THIRD
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INSIDE

Editorial

Perform or Perish!

Perform or perish has seemingly been the defining mantra entailing ubiquitous pertinence to almost very field across the spectrum – from politics to sports – since ages; nevertheless, it seems to have gained added salience in the present age of cut-throat competition. At a time when India is at the cusp of entering the third decade of the 21st century that is characterized by mass spread of social media, an informed public opinion cannot be expected to be swayed by mere slogans. Political parties can no more take the electorate for a ride to garner electoral support to wrest power, even with the help of fake news or blitzkrieg of disinformation. Even if a particular political entity succeeds in doing so, it can ill-afford to replicate the same next time. Lucrative, enticing and tempting promises are often made by political parties in manifestoes to garner the support of the masses who are either swayed by those promises or scrutinize the past performance of those parties to determine as to what extent those parties have walked the talk. Undoubtedly, electoral politics in India has its own nuances that seldom follow text-book rule and this has been true of the elections held prior to 2014.

Nevertheless, in the 2014 and 2019 general elections, the tone and tenor of electoral campaigns conducted by the winning party was entirely different from the rest of the parties. The 2014 election witnessed extensive use of electronic and social media, corporate style electioneering and scientific booth management by the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) that enabled it wrest power at the Centre and subsequently in about 20 states. The stereotype style of campaigning and hackneyed tactics of electioneering adhered to by the non-BJP opposition parties failed to bear fruits in terms of winning the election. In the intervening period between 2014 and run up to the 2019 general elections, these non-BJP parties made many attempts at forging alliances and also succeeded to very limited extent but failed to form a pan-India alliance as an alternative to the BJP and the resultant impact has been that many of these parties have been badly mauled and are faced a sort of 'existential crisis.'

The resounding victory of the BJP and debacle of many parties like Congress, SP, BSP, TDP etc., has culminated in a very week Opposition and it bodes ill for a dynamic democracy. These parties have to rethink their political strategy to confront the ruling dispensation. Undoubtedly, the ruling dispensation has managed to retain power at the Centre with increased number of seats as compared to 2014; nonetheless, it is faced with perennial problems of rural distress, unemployment, and downturn in economy as the outcome of its own legacy of its first term in office, which the Opposition failed to capitalize on in the wake of the BJP's enthusiastic overemphasis on muscular nationalism and national security. Opposition parties, including Congress, are called upon to revise their political philosophy, strategy and electioneering styles. They are required to be proactive on ground zero and re-connect with the masses on a massive scale. Undaunted by the recent debacles, they have to revitalize their organizational networks at the grassroots level and cultivate the emerging young voters. These Opposition parties have to adhere to corporate-style appraisal and axing non-performers, which has been a rare phenomenon in politics until recently.

In the fiercely competitive realm of politics in the Indian context characterized by fast-moving events, party workers are to be given stiff targets, wherein the achievers ought to be rewarded with incentives, and those who fail to meet the target need to be imparted intensive training in party's thinking, philosophy and how to connect with the people. Instead of basking in the past glory, these parties are called upon to reinvent themselves ideologically and organizationally by focusing on the youth and women along with providing the latter their due share of representation in all ranks. Old guards should be assigned the task of providing guidance and impart training to the young cadres. These parties are also called upon to refrain from making tall promises that are too utopian because failure to deliver them culminates in the backlash that entails the potential of disturbing the political equilibrium. Younger generation of voters needs to be focused on.

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Media Ethics in Professional Journalism

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[Journalism is honorable profession, though many of those who should care for it, often including its own professionals, have dishonored it. Ethics is not (just) a matter of codes of conduct (plus or minus sanctions), not just a matter of rules to be followed. It is more to do with principles concerning the rights and wrongs of human conduct, principles which have some reasoned theoretical basis, and which therefore apply objectively and impartially. What is important for professional journalists is that the activity that wishes to call itself professional be conducted on an ethical basis and that its practitioners be accountable for their actions. Journalists should, respect the rules that are within the foundation of human actions, behaviors and relationships and professional standards of the profession. Those are theoretical, normative and practical knowledge that will help journalists that might be able to, in moral way, i.e. truthfully; correctly and honestly orientate within different situations in regards daily events when they are reporting to the public and, through that, making influence on forming of certain public opinion.]

To avoid having our ethical behavior being connected with so-called "situational behavior of the individual", which very often exists on the ground in contemporary, today's civilization, I am presenting the basic aims…

The first aim is to present a knowledge from the issues of ethics and moral knowing that ethical dilemmas are all around us and as constituent part of everyday life and that represents constant challenge of our feeling for the ethics. Just few issues: Do I have moral obligation to report my classmate who is lying? Do I have moral obligation to report the crime which I saw? Is it allowed by the ethics that TV journalist use hidden camera to be able to document illegal act or scandalous behavior? Majority of us would answer on the above given questions based on previously established stands. But, can we, then, defend decisions based on some established ethical principles?

My dear readers, that is the essence of living and behaving in an ethical way – also to learn how to publicly justify our ethical choice based on firm ethical premises.

The second aim is to encircle moral virtues of professional journalism as well as ethical and moral treatment of public and private in media having in mind wide spectrum of moral dilemmas with which are faced professional journalists. Would you publish a link of terrorist WWW site knowing that, in one hand that it will help for the disclosure of the terrorist stands and views, but in other hand might be a problem that can cause canvassing of the new members for them among certain population of the people? Another sample is also a problematic one: advertising agency must fight with ethical consequences of advertising of video-games full of violence – in front of kids and teenagers.

Cynics might ask the questions what the values are of the above, simulations in learning of the ethics from the real world, especially when there is a fact that professional journalists work under the pressure of deadlines. However, experience within moral judgment, even being hypothetical, will help us to be prepared for the day when we will have to, within the scope of your work, make ethical decisions.

Learning ethics is something very sensitive, connected and intertwined with human nature, which is, more than often, depending on historical, cultural and national environment of their own.

The third aim is to analyze responsibility of professional journalists and responsibility of the

media as well as ethical codex of journalism profession and that will reflect a lot of issues, such as adequate, truthful, helpful and correct information, related to the direct responsibilities of professional journalists towards public, but also towards the owners of the media and towards, above all, professional journalistic ethics and morality. Ethical codes of journalism profession provide, as being in utopian often way underlined, towards the whole population honest, accurate and complete information.

Those codes, in the same time, should protect all of the professional journalists from the all kind of pressures and compulsions that would stop and block them in giving information to the public defined in the above-mentioned way or abet them to work against their conscience. Responsibilities of the professional journalists are to, using ethical codes of journalism profession, provide best way possible flow of the information within the society, in accordance with basic and essential mission of the press within liberal and democratic regimes.

Avocation and professional standard of the Journalists

Media ethics is inseparable from journalism, because the practice of professional journalism is centred on a set of essentially ethical concepts: freedom, democracy, truth, objectivity, honesty and privacy. That is why avocation and professional standards of journalists deeply depend on practical implementation of the assumed presumption of common ethics.

Professional journalist should follow basic standards due to the logic of avocation:

- Knowledge and Abilities
- Experience and Conscience

To be able to shape up, as better as possbile, his journalistic avocation, for the professional journalist is needed to posses knowledges and abilities, experience and conscience. Those are the precoditions for the profession to be conducted due to logic of the avocation, but those are also the foundation standards as well.

The role of the media and journalists is threefold: to carry over information essential for the public life; to go between authorities and citizens, apropos the state and civic society; and that are the first external critic and controller of the authority. In the same time media and journalists are widening up of the cultural pattern and in that way make influence on rising of the general level of citizens' culture and, especially, of the democratic culture of the citizens. This might sound as utopia, but if you would like really to become professional journalist and messenger from the media, those should be your professional commandments of this world.

Professionalism in journalism – different combats:

- from freedom of expression up to freedom to express criticism

Within the different periods of development of journalist avocation and media mission, it appeared to be expressed certain professional standards. At the beginning, the professional combat was related to the freedom of expression and freedom of criticism. No to go too far back in history, just to mention John Milton (1644), English poet, polemicist, and man of letters, and a civil servant for the Commonwealth of England, and he targeted the powerful bureaucratic system of pre-censorship practiced in late Medieval Europe in his much disputed speech "Areopagitica" to the Parliament of England. Milton vigorously opposed the Licensing Act that Parliament passed in 1643. In his noble plea for freedom of the press, Milton also quoted Euripides, adding the weight of the ancient struggle for free expression to his own arguments.

Milton's passionate and strong defence of free expression contributed to the final lapse of the Licensing Act in Britain in 1694. His "Areopagitica" also became one of the most quoted arguments for freedom of expression, and remains today a true beacon of enlightenment.

In regards freedom of criticism Winston S. Churchill (1939), within the interview given to *New Statesman*, Britain's current affairs & politics magazine, stated: "*Criticism may not be*

agreeable, but it is necessary. It fulfils the same function as pain in the human body; it calls attention to the development of an unhealthy state of things. If it is heeded in time, danger may be averted; if it is suppressed, a fatal distemper may develop."

from independence up to integrity

Journalistic independence, as in the book *The Elements of Journalism* (20017) wrote Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel, is not neutrality. While editorialists and commentators are not neutral, the source of their credibility is still their accuracy, intellectual fairness and ability to inform – not their devotion to a certain group or outcome. In our independence, however, journalists must avoid straying into arrogance, elitism, isolation or nihilism. In the same time, without integrity your journalism is untrustworthy and suspect. Integrity gives a journalist the authority to investigate issues, shine a light in dark places and to dig where others don't. It is essential for informing the public debate with trustworthy, rigorous journalism.

