracy and its process with the active and meaningful participation of the masses.

But within decades of this form of decentralisation it became clear that this has failed miserably in breaking the exploitative socio-economic structure operating in a caste-ridden society and in providing the benefits of growth and development to the mariginalised sections of the society. Rather the opposite happened defeating the purpose of decentralisation and development. The economically and socially dominant groups through their hegemonic position controlled the Panchayati System and its benefits. The PRIs are still dependent on the ruling political interest in the state, particularly in Odisha. Central and state government schemes conflict with the areas given to PRIs under 29 subjects.

The legitimate spaces created for the PRIs under the 73rd Amendment Act are now occupied by both the central and state governments. Except a few states these PRIs still function under the control of the government and its departments. The Gram Sabha which was considered to be the institution of direct democracy but in reality it has been reduced to a body without real powers. The devolution of powers to the PRIs is only formal. The new institutions demand more power as well as funds but they face resistances both from bureaucracy and political establishment at the state level. There is sufficient fund at the panchayat level but everything is of the central or state government. The entire PRI System is seen as an integral part of the administrative structure of the state government. Collector is still the focal point of the entire district planning, administration and development. The discourses on development and decentralisation at the district level have failed to evolve the Zilla Parishad as the primary institution of planning. The PRIs have become implementing agencies of central and state govt. schemes without having a fund of their own. This puts a big question mark on the capacity of these institutions as self-governing institutions. The schemes like MP Lad and MLA Lad are also questions on democratic decentralisation. The 73rd constitutional amendment act created much hope to make not only the democratic structure more democratic but the rural governance and development more inclusive. But the experiences in theses decades have enough evidences to point to the fact that the same old pre-73rd act practice is going on in newer forms. Multiple forms of governance are seen at the local level diluting the autonomy and capacity of the PRIs. NGOs are strengthened and are given direct funding to work on subjects that come under the scope of the PRIs. So governance functions of the PRIs are challenged from many quarters, from NGOs, district administrations, caste panchayats and so on.

The space created for these institutions and for the common men and women through 73rd amendment Act is being stifled in many ways and governance of these institutions is unable to sustain the democratic space. The local bureaucracy still controls the governance of these institutions and the alliance between the local bureaucracy and local elites still influences the processes of governance of these institutions. This has seriously affected the development process in the rural areas which has not been inclusive. The democratic governance, decentralisation and inclusive development have organic links. The PRIs have a decisive role to play in reducing poverty in rural areas and this can be possible through a decentralised democratic governance structure. These institutions must be self-sufficient and should be successful, effective in the delivery of services. People's involvement in the process of governance of these PRIs is vital not only for democracy but also to have inclusive development.

But sustained participation of the people, particularly of the marginalised is the biggest challenge before democracy, particularly for a democratic system that functions in an environment of inequalities and oppression in rural areas. Representative democracy has not been able to address the questions of poverty, inequalities and of development in rural areas. As this is a centralised system it has a limited reach in terms of participation of the common people in rural areas. Democratic participation and practice are much beyond the notions of voting, electoral competitiveness. The spirit of PRIs is to create and sustain democratic space for the masses at the grass roots level so that both democracy and development will be inclusive and decentralised. But this has not happened so far. But there are immense possibilities for this in the PRIs. But the practice is altogether different. What is happening in general can be called as a process of co-option in which the emerging leadership from the marginalised sections are co-opted by the elites. This means they are made junior partners and their demand for more democratisation is diluted. The power structure remains intact with minor modifications or reforms without a revolutionary change in favour of the deprived. Democratising democracy remains incomplete.

Two important aspects are central to any programme of democratisation at the grassroots level, policy formulation and policy implementation. Policy formulation is recognised as democratic at the top level legislatures like parliament and state assemblies as there is debate around the policies inside the legislature and outside also. But the implementation part of these policies is not democratic as it remains under complete bureaucratic control. But to democratise democracy at the local level through PRIs, both policy formulation and its implementation should be transparent and accountable which is actually not. People's participation in an active and continuous manner in both these processes is necessary to make democracy and governance of PRIs inclusive. Formal freedoms and democratic spaces created

under the laws in the PRIs do not in themselves, guarantee inclusiveness nor democratic participation. There are obstacles, both natural and manufactured to the process of democratisation. The power structure influences the democratic sphere and manipulates it to its advantage. It always tries to maintain the status quo, not to usurp the existing balance of power in the rural society. Active and sustained participation of the people can create conditions for deepening democracy both at the institutional level and at the policy implementation level. The governance system of the PRIs can be inclusive if people, particularly the marginalised will have meaningful participation.

