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- ❖ **Civil Society & State in Central Asia**
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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	
Wither Opposition!	5
<i>B.K.</i>	
Central Asia: Civil Society and State Relations	7
<i>Dr. Krishnasri Das</i>	
RTAs & Environmental Provisions for Sustainable Development	11
<i>Dr. Satyabrata Mishra</i>	
Perspectives on Higher Education in India	20
<i>Dr. Uma Narang</i>	
District Administration & District Police Administration	24
<i>Dr. S. Kasim Nasheer</i>	
Viability of Holding National and State Elections Simultaneously	29
<i>Aejaz Ahmad Wani</i>	
Globalization, Democracy & Differently-Able Persons in India	32
<i>Yogesh Kumar Gupta</i>	
The Political Future of Gandhi's Indian State	37
<i>Dr. Sachinkumar M. Kattimani</i>	
Objectification of 'Oedipus Complex' in Capitalism and Marxism	41
<i>Dr. Sunita Samal</i>	
The Hotel	45
<i>Eddie James Girdner</i>	
Book Review	50
<i>Debarati Chakraborty</i>	
Geopolitics of Quantum Buddhism & Our Tao Future	53
<i>Anis H. Bajrektarevic</i>	

Wither Opposition!

Political discourse in contemporary India is missing a sound and effective Opposition. Divested of the accurate characteristics of an opposition, the present Opposition in India is in disarray and can be described as a conglomeration of heterogeneous groups which are fundamentally and ideologically opposed to each other.

The co-called national parties like Congress, Left parties, JD (U) etc have become almost like regional parties with their influence being confined to a few states. Regional satraps like TMC, RJD, AIADMK, Biju Janata Dal, TDP, SP, and BSP are strong contenders for power in their respective states and this has proven in recently held assembly polls. As and when these regional satraps have come together to oppose the ruling dispensation at the Centre and offer an alternative, they have seldom survived long. Janata experiment of the 1970s and UDF experiment of the 1990s is a stark example of failure of the Opposition to offer a viable, stable and durable alternative. The electoral opportunism by regional satraps just to oppose the ruling party and hardly based on any set principles is neither viable nor durable. One is reminded of Nehru when he said, “They (groups) hold together, I suppose, because of the stress of circumstances and sometimes, there are marriages of convenience, sometimes followed by rapid divorces and on the whole, we find these strange bedfellow consorting together because of a certain spirit of opposition to the majority group”.

The spectacular win of Nitish Kumar in Bihar in 2015 and a convergence of anti-BJP forces, including JD (U), RJD, the Congress and the Left parties, christened as Mahagathbandhan, was seen by political pundits as a build-up before the formation of a grand anti-Modi alliance in the country. While not entirely impossible, the alliance was fraught with inherent contradictions and required a lot of effort to stay relevant. This spirit of Mahagathbandhan soon evaporated in the assembly elections held in May 2016 where, on the one hand, Congress and the Left parties had joined hands against the incumbent TMC in West Bengal; while on the other hand, both were rivals in Kerala. The BJP has emerged as the major political force in the country, having been in power at the Centre and also government of its own in nine states and as a ruling ally in six states/Union Territories (UTs). Some opposition parties are nurturing the notion based on simple arithmetic: The BJP received 31.3 per cent vote-share in the 2014 Lok Sabha elections and if the major opposition parties rally against the BJP in 2019, they stand the chance of defeating the BJP.

Working on this logic, RJD, JD (U) and the Congress joined hands in 2015 Bihar assembly elections and defeated the BJP. Emboldened by the success of Bihar model, anti-BJP/anti-Modi forces comprising Congress, the Left parties along with other regional parties may try to form an all India anti-BJP front in the 2019 LS polls, nevertheless, the viability and survival of such a front seems doubtful on various counts. Leading a grand alliance of regional parties from the front may look easy for the Congress on paper; albeit, grounds realities are very different. There is an acrimonious history of some of the parties. SP and BSP can't be expected to ride on the same boat. Similar is the case with AIADMK and DMK, TRS and TDP, Shiv Sena and NCP. The Left and the Congress are the main contenders in Kerala and Tripura, and their previous experiment with Congress-led UPA in 2004 is not very pleasant.

Apart from lacking a common ideology, regional parties have leaders nursing prime-ministerial ambitions. This may lead to the difficulty of arriving at a consensus on the declaration of a PM candidate. Besides, the BJD and the AIADMK have maintained a non-Congress, non-BJP stance for some time now and are unlikely to join. Either of the following groups of parties may not join - SP/BSP, NCP/Shiv Sena, TDP/TRS making the alliance weak and hence difficult to dislodge BJP. Serious and sincere efforts based on common minimum programme are required to forge a potent grand anti-BJP/anti-Modi alliance in 2019. Nevertheless, events preceding the 2017 UP assembly polls will signal as to which way the political wind will blow.

— BK

Central Asia: Civil Society and State Relations

Dr. Krishnasri Das*

[The expression 'civil society against the state', certainly helps us to focus attention on the oppressions of the state. But it offers no indication of the very complex and contradictory nature of the relationship between the two spheres. Firstly, the state and civil society are not by definition oppositional categories. To Hegel, civil society is an intermediary stage between the unreflective emotions of the family and the universal logic of the state. It is a stage in the formation of the state. To Gramsci, civil society is the sphere where the capitalist state constructs its project of hegemony. Gramsci's intervention creates an interesting reversal in the theory of civil society.]

Liberal theorists such as De Tocqueville had conceptualized civil society as a buffer which protects the individual against the state. And in much of liberal theory, civil society is the sphere of rights and the rule of law which is guaranteed by the state. It exists because of the state (Chandoke, 1995).

The crucial point to be noted is that neither of these traditions saw civil society as the source of opposition to the state. It can become a source of opposition only when the inhabitants of civil society consciously stand outside the structures of state hegemony and interrogate them. And the inhabitants of civil society can do so, because they can draw upon an entire range of values which have been historically associated with it.

Civil society was then being defined as all the diverse organizational forms that exist outside of the state and the market but which provide a counterbalance to both. It was argued that the motive for supporting civil society is a strong civil society which will demand a more democratically accountable and transparent state. Further, the state and civil society in contemporary theory are not only seen as dual and oppositional categories, they are conceptualized as marked by different logics.

For Arato and Cohen civil society implies 'an increase of communicative interaction or the possibility of communicative interaction *vis-à-vis* strategic/instrumental and norm oriented action in

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each domain' (Arato & Cohen, 1984). The state, in this perspective, is the arena of coercion, and civil society is the sphere of support structures, solidarity and self-help associations. The state is the sphere of violence and force, and civil society is the sphere of communication.

But, if we look at the classical tracts on civil society, the logic of civil society has nowhere been opposed to that of the state. In fact civil society and the state have been regarded as a conceptual pair, and both, as Marx informed us, are a product of the same historical processes which give rise to modern society. The modern, impersonal state based on principles of universality is able to come into existence because; particularity is relegated to the civil sphere.

And through the famous historical inversion of Hegelian thought, Marx was able to show how the state is organically linked to civil society, since it is the political representative of the dominant group in civil society. The two are, therefore, characterized by the same logic.

Liberal theory has shown us that civil society with an entrenched system of rights cannot exist unless the state shares these common ideas and principles and supports respect for individuals in this domain. In civil society, as Micheal Walzer reminds 'The assumption is always made that there is a state which establishes the law, gives the law validity, maintains peace and order, pursues a social policy and guarantees the effectiveness of social institutions' (*Ibid*).

A democratic civil society cannot exist if the state is undemocratic. First task of an undemocratic state will be to demolish civil society. If a democratic state presupposes a democratic civil society, the reverse equally holds true. Secondly, the idiom of 'civil society against the state' splendidly clouds the problems, the divisions and the conflicts within this sphere.

A mature narrative of civil society must account for the tensions between the acknowledged virtues of the sphere, and its actual functioning. In other words, civil society is not always marked by civility. For Hegel, Marx and Gramsci, the domain constituted as it is by the logic of the capitalist economy is an unequally constructed space, where social and economic practices functioning according to the principles of market evaluation constitute individuals hierarchically.

The advocates of civil society are strengthening defense of non-state institutions and relations against the power of the state are tending to weaken state resistance to the coercions of capitalism (Boyne, 1990). A critical narrative of civil society has to include those features of the sphere which make it vulnerable to class oppression.

Critical theory has to look at the oppressions of civil society itself. It has to see how this sphere needs to be democratized by social movements before it can become the basis of supportive structures and communitarian self-help organizations. 'Without a mediation process which resists appropriation, the state quickly becomes the protector of the status-quo within civil society, the status of that particular class with the most to protect and the means by which to appropriate the mediation process' (Reidy, 1992).

Civil society in contemporary theory is being treated as a residual category, as a veritable collection of everything that is not the state. Civil society retains a distinctive character to the extent that it is made up of areas of social life -the domestic world, the economic sphere, cultural activities and political interaction which are organized by private or voluntary arrangements between individuals and groups outside the direct control of the state (Held, 1989).

Civil society because of the loose way it is being conceptualized has come to mean many things to many people. 'Too often, "civil society" is invoked without sorting out whether it means Milton Friedman's capitalist market policies or social movements. Like Solidarity or the sort of "political society" or "public sphere" beloved of thinkers from Montesquieu to De Tocqueville to Habermas and once thought to exist in cafes and coffeehouses' (Calhoun, 1993).

The same argument, which calls for rolling back the state because it has pulverized individual autonomy and liberty, can be, as indeed it has been, interpreted as a call for unleashing the reign of the unregulated market. The concepts of freedom and autonomy from the state fit in neatly into conservative agendas and conservative uses of civil society to restrain the state, to promote individual enterprise, encourage unfettered competition, and uphold private property. This perspective far from becoming the basis of radical political theory can indeed become an accomplice of conservative political theory. In fact, it can become a nightmare for the radical theorist.

The current focus on civil society neglects these vital dimensions for a variety of politically strategic reasons. As civil society has begun to be privileged by political theorists, the state has been bypassed. And in much of the work informing post-Marxism, the state disappears as a conceptual object. It is no longer the focus of sustained political enquiry, or of political struggles (Pierson, 1986).

This has somewhat serious consequences as far as a political understanding of both state and civil society is concerned. The interrogation of civil society has to be carried out with the state as a constant reference point. Civil society cannot be understood unless we see it as the sphere through which the state seeks to control society, as well as the sphere where state power and that of dominant classes can be contested.

The use of a concept for purposes of strategy can serve to highlight specific ends in this case that of the need for emancipation from an interventionist state, but an uncritical and simplified use of the concept can pose problems of a radically different

kind. The strategic use of concepts tends to divest them of their complexity, overload them and simplify them. And if political practices are premised upon a faulty or at least an incomplete understanding of concepts, their potential for emancipation is greatly flawed.

Civil society as a site which connects society and the state is absolutely indispensable for democracy. It is not, however, merely the presence of a site, but the fact that this site has been historically connected with democratic values of participation, accountability and the construction of a public discourse through associational life, which makes civil society so indispensable.

But instead of seeing civil society *per se* as the solution to all problems, that before this sphere can play its expected role of democratizing the state, it must interrogate itself and it must democratize itself. This means that if civil society has to play an emancipatory role, the problems that political theorists have identified with the concept have to be taken seriously. Unless both the proponents and the critics of civil society form part of the project of restoring civil society, it is fated to become a one-sided and an incomplete project (Chandoke, 1995).

The demand that the state should be restricted can lapse into the ideology of capitalism and status-quo-ism, unless the oppressions of civil society itself are focused upon. Civil society by itself has no teleological virtue, unless it is accompanied both by an interrogation of the sphere itself and a project for democratizing civil society. The strengthening of civil society is an important part of any political and theoretical agenda to build democracy and safeguard it, but before this can be done, the nature of civil society, the space it occupies in the social formation and transformation, and its relationship to the state needs to be grasped.

The privileging of a concept in explaining social phenomena can be validated on the ground that the concept must be capable of serving as an entry point to the comprehension of other concepts. This implies that any concept cannot be understood, unless it is placed within a matrix of concepts within a particular theoretical tradition.

The notion of a matrix of concepts assumes that there is a relationship between these concepts. The relationships of concepts to each other provide the building blocks of theory construction. Therefore, the privileged concept should be capable of providing both a focus and a context. It should be capable of opening out further lines of enquiry.

Civil society provides such a concept to the study of the state. It explains the nature and the dynamics of the state. It establishes a social relationship between state and society. Equally, it provides a vantage point for the study of political practices and of social movements which construct civil society as a zone of engagement. As an intermediate space it establishes connections between power, contestation and the response of the state as the codified power of the social formation (*ibid*).

As conceptual history, as a conceptualization of civil society, and as critique of contemporary usages of the concept, this study privileges civil society as the domain from where the state can be understood as a social relation. It also privileges the sphere as a space where meaningful politics can be constructed, where the individual can attain freedom and equality and where democracy can be actualized. However, the study keeps the state and political engagement with the state constantly in mind.

It thus differs from other works on civil society which focus on the everyday life of individuals and their cultures, but which do not touch political engagement or the power of the state. The work draws much of its inspiration from Marxism but it also makes detours and mediates traditional theoretical formulation. For instance, it does not only examine as to how far classical Marxist dictums, which equate civil society with the commoditized economy, are relevant; on the contrary, it argues for civil society as the spheres of articulated political practices which construct and maintain a public discourse (Cohen and Arato, 1994).

It is true that in an authoritarian regime it is hard to expect a proper democratisation process, because where everything – academics to civil society – comes under the control of government. They can't even take individual decisions also for their own

institution. Everything has been scrutinised by the government in an authoritarian regime.

During his one month visit to Uzbekistan, this author has personally experienced this fragmentation. Part of the Central Asian region, Uzbekistan has got pleasure from democracy but in a transitional way. They have freedom of speech but in a limited manner. They have freedom of media, though they somehow hide their actual feelings towards their government. It is strange to explain that most of the civil society organisations are government funded by the government; they are reluctant to explain their shortcomings.

In remote places the local people wrongly assume that civil societies generally work against the government. Transformation is coming to the Central Asian countries through modernisation, through political culture as well as women empowerment. Student community, basically youth, is conscious of their rights and duties. Most of the youth forums in Uzbekistan are working for the betterment of environment (Author's visit, 2013).

Several women associations are coming forward in Central Asia in the aftermath of disintegration of the erstwhile Soviet Union. So, we can say that everything has both positive and negative elevation. Nevertheless, these small Central Asian countries are putting emphasis on overall development. They are reported to have used their authoritarian regime in a good way. Women are quite happy, youth are enjoying their age in a proper manner. Respect for their mother tongue is quite high. Women have equal representation from top to the bottom of the country (Ibid).

So, it can be said that the democratic potentiality of the Central Asian Republics has entered in to an acknowledged level. This is evident from political institutions and political participation. But the expansion of democracy is taking place at the cost of civil society, which is showing a receding tendency. This could be seen in the fragmentation of society in Central Asia into parts.

From the Sixties to Nineties within the extent of three decades, the trends of political participation in voting in Central Asian republics leaves no doubt

in confirming the expansion of formal democracy. Thus, for a successful democratic polity there has to be a civil society equipped with civic virtues, active and public spirited citizenry and social fabric of trust and cooperation.

End Notes

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RTAs & Environmental Provisions for Sustainable Development

Dr. Satyabrata Mishra*

[Over the last few years, the number of Regional Trade Agreements (RTAs) has increased dramatically, and hardly a month passes without new trade agreements being negotiated or notified. RTAs have become so widespread that practically all WTO members are now parties in one or more of them. According to the WTO, it is estimated that more than half of world trade is now conducted under RTAs. Up to September 2006, some 349 RTAs had been notified to the GATT/WTO, of which 229 were notified after January 1995. In the near future, if RTAs reportedly or already under negotiation are concluded, the total number of RTAs in force might soon reach more than 400.]

The number of RTAs that include environmental provisions is also increasing. However, these provisions *vis-à-vis* the experience related to their negotiations and implementation has not been examined in depth yet. This study provides an overview of approaches to environmental issues in RTAs and countries' experience with their application in practice.

RTAs have allowed groups of countries to negotiate rules and commitments that go beyond what was possible at the time multilaterally. In turn, some of these rules have paved the way for agreements in the WTO. Services, intellectual property, environmental standards, investment, and competition policies are all issues that were raised in regional negotiations and later developed into agreements or topics of discussion in the WTO.

On the other hand, there are concerns that the proliferation of RTAs could create problems of coherence and consistency in trade relations; put developing countries at a disadvantage when negotiating RTAs; and generally divert negotiating resources and energy from multilateral negotiations.

In order to limit the problems and maximize the benefits of regionalism, it is important to promote transparency in RTAs and to ensure the consistency of RTAs with WTO rules. This study aims to contribute to this process by describing provisions in RTAs dealing with environment.