Lawyers and judges

I always stimulate moral imagination, conduct recognition of ethical questions, work on development of analytics and also, we will work on acquiring of the pulse of moral obligation and personal responsibility with expressed tolerance for disaccord, in other words – and put in just few words – I focus on development of ethical fettle. Mostly because ethics is the branch of the philosophy that deals with the issues of moral behavior.

Lawyers and judges are telling us that the laws are the foundation of our civilization. *They are wrong and it is not truth.* The foundation of our culture lies down within moral respect of the Laws.

Ethics of the morality or morality of the ethics

I am always focusing on ethical dilemmas and conflict of values. For example, during the armed conflict, the spokesperson of the Army might has to do the choice between the values of telling the truth to the journalists about the victims and the values of conservation of the support of the public for involvement of the Army within the conflict. Sometimes there is a conflict between general social and professional values. When none of the opposed values is satisfactory, it is worth to consider the third option. Let us assume that a Dean asks a professor to revise a decision about striking, knocking down a student on his final year. *Loyalty* to Dean might lead professor to fulfill the request. From other side, *sincerity* implies to that professor should not do it, and especially if he is assured in accuracy of his decision. However, maybe professor might consider a third option: *honesty.* Would it be decent and fair towards other students to revise a grade for one student and not to entire group?

Moral (Latin - mos, moris) means: "way of living", "procedure & practice"

So, what is the ethics, and what is the difference of the ethics and morality? Word "moral" is derivative from Latin word *mos, moris* and that means, among other things, "way of living" and "practice & treatment". The word moral is very often connected with religious belief and personal behavior.

In the normative sense, according to Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2002), "morality" refers to a code of conduct that would be accepted by anyone who meets certain intellectual and volitional conditions, almost always including the condition of being rational. That a person meets these conditions is typically expressed by saying that the person counts as a *moral agent*. However, merely showing that a certain code would be accepted by any moral agent is not enough to show that the code is the moral code. It might well be that all moral agents would also accept a code of prudence or rationality, but this would not by itself show that prudence was part of morality.

Ethics (from Grecian- ethos) means: "habit & custom", "usage" or "character"

From other side, word ethics is derivate from Greek word "ethos" that means "habit & custom", "usage" and/or "character". I will especially elaborate, within the months to come, the morality of certain ethical doubts, apropos ethical

values of certain moral stands. Because if something is moral does not mean that is ethical, apropos vice versa. I will present my views about cynics, skeptics, but also about optimists when we are talking about ethics *sui generis.*

There are two schools of thought. Concretely, cynics claim that ethics must be subject of study because it does not give firm answers. Besides that, skeptics' also claim, knowing of ethical principles and norms does not make a person automatically more moral. From other side, the optimistic representatives of the formal ethical behavior consider that the ethics is like mathematics, history or physics, with its agglomerate of problems and unique methods of its solving. It is considered that there exists the body of moral law which waits for ethically curious mind. And where is the professional journalist within that all?

Functions of the media within ethical system

What are the functions of media within the system of ethics? Mass media are among most influential firm in democratic society, on the crossroads between citizens and their political, economic and social institutions.

How can we, in the situation when we are faced with flooding of social networks, to overcome problems with which journalism is faced? Problems of rumors, manipulations, disinformation, fake news, lies, deceptions and hypocrisy of politicians who are ready even to change the laws if suits them personally, apropos to adjust legislation with their own interests? How to be ethical in society, regardless to which political option they are belonging to, exists on the principle "in the society where everybody steals, nobody steals"?

The ethicality of journalism is targeting universal, common good and not targeting just individual good.

Concept of objectivity – confusion per se

Nowadays, constituent part of professional standards is truth, honesty (objectivity), dispassionate, adequate relations with the sources of information, respect towards persons who are the subject of information, elimination of any kind of discrimination and the responsibility of journalists. One of the great confusions about journalism, write Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel in *The Elements of Journalism* (2007), is the concept of objectivity.

When the concept originally evolved, it was not meant to imply that journalists were free of bias. Quite the contrary.

The term began to appear as part of journalism after the turn of the 20th century, particularly in the 1920s, out of a growing recognition that journalists were full of bias, often unconsciously. Objectivity called for journalists to develop a consistent method of testing information – a transparent approach to evidence – precisely so that personal and cultural biases would not undermine the accuracy of their work.

In the latter part of the 19th century, journalists talked about something called "realism" rather than objectivity. This was the idea that if reporters simply dug out the facts and ordered them together, truth would reveal itself rather naturally.

Objectivity called for journalists to develop a consistent method of testing information – a transparent approach to evidence.

Realism emerged at a time when journalism was separating from political party affiliations and becoming more accurate. It coincided with the invention of what journalists call the inverted pyramid, in which a journalist lines the facts up from the most important to the least important, thinking it helps audiences understand things naturally.

At the beginning of the 20th century, however, some journalists began to worry about the naïveté of realism. In part, reporters and editors were becoming more aware of the rise of propaganda and the role of press agents.

At a time when Freud was developing his theories of the unconscious and painters like Picasso were experimenting with Cubism, journalists were also developing a greater recognition of human subjectivity.

The method is objective, not the journalist

Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz (1919), an associate editor for the *New York World*, wrote an influential and scathing account of how cultural blinders had distorted the *New York Times* coverage of the Russian Revolution. "In the large, the news about Russia is a case of seeing not what was, but what men wished to see," they wrote. Lippmann and others began to look for ways for the individual journalist "to remain clear and free of his irrational, his unexamined, his unacknowledged prejudgments in observing, understanding and presenting the news."

Journalism, Lippmann declared, was being practiced by "untrained accidental witnesses." Good intentions, or what some might call "honest efforts" by journalists, were not enough. Faith in the rugged individualism of the tough reporter, what Lippmann called the "cynicism of the trade," was also not enough. Nor were some of the new innovations of the times, like bylines, or columnists.

The solution, Lippmann argued, was for journalists to acquire more of "the scientific spirit … There is but one kind of unity possible in a world as diverse as ours. It is unity of method, rather than aim; the unity of disciplined experiment." Lippmann meant by this that journalism should aspire to "a common intellectual method and a common area of valid fact."

To begin, Lippmann thought, the fledgling field of journalist education should be transformed from "trade schools designed to fit men for higher salaries in the existing structure." Instead, the field should make its cornerstone the study of evidence and verification.

Although this was an era of faith in science, Lippmann had few illusions. "It does not matter that the news is not susceptible to mathematical statement. In fact, just because news is complex and slippery, good reporting requires the exercise of the highest scientific virtues."

In the original concept, in other words, the method is objective, not the journalist. The key was in the *discipline* of the craft, not the aim. This point has some important implications.

One is that the impartial voice employed by many news organizations – that familiar, supposedly neutral style of newswriting – is not a fundamental principle of journalism. Rather, it is an often helpful device news organizations use to highlight that they are trying to produce something obtained by objective methods.

The second implication is that this neutral voice, without a discipline of verification, creates a veneer covering something hollow. Journalists who select sources to express what is really their own point of view, and then use the neutral voice to make it seem objective, are engaged in a form of deception. This damages the credibility of the craft by making it seem unprincipled, dishonest, and biased.

Reporters have gone on to refine the concept Lippmann had in mind, but usually only privately, and in the name of technique or reporting routines rather than journalism's larger purpose. The notion of an objective method of reporting exists in pieces, handed down by word of mouth from reporter to reporter.

The impartial voice employed by many news organizations – that familiar, supposedly neutral style of newswriting – is not a fundamental principle of journalism.

Developmental psychologist William Damon (1979) at Stanford, for instance, has identified various "strategies" journalists have developed to verify reporting. Damon asked his interviewees where they learned these concepts. Overwhelmingly the answer was: by trial and error and on my own or from a friend. Rarely did journalists report learning them in journalism school or from their editors.

Many useful books have been written. IRE (Investigative Reporters and Editors) for instance, has tried to develop a methodology for how to use public records, read documents, and produce Freedom of Information Act requests.

By and large, however, these informal strategies have not been pulled together into the widely understood discipline that Lippmann and others imagined. There is nothing approaching standard rules of evidence, as in the law, or an agreed-

upon method of observation, as in the conduct of scientific experiments.

Nor have older conventions of verification been expanded to match the new forms of journalism. Although journalism may have developed various techniques and conventions for determining facts, it has done less to develop a system for testing the reliability of journalistic interpretation.

Conclusion

Why do we need, at the end of day, ethics? *Because of a need* for social stability because if we do not want to have organized anarchy even within journalism. Regardless that there is no formal agreement to do that, readers, listeners and viewers, media consumers, are expecting from journalists to report about the truth.

Because of a need for moral hierarchy because ethical system serves as moral guard who informs a society about relative importance of certain customs and habits. There is tendency that we describe the acts with which we disagree as immoral, although most of our social imprudence is pure violation of manners. Ethical system recognizes those customs and habits for which exists so huge social disapproval that can be considered as immoral ones.

Because of a need to solve conflicts, having in mind that ethical system is important to social institution for solving of the cases that encircle opposed claims on personal interests. For example, maybe it is in personal interest of the student to rewrite paper from his colleague, but in the same time his colleague's interest is not to allow him to do that. Social rules against plagiarism (2019) need to be considered here when is going to be evaluated moral practice that arises from this situation.