The power holders and the power brokers can be forced to be accountable to the people as well as to the democratic norms and practice only through an active and participatory public. An enlightened, empowered citizenry can act as a balancer as well as insulator against the undemocratic and antidemocratic forces operating in the rural areas. The consistency of anti-democratic forces is not matched by the democratic forces. Though the reasons are historical, social, economic and cultural yet the democratic structure that emerged out of the historic 73rd amendment act has not yet been able to demolish their authority, hegemony and power, even if there are advances in many areas. PRIs are genuine democratic institutions that affect the living of majority of the people of the country. Their democratisation can have a direct bearing on the survival and strengthening of democracy in the country as a whole. Once democracy, democratic norms, democratic culture, democratic engagement with the state and its apparatus are accepted and practiced by a large number of people at the local level, the process becomes irreversible.

The foundation of democracy will be stronger, wider and deeper. So PRIs not only have the potential for decentralised democratic, inclusive governance and development at the grassroots level but have the strength to influence the

democratic process at the state and national level. It can unleash democratic forces that will have a decisive impact on the democracy of the nation. Decentralisation and inclusive governance are innovative methods of democratising democracy. But almost two decades of practice of democratic governance has not been in the desired direction nor have yielded very encouraging results, though there are exceptions like islands of plenty in the sea of deprivation. The initial euphoria has met an apathetic state, if not a death. At the participation level, apathy is more a norm than an exception in large areas. Participation of the common masses has not gone much beyond elections. There is a lack of sustained participation which is a pre-condition of inclusive development and governance. The process of implementation of policies is still controlled by the local bureaucracy. Democratisation of the implementation process of plans and policies does not mean direct involvement of the people in that process.

But it definitely means accountability, transparency and responsiveness to the people regarding how the plans are implemented. Administrative structure or the bureaucracy uses the art of making simple things complex to keep the process of governance away from public scrutiny. Language of governance is deliberately obscured to alienate common people from it. An artificial bridge is created between the administration and the masses to squeeze the democratic space. Interestingly majority of the common masses who suffer from the feudal and colonial hangover accept it without questioning. Lack of democratic movement is one of the causes behind it. The elitist approach to democratisation favours this as this remains to their advantage.

PRI system created out of the 73rd act was itself a victory for decentralised democracy. It was intended to empower the poor and the marginalised. The local experience and knowledge will be used to the maximum to bring an end to widespread poverty and inequalities in the rural areas. The democratic system will be legitimised through the maximum participation of the rural people.

The participation of the marginalised like dalits, tribal, women, backwards, minorities and the poor on equal footing with the local elites will make the local democratic structure more inclusive and democratise the democratic system itself. This will help in expanding the democratic space as well as in democratising the polity and the society. This is a kind of revolution aimed at transforming rural India. Unless rural India is democratised, democracy in the country is incomplete. The constitutional ideal will remain as an ideal only. The governance structure at the level of PRIs needs to have safeguards to protect the interests of the marginalised. Gram Sabha is one of the innovative institutions that has space for democratic participation of the common citizens and can make local representatives accountable to the people.

It also has the potential to challenge the unequal power relations in the countryside. The political economy in the rural areas can be changed in favour of the deprived classes by a correct strategy through these institutions of local governance. 'It has been argued that the problem of poverty is not only due to lack of resources but of wrong strategies and poor institutional arrangements to tackle the problem.' But democracy has failed so far to be inclusive though there are positive advances due to the existence and functioning of the PRIs in rural areas. But still there is a wide gap between democratic theory and democratic practice in the rural areas.

To understand the dynamics of this process one has to understand the political economy of the rural areas. The functioning of the PRIs needs to be situated in the context of the power structure, power relations ad power struggles in the rural areas. The multiple forms of inequalities, social, economic and cultural that exists in rural societies actually obstruct democratisation of the society

and governance structures and stifle the voices of the marginalised. There is a link between the performance of the institutions of decentralised democracy and the level of discriminations in a particular state or geographical area.