Sustainable Development and Environment

Originally, the concept of Sustainable Development referred to the impact of human activities on the life support system (the environment). It essentially identified and mapped out the biophysical limits of the human ecosystem, which are near and real.

The Brundtland Report, the original blueprint for development and the result of an independent three year investigations, adopted a comprehensive and dynamic definition of sustainability, phrased as follows:

Sustainable Development meets the needs of the present without compromising our ability to meet those of the future. It includes two key components: The concept of needs, in particular the essential needs of the world's poor; and the idea of limitations that are imposed by technology and society on the environment to meet those needs. Sustainable development is best understood as a process of change.

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The report identified a broad range of measures, grouped under seven strategic imperatives for sustainable development:

1. Reviving growth;
2. Making economic growth less energy-intensive and more equitable in its social impact;
3. Meeting the essential needs of an expanding population in the developing world for employment, food, energy, water, sanitation and healthcare;
4. Ensuring a sustainable and stabilized population level;
5. Conserving and enhancing the resource base;
6. Reorienting technology and managing risk;
7. Merging technology and managing risk;

The report also adopted an optimistic approach to growth, unlike the Club of Rome, believing that human creativity would find ways to surmount the limitations imposed by non-renewable resources in particular, for instance by finding substitutes. Perhaps sustainability should be qualified as entailing re-harmonization of human activities with the cycles of the ecosystem and of human cycles with each other (i.e. reproduction, education, production-recycling, technological and institutional change, etc).

In other words, we would have to reinvent development and economic growth in particular. Evolution in a qualitative sense is infinite, but growth in a quantitative sense seems limited.

Environmental problems have multiplied and changed character during the past decades: from local to global, from distinct to diffuse, from short time delay between cause and effect to long time delay, and from relatively low complexity to high complexity (Holmberg & Karlsson 1992). This enlargement of complexity and its attending effects has increased the need for a compass to point us in the direction of sustainability.

To successfully implement sustainable development, professionals, experts and the general public need to be engaged. In order for diverse communities to function effectively together, we need to take advantage of the different competencies and skills we share and synthesize them into an integrated system of change along with the rules of our economic game so that they conform to be amended, changed or negotiated.

That so much of today's environmental debate is based on conflicting arguments is, in one sense, positive since different opinions are imperative for a free and open dialogue. However, much of the controversy is unnecessary and self-defeating, and therefore delays urgently required measures.

The unnecessary part of today's environmental debate is linked to a number of factors such as misunderstanding, poor knowledge, resistance built on vested interests, psychological resistance linked to the traditional attitudes, and difficulty of arriving at an appropriate overview due to the change of character of environmental problems.

Environmental Provisions in RTAs

As there is no single objective or structure for regional trade agreements, the purpose, nature, and scope of provisions on environment in trade agreements vary significantly. The extent to which environmental issues are integrated in RTAs depends, primarily, on the desire of the Parties to the agreement to do so, but is also related to the nature and scope of the agreement.

Some RTAs seek to establish free-trade areas to foster economic cooperation by reducing tariffs among the parties; other seek to establish customs unions and a common market with consolidated external tariffs; other agreements seek to establish partnerships that lay the institutional basis to foster dialogue for better economic relations; still other agreements deal comprehensively with regional integration, addressing a board range of economic, Political, and social issues. The

environmental components of all these agreements thus also come in many different forms.

Many RTAs, especially the more recent ones, explicitly mention the resolve of Parties to promote sustainable development (which implies the integration of environment, economic and social policies), and most of them also specifically refer to the environment. Although such statements are often included in the preamble rather than the main treaty text, they are relevant for interpreting the text of the agreement in which they appear and they set the tone for how the Parties may treat situations where environment and trade interact.

Examples of agreements that contain general reference to sustainable development and environmental protection include NAFTA and all subsequent agreements adopted by Canada and the United States, MERCOSUR, a majority of agreements signed by the European Union (EU), recent agreements signed by New Zealand, and some RTAs in Asian countries.

The most ambitious agreements so far, from an environmental point of view, include a comprehensive environmental chapter, or are accompanied by an environmental side agreement, or both, detailing Parties, environmental commitments or objectives. In these agreements, environmental commitments are placed practically on an equal footing with trade commitments. The best known example is the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which includes detailed environmental, legally binding provisions, and has, in addition, a side agreement on environmental co-operation, the NAAEC.

All RTAs subsequently negotiated by the United States include environmental considerations both in environmental chapters and in separate instruments, focusing mainly on environmental co-operation. These agreements explicitly provide for an obligation by the Parties to

effectively enforce their environmental law, and include mechanisms ensure enforcement of this commitment (e.g. dispute settlement and public submissions mechanism).

They also provide for environmental cooperation between Parties, and accompanied by an environmental co-operation agreement or memorandum of understanding that establishes the framework for such cooperation.

Other RTAs including detailed environmental provisions, either in the main text or in a side agreement, or both, are the agreements between Canada and Chile, and Canada and Costa Rica, as well as recent RTAs signed by New Zealand, e.g. the Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership Agreement (TPSEP) with Brunei, and Singapore.

Some RTAs, which initially did not have an environmental chapter have evolved over time, and parties have added on environmental commitments over the years, e.g. through a protocol to the agreement. MERCOSUR members, for example, adopted Framework Agreement on Environment in 2001, ten years after the adoption of the trade agreement. Parties in ASEAN have also gradually expanded cooperation on environmental matters.

At the other extreme are those agreements which deal with environment only in the form of exception clauses to general trade obligations under the agreements. Most RTAs allow Parties some ability to regulate or limit trade in certain goods (e.g. in food, chemicals, and livestock) for reasons related to the environment.

Between these two poles RTAs feature a whole range or less detailed approaches to environment. Environmental elements typically found in many RTAs are environmental cooperation and consultation mechanisms. Environmental standards also figure in a range of agreements, in various forms. The obligation

to enforce environmental laws, included mainly in agreements involving the United States and Canada, as already mentioned.

These agreements also refer to the Parties' commitment to maintain high levels of environmental protection (e.g. the agreements between Canada and Costa Rica, and Canada-Chile). Some agreements, such as those recently negotiated by New Zealand, include references to the inappropriateness of lowering environmental standards.

A few agreements also strive for harmonization: under the MERCOSUR Framework Agreement on environment, for example, Parties undertake to cooperate on the compatibility between standards; another provision included in some RTAs is a reference to the compatibility between the agreement and multilateral or regional international environmental agreements.

Key Provisions Related to Environment in RTAs

1. Reference to environment of sustainable development in the preamble
2. Commitments related to environmental standards
3. Procedural guarantees and public submissions process to ensure enforcement of domestic environmental laws
4. Binding dispute settlement mechanisms with respect to environmental obligations
5. Commitments to effectively enforce national environmental laws
6. Language to reconcile commitments under the RTA and regional or multilateral environmental agreements.

Countries' mandates to include environmental considerations in RTAs are based on a variety of instruments, including, *inter alia*, parliamentary orders to ensure the compatibility of trade and environmental policies and government commitments to integrate trade and

environment. Some countries, e.g. the United States, have enacted legislation that provides specially for the inclusion of provisions in RTAs to address environmental issues. The European Union has included a reference to enhancing the relationship of trade and environment in its sustainable development strategy.

The EU Sustainable Development Strategy, adopted in 2001 and revised in June 2006, includes seven Key Challenges, one of which is to actively promote sustainable development worldwide to ensure that the European Union's internal and external policies are consistent with global sustainable development and international commitments.

In New Zealand, a Cabinet mandated directive instructs the government to integrate trade and environment policies in all international negotiations. The Framework for Integrating Environment Standards and Trade Agreements 2001 guides and informs New Zealand's trade and environment negotiations, and provides overarching environment and trade policy principles to ensure that sustainable development and trade policy principles are incorporated in all its international negotiations.

In the Trade Act 2002, the US Congress clarified the principal trade negotiating objects in the list of overall objectives, the Congress calls on negotiators, *inter alia*, to ensure that trade environmental policies are mutually supportive and to seek to protect and preserve the environment and enhance the international means of doing so, while optimizing the use of the world's resources and to seek provisions of trade agreements under which Parties to those agreements strive to ensure that they do not weaken or reduce the protections afforded in domestic environmental and labour laws as an encouragement for trade.

Environmental Components and Type of RTAs

There are basically two types of agreements, and their corresponding approaches to environmental

cooperation: narrow trade agreements and broad trade agreements; trade agreements that are a component of broader strategies of regional integration; and agreements aiming to increase collaboration and dialogue on a number of different economic, political social and cultural issues. These different types of agreement are not mutually exclusive.

Narrow RTAs

Some RTAs aim primarily at reducing sectors, establishing basic economic framework, or achieving recognition of certain standards and regulations. These types of agreements are frequently, but not exclusively, concluded among the industrialized countries. In the context of such agreements, environmental cooperation is seldom included. Environmental considerations are generally included in so far as they relate to ensuring that the new trade framework does not undermine government's ability to protect the environment.

Broad RTAs

Other RTAs are more comprehensive, often including provisions on market access, domestic regulation, services, investment, and intellectual property. In addition to clauses aiming at ensuring the trade partners' ability to protect the environment, many of these agreements also contain references to environmental cooperation, either in the trade agreement itself or in a separate agreement.

In contrast to the narrow type of trade agreement, this type of trade based economic partnership addresses environmental concerns not only through fine tuning traditional trade rules, but also through more robust approaches that seek to address specific environmental problems that trade liberalization can create, such as potential effects on the environmental regulatory capacity of a Party, or provoking the lowering of environmental standards.

The North American Free Trade agreement (NAFTA), negotiated in the early 1990s was the

first agreement to be complemented by separate agreements dealing with labour and environment, respectively. Canada has since followed this model in its agreements with Chile and Costa Rica. The US RTAs that followed NAFTA all have environmental side agreements. The NZTCEP has an Arrangement on Environment. Similarly, the TPSEP involving Brunei, Chile, Singapore, and New Zealand is accompanied by an Environmental Cooperation Agreement.

Regional integration agreements, such as that establishing MERCOSUR, for instance, typically include provisions on cooperation. The objective of MERCOSUR primarily, trade liberalization, include the coordination of macro-economic and sectoral policies and the harmonization of legislation. Environmental cooperation, detailed in the Framework Agreement on Environment, clearly define not only addressing shared environmental problems related to trade, but also the sustainable management of natural resources, environmental planning, and environment policy instruments.

Negotiating Environmental Commitments in RTAs

While the purpose of many RTAs is to reduce tariffs, an increasing number of agreements also deal with other trade related issues, such as labour and environment. The trend to include environmental considerations in trade agreements is relatively recent. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between Canada, Mexico, and the United State, signed in 1992, was the precursor.

Today, RTAs negotiated by most OECD members include some type of environmental provision. Most include references to environment or sustainable development in the preamble, some include provisions on environment in the body of the agreement, through paragraphs dealing mainly with environmental cooperation; (e.g. agreements by the EU and Japan), in detailed

chapters dealing with a broad range of environment issues (e.g. RTAs by Canada since NAFTA), in environmental side agreements (e.g. those recently negotiated by New Zealand), or in a combination of the previous approaches (e.g. most recent RTAs signed by United States).

In spite of these developments, the number of RTAs including environmental provisions remains small and there is still much reticence among countries, especially developing countries, to deal with environmental issues in the context of trade agreements.

Many countries are committed to pursuing sustainable development and attaining high levels of environmental protection. For reasons of policy coherence they aim to achieve these goals in all policies, including trade policies. Linking environmental (and other) issues to trade negotiation contributes to putting trade in a broader perspective and to better integrating it in sustainable development approaches.

For some countries, one of the primary reasons for including environmental provisions in an RTA – especially those committing parties to effectively implement their own environmental legislation, is to ensure that there is a level playing field among Parties to the agreement.

Cooperation in environmental matters can have various purposes. It can contribute to addressing common environmental problems, such as those relating to share natural resources in the case of neighboring countries. In agreements involving developing and developed countries, cooperation provisions are often aimed at capacity-building on a range of issues, including better understanding of trade and environment linkages.

Cooperation can also contribute to leveling the playing field between Parties, by enhancing the capacity of trade partners to deal with environmental issues and improving its overall environmental performance.

“Many developing countries, however, see environmental issues in a trade agreement as a

means to impose developed country’s environmental standards on them. For them, the argument of leveling the playing field is a form of protectionism. They consider that there cannot be a leveling playing field between countries with very divergent economic powers, and that imposing one country’s approach to environment on the other ignores the huge social and economic differences that often exist between trading partners.”

“They are, therefore, generally skeptical about the inclusion of any kind of environmental provisions in trade agreements. According to an expert from a developing country environmental commitments in trade agreements are for developed countries, not for us”.

Why do some Resist Including Environmental Considerations in RTAs

Trade and environment debates have traditionally seen developing country negotiators cautious about incorporating trade and environment at the multilateral level. Moreover, many are wary of incorporating trade and environment in RTAs of prejudicing their multilateral positions. Others fears that strong enforcement mechanism will be used to create new barriers to their exports to developed RTA partner markets.

They may also consider that the environmental agenda that the (developed country) Partner wishes to pursue through the RTA is not their agenda, and they do not wish to make commitments in areas in share that are not on their own list of priorities. Some countries also consider that environmental commitments will require substantive additional efforts and resources.

This could include, for example, funds to set up specific institutions to oversee the implementation commitments, human (and financial) resources to strengthen the effectiveness of environment enforcement, experts to train officials in ministries, etc. There

are also countries that do not consider the inclusion of environmental considerations in trade agreements to be a priority.

This does not necessarily mean that they do not consider environmental protection and international environmental cooperation to be a priority; they may simply not consider that trade agreements are a good place to deal with these issues. A number of countries are not opposed, *per se*, to inclusion of environmental considerations in a trade agreement, but see it as an obstacle to the rapid conclusion of an agreement.

This 'get a trade deal now and think about the environmental later' approach may be particularly extended in a period where multilateral negotiations yield little results and regional and bilateral approaches to trade are intensifying. Some countries e.g. Japan, have set themselves ambitious targets of signing a certain number of RTAs within a given period of time.

Difficulties in the Negotiation of Environmental Considerations in RTAs

When one country does not accept the idea of including environmental issues in an RTA, it is very difficult for the other party to push its environment agenda on the negotiating table, especially if it is a small country with limited economic weight. Asymmetries of power play a major role in negotiations, and the size and economic weight of the country wishing to include environmental considerations in the RTA, or, on the contrary, opposing it will be the key to the success of this objective. Negotiators from countries with significant market power may have the leverage to overcome these concerns, but small and middle power countries might have more difficulty.

Many countries still see environmental considerations as an obstacle to trade, and will therefore oppose, from the outset, to linking both areas in an agreement. This is often coupled with lack of capacity to discuss and negotiate

environmental issues in the context of trade. Trade officials are often unfamiliar with environmental issues.

In many countries there is hardly any coordination or communication between trade and environment officials, and trade negotiations are handled exclusively by trade experts. Getting these countries to include environmental experts in the negotiating teams, or to coordinate negotiating positions with both trade environment officials are therefore often a major endeavor. Another major difficulty encountered by some countries was the need to negotiate environmental chapters in RTAs while their own environmental legislation and implementation system was still in its infancy.

Geographical distance can make the negotiation of environmental issues in an RTA less immediate and relevant to the parties involved. Sharing a border and common environmental problems, or having similar geographical conditions, on the other hand, can create greater urgency and need to deal with such issues.

Benefits of Environmental Commitments in RTAs

The nature of the economic impacts from stronger environmental standards is still open to debate, and the literature is full of studies on this question at the national and international levels. Some consider strong environmental regulation to be a driver for innovation and economic growth. On the other hand, others fear that standard-related environmental provisions impose an excessive economic burden on the promulgating country.

From an environmental point of view, the inclusion of provisions aimed at the mutual supportiveness of trade and environment, promoting enforcement of environmental laws and raising the level of environmental standards, setting up environmental cooperation, enhancing public participation in environmental matters, etc. can be seen as a positive outcome of a negotiation.

There are, however, additional benefits. One of them is improving coordination among trade and environment officials. Many negotiators, including some which were initially opposed or at least reticent to including environmental issues in a trade agreement, have eventually found the experience of such negotiations to be very positive, e.g. in terms of building capacity among trade and environment officials.

Meetings involving environmental officials were less tense than those involving only trade officials; exchanges and cooperation between different ministries were enhanced, and continued after the negotiations. For some countries, the negotiation of an RTA that included environmental commitments was a driver for reform, or the acceleration of internal process. In Morocco, for example, the negotiation of the RTA with the United States accelerated the adoption of several environmental acts that had been pending for years.