Because of a need of clarifying of the values. For example, controversies about cloning of the people – pro at contra of the scientific achievement with unthinkable ethical consequences. As mentioned earlier, realization of proper common, joint good, is the presumption of real prosperous individual good, in general meaning.

The main question is how to define ethical joint good, which will satisfy all levels of one society, without being accused to be communist or extremist of any kind? That is the question worth one million dollars, but we will try even to give, within the months to come, answer to that one as well.

Besides that, media workers are crucial for transferring of cultural and non-cultural values – depending of which kind of ethical and/or non-ethical values they are relying on within the society and of their own.

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Galvanizing Indo-US Strategic Partnership

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[Indo-US strategic partnership presents an opportunity for both sides to understand and manage the forces that are shaping a globalizing world, so as to deliver the outcomes which both India and America want, namely, peace, prosperity and progress.]

Strategy is a term that comes from the Greek strategia, meaning "generalship." Strategy is a science and art of using all the forces of a nation to achieve a particular goal as effectively as possible during peace or war. In military sense, strategy often refers to maneuvering troops into position before the enemy is actually engaged. In this sense, strategy refers to the deployment of troops and the art of distributing and applying military means to fulfill the ends of policy[1].

Originally, the strategy had a strong military aspect and was used mainly in connection with warfare. But now the term strategy has acquired a larger meaning and actors can now become involved in political or economic strategies. The word "partnership" as defined by the American Heritage College Dictionary, denotes relationship of individuals and groups marked by mutual cooperation and responsibility. When used together with "strategic", the term "partnership" usually acquires a longer-term connotation.

A strategic partnership between two countries may be defined in terms of shared values and areas of cooperation in the spheres of defence, foreign policy, economy, energy, human resource development, and environment by taking into account existing geo-political realities and diplomatic practices. A strategic partnership should be viewed as a long-term commitment and it is essential that both partners develop a clear understanding and vision about its objectives and practices.

It is also imperative that a strategic partnership be based on mutual trust and respect for each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and shared values. This does not mean that there will be no differences between the partners but that the partners recognize the importance of their commitment to each other and are prepared to try and reach common ground wherever possible.

Any such strategic partnership must be based on equality, mutual trust, respect and understanding. It must also be comprehensive, holistic and long-term, and there must be an intensive, on-going and stable commitment to it. Ideally, the broad, underlying values of the two parties should be similar, or at least compatible. A strategic partnership needs the whole-hearted commitment of both sides and must focus on promoting mutual understanding. It must also be a partnership between all the constituents of society and ensure an on-going strategic dialogue.

It is particularly important to involve civil society if the strategic partnership is to take roots among the people of India and US. There are many issues facing the two sides which require the actors in civil society to agree on a much stronger narrative. A strategic partnership based on diplomacy alone is likely to fail. Indo-US strategic partnership presents an opportunity for both sides to understand and manage the forces that are shaping a globalizing world, so as to deliver the outcomes which both India and America want, namely, peace, prosperity and progress.

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Indo-US relations had always been the subject of several ups and downs and also fluctuated from time to time in the Cold War era. The strategic and political relations of both the countries were more uneven and unsmooth than economic and cultural affairs. During the Cold War, owing to opposing grand strategies, the two states frequently found themselves at odds. With the end of the Cold War and the demise of the erstwhile Soviet Union, Indo-US security cooperation started in a fitful fashion and brought about a profound alteration in the strategic underpinnings of US interaction with India.

Today, the Indo-US relationship is marked by unprecedented convergence of interests and values and a much enhanced and deeply involved relationship can be seen in all the aspects of bilateral relations including political, economic and strategic. The most important aspect of this relationship is US-India strategic convergence marked by frequent joint military exercises, maritime cooperation, counterterrorism cooperation, defence purchase, signing of a ten-year defence framework agreement, and Indo-US nuclear deal.

After the end of Cold War, demise of the erstwhile Soviet Union and changing global circumstances compelled both the nations to come closer for strategic partnership. The oldest and the largest democracies in the world have begun to move closer to each other to forge a strategic relationship that has the potential to eventually take the shape of a comprehensive alliance. A combination of factors such as the emergence of a unipolar world and India beginning to ride the waves of a resurgent economy have paved the way for fresh alignment of strategic equations.

India is now clearly emerging as a regional power capable of exerting political, economic and military influence on its neighbourhood. In the US perception, India is a 'natural strategic partner' who can contribute effectively to the maintenance of peace, stability and economic progress in South Asia. India can also be a reliable partner of the US in the pursuit of nuclear non-proliferation objectives as also in the global war against terrorism.

During the Clinton period, the American administration sought to gear up efforts not merely to increase sales based on specific reciprocity but toward reciprocal exchange of information and personnel as well. The bilateral defence cooperation picked up momentum with the 'Kicklighter Proposal' in 1992 that was aimed at reversal of the negative trend in the bilateral defence relations in the previous years. This was followed by the signing of the 'Agreement Minutes on Defence Relations' between the two governments in 1995[2].

These upward trends in bilateral relations received a setback when India conducted the nuclear tests on May 11 and 13, 1998. For some time, thereafter, relations between the two nose-dived. The tests caught the Clinton Administration by surprise. Top US officials visiting India and meeting its leaders in April and May 1998 such as Thomas Pickering, Bill Richardson, and Rick Inderfurth found "no advance indication" of these tests. In Washington, White House spokesman Michael Mc Curry said the US was "deeply disappointed" by the blasts.

The tests were a "terrible mistake", said Bill Clinton on 13 May, 1998 as America imposed immediate sanctions, said to be going to deny India over $ 20 billion. These sanctions included suspending $ 140 million direct economic aid to India[3]; ending export-import bank loans to India, stopping computer and other technology transfer to India that could be used for military purposes; and opposing loans by international financial institutions such as the World Bank and IMF[4].

In early May 1999, the Kargil conflict erupted between India and Pakistan. When it turned into bloodier and intense, the Clinton administration intervened to defuse the crisis. President, Bill Clinton signaled for the first time the USA's changing priorities in South Asia. He invited the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif

to Washington and told him sternly to stop the incursion. And Pakistan's armed forces had to fall in line[5].

President Bill Clinton visited India during March 19 to 23, 2000. This visit marked a turning point in Indo-US relations. President Clinton and Prime Minister Vajpayee discussed the expansion of economic links, regional stability, environmental and nuclear issues, security and counter-terrorism. Dialogue between the two countries was institutionalized through the formation of new working groups and the signing of agreements on a gamut of issues. President Clinton had acknowledged that "India and America are 'natural allies' in liberty, each finding strength in its diversity and both the nations aspire for "a more humane and just world"[6].

On May 1, 2001, President George W. Bush proposed National missile defense (NMD) programme; a military strategy and associated systems to shield an entire country against incoming Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) more particularly from rogue states. The Government of India reacted with remarkable alacrity in shedding its earlier doubts and expressing its warm appreciation of the President's proposal. This nuclear missile defense shield met with stiff opposition not just from China and Russia, but also from Japan, South Korea and US allies in Western Europe showing new sensitivity to US concerns; nevertheless, India was one of only three countries to welcome it[7].

On September 30, 2002, Indian soldiers and airmen landed in Alaska for their platoon-level joint training exercise with their American counterparts at Fort Richardson and Elmendorf Air Force base. Called the Geronimo Thrust 02, it was the first exercise of its kind involving Indian troops and airmen on American soil. It was designated to familiarize the military personnel with some US training techniques and equipment as well as to give US soldiers the opportunity to interact with soldiers and airmen from India.

After this, the first contingent of US Air Force personnel arrived in India for joint exercises held in Agra, on October 20 to 26, 2002. Termed as Cope India 02, these exercises provided quality training for air crew and maintenance personnel, and fostered a good relationship between the US Air Force and the Indian Air Force. Both forces exchanged information on airlift operations and procedures and emphasized their inter-operability[8].

In September 2003, their armies conducted a joint exercise near the Sino-Indian border, and the 'Malabar 2003' naval exercises included an American nuclear submarine. 'Malabar 2004' followed, off the coast of Goa. In July 2004 the Indian Air Force participated in exercises in Alaska. Earlier, in March that year, Powell hailed 'the current relationship between the US and India as the best… that has existed between our two great democracies in many, many years- if not in history'[9].

On January 12, 2004, President Bush and Prime Minister Vajpayee issued a joint statement declaring that the U.S.-India Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP) included expanding cooperation in the "trinity" areas, expanded engagement on nuclear regulatory and safety issues, missile defence, ways to enhance cooperation in peaceful uses of space technology, and steps to create the appropriate environment for successful high technology commerce. To combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, relevant laws, regulations and procedures would be strengthened, and measures to increase bilateral and international cooperation in this area employed. In June 2004, the joint defence group underlined more areas of convergence on fundamental values, and Bush and Manmohan Singh expressed confidence that the relationship would grow stronger[10].

In March 2005, the United States announced that it would offer India co-production rights for both the F-16 and F-18E/F to compete for that requirement, while offering Pakistan the option

to purchase F-16s in March 2005. In June 2005, the US and India signed the landmark agreement called the "New Framework for the US-India Defence Relationship", a 10-year defence-cooperation pack envisaging a wide range of joint activities, including multi-national operations in their common interest, collaboration to promote security and defeat terrorism and enhancement of capability to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction[11].