Decentralisation encourages realignment of power in terms of class, gender, caste etc. and obviously invites resistances from the hegemonic groups. Institutional arrangement and safeguards must be there to protect the democratic space created for the marginalised. 'Political democracy depends not only on economic and social conditions but also on the design of political institutions.' (1984-738). There are opportunities as well as challenges in the process of democratisation in the rural areas through the PRIs. The dialectics should be understood to go ahead with the objective of making democracy deeper and inclusive. The opportunities are many. It can lead to more democratisation of the society, can empower people, particularly the marginalised, can alter the caste and gender equations, can build the capacity of the common people to manage the governance at the local level, can change the objectives of development, can drastically change the power relations and can bring revolutionary changes in the rural economy and polity.

On the other hand it can lead to bureaucratisation of the governance process making it more exclusive, can sustain existing unequal power relations through c o-option. There is a continuous struggle between these two contrasting processes in the rural society with variations in different areas. The entire study of the process needs to be seen from the perspective of the dialectics of this process to have an objective understanding of it. This will help in developing the strategy to go ahead with the objectives of democratisation, inclusive development and governance. Participation of the poor in the governance process is conditioned by many factors including their poverty. The prime concern of the poor is food and this

becomes a challenge for their participation in the democratic process. This deficiency on the part of the poor affects their participation. Another factor is that electoral accountability is not sufficient to achieve transparency.

Many factors influence the process of election than transparency and the elites are more powerful than the poor to influence election in their favour. Decentralisation is manipulated by the elites to continue their dominance by co-opting the sections of the marginalised who become representatives through reservation. The system is corrupted through nepotism by the vested interests and then the process of democratisation and decentralisation is affected. Majority of people in the country live in rural areas and majority of them suffer from deprivation, exploitation and marginalisation. They don't have access to the basic amenities necessary for a dignified human existence. There is a huge gap between the rural elites and the marginalised in terms of their access to minimum basics of human existence like food, health, education, safe drinking water, shelter, sanitation and so on. The mainstream public discourse does not have space for the issues like education, health, child care, drinking water, wages etc.

Thus Democracy, Decentralised Governance and Inclusive Development are correlated. One cannot be achieved without the other. If marginalised are to be included in the process of development, they cannot be excluded from the democratic system of governance. The unequal, exploitative power structure in the rural area not only has to be broken, but has to be dismantled. The present state under a neo-liberal paradigm is unable to go in this direction. There must be powerful democratic pressure through democratic movement in this regard. Everybody who has a stake in democracy should contribute in this direction.

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Role of Telecommunication Sector in Education Dimension of CSR

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[*One of the important areas from the point of view of development of a nation is Education of its people so that they develop into the most sought after, accomplished and proficient human resources of the country. In this piece of writing the aim is to learn about the social responsibility activities of the telecommunication service providers while giving special attention to Education. Besides providing ease of communication, these firms carry out social responsibility activities too. Therefore through this paper we wish to investigate the allocation of funds, the proportion of total funds utilisation for education, the level of activities and programmes undertaken by the firms towards education and analysis of types of beneficiaries from such initiatives of the telecommunication firms. The present study is exploratory in nature based on secondary sources.]*

Telecommunication sector is one of the largest service provider sectors in India. It is one of the largest contributors towards GDP in India. It consists of 8 firms namely BSNL and MTNL in the Public sector and Bharti Airtel, Vodafone India, Reliance Communications, Tata Teleservices, Idea Cellular and Telenor India as Private players. Earlier the sector comprised of only public companies such as BSNL and MTNL, the private firms entered the market only after the liberalisation programme which began in 1992. As per the report of India Brand Equity Foundation India is second largest telecommunication market in the world and its share is 1.94% as per the report by DnaIndia.com of GDP which is further likely to rise in the coming years. Hence there is a need to study about the corporate social responsibility activities of one of the growing industries of India.

Corporate Social Responsibility & Companies Act 2013

Corporate Social Responsibility can be defined as an obligation to give back to the society in a manner most useful to it. It is catering to the needs of the stakeholders and enabling the growth of all aspects of the society such as natural resources, environment, employees, children etc. It is not only limited to Philanthropy but is now becoming an essential part of every business organisation.

As per Section 135 of the Companies Act 2013, all the companies having net worth of Rs.500 crores or more or a Net profit of Rs. 5 crore or more or a turnover of Rs.1000 crores or more are eligible to set up a mandatory CSR Committee and also contribute 2% of average Net Profit of past three years for CSR activities. Hence this act has been used at various places in the present study.