Conclusion

Trade and environment debates have traditionally seen developing countries' negotiators cautious about incorporating environmental considerations into multilateral trade agreements. Similar concerns apply to the integration of environmental considerations into multilateral trade agreements. Similar concerns apply to the integration of environmental considerations into RTAs. Among the concerns is that environmental consideration will result in trade barriers or that their implementation will constitute an excessive burden in terms of financial and human resources.

Countries positions towards including environmental issues in RTAs depend, of course, also on the type and scope of the provisions. Including legally binding, far reaching commitments, which require ensuring effective enforcement of existing environmental laws or setting up specific institutions to oversee environmental commitments under an RTA, need

much more effort than, for example, broad agreement on areas of environmental cooperation.

For many countries involved in the negotiation of environmental provisions in a trade agreement, the first hurdles to overcome are often internal problems, *inter alia*, lack of motivation or opposition from higher levels of governments, lack of capacity to negotiate on environmental issues, and insufficient coordination between trade and environment ministries.

Asymmetries in power also play a major role. The size and economic weight of the country wishing to include environmental considerations in the agreement will help to influence the outcome of the discussion. Negotiators from countries with significant market power may have leverage to resist pressures, but small and medium-sized countries may find it more difficult.

One major difficulty encountered by some developing countries was the need to negotiate environmental chapters in RTAs while their own national environmental management system was in its infancy. Other difficulties are linked to geographical distance, differences in language, mentality, the weight of environmental issues on the agendas of the different governments.

Now countries are increasingly integrating trade and environmental issues in RTAs. Most of these agreements are very recent, and many countries have little experience with the actual implementation of environmental provisions in trade agreements. While RTAs have contributed to better integration of trade environment at bilateral and regional levels, this progress is hardly visible in the multilateral arena. Indeed, it is striking that a number of countries have been prepared to incorporate environmental provisions in RTAs, but is not prepared to countenance similar outcomes at the multilateral level.

With the current proliferation of RTAs, and the variety of environmental arrangements contained

in them, some countries are faced with the increasingly complex problem of managing various levels of environmental commitments and different types of environmental cooperation programmes under a range of RTAs to which they are parties. This problem may need future attention in the near future.

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Perspectives on Higher Education in India

Dr. Uma Narang*

[India as a developing nation has been systematically progressing on the educational front since its independence and has seen an appreciable surge in reaching out to all the classes of its society. India holds an important place in the global education industry, being the third largest education system in the world, primarily dominated by private players who account for 60% of the total institutes and 64% of total enrolment of students. As the largest sector in terms of enrolment, and the largest by total number of academic institutions, the Indian higher education sector is considered by many as a 'sunrise sector'.]

India's higher education sector has experienced unprecedented growth and increased investor focus over the past two decades. Yet, as it stands at the threshold of continued transformation, the sector needs to shift gears and evolve with the changing times. Despite its size and scope, the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in Indian higher education continues to be far below the global average.

The then President of India Pratibha Patil said that India aspires to increase enrolment in higher education. She added that the country intends to raise gross enrolment ratio in higher education to 30 percent by the year 2020, which means almost tripling the enrolment from the present 14 million to about 40 million. That shows many efforts have been made in this regard. An attempt has been made in this paper to understand the present scenario of higher education via its regulatory framework.

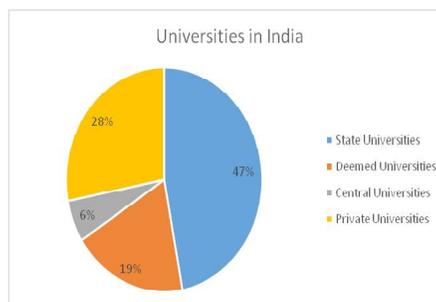
Currently, about 687 universities and 37,204 colleges constitute the country's higher education sector. The state universities constitute the largest chunk followed by private universities. More than 50% of India's population is under 25 years of age. As a result of this favourable demographic, India's appetite for quality education is on the rise leading to establishment of a large number of private academic institutions.

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Other drivers of growth in this sector are widening demand-supply gap; increasing dominance and public trust on private sector institutions; fast growing IT services sector leading to demand for skilled talent pool; rising FDI in the manufacturing and affiliated sectors and the recent thrust provided by the government on online education. Figure given below shows the number of universities in India:

Figure: 687 Universities in India

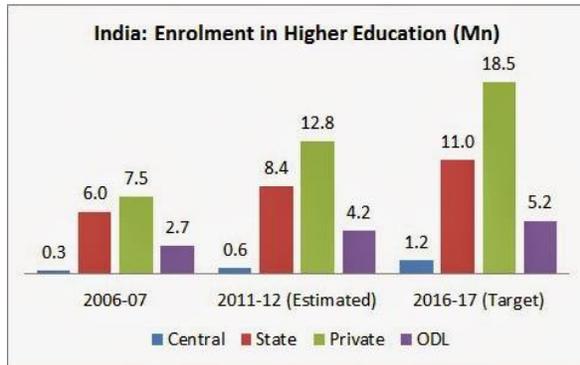
State Universities	322	(47%)
Deemed Universities	128	(19%)
Central Universities	45	(6%)
Private Universities	192	(28%)



Source: UGC, <http://www.ugc.ac.in/oldpdf/alluniversity.pdf>, as on 22nd Oct 2014

The rapid growth witnessed in the higher education sector has generated numerous challenges with the key ones being maintaining quality, improving equity and providing access

to each and every student based in any part of the country. Figure given below depicts the details of enrolment in Higher Education in India and target for 12th Five Year Plan. Here, the target is to increase enrolment to about 36 million by 2016-17 (as compared to 26 million in 2011-12).



Regulatory Framework

India has one of the largest higher education systems in the world, primarily dominated by private players who account for 60% of the total institutes and 64% of total enrolment of students as already mentioned. India's higher education system is the world's third largest in terms of students, next to China and the United States. Unlike China, however, India has the advantage of English being the primary language of higher education and research.

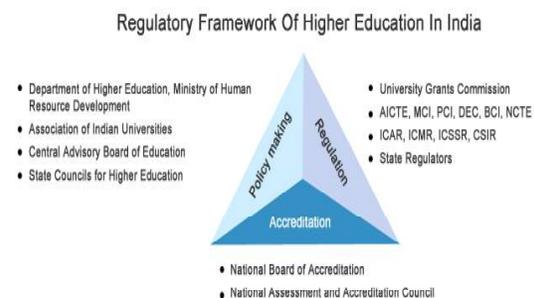
India educates approximately 11 per cent of its youth in higher education as compared to 20 per cent in China. The main governing body at the tertiary level is the University Grants Commission (India), which enforces its standards, advises the government, and helps coordinate between the Centre and the state. Universities and its constituent colleges are the main institutes of higher education in India.

The higher education sector in India is broadly classified into two segments — regulated and unregulated. Higher education falls under the regulated segment and includes degree universities and colleges. These are governed by multiple regulatory bodies. There are multiple agencies which regulate higher education at the

central level in addition to agencies which regulate at the state level.

The regulated segment comprises formal degree-granting universities and their affiliated colleges, institutions of national importance and other institutions offering formal degrees or technical programmes and is regulated by the UGC, AICTE and other regulating and accrediting authorities. The unregulated segment includes activities such as professional skill enhancement, test preparation, tutorials and coaching centres, text books and content, other services. These services though primarily provided by for-profit enterprises to higher education institutions, yet they fall outside the purview of the regulators.

The higher education sector in India has a three-tier structure comprising the university, college and course. This forms a vital link with the regulatory structure, and with accreditation agencies playing the key role in maintaining quality and standards in this sector. Figure given as under explains the regulatory framework as well as accreditation of higher education in India.



Universities-State and Central

- Established by State and Central Act and are of 2 types i.e. Unitary and affiliating.
- While unitary universities have a single campus, affiliating universities have a central campus with number of colleges affiliated to them.
- Among the affiliated colleges, some have a greater academic flexibility in terms of admissions, curriculum and evaluation and are called as autonomous colleges.

- These could be either public or private universities

Deemed Universities

- Certain higher education institutions are granted the deemed university status by Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) on the recommendation of the University Grants Commission (UGC).
- These universities have greater autonomy in developing academic programs and can grant degrees
- These could be either public or private universities

Institutions of National Importance

- Some specialized institutions are funded by Government of India and have the autonomy of awarding degrees. Some of these include: IITs, IIMs, AIIMS, NIPER, IISER etc.

Open Universities

Certain universities have also been established for the purpose of awarding academic qualifications through distance education.

In recent times, many initiatives have been taken up by the Government of India to improve their quality through emphasis on institutional rankings and establishing formal and systematic accreditation mechanisms. There is currently even a proposal to develop a national rankings system for Indian universities. However, creating such a grading mechanism from scratch, particularly in a large, complex, and a disorganized system such as prevalent in India, is a massive challenge.

Accreditation of educational institutions is the main route towards establishing the level of quality and effect comparison between institutions. While recognition and affiliation may be one-time process, accreditation is an on-going process to ensure quality of higher education institutions.

National Board of Accreditation (NBA) and National Assessment & Accreditation Council (NAAC) are the key government accreditation bodies established in India, which act in accordance with the UGC Regulations and 2012 mandate that all higher educational institutions be accredited by an accreditation agency.

Prevalent Scenario

Knowledge is power; therefore, it has remained one of the most important driving forces of sustaining human existence. For any economy to achieve exponential economic growth it is essential to gear up skill-based activities through a potential, vibrant and dynamic higher education system. India has one of the largest systems of higher education in the world. Higher education has expanded significantly after independence in terms of quality and range of fields of knowledge. In terms of human and physical resource there has been tremendous change in this area.

There has been enormous increase in the number of students, teachers and educational institutions. Besides top rated universities imparting highly competitive world class education, India is also home to many universities functioning like profit making business units. For example, many institutions in India continue to run courses without accreditation as there is no legislation strong enough to ensure legal action against them.

The growth rate of educational institutions in India was slow before independence in 1947 and remained stagnant during 1950-80, but now (As on August 2011) there were 611 universities and university level institutions, including 30 Central universities, There are 31,324 colleges. As per the latest (2013) report issued by the All India Council of Technical Education (AICTE), there are more than 3524 diploma and post-diploma offering institutions in the country with an annual intake capacity of over 1.2 million.

Capacity for Management Education crossed 385000, and post-graduate degree slots in Computer Science crossed 100,000. Pharmacy slots reached over 121,000. Total annual intake

capacity for technical diplomas and degrees exceeded 3.4 million in 2012. Charu Sudan Kasturi reported in the *Hindustan Times* (New Delhi, January 10, 2011) that the number of women choosing engineering has more than doubled since 2001.

Apart from this, 7 IITs, 20 National Institute of Technologies (NITs), 4 Indian Institutes of information Technologies (IIITs), 2 Indian Institutes of Science Education and Research (ITSERs), 6 IIMs and I School of Planning and Architecture (SPA) have come up in recent years. Some institutions of India, such as the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), are known for their high standard and they are globally acclaimed for their standard of undergraduate education in engineering. The IITs enroll about 10,000 students annually.

Several other institutes of fundamental research such as the Indian Institute of Science (IISc), Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR) etc., are acclaimed for their standard of research in basic sciences and mathematics. But in the absence of quality assurance mechanism India has failed to stop malpractices in higher education. The Government of India is aware of the plight of higher education sector and has been trying to bring reforms; however, 15 bills are still awaiting discussion and approval in the Parliament.

One of the most talked about bill is Foreign Universities Bill which would permit foreign universities to establish campuses in India. One of the approaches to make internationalization of Indian higher education effective is to develop a broad policy for excellence in education with institutional diversity along with aids in capacity building.

In the Indian education system and legislations, a significant number of seats are reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes. In universities/ Colleges/Institutions affiliated to the federal government there is a minimum 50% of

reservations applicable to these disadvantaged groups. At state level it can vary. Andhra Pradesh had 83.33% reservation in 2012, which is the highest percentage of reservations in India. Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backwards classes get free education and they are given 5% relaxation in entry level marks for any course they choose to join.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that because of interdependence and integration of world economy in recent years, the Indian higher education system has a new role and a challenge to provide to the nation and the world at large, skilled human power at all levels, having breadth of knowledge and confidence to effectively confront the social and economic realities. A well-designed mechanism to spot talents in different disciplines of knowledge is needed for this purpose.

Institutions must look into constantly updating the syllabus in order to help students adapt with the changing market scenario. To start with they can look at making education liberal, introduce new practices and applied research work; updating the course curriculum frequently. If such developments take shape in its true sense in our country, students would be attracted to pursue higher education which will in turn fulfill corporate expectations.

Efforts should also be taken to guide, mentor students and parents to develop and retain interest amongst students. Special emphasis must be given to communication and presentation skills, especially for students coming from rural background / remote locations and that for students' studies in vernacular languages, so that they can perform well in the corporate world, across the globe. Industries may also be encouraged to be partners with educational institutions directly for the development of human resources dedicated to their interests. This could happen in the areas of creating infrastructure, faculty sharing and direct support with funds.

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District Administration & District Police Administration

Dr. S. Kasim Nasheer*

[A cogent analysis of two significant institutions of administration at the District level – the Collector and the Superintendent of Police – vis-à-vis their powers and functions is presented in this article wherein the author attempts to trace the controversy to the colonial period with equal emphasis on the new scenario obtaining in the post-independent India in the wake of growing need for good governance. Ed.]

India is organized administratively into Union, States, Districts, sub-divisions, Taluks, Blocks, Circles and Villages. Of these, the basic territorial unit of public administration is the District. It is the unit of administration for various Departments like revenue, police, judiciary, agriculture, animal husbandry, health and medical care, education, industry, public relations, etc. which have their jurisdiction extending over the District. The District is, therefore, a multifunctional unit of administration.

The changing scenario

Before independence, the Indian administrative system was governed by a “ruling bureaucracy” in the sense that the officials combined in themselves a significant measure of political

authority with adequate administrative clout. They had unfettered powers and a relatively limited responsibility. The District Collector was the principal functionary, the fulcrum and the pivot of the District administration. He represented the provincial Government in its totality. He verily acted as the eyes, ears and arms of the Government.

Such an overriding role of the Collector was envisaged as early as in 1872, exactly a hundred years after the inception of this institution, when Sir George Campbell, the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal wrote: “It is the Lieutenant Governor’s wish to render the heads of the Districts no longer the drudgery of many Department and masters of none but in fact the general controlling authority over all Departments in each District...the real executive Chief and Administrator of that tract of country

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committed to him and supreme over everyone and everything except the proceedings of the Courts of justice”.¹

Collector: His multiple Roles

The District Collector is the Chief Representative of the Government in the District. His functions can be broadly organized under two heads: regulatory and development. Regulatory functions include: maintenance of law and order, collection of revenue, magisterial responsibilities (criminal) and general functions. The State Government is implementing a large number of development programmes. The development functions are carried out under the control of the District Collector. As a result the District Collector is not only responsible for regulatory functions but also for development functions. As a result he is not able to carry out any of the functions at the District level very effectively.

Maintenance of law and order

The District Collector is in-charge of law and order, which is the basis of civilized life. One effect of complete separation of executive and judiciary, after independence, was to free the Police from the controls of the executive Magistrates. In the new set-up, District Magistrates hardly have any control over the Police and the Superintendents of Police successfully agitated to abolish the old system of District Magistrates initiating their confidential reports.

Several Collectors are of the view that the Superintendent of Police no longer considers the Collector as his official superior, although the latter as the District Magistrate is the head of the criminal administration in the District.² Whether the primacy of the magistracy over the Police should continue or the Police be conferred complete organizational, professional and functional autonomy with the Superintendent of Police formally made responsible for law and order vests with the Police Commissioner, the District Magistrate having no say whatever, in this field.

The critics of the present relationship argue for an extension of the Commissioner of Police system arrangement to other parts of the country. The present practice is that the organizational and professional control of the Police up to the District level is exercised by the Superintendent of Police above the District level by the Deputy Inspector General of Police and Inspector General of Police Nevertheless, subject to certain restrictions, the general functional control over the Superintendent of Police is that of the District Magistrate and in the exercise of this control, the District Magistrate is guided by the Revenue Divisional Commissioner and by the Government and not by the Police hierarchy.

District Collector and the Superintendent of Police

The relationship between the District Collector and the Superintendent of Police may be viewed in relation to the Generalist-Specialist dichotomy in public Administration. The Collector as the Generalist Administrator is trained to handle a vast and varied field ranging from the maintenance of law and order to development projects. He has to learn the art of managing individuals and social forces to achieve results. In the discharge of his duties, he is assisted by the specialists in various fields of administration.