This was reported to be in pursuance of Bush Administration's pledge to help India become a major power in the 21st century. After a long break of about thirty years or so-India and the US, had agreed to resume cooperation in the highly sensitive area of civilian nuclear energy. In fact, the joint statement that the American President and the Indian Prime Minister unveiled in Washington on June 28, 2005- stating that, the US would now work with "Friends and allies to adjust international regimes to enable full civil nuclear energy and trade with India",-speaks of hitherto " unimaginable" and "unprecedented levels of cooperation"[12].

A turning point in Indo-US strategic relationship came on 18 July 2005 with accord on civilian nuke cooperation, reached between US President George W. Bush and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in Washington. The bilateral pact essentially contemplates the US to resume under its laws to be suitably amended, the supply of nuclear fuel and technology and reactors to India on various far-reaching conditions. The pact impliedly accepts India a nuclear power with the right of maintaining a minimum nuclear deterrence[13].

On March 20, 2006, President Bush visited India and the Indo-US civil nuclear deal was signed during the visit. The focus of the presidential visit was to strengthen the strategic relationship between India and the United States for defeating terrorism; promoting democracy; improving economic ties, health, environment, and climate control; and nuclear energy co-operation. The

success of the visit is evident by the fact that both India and the United States could agree on the modalities of a civil nuclear agreement, and in addition to signing this important agreement, they also decided to work jointly for the promotion of agriculture, expanding ties to foster trade, innovation, knowledge, and global security.

Due to the importance attached to this visit, it was being viewed by India as the opening of an entirely a new chapter in the history of relations between India and the United States, reminiscent of the earlier opening in the 1970s between the United States and China. President Bush signed the "Henry J. Hyde United States-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act 2006" on December 18, 2006 at the White House laid the foundation for what could be the most significant foreign policy move of his administration. The law, which permits the United States to provide nuclear fuel and technology to India's civilian nuclear facilities in return for internationally monitored safeguards of those facilities, removes a long-standing source of tension between the United States and India-and makes more likely a strategic relationship between the two countries[14]. The coming together of India and US in strategic partnership is a defining moment of the future.

In August 2007, India also floated its biggest-ever military tender for the purchase of 126 multi-role combat aircraft worth $10 billion. Lockheed-Martin and Boeing lobbied hard to sell their F-16 and F/A-18 fighter planes to India. In September 2007, exercise of the Malabar series took place in the Bay of Bengal for the first time as well as expanded to include Japan, Singapore and Australia, and involved 27 warships. The exercises extended up to the Strait of Malacca, the busiest waterway of the world.

In late 2007, Under Secretary of State Burns, who traveled to New Delhi at least eight times over a two-year period, penned an article lauding stronger U.S.-India relations while also identifying "considerable hurdles" to achieving an effective "global partnership." Foremost

among these were terrorism, narcotics trafficking, and nuclear proliferation, which he avers must be dealt with through stronger bilateral security ties that will include defense sales[15].

The US is set to emerge as a large exporter of arms to India which plans to buy about US $30 billion worth of military equipment between 2007-2012. This figure means India is the developing world's largest arms purchaser. Since the 1960s, and until recently, the Indian market was closed to US defense contractors, because of Washington's displeasure with India's friendly ties with the Soviet Union. India and the US had signed a billion-dollar (about Rs4,000 crore) deal for purchase of six Super Hercules C-130J military transport planes from Lockheed Martin, with options for another six on January 30, 2008. It was India's largest arms purchase from the US, so far.

According to reports, US State Department officials had said that the deal establishes "a new environment," for American companies in India. Pentagon officials had been quoted as saying that the deal breaks the "psychological barrier" in bilateral defence cooperation. Though delivery would start only from 2011, Clad said the agreement would set the stage for American companies to bid for the contract for the Indian Air Force's multi-role combat aircraft. This was the third Indian agreement for military equipment with the US. The first two were for Weapon Locating Radars (WLRs) from Raytheon for the artillery and the other for second-hand amphibious operations ship LPD (landing Platform Dock) Trenton, now named INS Jalashwa along with its six onboard Sikorsky helicopters.

Named after a powerful Greek figure, the 4-engine Hercules is one of the oldest transport aircraft in the world. Introduced in the 1950s, and used in 67 countries, it has been deployed for recovering space capsules and also been able to land in the Antarctica by wearing skis[16].

Discussions also commenced between India and US manufacturer Lockheed Martin to buy eight P3-C Orion maritime surveillance aircraft at a cost of $650 million, coupled with 16 multi-mission MH-60R Sikorsky helicopters costing about $400 million. Raytheon was negotiating the sale of its Patriot PAC-3 anti-missile systems to India, too. The purchase would mark a significant diversification of India's military transport paradigm that has traditionally rested on Soviet-supplied AN-32 and IL-76 aircraft. Subsequently, New Delhi purchased the American landing dock USS Trenton, which is expected to give the Indian Navy amphibious landing capability.

In addition to the basic aircraft frames and equipment, India is also said to have asked for four Rolls Royce AE 2100D3 spare engines; eight AAR-47 Missile Warning Systems; eight AN/ALR-56M Advanced Radar Warning Receivers; eight AN/ALE-47 Counter-Measures Dispensing Systems; eight AAQ-22 Star SAFIRE III Special Operations Suites[17].

In the second week of July 2008, a contingent of the Indian Air Force (IAF) consisting of eight Su-30 MKI air dominance fighters, two IL-78 in-flight refuellers and an IL-76 heavy lift transport aircraft along with 247 personnel winged their way halfway across the globe to the deserts of Nevada. At the invitation of the US Air Force, the contingent was headed for the Nellis airbase to participate in Exercise Red Flag, scheduled to be held from 09 to 23 August 2008. This has been the largest single deployment undertaken by the IAF outside the country. Held for the first time in 1975, Exercise Red Flag is a prestigious multinational event hosted three to four times a year by the USAF at the Nellis airbase. It is acknowledged to be the most advanced and professionally challenging fighter exercise conducted anywhere in the world[18].

On Sept 27, 2008, House of Representatives approved the Indo-US nuclear deal with 298 members voting for the Bill while 117 voting against. On October 1, 2008 Senate approved the Indo-US civil nuclear deal with 86 votes for

and 13 against. On October 8, 2008 President Bush signed legislation to enact the landmark US-India civilian nuclear agreement. The Indo-US Nuclear deal has opened a new chapter in bilateral ties between the world's largest and most powerful democracies. It is an acknowledgement that the world is now making space for India. It has liberated India from the constraints of technology denial of more than three decades by the world community.

This landmark agreement has paved the way for India's complete re-engagement with the world's nuclear community and furthering the strategic realignment with the US. It will strengthen non-proliferation, protect environment, create jobs and assist India in meeting its energy needs[19].

On January 20, 2009 Obama took the charge of US administration and in March 2009, the Obama administration cleared the US$2.1 billion sale of eight P-8 Poseidon to India, the largest military deal between the two countries[20].

On July 18, 2009, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton arrived in Mumbai. During her visit the two countries added a new chapter in their strategic partnership and deepen their engagement. The United States and India signed End-Use Monitoring Agreement (EUMA)[21] on July 20, 2009 that would take a major step towards allowing the sale of sophisticated US arms to New Delhi.

India will be the first international customer which is going to buy eight P-81 long-range maritime reconnaissance and anti-submarine warfare aircraft for the Indian navy at a total cost of $2.1 billion with each aircraft costing about $220 million. These aircraft would replace Indian Navy's aging Tupolev Tu-142M maritime surveillance turboprops. The Boeing Company will deliver the first P-81 to India by 2013 and the remaining seven by 2015[22].

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17. *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India-United_States_relations*

18. *www.indiandefencereview.com/2009/02/strategic-implications-of-exercise-red-flag-2008.html*

19. *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indo-US_civilian_nuclear_agreement*

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21. The end-user agreement, mandatory under a US law to sell sophisticated arms to other countries, will remove a major obstacle in accelerating defence ties between India and the US. The EUMA will allow the US to periodically carry out an inspection and inventory of all articles transferred to India. In the negotiations, India strenuously objected to physical inspection and instead sought an inspection of the records and other measures in place. In the end, the Americans had their way, but it was agreed that the physical inspection would be done at a time and place granted by India. This agreement is designed by the US Congress for ensuring American oversight, right-of-access and on-site inspection in client States — States that are under the US security and nuclear umbrella. For example, there are 32 countries under the US nuclear and security umbrella today. The pact will set the pitch for US firms to bid for India's tender for purchasing 126 multi-role fighters. The deal is estimated to be worth $10.4 billion.

22. *The Tribune*, August 1, 2009.

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India – An Aspiring Global Power

Baruna K. Behera*

[*Foreign policy of a country is meant to serve its national interests. This cardinal principle also applies to India, which joined the comity of nations as an independent country in August 1947. 72 years have passed since the independence of India. During the immediate post-colonial era, main objectives before India's foreign policy were to fulfill developmental goals of India. Indian foreign policy achieved these objectives substantially under the guidance of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. In the present century, India is regarded as an important global power owing to its achievement in many areas like economy, science & technology, information technology, military capabilities etc. Once Lord Curzon said that location of India will push it to play an important role in world affairs. Now India wants to materialize this more seriously. This article endeavours to track briefly journey of India's foreign policy from a post-colonial state to an aspiring global power.]*

In 1947 India won her independence and joined the comity of sovereign nations and thereby qualified to participate as an actor in international politics and relations. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, left a deep imprint on the foreign policy of independent India. The basic principles of foreign policy enunciated by him continue to serve as the guiding principles of all subsequent governments and prime ministers after him. The basic principles of India's foreign policy have remained consistent throughout, except minor changes by succeeding governments. It means the element of dynamism has been present in the policy formulation of India. The journey of India from a post-colonial state to an aspiring global power can be explained in the following manner[1]

Period between 1950s to 1960s

India got her independence in 1947 from British colonialism. Having been exploited during the colonial period, India's economic situation was very precarious and was characterized by elements like poverty, under-development and malnutrition. In this context, India's foreign policy was determined to address these concerns by actively collaborating with other nations of the world. Aforementioned challenges demanded India to pursue an independent foreign policy based on her national interest.