Review of Literature

Mary Plangum Haggai (2009) in her article published in Journal of Global Initiatives: Policy, Pedagogy, Perspective has discussed about the level of education in Nigeria. The paper discloses the number of children who are far from getting any form of formal education. It also conveys about the efforts the Nigerian Government is making towards education and also the funding from various international bodies such as UNESCO, World Bank etc. It also talks about Education Tax funds of 2% of the profit of the corporations to be given towards education but

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the amount is too meagre to support millions of children for their education. The paper stresses upon the necessity of Multinational Corporations to work towards education dimension of Corporate Social Responsibility as these organisations are working on the resources provided by the host country and must give due returns by supporting educational requirements of the host country. The paper has given various suggestive measures which multinational corporations can imbibe in their social policies for better educational facilities and for the betterment of the society as a whole in which they operate.

Fathilatul Zakimi Abdul Hamid and Ruhaya Atan (2011) studied the Corporate Social Reporting practices of telecommunication firms in Malaysia by taking three different telecommunication firms based on ownership. One is owned by Government; second one by Private Shareholders and third one by foreign shareholders. The approach used for selection of the sample of three companies is that these are the three major companies for telecommunications which have received various awards and recognitions in Malaysia. Furthermore the authors have used content analysis approach for measuring corporate social reporting performance of these three firms. This research is based on stakeholder's theory. The research concludes that most of the disclosures are related to firm's involvement towards community development and the least disclosed area is environment. The study also conveys that the reporting of the firm consists mainly of positive factors and not negative factors hence the reports fail to show the true picture of the social initiatives of the firms and it only caters to maintaining a good image of the firms. It further concludes that the firms are increasing their corporate social initiatives over a three year study period from 2002 to 2005 and ownership structure does affect the level of disclosures as the firms move towards foreign shareholdings. The main shortcoming of this research is that there is no

evidence of how the researcher concluded that ownership has a relationship with corporate social disclosures, the degree of relation and its extent is not present in the research.

Grigoris Giannarakis (2011) has created a corporate social responsibility index for telecommunication companies in Greece. The study has identified various stake holders who are affected by the business of telecommunication companies. The study has been conducted using primary data approach and secondary data approach. The primary data has been collected using Delphi technique which is by deriving answers related to corporate social responsibility from the top managerial experts of these companies through structured questionnaires sent to them. The author has also developed the formulae for each specific CSR indicator for measuring CSR performance of the firms. From the CSR index developed it can be seen inferred that the companies value environment and human resources and society highly as the stakeholders out of the six stakeholders identified. As far as Human Resources are concerned it shows that majority of the companies consider training of human resources essential. The present research can use the results obtained for measuring training as a part of educational activities of the telecommunication companies in India.

Abha Chopra and Shruti Marriya (2013) have also brought to the notice the activities of companies towards educational programmes. The companies taken are general electric, bharti airtel, DLF, Indian Oil, Azim premji foundation and Microsoft. The study provides the brief summary of activities of each of these companies and gives suggestions to further the educational activities of the corporations. The article missed the in depth approach of activities and their impact.

Heena Kashyap (2014) in her research article on "Corporate Social Responsibility towards education in India" gave a conceptual outline of the activities performed by various companies

towards education in India and also the hindrances faced by the firms from undertaking corporate social responsibility activities towards education. Various issues related to companies corporate social activities have been discussed and the author has suggested the measures to resolve those issues. The article does fulfil the objectives but an in depth analysis is required.

Nargis Yaesmeen,(2014) in her article quoted the concept of corporate social responsibility in terms of its history and background, the rationale behind corporate taking up corporate social activities and the interrelationship between corporate social responsibility and education. The study gives a glimpse of various social initiatives undertaken by the companies towards education, the laws both National and International related to corporate social responsibility and the importance of education as a factor towards which companies should focus while determining their CSR initiatives. The study also gives the suggestive activities that the companies can undertake for enhancing the level of education in the country. Again the main limitation is the lack of in-depth research towards education dimension of CSR.

Pravin D. Sawant (2014) in his study on the topic "Corporate Social Responsibility of Select Pharma Companies in India: An Exploratory Study" has thrown light upon the CSR activities of Pharmaceutical companies towards Education, Health and Rural Development in India. The study shows in detail the activities undertaken by top ten Pharmaceutical companies towards various dimensions of CSR and also makes a comparison of the total amounts spent by companies towards CSR. The limitation can be found in not studying the impact of such activities and the level of spending towards each dimension could have been compared. The study also failed to reveal as to which dimension of CSR the firms favour the most which could have been reflected in their spending pattern.