In the maintenance of law and order in the District, the Collector is assisted by the Police, which is a specialized service. In the field of development, he coordinates the work of various specialists, ranging from agriculture, public works, and cooperation specialists. General Administration is concerned with all types of administrative process indicated by the word “POSDCORB”.³ It is understood to mean those duties, which are concerned with the formulation of policies with coordination and improvements of Government machinery and with the general management and control of the Department.⁴

The generalist is professional administrator, who possesses the skill and techniques of Manager and a kind of politician. As a manager he is entrusted with the responsibility of getting things

done and as a politician he is responsible for interpreting the public mind to complex social, economic and even political problems of the state within the constraints of administration.⁵

The administrative all rounder - the Generalist - played a crucial part by linking the broad objectives of the politician to the more specific or vocational orientation of specialist interest. He plays the role of facilitator, mediator, arbiter and coordinator.⁶ As a facilitator the role of the generalist calls for the knowledge of the system. The politician provides ideas and motive force.

The generalist has to ensure that decisions are properly recorded, processed and implemented. When the generalist links the specialist to the rest of the system he plays the role of a mediator. The role of arbiter demands the ability to compare and reconcile the conflicting priorities. In a large degree, a generalist performs the work of a coordinator.

Public personnel in India fall into two broad categories. Those who are recruited to a service on the basis of their pre-entry professional qualification are specialists where as those recruited on the basis of general educational background irrespective of subjects studied in the universities are 'generalists'. The Generalist service again falls into two groups - functional and general administrative services.

Police is a functional service, which has a well-defined functional area in which it has to specialize and operate through a specified department or organization. On the other hand, the administrative service, which has been primarily organized for District Administration, does not have a well-defined functional area beyond the District level. The members of the Indian Administrative Service fall into this category.

Personnel belonging to general administrative service require a diverse nature of experience, a breadth of vision and outlook, a capacity to coordinate and synthesize mutually conflicting approaches and an understanding of socio-

economic and political environment.⁷ On the other hand, the specialists who have a deeper knowledge of their narrow specialized field become rigid and inflexible in their approach and over enthusiastic in respect of their own specialism.

Their differing characteristics are often directed by calling 'Generalists' as 'multi-functional' and specialists as 'uni-functional'. Accordingly the members of the Indian Administrative Service are 'Multi-functionaries' and those of the Indian Police Service are 'Uni-functionaries'.

The Generalist can exercise his function only with the wholehearted cooperation of the specialist class. In the case of Collector-Police relationship the Collector is responsible for the maintenance of law and order at the District level while he can exercise this function only with the assistance of the Police organization under the Superintendent of Police. In this relationship, the Superintendent of Police cannot be a sub-ordinate to the Collector as a Deputy Collector is to the Collector. The traditional hierarchical relations that the Generalist is on the 'top' and the specialist on the 'tap' cannot be applied to this situation.

In certain cases the dichotomy of 'Generalists' and 'Specialists' is blurred in regard to the use of services by the employer. Specialists belong to the functional services. They spend their entire career in the parent department, unless their services are required in other departments. But the concept of parent department is alien to the Generalists. They move from one department to another. Hence they are birds of passage.⁸

The District Collector is the ultimate authority in the case of law and order at the District level. He is the Executive Magistrate. The Police under the Superintendent of Police, which is the functional agency, have to work under the general control of the District Magistrate. In this vein, the Police can be considered a specialist as the Police is the only agency capable of assessing law and order situation developing in the District and to report to the Collector about it and to

suggest the course of action to be taken to deal with the situation.

In this set up neither the Collector nor the Superintendent of Police can exercise the power relating to law and order alone. They must work together as a team, harmonizing different approaches and synthesizing different experiences. No particular class of functionaries can claim a monopoly of managerial skills and administrative capacities.⁹ The Police get appropriate training for maintenance of law and order and prevention and detection of crime. Collector is actually a generalist who decides certain courses of action based on the information received from the Police.

No specialism today stands complete in itself in terms of problems confronting the society. Several genre of specialism are required to be integrated and put into a defined relationship in order to fulfill any large-scale task.¹⁰ The specialist's judgment has to be evaluated in the larger framework of social, economic, political and administrative considerations. They call for consultation, synthesis, co-ordination and control, which are the true functions of a generalist administrator. Viewed in this way, both the generalists and specialists have complementary roles to play in public administration.

The powers relating to the maintenance of law and order are shared both by the Collector and the Superintendent of Police. In the development administration the pressure for increased specialization on the one hand and the pressure for greater coordination on the other are to be accommodated with a view to replacing the superior-subordinate relationship with a new concept of partnership.¹¹

It may be mentioned that the collector is heavily armed with a plethora of powers connected with development administration. At the same time, the powers of maintaining law and order, which are the legacies of the British, are also retained. Consequently, his importance is gradually being shifted from the maintenance of law and order to the developmental work.

Arguments for the retention of dual control

The Report of the Kerala Administrative Reorganization and Economy Committee (1965-67), headed by M.K. Vellodi, represents the diehard civil service view of the continuance of dual control. The concept that the collector is the Head of the District Police and is responsible for maintenance of law and order is a time-honoured one and has necessarily to be respected. It is to the Collector that the Government looks for maintenance of law and order; it is the Collector who is taken to task by Government if things go wrong. It is, therefore, essential that nothing is done to curtail his authority or to weaken his control. The report says:

In our opinion the assessment of local law and order situation should be the responsibility of the Collector, assisted of course by the Superintendent of Police; where the Inspector General considers it necessary to issue instructions to the Superintendent of Police he should invariably keep the Collector informed.¹² In all local situations the Superintendent of Police should take instructions from the District Collector.

The Indian Police Commission 1902-03 are strongly of opinion that it is necessary to insist on the subordination of Police force to the District Magistrate who is responsible for the criminal administration of the District and for preservation of public peace. In the interest of the people, the Police must remain under the general control and direction of the District Magistrate.

He is the officer in every way marked out for discharge of the duties of supervising of both the Magistracy and the Police.¹³ He must have the power to issue to the Police any order necessary to secure the efficient discharge of their duties in the preservation of peace or in the prevention and detection of offence. In a Resolution of the Government of India (Home Department) on 21 March 1905 on the report of the Indian Police Commission 1902-1903, it is stated:

“It is not intended to be constant or detailed; it is intended to be confined to what is necessary to

maintain the magisterial control over the criminal administration of the District and his responsibility for the maintenance of peace; but it is not intended to extend to the administration of the Police Department except where interference in that is necessary for maintaining the above control and responsibility.¹⁴

The Commission of 1902-03 had emphasized the necessity of maintaining the responsibility of the District Magistrate for the criminal administration of the District. It had stated the limitations under which justice and expediency demand that his general control over the Police should be exercised. But they had strongly deprecated the proposal to deprive him wholly of that control.

The Superintendent of Police the less will the interference of the District Magistrate be required; and the less it will be exercised displays the more efficiency and judgment. Commission are of opinion that "it is absolutely necessary to maintain the principle of his control over the Police, and it would be a blunder of the most serious character to make the Police in India wholly dependent of magisterial control in unintelligent of what is believed to be English practice."¹⁵

Collector's control over the Police is unnecessary

Critics of the system observe that the Collector's control over the Police is unnecessary as it leads to delays, indecision and inefficiency, for the Collector is often unable to devote adequate time to Police matters because of his various other preoccupations. Further, the Collector's exercise of general functional control over the Superintendent of Police breeds discontent and confusion, as the former is not subject to any control by the Inspectors- General of Police. Dual control in the administration of law and order is clearly riddled with disadvantage.¹⁶

The report of the study group on Police Administration set up by the Administrative Reforms Commission (1969) questions the

rationale of the continuance of the District Magistrate's position as the Officer ultimately responsible for the administration of law and order and cautions that dichotomy of responsibility for law and order results in duality of command, which prejudices the efficient performance of the Police and, ultimately, the welfare of the people. It underlines the need for accepting the basic principle of sound administrative organization that authority and responsibility should follow a direct and unbroken line from the apex to the base and that this is nowhere more important than in the administration of law and order.¹⁷

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Viability of Holding National and State Elections Simultaneously

Aejaz Ahmad Wani*

[Prime Minister Narendra Modi recently expressed the possibility of holding Lok Sabha, state assembly and village Panchayat elections simultaneously all over the country. It is not that these debates have come to the fore for the first time. The Election Commission expressed this possibility long back in 1983, followed by Law Commission Report of 1999 that too raised the feasibility of this plan.]

Popular arguments, including Modi's, for simultaneous elections have largely been made from an economic point of view, that such a plan can cut down the whopping election expenditures and prevent disruptions in the developmental programmes on account of the electioneering activities. These arguments are plausible in their own right.

However, these arguments don't take into account the social implications that such a plan can have in a country where elections and social cleavages are intricately interrelated. Indian electoral politics defies a square Western justification. Over the years, after independence, Indian voters have learnt to vote on secular developmental issues that concern all of them, but the social underpinning of these interests have not waned altogether.

This is evident in a recent spate of religious and caste conflicts in contemporary India, where communal appeals, religious issues and caste biases still dominate the elections and *vice versa*. Under these conditions, simultaneously holding national and state elections carries the risk of dangerous social cleavages to overlap which could be more detrimental for Indian democracies which are largely sustained by crisscrossing of many cleavages that are abundant in an unprecedentedly plural society like India.

General Theoretical Explanations

The rationale behind any federal setup is to maintain a critical balance between the national units (national issues) and constituent units (local issues). Although the national issues might have a cutting edge over those of local issues at critical times which is justifiable for a national unity, but a perennial

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subsumption of local issues by national ones ultimately leads to federal confrontation.

The state elections are meant to address and solve the issues confronting the state itself, (unless the issues involve some externalities, the Centre has no business to step in) and national elections are to cater to the issues that concern to the nation at large. The simultaneous holding of national and state/local elections can displace the normal configuration of local and national elections in two possible ways.

First, national issues at the time of elections can overshadow the local issues, influencing the voters to vote accordingly at the expense of some important local issues. Second, it could be the other way round, that local issues sometimes can have an undue larger effect on national issues thereby compromising on crucial matters of national interest, as was the case with Tamil sentiments in Tamil Nadu which impacted India's relations with Sri Lanka. In both cases, the logic of election and decentralized system somewhat breaks down, at least theoretically.

Elections and Social Cleavages: Inter-connections

Elections in India are, more often than not, fought on social cleavages. Caste, religious, and linguistic cleavages are some of most entrenched social cleavages in India that not only influence elections, local and national, but, in fact, sometimes determine the elections *per se*. Ironically enough, these social cleavages normally remain in a banal state and only during elections do they get manifested in the actions and manifestoes of parties.

Although, developmental issues of our time are supposed to be secularly above these cleavages, but in actual operations, developmental activities *per se* remain deeply wedded with these cleavages as Indian case clearly defies modernization doctrine. All this suggests that there is an intricate connection between elections and social cleavages in India.

Several researches have shown how the practical working of the social cleavages in India maintains and consolidates, rather than destroys India's

democratic character. People in India have multiple identities; one could be simultaneously a Hindu, a lower caste, lower class, speaker of a different language.

Renowned political scientist Kanchan Chandra in her research "*the Ethnification of the Party System in Uttar Pradesh and its Consequences*", has provocatively shown that social cleavages in India crisscross each other preventing the formation of master cleavage or prevent the overlapping of a particular cleavage, thereby dividing people on certain issues and binding them together on others. For instance, during the 1990s, on the Mandir issue, religious cleavage had divided people on their religious identities, but the Mandal issue in the same decade broke the religious cleavage and divided people on caste lines.

It is true that the first four Lok Sabha elections in India, 1951-52, 1957, 1962 and 1967, coincided with the state assembly elections, but it is also true that it happened before the successive democratic upsurges that brought people of various social backgrounds into the active electoral domain, leading to an activation of social issues that thereafter became the *modus operandi* of elections in India.

With the massive mobilization of hitherto passive social groups, the electoral politics of India took a new turn and increasingly began to depend on social issues associated with these social forces. Identity politics has ever since been recurrent in Indian politics.

The argument that the social cleavages have become less important in the post-liberalization phase with the preponderance of economic issues is true to some extent, but not quite persuasively. As the recent spate of attacks on Dalits, and minorities, sensitive issues like beef ban, Ghar Wapsi, and cultural nationalism have again indicated that social cleavages continue to have a deep salience in Indian politics.

Dangers of Overlapping Social Cleavages

The above analysis brings us closer to the crucial question that this article is determined to address.

If elections and social cleavages in India are crucially and sensitively related to each other, or in other words, at times determine each other, how can holding of national and state/local elections simultaneously cause the dangerous overlapping of social cleavages?

When national and state elections are differentially conducted, it serves two purposes. One that it provides an opportunity to voters to reflect rationally upon the national and local issues and meticulously express their choices in a way that quintessential electoral democracy should be based on. If that opportunity is denied, the issues that should always get articulated will become blunt, apart from the strains that it can have on a federal equation.

The second purpose that such a plan in India serves is that it keeps social cleavages at bay in that it doesn't provide them with an all time congenial condition whereat they can overlap and thereby cause social disruption. More importantly, it prevents the politicians who use social cleavages for their political capitalization by appealing and aggregating people on particular cleavages.

Our country is replete with such brand of politicians. For instance, while some politicians mobilized voters in Haryana on communal lines in the recent elections, thereby winning elections by appealing to particular kinds of voters, its anti-thesis was worked out in Bihar elections where a different combination of caste and religious cleavage, by collating politicians, succeeded in keeping the communal appeals at bay.

Similarly, if a social cleavage becomes dominant issue in an election in a particular state, its antithesis is provided by a different cleavage or a secular developmental issue in other state at a different time, which works remarkably to prevent the replication or multiplication of any particular social cleavage at the national level.

Therefore, if national and state elections are conducted at the same time, it may well provide that dangerous ambiance where any particular social

issue or a cleavage can dominate the state and national elections, thereby disproportionately benefiting the ideological objectives of any particular political party, particular a party that has overt and covert communal history.

Such a situation did actually occur during 1990s when religious cleavages dominated at the national level that catapulted BJP to power at the Centre. Imagine the proposal of simultaneous elections in 1990. If BJP's communal policies at that time had similarly dominated in all the state elections, it would have been politically difficult to undo that.

Interestingly, despite BJP's venture into Centre, it invited a trenchant moral disapproval from many states particularly from Bihar. Thus, the existing pattern of holding elections has evolved well to offer a strange in-built corrective in Indian democracy.

Conclusion

In sum, it has been argued that if social cleavages are still crucial in electoral politics in India, which ostensibly it is, then holding of all elections at the same time, can cause a particular social cleavage to dominate at the state and national level that can have severe social and political implications. Conversely, the existing pattern of holding elections prevents any overlapping of social cleavages at the national level, in fact, keeps them crisscrossed.

Secondly, it is argued that such a proposal is justified on secular economic basis that will cut down the election expenditures drastically which ignores the social implications of such a proposal in a country that is still socially sensitive. It further ignores the economic costs pertaining to these social implications.

This analysis by no means overlooks the importance of other developmental and secular issues that are equally important, it merely explores a possibility that such a proposal can bring about. It must be noted that such a proposal is desirable in India given its overall effectiveness, but the ground political and social realities make it a peculiar option.



Globalization, Democracy & Differently-Able Persons in India

Yogesh Kumar Gupta*

Disability results from the interaction between persons with impairments, conditions or illnesses and the environmental and attitudinal barriers they face. Such impairments, conditions or illnesses may be permanent, temporary, intermittent or imputed, and include those that are physical, sensory, psychosocial, neurological, medical or intellectual.”

Disabled children face multiple forms of exclusions especially in newly defined Global South, for example,

- a. Disengagement: restricted access to participation in social and community life.
- b. Service Exclusion: non availability of services when required.
- c. An economic exclusion: remote access to economic services.

Keeping in view the above mentioned problem of [PWDS], this study attempts to find out new outlines for their inclusion in a globalizing India: Has the process of globalization in India addressed the issue of inclusion of differently-able persons? Can only addressing the issue of accessibility and related laws solve the problem of their exclusion? How can our educational institutions draft new curriculum for our normal children so that they can become more responsible and inclusive towards the needs of disabled in an era of globalization?

India and the process of globalization

Globalization is not only a movement of ideas, information, capital, people, technologies, goods and services and labour across the nation-states;

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it also includes the serious impact it has on the social, economic and political spheres of life.

Speaking to a reporter of the *Hindu*, the national daily Dr. Manmohan Singh, the then Prime Minister of India, said in 2006, “In my own country, the economic reforms we initiated in the early 1990s have made our economy more competitive. Indian business is responding to new market opportunities. India’s growth is underpinned by a vibrant and growing entrepreneurial class. Indian youth is keen to get into technical and scientific institutions helping India gain salience as a knowledge-based economy”, he further added, “our country, I believe, is now on growth path of 7 to 9 per cent per year, while maintaining price stability.”¹ According to him “The proportion of people living below the poverty line is declining.”²

However, in the same interview the Prime Minister also spoke of some concerns *vis-à-vis* non-inclusive nature of globalization in India. He said, “These achievements of the era of globalization should not blind us to the new anxieties that globalization has brought in its wake. The reach of globalization is yet to touch many parts of the world. Moreover, the evidence suggests that the process has not removed personal and regional income disparities.”