However, international environment of that period had little scope for pursuing an independent foreign policy because of the onset of the Cold War politics between the two superpowers USA and USSR. In such circumstances, India along with few other countries decided to follow the path of Non-Alignment that could address their needs and could keep them away from the power politics of the Cold War. India was very much aware of the fact that involvement in the Cold War could endanger its hard-earned independence and therefore, India rightly renounced its involvement in the Cold War politics. By adopting such stand, India tried to address its genuine challenges like poverty, under-development, malnutrition etc[2].

India used NAM (Non Alignment Movement) platform as a forum for forming a kind of solidarity among the nations of Asia, Africa and

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Latin America. NAM stood for various objectives like independent foreign policy, strengthening of UN, disarmament, arms control etc. India successfully played its role in NAM platform and gradually emerged as one of the leaders of Third World countries.

In 1962, a war broke out between India and China. In this war India suffered a huge military set back. This defeat and certain other domestic factors exposed chinks in the physical and material security of India. During initial periods after independence, India's foreign policy was guided by the spirit of idealism and lacked the essence of realism. However, the defeat in the 1962 war made India to re-think about its foreign policy strategy. Gradually, elements of realism came to dominate principles of India's foreign policy.

Period between 1970s to 1980s

Signing of the treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation with the erstwhile USSR in 1971 was clear signal of element of realism in India's foreign policy. India signed this treaty keeping in view the negative developments being witnessed in South Asia, where external powers tried to blackmail India. The 1971 Indo-Pak war and the great victory of India in this war boosted the status of India in South Asia. India played an important role in the liberation of Bangladesh from the clutches of Pakistan. The 1974 peaceful nuclear explosion (Pokhran - I) further enhanced the status of India in the comity of nations; however, a number of sanctions were imposed upon India, particularly restrictions on nuclear trade. Such developments further strengthened India's determination to stand on its own feet. During 1970s, the issue of NIEO (New International Economic Order) had also influenced the course of foreign policy of India significantly.

In December 1979, erstwhile USSR invaded Afghanistan and thus set the stage ready for the involvement of superpowers in the politics of South Asia. Such developments created new challenges for the foreign policy of India as they brought Cold War dynamics to the backyard of India. USA started providing support to Mujahideen forces fighting against the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Pakistan became an important actor in this move of USA and started receiving huge military and economic assistances from USA. All these things created fresh challenges for the foreign policy of India.

Period between 1990s to 2018

In the 1990s India witnessed a severe Balance of Payment (BoP) crisis. This situation further worsened with the disintegration of USSR, a time-tested friend of India. In the post-Cold War scenario, India was forced to re-think its foreign policy strategy. To address its economic problems, India opened up its domestic market and accepted the principles of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG). With this India opened up a big market for the traders of whole world and became a suitable investment destination. During the same period, Prime Minister P.V Narasimha Rao initiated the Look East Policy to strengthen India's relations with countries of South-East Asia.

In May 1998, India tested five nuclear devices (Pokhran - II) successfully and declared herself as a nuclear weapon state. These nuclear tests invited a number of sanctions upon India; however, this development changed the status of India from a post-colonial state to a nuclear weapon state.

At present India is the 6th largest economy of the world[3]. India ranks 3rd in terms of purchasing power parity[4]. India is one of the largest arms importers of the world and it had spent more than $100 billion in the last 10 years[5]. Growing military and nuclear strength including rising

missile capabilities have further enhanced status of India in the contemporary world politics.

At present, India has good diplomatic and military relations with all the major powers of international politics including USA, Russia, UK, France and Japan. Similarly, through policies like Connect Central Asia policy and Act East Policy, India has been endeavouring to forge concrete relations with the countries of Central Asia and South-East Asia. Growing space firing capabilities of ISRO have further magnified position of India.

Now Indian foreign policy has been trying to secure a more respectable place for India at the high forums of world politics like IMF, UN Security Council (demand for a permanent seat) and NSG (Nuclear Supplier Group). In 2017-2018, India became member of MTCR, Wassenaar Arrangement and Australia Group, thereby further cementing its credentials as a responsible power. The National Security Strategy (NSS) of USA released in 2017 has recognized India's emergence as a leading global power. Such recognition has validated India's journey from a post-colonial state to an aspiring global power[6].

Conclusion

From these analyses, it is clear that India as a nation has covered a long distance from being a post-colonial state to an aspiring global power and India is well poised to act as an important independent centre of power in the emerging multipolar world order.

Notes

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Civil-Military Relations in India: Recent Trends

Vandana Mishra*

[*A critical view of relations between the military and civil administration in the democratic context of India is briefly appraised by the author in this article in the light of two surgical strikes and air strike by India on terrorist bases in Pakistan. While taking a cogent view of the developments and their political fall-out in the wake of ruling dispensation's attempt to take political advantage in the context of ensuing lections, the author cautions against such moves that entail the potential of having adverse implications for democratic polity and civil-military relations in the long run*]

India executed Surgical 'Strike One' on September 29, 2016 and 'Surgical Strike Two' on February 26, 2018 against Pakistan. The first one was to liquidate the 'terrorist launching pads' inside Pakistan near the Indian border posts. Second one was organised to destroy the terrorist training camp at Balakot in Mansehra District of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province in Pakistan. This led to a nation-wide debate in India owing to use or misuse by the ruling political leadership at the Centre of the entire episode of Surgical Strike.

Opposition parties allegedly branded the surgical strike a political gimmick on the pre-election eve to achieve political mileage out of it. There are views and arguments on both sides as to whether it amounts to 'politicization of military' for political gains and thus is an anti-national approach; or it was publicised for strategic gains *vis-à-vis* India's most hostile adversary and to up the ante against Pakistan.

This paper is an endeavour to understand the myth and realities revolving around the Surgical Strikes along with other issues that led to nation-wide debate on different occasions over the last five years. The author also endeavours to analyse whether what followed in the aftermath of the Strikes amounts to politicization and the consequent dangers to the political system and forms of government? Author also makes an attempt to explore if the strikes were well entrenched into the strategic thinking of the policy-makers who are responsible for safeguarding the security of the country and protect the strategic and national interests of the country.

Politicization of Military: The Controversy

There are number of activities on part of both military personnel and the Indian political leadership that has led to controversy with consequent allegation of politicization of military in Indian context. It was not merely the two consecutive Surgical Strikes as mentioned above that were the reason for the same. The issue made a news even when General Bipin Rawat expressed his opinion at a Seminar on the "North East Region of India—Bridging Gaps and Securing Borders". He spoke about migration from Bangladesh and swell in the membership of the All India Democratic Front (AIDF).

This happened in spite of the fact that Bipin Rawat himself spoke in November 2017, "Of late, we have been seeing that politicization of the military has been taking place….We have a very vibrant democracy where the military should stay away from politics."[1] The statement of military chief about Pakistan and China that they orchestrated immigration from Bangladesh is bound to carry lot of weightage in public. Therefore, it would not be correct to assume the same as government's view. Hence there is a need to exercise greater discretion while commenting

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on foreign countries as it may have serious implications on India's external relations. Words must remain primary weapons of political leadership and not of military. This power of words is better exercised by civilian authorities. Military must not seek limelight through such acts.[2]

The human shield incident in Kashmir in April 2017 was another illustration of politicization of the whole issue. This also led to Centre-State politics as the military's act was supported by the Centre and decried by the State government. The Army was mired in a political controversy and its act was both praised and supported by political parties. It seemed that the Army was taking sides in a domestic political battle and was, therefore, moving away from its apolitical character.[3]

Since then army has been called for spreading the yoga mats, spoiling the Yamuna riverbed, constructing railway footbridges and cleaning garbage from mountaintops. All such tasks were critiqued in the media on the ground that government needs to handle the military with greater care, delicacy and respect. It also raised questions to army that Army must also call its shots and prevail upon the political leadership that it cannot be employed for the benefit of a political party or of a religious organization it supports.[4]

There is no denying the fact that military is getting dragged into most debates in media including patriotism, nationalism, student politics or the national anthem in the recent past. Even issues like OROP (One Rank One Pension), the Seventh Pay Commission got politicised and allegedly the political leadership tried to make political use of the situation. Therefore, all such incidents in the recent past have put the military under the arc lights for all the wrong reasons.

Politicization of Army: Meaning and Consequences

Politicization of military or armed forces simply means that the army is made loyal to the ruling party in a country. A politicized military exercises loyalty to a single political party. Military then consistently advocates for and defends partisan political positions and fortunes. If a military takes partisan positions or exercises partisan loyalties, voters might reasonably assume that the opposition party would not be able to control the military if voted into office. The democratically elected representatives of the people would not be able to count on the faithful execution of national security policy if the military expressly favoured the other party. Such conditions would break down the public's confidence in either the disfavoured or in the military itself and damage the functioning of the government.[5] It would be more dangerous to democracy than to any other political system.