Monika Kavaliauske and Aurelijus Stancikas (2014) have conducted a primary research on the preference of public on various areas of corporate social responsibility of the telecommunication and finance companies. The research involved availing responses from ninety five respondents on their views on various areas they want the companies to perform well in. The content analysis approach was used of the data collected through survey. The research concluded that people of Lithuania prefer service quality and customer satisfaction more than social and environmental efforts of these companies. The research did focus on service sector and in particular telecommunication companies as being consistent with the present theme but focussed only on public perception and not on the viewpoint of corporate social responsibility policies of the companies and their efforts towards various dimensions more particularly education which is to be considered for the present study.

Medha Gupte and Kiran Jadhav (2014) in their paper on "Corporate Social Responsibility and its Application to Higher Education in India" have given a general outline of the meaning of Corporate Social Responsibility, and the linking CSR with Education, the present status of CSR in companies and the challenges faced by companies.

Mudaheranwa Benjamin, Vincent Konadu Tawaiah and Maniriho Emmy Arsonval (2014) have carried out a descriptive research on the Corporate Social Responsibility of Telecommunication companies of Rwanda. The research on the three companies that were taken as a sample shows that besides fulfilling other social initiatives all the three companies have a strong linkage with education. The three of the sample companies are carrying out various activities for improvement of education level of people of Rwanda which will also help them in removing poverty in the state. The research is descriptive and lacks comparison between the

firms and the impact level of such programmes on the beneficiaries. The study also concludes that the amount of contribution towards Corporate Social Responsibility is much less than what the companies are capable of spending.

Namita Vastradmath (2015) in her research paper titled "The Role of Corporate Social Responsibility for an Inclusive Growth in the society. The practice of CSR in the context of rural development in India" has studied the corporate social responsibility activities of some public and private Indian companies towards rural development. It has been found that most companies implement their CSR strategies through Human Resource department or through an NGO and it does have a good and positive effect on the overall rural development. Referring to the role of CSR activities in Education the companies have opened up various schools in the vicinity of its plants. The research mainly focussed on implementation techniques of the companies for their CSR programmes in various areas of rural sector and its overall impact. It also provides suggestions to improve the social ventures of the companies. There is a need to consider a more focussed analysis on a particular area such as education and on a particular industry type to attain more meaningful results by using similar objectives and methodology.

Namrata Singh, Rajlaxmi Srivastava, Rajni Rastogi (2015) in their article titled "Lighting the Lamp of Education: Role of Indian Banking Sector towards Corporate Social Responsibility in achieving Developmental Goals" have prioritised the role of banks in the development of the society through their social initiatives towards Education. According to the authors the Education is the most important tool of any form of development of a society in which the banks operate. The study is conducted by taking randomly two largest public sector banks and two largest private sector banks and an analysis is made as to how much each bank contributes towards education sector in India. The study also talks about the programmes undertaken by the banks through which they fulfil their educational activities for the society. However the study could be made more intensive by taking a larger sample of banks and by studying the impact of such educational programmes on the actual development of those associated with these programmes, the students. The study merely shows the figures of expenditure incurred and their trend each year towards various educational programmes.

Sukanya Narain (2016) in her article on the topic "Mandatory CSR paves way for Universal Education in India" has discussed various initiatives and strategies which are being adopted by companies towards education for fulfilling their social responsibility obligations. It also talks about various types of models adopted for this purpose and the rationale behind adopting a particular model. The article brings light upon the challenges faced by the firms in successfully implementing the CSR projects towards education.

From the above review of literature there are various gaps which have been analysed in order to generate the research questions required for the present paper.

1. The existing literature lacks in depth studies linking CSR and Education.

2. Most of the studies do mention education as an important aspect of CSR for companies but the studies fail to show the trend of educational initiatives of the firms

3. There are negligible amount of sector specific and education specific studies based on CSR approach, the studies take into account overall CSR activities and not one specific CSR activity.

4. The studies fail to show how the firms are allocating funds for their CSR activities and towards each dimension

5. The existing literature reveals little about the impact of the CSR initiatives on the beneficiaries of their programmes.

6. The existing literature does not provide any ranking of the companies within a sector.

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