“In many developing countries, growth is bypassing the rural areas. Also, in the face of stagnation in their real pay, the working classes in industrialised countries are becoming fearful of the opening of markets. The gap between the rich and the poor is widening. This, coupled with the inability of the public sector to provide adequate and quality services in health and education, and cater to the needs of the poor, is causing resentment and alienation.”

“This is nurturing divisive forces and putting pressure on the practice of democracy. These are real and palpable concerns and they cannot be ignored. I suggest to you that we address these vital concerns by making globalization an inclusive process. We need to work for inclusive globalization.”³

It seems important to mention the former Indian Prime Minister’s views here as he was the architect of the policy of globalization in India in the year 1991. His statement makes it very clear that globalization in itself is not an inclusive concept although, we can make it inclusive.

Meaning of exclusion and globalization

Social exclusion originated from a French term “exclusion sociale”. It is used by French socialist to refer to those people who are not included in social security programs of the state. The ill effects of industrialization and *laissez faire* have led liberal thinkers like John Stuart Mill to support state intervention in market. Mill in *Principles of Political Economy* (1848) has justified the state’s intervention into the market for the welfare of workers.

Industrialized states have given the concept of welfare state. However, a number of people belonging to different categories e.g. aged,

differently-able, drug traffickers, women and children remained out of the gambit of state. Therefore, apathy of state policies towards these people has resulted into their social exclusion.

However, in India, this exclusion has increased at the advent of globalization, which on the one hand, generated many millionaire and on the other hand, it has deprived many from their livelihoods. David Held, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt and Jonathon Perraton in their book, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, have illustrated that globalization has deprived people from their basic livelihood and rights.

To understand the argument better, I am presenting the data from government sources about the education and employment opportunities for the disabled in India in the period of globalization.

The social exclusion of differently-able can be located from the fact that in the Census of 1991, there was no mention of differently-able as a different social group. Besides, in the Census of 2001, only four types of disability were covered. However, it was in the census of 2011 that on the basis of ‘Person with Disabilities Act (PWD) 1995’ and ‘National Trust Act 1999’ eight categories of disabilities are listed.⁴

Table1 Differently-able population with eight categories

Types of Disability	Persons	Male	Female
Total	26,810,557	14,986,202	11,824,355
In Seeing	5,032,463	2,638,516	2,393,947
In Hearing	5,071,007	2,677,544	2,393,463
In Speech	1,998,535	1,122,896	875,639
In Movement	5,436,604	3,370,374	2,066,230
Mental Retardation	1,505,624	870,708	634,916
Mental Illness	722,826	415,732	307,094
Any other	4,927,011	2,727,828	2,199,183
Multiple Disability	2,116,487	1,162,604	953,883

Source: *Census of India 2011*

Table 2 Differently-able population in 2011

Disabled Population by Sex and Residence in India, 2011

Residence	Persons	Males	Females
Total	26,810,557	14,986,202	11,824,355
Rural	18,631,921	10,408,168	8,223,753
Urban	8,178,636	4,578,034	3,600,602

Table 3 Decadal Change in Disabled Population by Sex and Residence, India, 2001-11

Residence	Absolute Increase			Percentage Decadal Growth		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Total	4,903,788	2,380,567	2,523,221	22.4	18.9	27.1
Rural	2,243,539	997,983	1,245,556	13.7	10.6	17.8
Urban	2,660,249	1,382,584	1,277,665	48.2	43.3	55.0

Education for differently-able in India

Sargent Report 1944 (prior to the independence) and Kothari Commission (Education Commission) both have adopted “Dual Approach” towards disabled children. This approach suggested that while children with special needs are to be integrated in the mainstream education simultaneously, some special schools are to be established for the persons with disabilities.

National Policy of Education 1986 has also endorsed this “Dual Approach.” Its Para 4.9 read as:

1. Wherever possible, the education of children with motor handicaps and other mild handicaps will be common with that of others.
2. Special schools with hostels will be provided, as far as possible at district headquarters, for severely handicapped children.
3. Adequate arrangements will be made to give vocational training to disabled students.
4. Teachers’ training programmes will be reoriented, in particular for teachers of

primary classes, to deal with the special difficulties of the handicapped children.

5. Voluntary effort for the education of children with disability will be encouraged In every possible manner. (NPE: 1986)⁵

Persons with Disability Act, 1995 has also believed in the philosophy of this “Dual Approach”. Act says that “The appropriate Governments and the local authorities shall-

1. Ensure that every child with a disability has access to free education in an appropriate environment till he attains the age of eighteen years;
2. Endeavor to promote the integration of students with disabilities in the normal schools;
3. Promote setting up of special schools in government and private sector for those in need of special education, in such a manner that children with disabilities living in any part of the country have access to such schools;
4. Endeavor to equip the special schools for children with disabilities with vocational training facilities (PWD Act: 1995).⁶

Table 1 Literacy among differently-able

	Literate				Illiterate		
Sex	Total	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
No. of Disable Population	26,810,557	14,618,353	9,110,325	5,508,028	12,196,641	9,526,033	2,670,608
Male	14,986,202	9,348,353	6,031,731	3,316,622	5,640,240	4,378,828	1,261,412
Female	11,824,355	5,270,000	3,078,594	2,191,406	6,556,401	5,147,205	1,409,196

Source: Census of India 2011

This dual approach says that children with mild disabilities can be included in the mainstream education system; however, different schooling is required for children having severe disabilities. This different schooling has caused exclusion of differently-able in the education system as well. However, in countries like the United States there is more inclusive policy. Its Individuals with Disabilities Education Act 1990 (amended in 2004) believes in the philosophy of inclusion of the disabled in the mainstream schools. These Acts provide for the Individualised Education Program (IEP), where it is expected that school has to provide least restrictive environment for the differently-able children.

Employment Policy for Differently-able

The People with Disabilities Act provides for 3 per cent reservation of government jobs for differently-able (PWD Act: Section 33). It also provides that Union as well as state governments are required to initiate “Special Employment Exchange” so that differently-able can locate employment opportunities through these exchange. Besides, this act also promotes employment of differently-able in private sector.

It says that “The appropriate Governments and the local authorities shall, within the limits of their economic capacity and development, provide incentives to employers both in public and private sectors to ensure that at least five

per cent of their work force is composed of persons with disabilities (PWD Act: 1996).”⁷

The situation of their employment presents another area of their exclusion. The Ministry of Labour and Employment, in its annual report of 2007-8, states that 6,87,632 differently-able people are registered in 81 employment exchanges and special cells across the country. It does not include those enrolled in private employment agencies as the information on their enrolment and placement is largely unavailable.

National Centre for Promotion of Employment for Disabled People (NCPEDP) is looking after the employment of differently-able in government as well as private sector. According to its survey, the rate of employment of disabled in private sector is a dismal 0.28 per cent and situation is worse if we talk about multinational companies because the rate of employment is below 0.05 per cent.

The social acceptability of differently-able persons is not so good. Even if they are employed, their skills are undermined and in most of the cases they are not given the work for which they are selected. For example, unstructured interviews are conducted with five visually challenged employees selected for the job of probationary officers in Delhi and Haryana.

All of them have one common experience that they are inquired that how will you operate computer without vision. Even the managers of their banks did not know that with software named Jaws any trained visually challenged

person can operate the computer like any other person. Besides, they are not given the exact work for which their selection has taken place rather they are given different tasks below their ranks.⁸

The recent data provided by the Census of 2011 informs that more than half of the population of differently-able is non-workers and majority amongst workers belongs to marginal workers having a job for three to six months. Situation is even worse in case of females as they are poor in education and employment.

Age Group	Total	Workers	Marginal Worker 3-6 months	Marginal Worker Less than 3 months	Non Workers
Total	26814994	6982009	2172516	589861	17070608
0-14	5572336	100779	98226	29034	5344297
15-59	15728243	5808809	1714444	419745	7785245
60+	5376619	1036384	346540	138808	3854887
Age not stated	137796	36037	13306	2274	86179

Source: Census of India 2011

Future Prospects

Above data can be viewed with two deferent perspectives. If we view it from a pessimistic point of view we will find that issue of disability and its related reforms has not been taken up seriously by Indian democracy in the period of globalization. However, if we analyse the data more optimistically we can conclude that there is a gradual improvement in the position of PWD in the country.

In fact, the most important PWD act or the equal opportunity act for persons with disabilities has come during the period of globalization, i.e., in 1995. The above data also do not indicate the differently-able-friendly technology that globalization has brought with itself to India, which in future will be a tool for their financial and social inclusion.

This author firmly believes that with the new initiatives taken by the present Central government like allocating a special fund for Divyang and new policy announced by the H.R.D. Minister of India regarding certain concessions to PWD for doing their higher education is indicative of the fact that the country is going in the right direction as far as main streaming of PWDs is concern.

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The Political Future of Gandhi's Indian State

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[Gandhi's condemnation of modern economy – capitalism, socialism and industrialization – reflected his critical view of modern political affairs. Gandhi was particularly vocal about his criticism for contemporary political systems. He especially targeted Western democracy and the corrosive manifestations the system wrought. In Hind Swaraj, for instance, Gandhi calls the British parliament a “sterile woman” for not having “done a single good thing” and a “prostitute” because “it is under the control of a minister who changes from time to time.” Gandhi felt passionately about the shortcomings of Westminster: “If India copies England, it is my firm conviction that she will be ruined. Their condition is worse than that of beasts.”]

Gandhi disparaged communism in a similar way. Certain aspects of Marxism were agreeable in theory, but he detested the fashion by which it was imposed and its propagation of atheism. In his words, “... in so far as it is based on violence and the denial of God, it repels me.” In practice, it was also tainted for its propensity to concentrate power in the hands of the few (i.e. the U.S.S.R.).

Such a hierarchical power structure was anathema to Gandhi's conception of the state. This concentration of power was so harmful, according to Gandhi, because it destroyed man's individuality—the root of moral progress. Gandhi, therefore, sought to distance India from both democracy and communism. He seems to have favored a political alternative that encouraged an absence of political institutions and political leadership altogether.

Constitutionalism, he suggested, would be rendered unnecessary as the country moved towards enlightened anarchy. With hope, he said, “there will be a state of enlightened anarchy in which each person will become his own ruler. He will conduct himself in such a way that his behavior will not hamper the wellbeing of his neighbors.”

This theory of enlightened anarchy paralleled Gandhi's humble worldview in important ways.

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Gandhi did not believe that even he had the moral attributes worthy to lead the people in politics. In his autobiography, Gandhi writes that he unhesitatingly disliked career politicians; he also dispelled rumors that he had political ambitions. Praise “stings me”, he wrote, and the title Mahatma (Great Soul) has “deeply pained me.”

Despite his immense popularity and worldwide renown, Gandhi harbored no motives to run for office himself. All the more so, he was anxious about the intentions of people who did seek power. To allay this, Gandhi figured that a pre-modern state endowed with apolitical and self-sustaining villages would reduce the opportunities for political exploitation and increase the prospects for unregulated individual liberties.

The empowerment of villages would form the foundation of Gandhi's pre-modern state. By sweeping away the oppressive authority of federalist government, decentralization would benefit India's villages in a host of ways. It would make villages economically self-sufficient, allowing for the expansion of *khadi*. No less important would be its consequences for the psychological well-being of India's peasants, who would increasingly become more confident in their abilities to rule themselves and manage their own affairs.

Society would be composed of “innumerable... ever-widening, never-ascending” village

republics. Gandhi elaborated on this village centric theory in an article published in 1944: “Independence must begin at the bottom. Thus, every village will be a republic having full powers. It follows, therefore, that every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world. It will be trained and prepared to perish in the attempt to defend itself against any onslaught from without.”

Gandhi presumably wanted to change the *modus operandi* of Indian society. This would require not only stamping out industrialization, capitalism, democracy and government regulation, but also making provincial borders and a national army extraneous. Gandhi goes so far as to suggest that the only currency that should be permitted in India is the buying and selling of *khadi* as yarn. Because he dreamed of transforming society and eradicating modern institutions of the state – such as replacing currency and absolving national armies – Gandhi can legitimately be called an anarchist.

Although Gandhi strove for an Indian state with as little government as possible, he did not specify how these changes would be implemented, or to what extent they would create society *de novo*. In fact, modern scholars are unsure how Gandhi would have proceeded to reify his ideas had he gotten the chance (he did not, on account of being assassinated in January 1948).

Historians agree that Gandhi wanted a moral framework to express the collective will, but they argue over what exactly that paradigm would look like in practice. Judith Brown asserts that Gandhi desired a state completely void of positive law: “truthful individuals leading a simple, cooperative life,” she explains, “would need little outside regulation and would be able to manage their own affairs harmoniously.”

Rudrangshu Mukherjee, meanwhile, states that Gandhi wanted a state “where there was no gulf between ruler and ruled, where the former always expressed the collective will.” Partha

Chatterjee, for his part, believes that Gandhi would have enshrined the state with a titular head. “By his moral qualities and habitual adherence to the truth”, writes Chatterjee, a symbolic ruler would “always express the collective will.”

It is unknown how ambitiously Gandhi would have pursued his idealistic propositions if the opportunity arose. Ambiguity exists, in part, because Gandhi subtly modified his views on the subject over time. For most of his life, he was averse to parliamentary politics. As late as the winter of 1945, only two years before his death, Gandhi pleaded with colleagues to desist from their service as I.N.C. ministers because of the inadequacies of democratic political activity.

As the ‘Transfer of Power’ became more of a reality, however, Gandhi was caught in a quagmire. For decades, he wrote about the *future* Indian state. Now that independence was imminent, it seemed unlikely that his ideas would come to fruition. How was he to respond? This was a painful dilemma for Gandhi since it represented a fundamental incompatibility between his political vision and the realities of running a state.

One way in which Gandhi tried to resolve this discrepancy was by conceding a very limited oversight role for government agencies. In the middle of 1946, Gandhi suggested a narrow scheme by which the government could play a role in society. It could help in three areas and three areas only: the production of cotton, preservation of cattle wealth, and the organization of hand-spinning.

At a maximum, a government minister could go so far as to help invigorate new *khadi* schemes. When pressed to articulate a specific blueprint, Gandhi answered evasively, “The only question for me as a minister [would be] whether the A.I.S.A. has the conviction...for guiding a *khadi* scheme to success” he responded. With independence approaching, Gandhi hatched a plan that permitted some ministerial obligations,

but in reality reflected an absence or non-recognition of modern government.

The Social and Religious Landscape of Gandhi's Idealized State

In addition to advocating manual labor, self-sustaining villages and communal cooperation, Gandhi felt strongly about the social and religious course of India's development. While Gandhi was sometimes equivocal about the political forecast for the state, he was steadfast in his religious outlook. His religious ruminations involved three main goals. They included eradicating Untouchability, maintaining the *varna* distinctions of the caste system and grounding India in tolerance, modesty and religiosity.

Any future Indian state, one would imagine, would be supported by these bedrock principles. One way of reinvigorating India religiously required wiping out Untouchability. In traditional Hindu belief, an Untouchable was a person who did not belong to any *Varna*, or one of the four classes of society in Hindu Scripture. Over the centuries, the concept became rigidly routinized in daily life.

Both Hindu and Muslim Untouchables were excluded from normal intercourse and social interaction with Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras (the scholarly community, the high and lower nobility, the mercantile and artisan community and the service-providing community, respectively). Gandhi believed that Untouchability represented a pernicious obstacle preventing millions of peasants from realizing their dreams and aspirations.

It interfered with *swaraj* and the morally enlightened state which he so avidly sought. In this vein, in the 1920 session of the Congress at Nagpur, a resolution was passed which condemned Untouchability – a resolution inspired by Gandhi. The resolution called the tradition a 'sin' and urged religious leaders to reform Hinduism appropriately.

In the early 1930s, Gandhi continued his work on behalf of the Suppressed Classes, which

reached a high note during the so-called Untouchability Abolition Week in September-October 1932. If it is possible to diagnose the disease from the symptom—and in this case it is—Gandhi favored an Indian state without Untouchability. While Gandhi strove to lift up and support the Suppressed Classes, he did not favor the abolition of the caste system as a whole. Gandhi defended certain aspects of the tradition, in particular the *varna* distinctions.

In an article written in 1920, for instance, Gandhi explained why *varna* should be retained in a future society: "I consider the four *varnas* alone to be fundamental, natural and essential. The innumerable sub-castes are sometimes a convenience, often a hindrance. The sooner there is fusion, the better. But I am completely against any attempt at destroying the fundamental divisions."