Highly politicized military structures among the transitional states have deleterious effect on the quality of democracy.[6] Politicization of military is thus dangerous to democracy. Therefore, military must be kept apolitical. An apolitical, nonpartisan military is one of the norms underpinning American democracy and a feature of American military professionals. It serves the elected representatives from different political parties equally; there is no reason for those representatives to treat the military differently based on party affiliation. This is something that the Indian political leadership need to learn.

Military serves the constitution through the obedience to democratically elected civilians without regard for political party or partisan positions. There is no reason for those representatives to treat the military differently based on partisan affiliation. Decisions about the funding, size, shape and use of the military are much less likely to be motivated by a desire to defend partisan power and much more likely to be driven by wider strategic, economic and public values. US military services treat the principle of nonpartisan service as a bedrock element of the military profession.[7] This is also relevant that India and Indian leadership need to learn to keep their democracy and democratic principles intact and learn from American experiences.

The extent of danger to the state and democracy that may be caused by 'politicization of military' depends upon the nature of civil-military relations and how military views its role within a political system. Democracy will thrive and remain intact only when there is civilian control of military. There are two classical models of civilian control. In his seminal work, *The Soldier and The State,* Samuel Huntington recommends a system of "objective control" that ensures civilian control while maximizing the professionalism of the military. He argues that, "In practice, officership is the strongest and the most effective when it most closely approaches the professional ideas: it is weakest and the most defective when it falls short of that idea."[8] An officer corps is professional to the extent it exhibits the qualities of expertise, responsibility and corporateness. "In addition to enhancing effectiveness, these traits also enhance civilian control because a professional military seeks to distance itself from politics."[9]

American sociologist, Morris Janowitz, in *The Professional Soldier*, published after Huntington, has argued that an apolitical military is unrealistic, and that the military will invariably come to resemble a political pressure group. He stated that this is not necessarily a problem as long as it remains "responsible, circumscribed, and responsive to civilian authority."[10] Military must be kept away from politics and civil society. Boots are supposed to be in barracks or on the ground for different purposes; they must not be in market, politics or society. Shashi Tharoor has rightly written in *India: From Midnight to Millennium*, "the best of India can only be preserved by insulating the Army from the pressures of the worst of India."[11] The 'worst of India' probably could be interpreted to mean the 'politics of India'.

Politicization of Indian Armed Forces

'Surgical Strike' was reported and brought in the public with a great fanfare and boosting the image of India as well as Indian Army, thereby leading to a nation-wide debate owing to the way the news were reported and eulogised that smacked of the malafide intention of the ruling political party. Both the strikes were reported and discussed in the electronic and print media crediting more the political dispensation for their hard and innovative decision rather than praising the army in real sense of the term.

The issue was thus presented by the opposition parties as one amounting to using Army interventions and operations by ruling party with an intention to achieve political mileage for itself. This allegation became more evident during the second Surgical Strike in February 2019 because it was done on the eve of elections to the Lok Sabha.

Undoubtedly India sent a strong message to Pakistan through airstrikes. But the triumph was marred by the politicking that followed. Leaders of the ruling party started claiming the number of terrorists killed in the attacks.[12] Different leaders belonging to the ruling dispensation claimed different numbers killed in the strikes during their electoral campaigns. This led to a verbal slugfest among the political parties and they started seeking hard evidence for the same, amounting to discrediting the forces as politicians were taking credit for the valour of the armed forces.[13]

Politicians were thus announcing the numbers without any official declaration during their election campaign. They also defended themselves that when armed forces are given an 'operational directive' they are ought only to execute the task and not to count the casualties. They attacked the opposition that asking for proof tantamount to questioning the patriotism of the army itself, which is raising doubts about the successful effects of the armed forces operations.[14] The government also claimed that this is for the first time that forces were given a free hand to operate and avenge the Pulwama terrorist attack.

Thus, it makes it quite obvious that the very intention of airing the numbers of casualties and praising the army operations on the border was not in the fitness of the things so far as Indian

defence is concerned. It also gave an opportunity to opposition leaders to ridicule the party in power. Overall, the ultimate loss that was incurred in the entire process of allegations and counter-allegations was to the Indian democracy and democratic institutions.

Further mudslinging began when one state-level party leader went on to claim in one of his speeches that airstrike will help BJP win 22 seats in Karnataka.[15] Some leaders belonging to ruling party also claimed that surgical strikes have become the central theme to herald the BJP government's stellar achievements in governance. Even when there were impending elections in five major states of India, the President of the party himself had claimed that demonetisation and surgical strike will be the two key planks of the electoral campaign in the five poll-bound states.[16] Undoubtedly, such acts on the part of ruling party makes it clear the intentions of the party to use the achievements of the Armed Forces for their own political gains, which is inimical to the interests of the institutions like army.

Yet another problem arose when soon after the strikes, banners and posters carrying the pictures of Director General of Military Operations (DGMO) along with the party leaders became the public face of the surgical strike. Pictures of army officers appearing on election posters violates army rules, traditions and military ethos. The first surgical strike widely featured in the Uttar Pradesh state Assembly elections of 2016.[17] These activities on the part of the ruling dispensations have also been interpreted by the adversaries and the retired army officials as amounting to politicization of armed forces.

The ruling party without paying heed to what they have been alleged of, once again used the Surgical Strike Two to further gain political mileage out of it. Subsequently, the Election Commission had to make interventions to discipline the party. The Election Commission directed the political parties and its leaders not to use the photographs of the Defence personnel in advertisements and campaigns as a part of their electoral propaganda ahead of Lok Sabha elections in 2019. This notice by Election Commission came after complaint by the Ministry of Defence.

The press statement wrote, "The Ministry of Defence has brought to the notice of the commission that the photographs of the defence personnel are being used by the political parties, their leaders and candidates in the advertisements as a part of their election propaganda and requested the commission to issue suitable instruction in this regard."[18] Picture of Indian Air Force pilot Abhinandan Varthaman with political party leaders came up in certain parts of the national capital along with party slogan. According to the statement the armed forces of the nation are the guardian of its frontiers, security and political system. They are apolitical and neutral stakeholders in the modern democracy.

It is therefore necessary that political parties and leaders exercise great caution while making any reference to the armed forces in their political campaigns. The commission is of the view that photographs of the Chief of the Army Staff or any other defence personnel and photographs of functions of the defence forces should not be associated with or used in any manner in advertisement/propaganda/campaigning or in any other manner in connection with elections by political parties and candidates.[19]

The matter got worse when all universities and colleges along with other such organizations under the Central Government were issued a directive to celebrate the Surgical Strike. Hence, universities and college were celebrating the victory of surgical strikes. This was indeed a symptom of a potential malaise that the ruling party was nurturing. The Indian armed forces have a long and illustrious tradition of valour and service. There can be no argument that the *jawan* is deserving of citizen's tribute and gratitude and, very often celebration. Hence, it does make an argument when a government picks out one event out of a boundless catalogue and order a nation-wide jamboree. Celebration of

Surgical Strike Divas was thus the beginnings of the militarization of the polity.[20]

The most striking fact is that the anniversary of the war of 1965 came to pass barely a week before the Surgical Strike Divas, but it was not even remembered faintly. Moreover, political slugfest over ownership of the surgical strike devalues the courage of the 'special forces' who literally jumped "into the jaws of the death, into the mouth of the hell."[21] Undoubtedly, the sacrifices made by the Armed forces should never be questioned but the ruling party must not try to become the Indian Army.

Why Armed Forces Must not be Politicized?

There is hardly any doubt that all is not well with the Army. One of the more alarming outcomes of the so-called "surgical strike" on Pakistani positions is the attempt to drag the Indian Army into politics. For this both the ruling and the opposition parties are to blame. The politician's motives are electoral when they try to eulogise the acts of valour of army rather than showering praises on them. The greater blame rests with the ruling party, where the Union Defence Minister who, instead of shielding the army from controversy, has been most assiduous in using it for the party's publicity.[22] This has been opposed and warned against by cross-section of military professionals, experts, genuine media and journalists, academicians and retired professionals belonging to army.

Firstly, Indian armed forces have always been apolitical and secular. They remain firmly under civilian control. The first and successive Prime Ministers and the service chiefs have reinforced this principle and armed forces have conducted themselves in a secular and nonpartisan manner adhering to the constitution and staying clear of the political ideology of the parties in power. Armed Forces are the strongest pillars of both the state and the democracy, which requires to be maintained as sacrosanct for the purpose for which they are meant. Therefore, it must not be politicised. D. S Hooda, former Northern Army

Commander also opined that it would have been better had we done surgical strikes secretly.[23]

Thirdly, it erodes the army's potency, and hence its deterrent value. There is no doubt the operational directive is the jurisdiction of the political leadership, but the manner of its execution is the prerogative of the armed forces officials and nothing pertaining to the same should come into the public domain. The leadership is to formulate policy for military modernization not for the purpose of politicizing it with a view to gain political benefits, but for protecting the national interests. Military leaders are also expected to question and not blindly acquiesce to political opportunism.[24]

Fourthly, the leadership must ponder over increasing death of Soldiers; it must also deliver the needs of the soldiers. Mere praises of the act of valour of soldiers is done to achieve political gains which in any manner does not benefit the soldiers.

Conclusion

The Indian Army is a dynamic organization with proud records of being professionally competent with number of positive gains in its bags. It was successful towards chasing the Pakistan infiltrators from near Srinagar way back in 1948. It successfully restrained the attacks of 1965 by Pakistani Army. It won the 1971 war and dismembered erstwhile Pakistan. It was successful in chasing out the Pakistani intruders from Kargil, Drass and Batalik Sectors during limited theatre Kargil war of 1999. Even with its dangerous enemy China, it was able to inflict heavy damage to Chinese Army in limited theatre war of 1967, in spite of the fact that it wounded the morale of Indian Army in 1962 when the Indian Army had to face serious reverses in Aksi Chin.

Indian Army with a well-developed mountain division was able to check the advance in the Chinese Army on the Sikkim Heights in

Samdurung Chu Valley. With such great numbers of accolades and win its bag surgical strikes should have been a mere routine affair on the borders. Breakdown of military's professionalism breeds danger therefore it must be kept stuck to its job. Huntington was right when he wrote: "The professional military officer obeys the state not because he shares the outlook and values of its leadership but simply because it is his professional responsibility to obey."[25]

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Problems of Social Science Research in India

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[Social Science Research (SSR) in South Asia is ranked lowest by World Social Science Report 2016. While India is the largest contributor in research in South-West Asia zone the state of SSR in India is also not up to the mark. The Chief SSR financing agencies ICSSR and UGC have played a crucial role in this regard but they are still faced with shortage of funds that has worsened during the current regime and needs to be resolved at the earliest to ameliorate the state of research in India.]

In the present scenario the role of social sciences has assumed much greater significance than before on account of increased uncertainties and problems resultant of globalization. The magnitude of the problems partially owes to the failure of the social scientists in meeting the prevalent disorders and inadequacies in the governance paradigms and coming out with more viable and realistic alternatives. The responsibility gets doubled with the emergence of several new issues surfacing at socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental levels.

Over the decades social scientists have wrestled with several issues of different nature emerging out of the interplay of different factors in different societies. Since the evolution of social problems has sometimes distinct territory the specific resolution of the problems fails to provide universal alternatives and the problems sustain. And when the problems have universal characters common to them the solutions work and a sense of relief is felt by the social scientists. Broadly speaking, the problems range from theoretical, methodological to applied research.

The disruption of the quest in social issues and the observing of social realities after the positivist promulgations led to the honing of the techniques in according empirical perspective to the social disciplines and quantifying the data in order to place the statements of issue resolutions. The success was noticed in the areas where the information was available in the shape of statistics but in rest of the disciplines the quest had its limitations primarily on account of problems in observing human nature and its changing properties, also known as "Hawthorne Effect".

Less maneuverability and non-cooperativeness of the subjects in humanities make the problems under observation more complex. The challenge in quantifying the qualitative matter and lack of availability of tool applications further distanced the realities from theory. This distance has over the decades narrowed down with considerable progress made in the area of statistical techniques.

Since the social problems have myriad of dimensions they require to be observed from different angles and here the role of the investigator becomes more scrupulous. The consistent interventions from different corners destabilizes the investigation but the value neutrality and scientific temperament are required to keep the study rigorous and honest. "Contestation and refutation of the observed reality and findings of the analysis is the crux of social science research. Conjectures, refutation and new conjectures interrogate available evidences as well theories from multiple angles, dimensions and perspectives. They generate hypothesis for further research. The criteria of

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social theory are 'falsifiability, or refutability, or testability'."(Shah 2012)

Since democracy has become the word of the day almost world over the catapulting of varied problems to the fore has also multiplied. The social issues and challenges compounded with ecological and technological issues have reshaped the text and texture of the problems. The governmental planning and policy formulation expect sincere pathways and courses from social scientists. Here the social science research becomes a part of general public discourse and since the level of expectation rises the morality to bring out prolific answers and viable solutions also increases. The problems for scholars in the authoritarian states are more since they have to meet the prioritized objectives.

The issues of poverty, unemployment, health, education, income disparities, malnourishment, gender and racial discriminations are at the core of the rising inequalities world over and primary for social science research. "Countering inequalities requires robust knowledge – but knowledge alone is not enough. The challenge is to improve the connection between what we know and how we act: to mobilize the knowledge of the social and human sciences to inform policies, underpin decisions and enable wise and transparent management of the shift towards more equitable and inclusive societies. In this sense, investment in knowledge is a down-payment for informed change." (WSSR 2016).

The corporatization of education and knowledge centres and the decreased role of governments in limiting the private monopoly further challenge the task of social scientists. While lucrative incentives may lead to genuine progression in research it is also shadowed by the guided financing and grants that influence the research outputs. Several such cases have been recorded world over. In India also besides several companies Patanjali was also slammed twice a fine of Rs. 90 lakh in 2012 and 12 lakh in 2016 for presenting false figures and information in media for scoring a lead in the market. It was also fined for misbranding and selling poor quality products.

Of late, the question of communications and language has also been forwarded in social science research. Today all the hegemonic structures and principal ideologies are now open to interrogation and established theories are now read discursively. Science has been objected to become yet another kind of dominant ideology. Like the 'protective Brahmanism' that conserves the knowledge for its long term dominance, a kind of social capitalism lingering in India till date, the knowledge system requires to pilfer into all the sections of the society. Instead of divulging away from these monuments of knowledge people should stick up to them, try to gain more access and become part of it. In the process the established social, economic and political institutions that supply oxygen to the prevalent mode require to be plugged.

For Noam Chomsky, the nub of the matter is that while "everyone acquires linguistic competence, not everyone is in a position to conduct scientific research. The difference between the humanities and the sciences, for Chomsky, is that scientists must cooperate with one another across space and time and therefore be honest." (Chomsky 2012). In social sciences scholars are diffident in accepting the honest cooperation of natural sciences. He calls the culture of science as the "counter culture" against the dominant knowledge system which needs to be expanded.

While dealing with the social problems, the researchers are faced with multiple issues relating to different disciplines and are required to develop a holistic approach. Here the researcher has to move from having a comprehensive view of the issue to focus upon the specific ends of the study because while doing so the concerned disciplines bring their epistemology, scope and methodology into purview. A lag on the part of the researcher in multi-disciplinary information may affect the course of study adversely and hence, the stress

on inter-disciplinary studies becomes quite urgent.

J. Edward Greene emphasizes that "the objectives of research in the development sciences must be identified with a specific set of values. These values must aid the formation of public policy, the primary aim of which ought to be that of increasing the social well-being i.e. the quality of life of the society in general and the mass of deprived people in particular." (Greene 1984). Thus, the question of application of the research output becomes significant. Theory has largely remained distanced from practice or the *vice versa* though the two are indispensable.

The theory, practice or praxis, the process of application is interwoven to the extent the research policies and development plans are strictly coordinated. A failure on this account has been seriously noticed world over especially in India and the gap needs to be abridged by legislating research-friendly rules and laws. Otherwise the grants forwarded by different agencies like ICSSR, ICHR, ISS, IIE, ICRIER, NCAER, UGC etc., would produce a junkyard of project reports and a sheer waste of human intellectual property. It would be zero production enterprise with millions of dollars of expenditure.

Today South Asia Zone stands one among lowest in world in social science research production. According to the World Social Science Report 2015, from 1992 to 2013 South and West Asia produced just 779 works in social and human science publications (full and fractional counting) and ranked lowest against the number of 37040 of North America, 24345 of East Europe, 2959 of East Asia and 2401 of Sub-Saharan Africa (WSSR 2015, p.352).

With a network of 29 research centres all over India, ICSSR is playing a lead role in social science research. However, a low in the quality of research has been observed over the years. A four-member committee instituted by the Government of India in 2010 in its report of June 2011 expressed concern over the steady decline in social science research institutions and held that social science research is under crisis in India. As compared to the grants forwarded to CSIR and ICMR the share of ICSSR was just 2.3 percent and 11 percent of ICMR respectively. It also held that while ICSSR had failed to identify key areas for research, the award of research projects and fellowships was prejudiced (ICSSR 2016 Web).

The state of UGC is also not better. Only 12 percent budget allocation was directed towards social science research by UGC against natural sciences. What is startling is the share of Delhi and northern states over the doctoral fellowship grants. From 2001 to 2010, Delhi and northern states accounted for about 60 percent of share in which Delhi alone had a share of 33 percent. This is true of other fellowships too. In the same period Delhi got 33 percent senior fellowships. The scenario of national fellowships was worst as Delhi alone cornered 51.05 per cent fellowships (UGC Report 2015, 133-38).

According to a new workload-based formula devised for research guidance by UGC, a sharp decline of about 80% has been witnessed in all the universities in India, a sign of further throttling of research sector (UGC Notification July 13, 2017). On October 13, 2017 the promise by the current NDA government of an assistance of Rs. 10,000 crore to 20 best Universities in India to promote autonomy and competitiveness globally also shows disproportionate liberality towards private sector, a major charge the government is facing today.

Besides bringing a rational distribution in grants, the research institutions have to be ensured due autonomy since in the last few decades a tendency to control them has been noticed. Besides the ICSSR episode, when its director M L Sondhi was removed due to Sangh fallout, the administrative machinery of these institutions has

to be oriented as per the requisitions of research and technology. The websites of these institutions should be timely updated as one can notice several inactive links in the ICSSR home-page.

The grants to these institutions, which are quite small against those of natural sciences, need to be increased and the process of further allocation of funds to the research scientists, be improved. The policy of granting projects to NGOs needs a serious reconsideration since hundreds of NGOs have mushroomed without genuine credentials. The project reports should be duly evaluated and findings translated into policies. Seth rightly warns that "the greater danger is the continuing loss of autonomy, accountability and creativity within the wider research community" (EPW 2001, 3114).