The laws of the caste were eternal, providing social harmony. "I see very great use in considering a Brahmin to be always a Brahmin." In Gandhi's future India, each village would be organized around these four-fold divisions. Every member of society would perform his or her own duty in a cooperative framework. A complete system of reciprocity, Gandhi believed, would ensure no one actually felt status differences existed. Perhaps the most important component of enlightened anarchy involved greater observance and tolerance.

Gandhi made it clear that he wanted Indians to see themselves primarily as Indian citizens, but also as Indian Hindus or Indian Muslims. To borrow his phrase, India ought to be sunk in a "religious soil". He believed that Indians had the potential to "unlearn what they learned in the past fifty years" and return to a pre-modern state where all sects lived in peace. Gandhi founded several communities in an attempt to work out these principles.

In *ashrams* in Ahmedabad and Warda, he trained followers to adhere to a highly-disciplined life of labor and prayer within an inter-religious environment. They refrained from sexual intercourse

even when married—following Gandhi’s example of modesty. By fostering unity among Indians of all faiths, and engraining simplicity through manual labor and self-limitations, Gandhi hoped to plant the seeds for a new society. In this future Indian state, Gandhi envisioned religious observance in the foreground. “My first complaint is that India is becoming irreligious,” he wrote. We must stop “turning away from God.”

Conclusion

Gandhi yearned for a future grounded in a rapid return to the past. Although the standard literature sometimes overlooks Gandhi’s more unorthodox notions, the evidence exists to substantiate the argument that he had firm ideas about the future of his homeland. At the crux of this ideology was the condemnation of modern civilization, including capitalism, socialism, democracy and communism. He detested the self-indulgent aspects of capitalism, as well as the industrializing tendencies of socialism.

Similarly, Gandhi belittled the virtues of democracy, mocking the British parliament and minimizing its supposed representative effectiveness. As an alternative, communism was likened to a mere palliative, doomed for failure: it was violent in its connotations and atheistic in tone. What India needed, suggested Gandhi, was to return to a path of purity, morality, and self-discipline.

In the fall of 1945, Gandhi wrote a letter to Nehru explaining his dreams for the subcontinent. “I believe,” began Gandhi, “that sooner or later we shall have to go and live in villages – in huts... Nobody will be allowed to be idle or wallow in luxury. Everyone will have to do body labor.” By dispatching of modernity, Gandhi hoped, India would succeed in inaugurating a new era unhinged by the trappings of civil law.

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Objectification of ‘Oedipus Complex’ in Capitalism and Marxism

Dr. Sunita Samal*

[It is politics which first discovered the sociological method in the study of intellectual phenomena. Basically it is in political struggles that for the first time men became aware of the conscious collective motivations which had always guided the direction of thought. Political discussion is more important than theoretical argumentation in unmasking of unconscious motives which bind the group's existence to its cultural aspirations¹.]

In his ‘*Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*’, Max Weber sought to trace the extent to which the theological changes that occurred with reformation that made possible the rise of Western rational capitalism. But those who insist upon Marxist rather than Weberian approach to sociology may be equally unconvinced. They argue that the ‘liberation’ of ‘man’ is not advanced a single step without self-consciousness.

Indeed, it is possible that theologians should be concerned about the extent to which Christian subjects of ‘Original Sin’ and ‘Fall of Man’ have become transposed into a predominantly secular society, still require their theological roots for legitimatization².

Divine Comedy

Martin Luther as a reformer was quite in harmony with the prevailing tradition of Middle Ages thought of activity in the world as a thing of faith though it is will of God. The statement of Adam Smith, who supported capitalism, is that the fulfillment of worldly duties is under all circumstances the only way to live, that is acceptable to God. The moral justification of worldly activity was the most important issue of reformation.

It is hardly necessary to point out that Luther cannot be claimed for the spirit of capitalism in the sense in which we have used that term above, or for that matter in any sense whatever. Protestant ethics and rise of capitalism encourage ‘Original

Sin’ by going beyond personal needs of individual that encourage accumulation of capital.

For the struggle against the privileged position, the legal or actual may best be compared with the modern campaign against ‘trust’ during the time of Reformation. The rebellion against state power and the guilty of pursuit of material gain beyond personal needs must thus appear as a symptom of lack of grace and it can apparently only be attained at the expense of others. Marxists’ rebellion against capitalism and guilty of powerful bureaucracy interpret as man became increasingly alienated from his work and world.

For Luther, worldly duties were no longer subordinate to ascetic ones— obedience to authority and the acceptance of things as they were preached. What is the fundamental connection between worldly activity and religious principle? It undermines the psychological foundation for a rational ethics. That was presumably because he could not but suspect the tendency to ascetic self-discipline that is leading to salvation by works.

So Churches were forced to keep more and more sin in the background. But this is not in the least to say that even the Lutheran form of renewal of the religious life may not have had some practical significance for the objects of our investigation. Now, that may be partly explained on purely political grounds. Although Reformation is unthinkable with long influenced by his personality, without Calvinism his work could not have led to permanent success.

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A purely superficial glance shows that there is here quite a different relationship between religious life and earthly activities. We can take for instance the end of the 'Divine Comedy' where the poet in Paradise stands speechless in his passive contemplation of the secret God. We cannot well maintain that the pursuit of worldly goods conceived as an end in itself but a may be a means to 'Oedipus complex'.

We have continually dealt with aspects of Reformation which must appear to truly religious consciousness as incidental and even superficial. We must free ourselves from the idea that it is possible to deduce the Reformation as a historically necessary result, from certain economic changes.

Countless historical circumstances which cannot be reduced to any economic law and are not susceptible to economic explanation of any sort, are especially purely political processes. Negative value of 'Trust' is a Sin. Here, Adam committed the next 'Sin'. We wish to ascertain whether and to what extent religious forces have taken part in the qualitative formation and the quantitative expansion of that spirit over world. What concrete aspect of our capitalist culture can be traced to grasp the 'forbidden fruit' and commission of 'Sin'?

In view of the tremendous confusion of interdependent influences between the material basis, the forms of social and political organization in the time of Reformation, we can only proceeded by investigating whether and at what points certain correlations between forms of religious belief and practical ethics can be worked out.

Rebellious and Guilty

To say that religion is a human projection does not logically preclude the possibility that the projected meanings may have an ultimate status of independence of man. Indeed, if a religious view of the world is posited, the anthropological ground of these projections may itself be the reflection of a reality that includes both world

and man, so that man's ejaculations of meaning into the universe ultimately point to an all embracing meaning in which he himself grounded. At the same time, it would be foolish to maintain that all theological positions are equally immune to injury from the side of sociology.

Logically the theologian will have to worry whenever his position includes propositions that are subjected to empirical disconfirmation. For example, proposition that religion itself is constitutive factor of psychological well-being has a lot to worry about if subjected to social scrutiny.

Extreme theological liberalism of the variety that now calls itself 'radical theology' may be said to have despaired of finding an answer to the question and to abandoned the attempt; typical of neo-orthodoxy—to have one's cake and eat it too. The capitalist notion of religious evolution and the relationship between Christianity and the other world religion all these can be shown to rest on untenable empirical pre-suppositions that very few people today would tempted to savage. Nor is the liberal mood of cultural optimism likely of resurrection in our own situation.

The spirit of this theology, however, is more than the sum of its particular misconstructions. It is above all a spirit of intellectual courage that is equally removed from the cognitive timidity of what passes for neo-liberalism today—both rebellious and guilty. It should be a spirit that also has the courage to find itself in a cognitive minority—not only within the church but in the circles of secular intellectuals that today form the principal reference group for most theologians.

Primarily, a religious community arises in connection with prophetic movement i.e. as a result of the process whereby either the prophet himself secures the performance of his preaching. A prophet is a purely individual bearer of charisma who by virtue of mission proclaims a religious doctrine of Divine Commandment. Priest claims authority by virtue of service in a

sacred tradition. The priest concerned with conservation. Prophet can be a figure of radical social change.

The essential difference between Catholicism and Protestantism is that the second permits free inquiry to a greater degree than the first. First stands for original sin and second stands for rebellion against state and guilty of unlimited accumulation.

To a very great extent, they are most important factors in the study of development of the sociological consequences of religious thought. This statement is proved conclusively by all those who make a close study of the sect movement, which are especially numerous in the later medieval period which played their part in the general disintegration of the medieval social order. Under these circumstances, however, the church found it impossible to avoid making a compromise with the state, with social order and with economic conditions.

Only when objectification by the church had been developed to the fullest extent did the sectarian tendency assert itself and react against this excessive objectification that is seen as 'Sin'. Further this objectification of the church was achieved in connection with the feudal society of the Middle Ages.

Specifically, capitalist means to take with utmost seriousness the historicity of religion and thereby to take seriously the character of religion as a human product. This seems to mean that it must be the starting point. Only after theologian has confronted the historical relativity of religion, can he genuinely ask where in this history it may, perhaps, be possible to speak discoveries—that is, transcend the relative character of their infrastructure. And only after he has really grasped what it means to say that religion is a human product on projection can begin to search for what may turn out to be signal of transcendence³.

Original Sin and Alienation

As Philip Rieff has remarked that alienation was originally neither a Marxist nor a psychiatric tool

of understanding the human condition, but theological term. The concept of alienation has its origin in parable of the 'Fall of Man'. In the act of cognition of desiring to become something more or other than what one might merely continue to be the old Adam disobeyed God and thereby became estranged from the 'Divine in himself'⁴.

The pre-Marxist history of the concept of alienation is more interesting to historians of philosophy than to sociologists. But a short discussion will be enough to reveal the metaphysical and philosophical roots of the sociological concept. For Hegel, alienation was an ontological fact, in the structure of grammar as well as of life, for the self, the individual was not just an 'I' seeking to shape the world according to its intention but also 'me' an object whose identity is built up by the picture that others have of 'me'⁵. It says religion as a collective consciousness of proletariat.

For Marx, Hegel's concern only with the spirit, an explanation of alienation in human nature was inadequate. Marx explicitly translated alienation from the realm of Hegelian philosophy to that of socio-economic development and sociology of knowledge. To some social scientist, this may seem betrayal of scientific objectivity, a retreat from scientific sociology into the old-fashioned humanist tradition. But in fact, it is simply a restatement of the classical view, a view which has proved more fruitful than more modern and more anemic attitudes.

The nineteenth century began with a partial reaction against the abstract rationalism of the enlightenment and saw a growing awareness of the complex role of religion in the development of human consciousness. For Freud, the real meaning of religion is to be found in the 'Oedipus complex' that it symbolically expresses.

The biblical God stands for the primordial father toward whom the son feels both rebellious and guilty. For critic, the reality behind the symbol was not the 'Oedipus Complex' but society and

the morality that expressed it and objectified the guilty.

Faith and Practice

Karl Manheim in his 'Sociology of Knowledge' insisted that all truth is historical. It also made him affirm the unity of truth is relational orientation; this brought him to the edge of metaphysics. If religious truth is critique of an existing culture and orientation toward renewed life, then it is possible that one and the same message of rebellion and guilty acquires different meanings in various historical circumstances⁶.

A study of social determinants seems initially to pose the greatest challenge to theology. Robin Gill sets out the theological basis of this claim only after noting parallels with Marxist and Liberationist perspectives. One may confine the first to largely unconscious consequences of theological positions and the second, it is appropriate to investigate the way in which particular theological position has particular effects upon society.

Alfredo Fierro is not seeking to sanctify Marxist theory as such; instead he believes that it is the job of the theologian to explore contemporary theories to see whether or not faith or theology is possible on their basis. He suggests that the starting point for Christian and Marxist alike, founded on the Marxist principle of analyzing social relationships as being conditioned or determined by economic base⁷.

Despite the fact that philosophy and emerging social sciences were scarcely differentiated until 19th century, the prevailing wisdom within the West today suggests that the study of ideas belongs largely to the discipline of philosophy and that the study of human behavior belong to social sciences. Among the Marxist writers, the division between philosophers and social scientist is not nearly apparent as it is amongst non-Marxist capitalist intellectuals.

The theologian has often been happy to consider 'faith' in isolation from 'practice'. Whatever the merits and demerits of the Marxist perspective

within philosophy or social sciences, it is arguable that its insistence upon the inseparability of 'ideas' and 'actions' is peculiarly persistence to Christianity. At the very least, some degree of correlation between 'faith' and 'practice' would appear essential within Christian theology in a way that it might not be elsewhere.

Concluding observations

Indeed, it is possible that theologians should be concerned about the extent to which Christian subjects of 'Original Sin' and 'Fall of Man' have become transposed into a predominantly secular society, still require their theological root of 'Oedipus Complex' for legitimatization. Even this all too brief march through recent scholarship reveals great differences and tensions among the various researchers whether capitalists or Marxists. For the struggle against the privileged position, the legal or actual may best be compared with the modern campaign against 'trust' during the time of Reformation.

The rebellion against state power and the guilty of pursuit of material gain beyond personal needs must thus appear as a symptom of lack of grace and it can apparently only be attained at the expense of others. Marxists' rebellion against capitalism and guilty of powerful bureaucracy interpret as man became increasingly alienated from his work and world.

In both cases, human beings are rebellious and guilty for existing systems. Ultimately, it seems that they at least all share the aim to show how biblical texts cannot be separated from social dynamics without turning the reality of both speaker and reader. The issue is not whether they make us think about the texts in fresh ways. And in ways they are not out of tune with the great disputes of our age.

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The Hotel

Eddie James Girdner*

At half past one o'clock, James was starting to feel hunger pangs. The morning struggle to get a bus from the village had taken something out of him and now he was badly in need of some grub. Lunch was typically late, however and he waited around the block development office fooling away the time with the agricultural officers.

Some entertained themselves by tearing up discarded pieces of paper into small pieces and tossing it under their desks. There was no waste basket. It would be left to the low-caste sweeper who came around once a day.

Baldev Singh invited Mr. James to come to the hotel for lunch. Ajaib Singh would accompany them. James was ready to jump for some tasty food as he was starting to be famished. The "hotel" was just across the road from the bus stop under the large mulberry tree. The hotel, so-called, was in fact, simply a Punjabi dhaba that served the type of food found in roadside eateries, where truck drivers often stopped to eat.

A standard fare was curried goat or bakkara. James found it to be tasty and delicious if the meat was young and tender. There were some seasonal vegetable dishes prepared daily, such as bendi tori, curried potato, spicy pumpkin and so on. Chapattis were being made continuously as the food was served, flapped from hand to hand and slapped on the hot tava until they were baked. And it was cheap enough fare for the agricultural officers to eat, even on their government salaries. In front of the room was a sort of courtyard with a hand pump.

As they approached the run-down dirty building just off the road, the American Sahib, James Weldon, saw a mud and cement construction where the food was being prepared in several large metal pots perched over hot coals in front of the building. There was a metal roof extending over the large mud stove. There was a cook in grimy dirty clothes and a young boy in dirty shirt and shorts doing duty in dispensing the dishes of food to the customers.

There were a couple of dirty wooden soiled tables just inside the crowded small room which was open in the front. The sun was too hot to sit outside when the monsoon clouds moved away. A monsoon shower might blow up at all hours of

* (This is Chapter Twelve of E.J. Girdner's novel, *American Sahib*, 2016)

the day in this season. James sat inside at a small grungy table with the two inspectors.

Water was served in a beat up glass pitcher that was stained in several places. Was the water safe to drink? James wondered. What did it matter? What choice did he have? His stomach would take it or collapse, that was all there was to it. So it better get used to it. He quenched his thirst with a class, playing Russian roulette with polluted water.

As they were waiting for the food, James sensed some motion to his side. He turned and saw a large rat that had just emerged from a crack in the wall and was staring at him. He was tempted to toss a glass of water in the direction of the intruder, but feared that this would be too much of a vulgar faux pas. It was not the proper protocol, he calculated, to embarrass his patrons when they graciously had brought him here to dine for lunch. So he played it safe and simply looked into the bright eyes of the curious rat as the rat did the same to him.

“Hi, my name is Mr. Rat,” James imagined the creature saying. “Welcome, glad to make your acquaintance, Mr. Rat. Any service?” James would reply. After all, the rat was merely in the enterprise of assuaging its hunger pangs, the same as the American Sahib. It’s all the same shit. Part of the seamless web of life in the universe. He would take the philosophical point of view, like everyone else. Perhaps that helped explain why rats appeared in dhabas so often.

The two other inspectors laughed to see the curious rat, but it was nothing out of the ordinary. It was doing no harm. James looked around to the walls of the “hotel.” They were very colorfully decorated with large calendars with pictures of Guru Gobind Singh with sword in hand, threatening to run some Britisher or other intruder through. Guru Nanak was alongside, with gaudy garlands and beads around his neck raising his hand in peace, presumably once the Britishers had indeed been vanquished to their dying breath.

The Hindu God Krishna, depicted in a beautiful shade of powder blue, danced and tweeted on

his flute drawing a hoard of young sari clad gopis out of the greenwoods for some frisky frolicking of a nature that would excite the imagination as well as one’s nether regions, presumably. Ganesha, the elephant god, also attended, while engaged in the enterprise of slaying a demon. Not only that, the god with the trunk was ready to make any problems or ills that one might encounter disappear at once. No task was too big for him. Which should have raised the question as to why problems and ills still existed on the earth, but any such observations were not likely to arise.

Just to the right of Ganesha, James noticed a huge oversized insect, too large to come under the rubric of a cockroach, crawling up the concrete wall. Either Ganesha considered it a good omen, or had overlooked it. In fact, it could have been his or anyone’s relatives reincarnated in a different form. A couple of small killys, lizard-like creatures, scampered around the ceiling and hid beneath the light fixture waiting for more flies and mosquitoes to appear to assuage their hunger.

It was a dhaba for them too. They were harmless and, in fact, useful in reducing the mosquito population, although not in numbers large enough to do any good, as far as James could tell. The balance of nature clearly weighed in on the side of flies and mosquitoes in this latitude. It was, in fact, no contest.

Glancing down at the greasy stained table, James saw that it was literally covered with a hoard of black flies. James was appalled at this, but neither of the inspectors took any notice of it, nor made any effort shoo them away. James was tempted to clap his hands above the table, bringing down at least a dozen of them with one irreverent whack. He had tried it more than once when he was by himself.

It felt good to go after these pestilent creatures, but then his hands would be gooey with all that fly juice and who knows what other shit, as the flies had just hatched out in the surrounding fields full of all that human shit. Better to leave them to their own resources. Moreover, they too were

part of the universal web of life and it would surely be sinful to murder them. He was enough of an infidel as it was from the perspective of Indian society.

So he tried to “do as the Romans do” and ignore the flies. On the other hand, had the Romans ignored them, they would probably never have gotten as far as they did, James thought. But never mind. The dishes of subzi arrived, courtesy of the small boy in the filthy tee shirt and shorts. Also a metal dish of bakkara for each. A stack of chapattis was brought wrapped in a cloth which left something to be desired in the way of cleanliness, but never mind. The meal was underway.

James took a chapatti and plunged in, breaking off pieces and scooping up the food with pieces of the flat bread. He avoided touching anything with his left hand, which was only a code of manners. That hand was used for other purposes and so permanently polluted beyond redemption, and so one must eat only with their right hand. The food was not so bad and filled him up. After the meal, they washed their mouths and hands at the hand pump. His mouth had been left burning slightly from the red pepper but the Punjabi food was beginning to agree with him.

James decided that there was no point in going back to the BDO Office. He would go back to the village. He said so long to the officers. He wanted to buy some fruit before going back to the rest house. Going to the fruit and vegetable seller on the corner, he bought apples and guavas. The subziwalla put them in a paper bag.

James took his fruit and headed back to the bus stand. He was thinking to go back to his place and read more of *The Night Runners of Bengal*. He wanted to finish that novel by John Masters. On the way, he started noticing the cute college girls on their cycles going to classes. They were starting to look better to him every day. He waited at the place where the buses stopped, coming through from Phagwara, but there were not many at this time of day.

James noticed that the sun had been blacked out. It was now approaching two o'clock in the afternoon. He hoped that he might catch the bus and get home before another monsoon downpour of rain came. Some large sprinkles started to fall. He saw that his paper bag was starting to get damp. Then more drops came down. If this bag soaks up, I'll lose my fruit, he was thinking.

While he was waiting, a young woman was watching him. That was not unusual. As an Angrez, he always stood out anyway. Finally, a bus appeared and he hoped that he could make it home. The young woman got on the bus ahead of him. Now there was only one seat left and it was next to her. James took the seat as the bus suddenly started up. “Chello, chelloway, chell,” the conductor shouted. The bus was already underway.

James cradled his bag of fruit in his lap, but the bus was hitting some rough holes along the side of the road, meeting trucks and other buses. Clearly, it was not going to work. His bag was starting to tear. A couple of ripe plums started to roll out onto the seat. What could he do?

The young girl was looking at him and smiling at his predicament. Then she spoke to him. “Sahib,” she said, starting in perfect English. “Here, take my chuney. Put your sabe and amarooda in my chuney. Bag is breaking.” “But, I will be leaving the bus in four miles,” James said. “I cannot take your chuney.” “It's OK,” she said.

“You can bring me my chuney later. I come to the college every day. I will meet you at Kartar Sweet Shop tomorrow at two o'clock if you come. Do you know it?” “Oh sure,” James said. “Sure, I know it. Sure, that would be great,” James said. “You are very kind.” “Never mind,” she said. “I saw you before. I liked you. I wanted to meet you, but it is hard. Now I was lucky today.” “Oh no, I was lucky to meet you,” James said.

She took the chuney from her head and handed it to him. He wrapped the long thin strip of cloth around his fruit, now about to fall to the floor. “How will you go without your chuney?” James

asked. "How will you go in the rain?" "Never mind," she said. "I am not going to melt." Maybe you will, James was tempted to say. You look like sweet candy to me. He would have liked to melt her and now she was starting to melt his poor heart. "It is very nice of you," James said. "I hope that it does not look strange carrying my fruit in your chuney." "Don't worry. It will be OK," she said. James picked one of the big red apples and a couple of the guavas and handed them to her.

"Thanks," she said, and put them into her bag. "What is your name," James asked. "Lalita," she said. "And I am James," he said. "Yes, I already knew," she said. "My friend told me." James wondered who that could be. His fame was spreading far and wide.

They were reaching the junction and James motioned for the conductor to stop the bus. He said goodbye and told her he would see her tomorrow. "Sat Shri Akal," he told her as he left.

James headed for the exit of the bus. As he was going down, the cloud had burst and the monsoon rain let loose from the sky with a torrent. The wind was whipping up and blowing the waves of wet rain across the road. What the heck, he thought, I will get wet, but I can dry off when I get home and enjoy my novel.

It was almost a mile to the village. There were few on the road now. He walked, enjoying the cooling refreshing rain on his body. Oh God! The rain felt good, almost sexual. He remembered the beautiful eyes of that girl, Lalita. Shit, she said she would meet me tomorrow, he thought. It was a good day. He didn't mind letting the rain drench him like a drowning rat, with her sweet image in his mind. He had been acting a little crazy, but what the heck, after all, he was a foreigner. He could not be expected to know all the ways of the locals. Lalita, what a sweet name!

James arrived at the village compound and came through the gate. There were big puddles of water standing in the courtyard. His feet were getting

soaked. But he didn't mind. He came into the veranda and entered his room. It was never locked. He dried off his wet body and changed his clothes. He uncovered his fruit and hung up the red chuney to dry out of sight. It would be too suspicious to have her chuney in plain sight. He loved the feel of that piece of cloth. It felt erotic, especially knowing that it belonged to her.

It would be nice to read some of the novel once he had relaxed. He flicked on the electric light switch but nothing happened. He saw that the power was gone. What the hell? It was crazy. But he was happy. He lay back on his bed to take a rest. That young girl lay clearly in his mind. Now he could see her young face clearly. Would he forget it? Sometimes he could not recall a woman's face when he loved her too much. He wanted to cling onto it and not forget it. Oh God, she was a cutie. And now he knew her name. He would find out where she lived when he talked to her again. What a loss, he thought, if I could never see her again. It would be so nice to have her picture.

That dress, so white, so clean. So pretty. That thin red chuney, and red pajama underneath. Her long black hair plaited. She showed her young shapely legs and that lovely swell of peaches in her bosom. Her pretty black shoes and short heels. He felt like sleeping. Somehow the rain had made him drowsy, except if he did, he would surely now dream of her.

Just then, he heard the knock on his door. It was Bahader, the servant boy, bringing his afternoon tea. "Sahib, Mister James, Cha," Bahader said. James sat up as the boy entered the room and sat the tray down on the small table. He placed a cup and a small pot of tea on the stand. It was Punjabi tea with the milk and sugar already cooked into it. On the tray James saw a letter. "Your letter, sir," the boy said, handing him the envelope. James noticed that it was a large white envelope and that it was from the USA. He saw the stamp and glancing at the other side he saw the return address "Selective Service, Washington, DC."

My God, he thought. My letter has come. James thanked the boy and sat down next to the small table. Better be sitting down to open this son-of-a-bitch, he thought, in case it is terrible news. Oh God, this is going to decide my fate, he thought. Actually, it had already been decided some days ago and now the news had just now reached him. He dreaded that he might be put on a plane and given a ticket back to America to join the United States Army, if it was negative. America might be the land of the free, but in the event, it was the farthest thing from freedom if he was going to be sent back. He would be sent straight to Vietnam.

He slowly opened the envelope and pulled out the letter. He bucked up his courage for any fate. There, in a couple of brief lines, it stated simply that he had been given a deferment for service in the Peace Corps. "Whew!" James thought. "Fuck an AAAAA!" I fuckin made it. See those sons of bitches in my fuckin rear view mirror, you motherfucking Mercer County farmers! Eat shit, you fucking hay seeds. What a great piece of news! Now he was free! Free for at least for another two years. Hopefully, surely, the war would be over by that time.

Thanks, LBJ, You made my day! He thought. LBJ was the President Lyndon Johnson. James was deep in thought as he drank his warm sweet tea. All that he had been through, being turned down by the local and state draft boards. Now he hoped that dumb Mrs. Grinell would get the message from Washington. Get away from me, woman. You are not getting your hands on this guy.

He is going for peace not war. Yes, he would like to see the look on her face when she got the notice from Washington. He had won the morcha, as the Punjabis said. He had pulled through all that and through the Peace Corps training. Now he would make good. For sure, he would make good. He would do it right and succeed. He would work and be proud of himself, too bad that his home town in Mercer County, Missouri, could not be proud of him.

For that to happen, he would have to get himself killed fighting communists. Nothing could be more foolish and stupid than that. Appropriate enough, his bicycle had been purchased in Ludhiana and was turned over to him the next day when he visited the office. Perhaps his stars were changing. Two hits in a row. Now he was on a roll.



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BOOK REVIEW

Disabled students in Higher Education: Perspectives on widening access and changing policy, by Sheila Riddell, Routledge, 2005, 198 Pages, ISBN: 0-203-08712-7.

Debarati Chakraborty*

Higher education and disability is the most discussed area and various approaches have been used to relate the two. The enrollment of disabled students have risen in the past few years but the institutes and universities many a times fail to provide the friendly environment for them irrespective of the infrastructure. This varies from country to country keeping in mind the policies and the practices a particular country has.

The book, *Disabled students in Higher Education: Perspectives on widening access and changing policy*, deals with the aspect of the discrimination and social injustice prevailing for differently-abled students in today's education system. Here the author tries to explore the experiences of disabled students and their participation in universities in the United Kingdom.

For the study, the author attempts to incorporate the responses of eight different universities to the new anti-discriminatory practices. The universities are compared on the basis of their social profiles, support provided to the students, their academic goals, and regarding implementation of change. The book makes an effort to highlight the various transformations the universities have undergone to reshape their teaching and other facilities for the students.

The book is divided into eight chapters. The *first* chapter i.e. the introductory chapter of the book opens with the discussion of various policies

and innovations in higher education with respect to disabled students and the anti-discriminatory legislations on institutional practice. The scope of job openings are more with higher degrees, and taking up courses in certain elite universities increases life opportunities and so there is constant pressure for competition for certain courses in particular universities.

The disabled students are often inadequately represented and for this certain provisions were made like fair access to these students and prohibition of any kind of discrimination on this ground. It is still unclear whether these provisions mainly meant for students from poorer background or to increase the number of disabled students in universities.

The book aims to explore the experiences of disabled students and how they get affected with the new policies on wider access and the multiple policy innovations at university levels. The author also tried to see how the institutions in Scotland and England tried to interpret and implement and how these policies are experienced by disabled students and also the impact of these policies on the participation level of the students. "This book attempts to locate provision for disabled students within the much broader field of access studies and the sociology of education".

The *second* chapter, "Patterns of participation of disabled students in higher education", highlights the enrollment and participation of disabled students in higher education in England. Only those students, which are declared disabled in the Undergraduate course at University and

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College (UCAS) forms, are taken into consideration.

The higher education institutions are divided into three categories: pre-1992, post-1992 and non-universities (can also be referred as Open Universities). The open universities are found to have highest enrollment of disabled students and also have diverse subjects like arts, nursing, and music. It offers both academic and non-academic subjects. They have students with dyslexia (learning disabilities) and other with invisible disabilities for e.g. Asperger's Syndrome.

There is a link between type of impairment and subjects chosen. Disabled students especially with dyslexia are more attracted towards arts, music and other design courses. Other social factors like gender, class, and ethnicity also play an important role. Male disabled students are higher in numbers and majority of students come from minority ethnic backgrounds.

The *third* chapter, "policy and provision for disabled students in higher education", reviews the current policy practices and how the new policies have influenced institutional practices. In spite of improvement of provisions for disabled students there were limited entry into the higher education sector mainly because of the physical and social environment and lack of information and awareness among the staff members of universities. But there has been improvement in the overall infrastructure of institutions providing support to them.

Each institution has a disability officer, special grant in aid and other assistance is being provided to students, especially in Scottish institutions though the extent and quality of provisions vary from institution to institution. While the process of admission, examination and other support have been made easier for the

students but the area of learning and teaching needs to be changed as it is in the domain of academics.

Providing the disabled student an "extra support" to cater every day work pressure is often seen as a complicated process but it should be a routine part of everyday practice. The major problem is while implementing the policies the institutions did not consult disabled student representative bodies or individuals regarding the new developments or any changes needed in them. At this moment, the emphasis is laid on providing provisions to individual students and not the overall institutional change, as it would help students to overcome the challenges.

In chapter *four*, eight case studies were done drawing students from different universities showing their diversity and common social characteristics. But surprisingly major focus is being shifted to students from socially and economically disadvantageous background, ignoring the fact that poorer students are more likely to be disabled. The disabled students pose no problem for the institutions and authorities as long as they require new resources and time of the staff members.

The institutions recruit disabled students who can adopt their institutional norms and practices and reject those who cannot. It should be kept in mind that each differently-abled person has different needs so it would be wrong to presuppose them as same as non-disabled students. This exerts immense pressure on the students. The access for resources and learning services varied from institution to institution. The chapter also deals with as to how disability is being culturally and socially constructed in the university context and how students identify with them.

The chapter *five* deals with the learning barriers that the disabled students face and how the

institutions facilitate students' overcoming their learning difficulties by adapting to their needs. "One of the most common adjustments required by disabled students was access to lecturers' notes in electronic format before lectures so that these could be downloaded in the student's preferred format."

The recent years have witnessed increased number of dyslexia students entering into universities. It poses challenges to staff as their problem is not very much visible to others so they may not get notices as other disables like visually-challenged or other physical disabilities. Though there was availability of resources for e.g. the assistive technologies but they did not arrive in time after the course commencement. The efforts were taken by the universities but they were limited and it did not help much.

Chapter 6 and 7 discuss the personal experience of the students and their daily adjustments within the institutional settings. The experiences are not always negative at times their positive attitude is geared up by the support given by the institutions. To conclude, the higher education plays an important role in identity formation for differently-able students. The identities formed

vary according to their lived experiences. The idea of being a disabled is often rejected by a person with impairments, as it is something imposed by the society, rather than a part of their own experiences.

It is an enlightened piece of writing on higher education and disability. It discusses more about inclusive policies for disabled in higher education. Other possible areas like their personal experiences within the institutions could be explored. The way the disabled students create their personal space, their scope of forming relationships and intimacy, relationship with peer group and faculties, the changing perception of students and staffs on disability gives a wide impact on their academic as well as their personal lives.

In any public or private institution, students come from different backgrounds and how the stigmatized world of disabled differs from other stigmatized groups like that of LGBTs could have been explored too. Apart from financial and technical support, moral support is more essential and necessary for differently-able students to cope up with other students in higher institutes.



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Geopolitics of Quantum Buddhism & Our Tao Future

Anis H. Bajrektarevic*

[A decisive breakthrough would necessitate both wider contexts and a larger participatory base to identify problems, to formulate policies, to broaden and to synchronize our actions. Luminaries from the world of science, philosophy, religion, culture and sports have been invited to each of these major gatherings. But, they – as usual – have served as side-events panelists, while only the politicians make decisions. Who in politics is sincerely motivated for the long-range and far reaching policies? This does not pay off politically as such policies are often too complex and too time-consuming to survive the frequency and span of national elections as well as the taste or comprehension of the median voter.]

Our global crisis is not environmental, financial or politico-economic; deep and structural, this is a crisis of thought, a recession of courage, of our ideas, all which leads us into a deep, moral abyss. Small wonder, there was very little headway made at the 2012 Rio Summit.

Between the fear that the inevitable will happen and the lame hope that it still wouldn't, we have lived... That what can be and doesn't have to be, at the end, surrenders to something that was meant to be...

If the subatomic world surfaces to an atomic, quantum scientist (or metaphysicist) invites physicist. If atoms are creating an advanced molecule, physicists can call up the chemists. If such an organic molecule evolves too complex for the chemists, they shift it over to the biologists. If a biological system is too composite, they hand it over to the sociologists, or the psychologists, at best. If that biota becomes overwhelmingly complex, one needs geo-politics to connect (all) inorganic and organic systems into a coherent space-time storyline. Do we really behave this way?

Enlightened Behind or dead Ahead?

Is Greece (or Spain) lagging 20 years behind the rest of the EU or is Greece today well ahead of

the rest of the continent, which will face a similar fate two decades from now? Beyond the usual political rhetoric, this is the question that many circles in Europe and elsewhere are discreetly, but thoroughly discussing. In a larger context, the intriguing intellectual debates are heating up.

Issues are fundamental: Why has science converted into religion? (Practiced economy is based on the over 200-years old liberal theory of Adam Smith and the over 300-years old philosophy of Hobbes and Locke– basically, frozen and rigidly canonized into a strict exegesis. Scientific debate has been replaced by a blind obedience to old dogmas.)

Why has religion been transformed into confrontational political doctrine (holy scripts are misinterpreted and ideologically misused in Europe, the Middle East, Asia, the Americas and Africa)? Why have (secular or theological) ethics been turned from bio-centric comprehension into anthropocentric environmental egotism and ignorance (treating nature as property, rather than a coherent system that contextualizes our very life)? Why are – despite all our research studies, institutions and instruments – planetary inequalities and exclusions widening? Why has been our freedom reduced to a lame *here-us-now* choice to consume?

Why doesn't the achieved degree of our economic development and stage of our technological advancement enable society for self-realization?

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To the contrary, our democracies are in retreat, our visions are exhausted and self-confidence depleted, while the socio-cultural and political participatory base is thinning. After all, is Rio ahead of itself 20 years later?

The resonance of these vital debates is gradually reaching the public. No one can yet predict the range and scope of their responses, internally and externally. One thing is certain though: The simple mechanical transmission of global economic (and regional monetary) integration cannot be a substitute for any viable post-industrial, knowledge-based development strategy, scientific advancement or cultural endorsement. Even less so, it can substitute for any social cohesion and the cross-generational contract, environmental needs (including the bio-capacity and biodiversity), or maintaining general public mental and physical health.

(Tao) Creek, not only Greek

By roughly summing up the data provided by the World Bank and OECD, the world's gross annual output is somewhere between €85 and 95 trillion (thousand billions). Servicing of different loans and related interest rates to public and private debts, *per annum*, cumulatively costs this planet some €195 to 210 trillion. In simple terms, it means we produce 1, but owe 2 to the different credit institutions. How can it be that year after year we work harder and harder, but are still becoming socio-economically poorer and culturally pauperized, while *generational accounting* gives us a worrying future prospect? Is our environmental situation any better?

By applying the same data's ecological footprint ratios, mankind annually extracts from the ecosystem the bio-matter and minerals for 1, out of which only 10% ends up as a final product, but at the same time we pollute water, land, air and near outer space with non-degradable and/or toxic, solid or aerosol, particles and noise for 2. Despite all the purifiers, cleaners, separators, distillations, silencers and filters, our surroundings are becoming filthier and filthier.

Does this earn the right to be called 'development' at all? Over centuries, especially

in the last decades, we indeed intensified, rationalized and optimized our economic activities as well as related technologies and information flows, but could it be that despite our push with the right intensity, the overall direction of that push is wrong?

To answer these simply-worded but questions of sensitive and complex (selfhood) meaning, we definitely have to enlarge the context. For that sake, let's return to Greece.

First, a few words about a term in frequent common use: cosmos. The expression *cosmos* itself is of Greek origins (κόσμος) and means: a harmony, perfect order, and is opposite to the Greek word *khaos/chaos* (χάος), which means: confusion, disorder, asynchrony (also an unordered and formless primordial mass or even nothingness). The fascinating classic-Greek mythology thoroughly describes the creation of the world, as an event marked by the final victory of the forces of cosmos over the forces of chaos. It is a thrilling ancient text, marvelous in its beauty and symbolism.

“You Are the Sunshine of My Life...”

In the modern scientific and philosophical (or astronomic, esoteric and theological) sense, the word cosmos should describe (a dependent origination of) everything (of the manifested, comprehensible and visible universe as well as the non-comprehensible potentiality and invisible universes/multi-verse) that nature and/or God has created.

As everything that has been, is and will ever be conceived as a time-space, matter-energy (with all the properties and all their conceivable aggregate states/stages, elevations and degrees), particle – wave-function (consciousness-information), cosmos is nature and/or God itself. It is all that ever begins (from), lasts (with/in) and ends in (returns to) the quantum field.

Contemporary astrophysics claim that the known or comprehensible universe is expanding, which is still being powered by the quantum event, generally referred to in literature as the big-bang, or perhaps the Higgs Boson particle, recently

reviled by CERN). Up to now, there is no general consensus of the scientific community on what is the property (nature) of the invisible, inter-stellar and inter-galactic space (dark matter).

However, it is certain that the visible stellar universe is mainly composed of two elements only: helium and hydrogen. Thus, stars – this backbone of the universe – are predominantly (to 99%) made of these two elements. Tantalizingly enough, the colony of progressing biped primates, while evenly spreading over this planet, has developed a strong technological, civilizational and physiological culture of addiction to a completely other element: carbon.

Earth is practically bathing in immense spectrums of sun-rays. This solar radiation that our star supplies above us is essentially an infinite source of energy. The core of our mother planet is still kinetically and thermally very active, meaning that humans in fact sit atop a source of inexhaustible energy provided by the gravitational, magnetic and seismic events and enormous residual geothermal heat of the Earth.

How did we – advanced civilization – miss this? Residing between two infinite energy aggregators, how did we end up with hydrocarbons – with the carbonized remains of passed life? How did we end up tapping just a thin upper lithosphere and keep obsessively digging and drilling for fossil fuels? How did we develop this necrophilic obsession?

How did we manage to focus our human and economic development on carbons, and steadily develop the so-called ‘technologies’ that apparently take us right into a collision course with the universe and with everything that surrounds our biosphere? Why do we keep mankind enveloped in an exhausting competition and dangerous confrontation over a tiny, finite portion of fossilized carbons situated beneath the surface of our habitat? Finally, do we live *cosmos* or *chaos*?!

How did things go wrong in the first place? Evolutionarily, our 2-million-year history as hunters-gatherers – exposed to stark scarcities,

rival gangs of humans and other predators, permanent seasonal oscillations, harsh climatic and topographic conditions, constituting an integral part of the natural food-chain – has taught us to observe things sequentially, horizontally, territorially, and linearly. Not cognitively. That’s how we (through the primordial mechanical solidarity of an endangered, insecure herd) learned to prolong our existence at the expense of other living creatures, even turning their fossilized remains into *fuel*.

“Get your kicks on Route 66...”

Admittedly, the way we are developing and deploying the anthrop techniques indicates that we did not manage to depart significantly from the central pre-cognitive challenge which we humans share with all other planetary forms of life – survival. Our central cognitive question, a quest that should largely distinguish us from all other living forms: *What am I doing here?* or *How can I bridge my past, my present, with my future?* – has remained largely unanswered.

Our ‘developmental’ palliatives are corrosive, autistic, particularized, aggressive, reactive, incoherent and harming for this planet and its life. Rigid in a dynamic environment, we are still captivated by the horizontalities of our insecure existence, all which conditioned our lower laying brain foundations throughout our 2-million-year long hominid history.

Anthropology usually differentiates *Homo sapiens* (as an early, primitive hominine/homo) from *Homo sapiens* (advanced, modern man). By relating our species to its ability to extract and consume calories with the help of different anthrop techniques (presently called technologies), we may roughly divide the hominid’s evolution in the following way:

- (i) 2 million years/100.000/50.000 – 10.000 years ago: a low-energy-consumption (conservative-solar techniques) driven human race;
- ii. 10.000 – 200 years ago: a medium-energy-consumption (hydraulic-agrarian, advanced-solar techniques) driven human race;

- iii. 200 years ago (the event of the so-called industrial revolution) – nowadays: high-energy-consumption (hydrocarbon techniques) driven human race.

Nevertheless, by observing the dynamics within the human culture and ability of such a civilization to maintain a natural equilibrium with the organic and inorganic surroundings, we can make the following classification of history of our race:

- a. barbarians without technology (early humans) – no-to-moderate disturbance of the animalistic civilization, and then;
- b. ‘mobilized/progressed’ barbarians with interfering ‘technology’ (the so-called modern men) – excessive disturbance of the acultural civilization.

The irreversible extraction of crude, which we falsely call ‘production’ of ‘black gold’, is simply a fallacy of myopic, lethal addiction. The anthrop technique which is exclusively fixated on tapping a tiny portion of the lithosphere in search of fossil remains – and then combusting those remains to convert them into our prime energy source (with loads of collateral waste), is a barbarism *per se*, and can only be marked as ‘technology’.

Yet, the scope, depth and endurance of our anti-intellectual limbic ignorance and reptilian greed is so fascinating, as it is our fixation with the locality, with the territorial animal inside of us. *Homo lupus ergo sum*. Our cerebral cortex (big, upper brain) is still a hostage of the reptilian (lower part of our) complex, which keeps us in a disastrous and obsessive captivity of the lower brain-determined, linear, instinctive reflex to acquire ever large possessions of resources on the given territory. This *here-us-now* matrix deprives us of any ability to enlarge the perspective and to grant it relief of the coherent, consciousness-based, cognitive time-space dimension.

Hence, no wonder that we are paying a heavy endpoint price while still singing the self-assuring lullaby: save the environment! It is simply a

misstatement: the environment will survive, we will be eliminated.

“Oh, Lord won’t you buy me a Mercedes Benz...” – the Tao wisdom lost

That is how and where we set our obscure priorities: Ever perpetuated competition that keeps us in barbaric, reptilian confrontation over scarce resources, with the ‘technology’ which unstoppably emits greenhouse gasses, turning our earth into a planetary gas-chamber, on the way to a self-prepared global holocaust.

Technology is not a state of arts (or science); technology is a state of mind! It is not a linear progression in mastering the natural science disciplines (alienating conservation), but rather acquiring a coherent cognitive and emphatic critical insight (liberating exploration). This ‘technology’ will turn into *actual* technology when –or better say– if our conscious, a self-actualizing, nonlinear, multidimensional and cluster-thinking capacitated upper brain finally takes a firm command over the reptilian, insecure, territorial, assertive, an eat-multiply-survive reflex/instinct-induced lower brain.

Following the outbreak of the still unsettled financial crisis, there is a growing anti-neoliberal sentiment, but don’t blame economy or (the dogmatic exegesis of) the credit institutions. It is yet another anthrop technique enveloped in the human conscripts, in the codes of conducts devised on our long, indecisive and inconclusive evolutionary march. What is wrong is our perception, or better say the observer’s consideration spot, our cognitive departure point.

Why are we persistently projecting the circumstances that environmentally conditioned us two million years ago? Finite and depletable resources are something that our reptilian complex has gotten accustomed to in the lasting course of evolution. All our subsequent socio-economic fabrics, customs and normative orders, and politico-military constructs have been emotionally charged. Architected around an emotional attachment, they have been the creation of a deep psychologization based on a fearful dependency over the horizontal and finite.

We are the fear of scarcity– obsessed culture. Adequate social cohesion and mobilization as well as our overall comprehension of the infinite, renewable and inexhaustible, would require cognition. This –in turn– would mark an end of domination to the reptilian brain’s binary-mechanical and instinctively- imposed and maintained securitization and control.

So far, control itself remained the central solidifier of our civilizational vertical in managing the unpredictable and instable human (group or individual) dynamics. Fixation on finite resources and their consummation in controlled space and controlled time are the ties that bind the human culture – a social construct of psychologized securitization we conceive as comprehensible and permissible, therefore possible. Infinity eliminates the premium of control, and of mechanically-imposed and externally-induced coercive cohesion based on ever perpetuated competition and confrontation. An antidote to anxieties and seeds of fear, infinity eventually de-psychologizes and de-monopolizes the reptilian command over our cognitivity.

Ergo, the grand mistake of our evolution is not an emergence of the cerebral cortex, our central problem is that the upper brain has developed to service and aid the reptilian complex with anthrop techniques (to be enslaved by it), not *vice versa*. For such a new evolutionary arrival, admittedly our species developed fast– as (limbic drive is possessive and) the reptilian binary-instinctive brain is highly efficient.

Though efficient, it is not as far-reaching! Thus, today in Rio, as 20 years ago at the same place, we do face similar unsolvable dilemmas and grave, ever mounting, problems. Nowadays, we seemingly understand the obstacle– limits to growth. However, our limit is not (solely) territorial or linear, it is substantively cognitive. Living in a limbo of our unfinished evolution and our own denial of it: We overused all life-contents around us that we plainly borrowed from the future past, while we overlook all the time what we do have (with us) in our past future.

Simply, there is far more to learn about ourselves from our long unrecorded chapters of history than from the times we started to keep records.

“Tomorrow Never Dies”

In his famous speech of 1944, Max Planck spelled out something that philosophy, religion, astronomy and physics were indicating ever since the classic Greeks (or to be precise, since the ancient Vedic Sanskrit texts). It laid down the foundation, not only of quantum physics but also, of the so-called Unified Theory of Everything (TOE) as well as the (Coherent key to) Secrets of Creation. Moreover, it rejuvenated and reaffirmed many of the Buddhist Tantric perspectives, especially the metaphysical visions contained within the *Yogacara*, as well as one of *paticcasamuppada* – the so-called interdependent non-directional origination.

Hence, if one of the newest TOEs postulated by Stephen Hawking and Leonard Mlodinow is correct – *that the quantum universe, as a self-excited circuit, tends to create meaning and that the observers are part of the system* – than the cosmos self-actualizes itself. It concludes that, as the universe evolves, enabling organization to emerge, our consciousness creates the universe/multi-verse. If so, it leads to a self-actualization of us in cosmos too, as then the fundamental nature of reality should be a comprehensive and coherent self-perception.

This TOE would then suppose our constant mastering of arts, which is not a ‘technology’ that preserves *status quo*, but is a technology that opens, liberates and expands. How can the carbon–addicted culture of fragile and insecure, but *here-us-now* assertive and corrosive bipeds, whose overall dynamics are largely determined by the binary (fight-flight, consume-abandon) actions of the reptilian complex consciously project an intelligent universe predominantly composed of helium and hydrogen in all its immensity?

The answer is easier than it seems at first glance. It goes back to one of the most intriguing questions of both philosophy and astronomy: Is there any life out there?

Neither the very peripheral position of our solar system within the stellar cluster of the Milky Way, nor a remote place of our galaxy in the known cosmos would indicate any centrality, any exclusivity of and monopoly over conscious life to us. Ergo, if such a periphery can sustain a variety (constancy) of life forms and development of cognitive brains, then the rest of the universe must simply *flourish* in intelligent life– this is the only logical explanation.

Proof ?

While being everyone and having everything, all the rest of the immense cosmic intelligence self-actualizes and projects the solar equilibrium, a coherent helium-hydrogen-manifested and as such illuminated universe. It is simply waiting for us – to succeed or fail in departing from the self-imposed asymmetries, scarcities, convulsions, disharmonies and imbalances created by having fossilized fuel – in our attempt to return back to our pre-carbon, solar Tao future.

We'll either combust ourselves to death or finally comprehend the inevitability of the obvious – of our cosmic being, as there is no having without being, and there is no being without or against universe. After all, there is no world of things without or on expenses of cosmos of life. This requires a resolute departure from the primordial hunter-gatherer attitude, and decisive deployment of our cognitivity - *Chaos* or *cosmos* – a simple choice.

Epilogue, not far away from Rio

“...Deep in the rainforests of the Amazon, the *Achuar* and the *Huaorani* Indians are assembled for their daily ritual. Every morning, each member of the tribe awakens before dawn, and once gathered together in that twilight hour, as the world explodes into light, they share their dreams. This is not simply an interesting pastime, an opportunity for storytelling: to the *Achuar* and the *Huaorani*, the dream is owned not by the dreamer alone, but collectively by the group, and the individual dreamer is simply the vessel the dream decided to borrow to have a conversation with the whole tribe.

The tribes view the dream as a map for their waking hours. It is a forecaster of what is to come for all of them. In dreams they connect with their ancestors and the rest of the universe. The dream is what is

real. It is their waking life that is a falsehood...”
Wisdom is technique to wake up.

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