The creativity here expects the novel ideas and practices in research detached from the conventional Western standpoint so far treaded by us. The Indian social reality is different and it should be kept in mind while dealing with the social issues. At the universities level too, the research methodology training should be rigorous, failure in which adds to the poor quality of research. Adequate infrastructure should be provided and proper dissemination of important data acquired by different agencies like Census made accessible.

Sometimes good research exercises remain unutilized because of language or data organization flaws which could be met out by providing a viable publishing agency controlled by responsible research institutions. The points of active relationship between the institutions of governance and the governed have to be taken into research purview to make decision-making process more responsive and effective.

Keeping in view the scarcity of funds from government, ICSSR has so far done a commendable job in executing research programmes through its network of research centres. Besides projects, fellowships and conferences, it also helps in organizing seminars in colleges and universities through its zonal centres. More funds are required to be directed towards this agency and the network reinvigorated through further sensitizing meets and fixing a bit of liability about their mission.

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Projection of GM Foods as 'Qualified Good' in Media

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[Media acts as an important site of contestation for various stakeholders in debates on Science and Technology. Genetically Modified (GM) Food debate is one such an issue that received significant media coverage in India in recent times. Different stakeholders competed to put their views on this technology during the debate. As a result, the debate started to be presented as a controversial issue. The general notion that science and technology are intrinsically good was challenged especially in the case of Genetically Modified Food Crops. The scientific community also held plural views over the long-term effects of this technology on farmers' livelihood and on consumers' health. This paper tries to answer the question whether Genetically Modified Food Crop technology is really an 'unqualified good' technology or does it need to be 'qualified' before allowing it1 in the country.]

Science and technology from time immemorial have been considered as an enterprise that has always improved the lives of human beings across all spheres of life. Science was dominantly presented in the media as a progressive and consensual activity (Nelkin, 1995). Progress is often equated with acceptance of S&T (Bauer, 2008) and refusal to adopt to new and unfamiliar technologies is often seen as societal regress. The same is true in the case of application of S&T to agrarian sector.

Technology is regarded as Janus-faced2: An enterprise that has both positive and negative sides to it. However, by its definition, technology is purposeful and is designed to do particular things. Thus, the job of any technology is to better human life and keep the risks minimal, if any that may arise in the development and in the process of its application. With rise of risks of S&T, the idea that S&T can only have positive effects on society at large is getting largely contested. Ulrich Beck (1992) calls the risks of S&T as modernization risks that are produced by S&T which are different from older forms of risks. He adds that older form of risks were more predictable, controllable and reversible.

Genetically Modified Food: Boon or Bane?

Genetic modification involves transfer of gene(s) from one organism belonging to a taxonomic group to an organism belonging to another taxonomic group (Haribabu, 2012). Genetically Modified Food technology is one of the several names that are used to denote changes brought up in biotechnology over a period of time, particularly in the agrarian sector. Recombinant DNA was the name that was used in scientific circles, academia and in media in the 1970s to talk about biotechnology in general. Later on, based on its specific applications to agriculture and medicine, it has been broadly classified into 'Green Technologies' and 'Red technologies'. 'Red Technologies' deals with medical applications of biotechnology, whereas 'Green Technologies' deal with agricultural applications of the technology (Bauer, M. 2002:94).

Bt or B*acillus Thuringiensis* is a type of Genetically Modified Food crop. Bt food crops are one of the highly debated technologies all across the globe. Bt Brinjal or Eggplant is a type of genetically modified food crop which is obtained by inserting a bacterium called Bacillus Thuringiensis (Bt) into a plant. While some developing countries have already adopted GM technology in food crops, there has been huge

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uproar against this technology in India and other developed and developing nations as well.

GM technology is mainly framed as the solution to world's food scarcity problem (Dibden J, 2013:59-70). On the flip side, some experts have also been raising concerns about the uncontrollable and catastrophic risks of GM technology on human health and environment. They have been arguing that risks of GM technology overweigh the benefits it offers. Apart from solving food scarcity problem, proponents have been arguing that the GM technology can address several other food-related issues and thus any blind opposition to it is regarded as undesirable.

GM Foods as Qualified Good

An enterprise or an activity is regarded as unqualified good if it is already scientifically tested thoroughly in a laboratory and thus doesn't require any further testing or procedures to be followed before approving it for public usage. It implies that it has largely positive outcomes and if it has any outcomes that are negative, are minimal which are unavoidable and thus are to be mitigated. Contrary to this, an enterprise or activity is considered as 'qualified good' if experts in the concerned field are skeptical and worried about negative impacts of a technology. Bauer (2008) adding to this, points out that 'science and technology no longer produce societal progress automatically' and thus stresses the need for a comprehensive testing before approving a technology.

The Bt Brinjal (Genetically Modified Eggplant) grabbed the media attention in India when the GEAC (Genetic Engineering Approval Committee) approved for commercial cultivation of the crop in the country. It was met with a backlash from certain section of scientists, farmer groups and NGO groups in the country. As a result of this, the then environment minister Jairam Ramesh carried out a series of public consultations on GM Food crops in seven major

brinjal cultivating cities of the country. He announced a moratorium on commercial cultivation of GM Food crops in Feb 2010. The major apprehension raised by opponents during this period of consultation was that the GM technology is not properly tested and hence cannot be approved for commercial cultivation.

From Single Author to Multiple Sources

In the early media reports on biotechnology issue in general or GM Foods in particular, most of the stories had only a single source commenting about the issue being reported (Pfund and Hofstadter, 1981). It was solely up to scientists to decide at what stage a scientific practice needs to be communicated to the general public. Scientists enjoyed complete authority over the story reported in a newspaper. The journalists were at the receiving end and had very little authority over the stories that were reported in media.

Access to scientists was itself a biggest challenge as scientists hardly felt the need to communicate about their work to general public via media. Traditionally, scientists viewed the media with distrust and they were reluctant to talk to journalists as they feared being misquoted (Kennedy and Overholser Eds, 2010:23). Scientists who generally stay away from talking to media during normal period; however, searched for media attention by initiating "catastrophe discourses" (Weingart, 2002). Catastrophe discourse also provided space to previously unheard voice in media.

Alternative experts3 are stakeholders who disagree with the impacts of specific technology on society. These alternative experts, unlike university scientists, were easily approachable to both the media and public. As a result of this, they started to appear more in media reports along with university scientists in recent media coverage on GM issue. The alternative experts brought GM Food debate more into the public realm by speaking the language of public i.e.

laying more emphasis on socio-economic aspects of GM technology which was largely ignored earlier. With the rise of alternative experts or experts who were not endorsed by the state or corporate companies, biotechnology issues slowly started to be talked more in socio-economic terms.

Consensual to Controversial Reporting

Science & technology news was presented as a new discovery aimed at solving problems faced by society. Scientists were projected as people who work relentlessly in laboratories for the well-being of society and to solve the toughest challenges human beings face at that point of time. With their breakthroughs, it was presented as if they found ultimate solution to a specific problem. The disagreeing voices among scientific community were silenced and they hardly found any space in media. Uniformity of voices was maintained in media with regard to GM Foods news coverage too in initial phases of the debate.

Controversies in S&T sparsely made media news in the earlier decades. As controversies have more than one side presenting their version over a subject matter, the dramatic element also helped journalists to present GM Foods more in controversial terms than consensual terms. Controversial news has more newsworthiness in media reports than over the mundane science and technology news (Lugalambi et al, 2011:12). Scientists often are skeptic about presenting the controversial side of science to media as they feel that journalists and general public may blow the uncertain aspects of science out of proportion which in turn may lead to panics among public at large.

Bucchi and Mazzoloni (2003) in their longitudinal study on media coverage of biotechnology and related issues, broadly classified two kinds of approaches on how the issue was reported in the Italian media. They say that science and technology news in early phases of reporting was more on the lines of 'science-popularization' and now it has slowly shifted to 'science as news' approach. The 'science-popularization' approach of science news reported science as straightforward and consensual endeavor aimed at improving human lives. 'Science as News' approach emphasized more on controversy and on the risks of a technology. Media coverage of GM Food debate in India followed the trajectory of 'science as news approach'.

Risks Outweighing Benefits

Genetic Modification prior to the 1990s was largely presented as having benefits alone for human prosperity across the media in the world. Agricultural Biotechnology was presented as intrinsically good technology with maximum benefits and minimal risks. The risky side of technology was often downplayed while presenting a story to the public in media reports. For instance, Nelkin (2001: 204) points out that US media in the initial decades of the 1990s largely ignored the risks of GM foods and crops. By 1999, she adds that risks of GM crops began to appear in the US media.

Post-1990s, the reporting of biotechnology, particularly, its applications in agricultural sector, started to receive negative coverage. For instance, Gaskell et al (1999) carried out a study on media coverage of genetically modified crops in the *Washington Post* newspaper from the 1980s through the 1990s. They found that media mostly employed progress frame and economic prospects in the coverage. From 1991 to 1996 risks of GM crops received increased attention in media reports, they added. Risks, which prior were seen as irrational or something that is coming from lack of information, started to be presented as issues that are real. The socio-economic impact of technology also got a wide coverage in media post-1990s.

Changing Role of Journalists

The primary role of science journalists during the initial phases of reporting science in

particular and biotechnology in general, was to translate difficult scientific jargon into an easily understandable language for the general public. Their job was thus limited to translating scientific article in simpler terms free from science jargon. They had to seek clarifications about S&T issues whenever they felt the need. They sparsely doubted the credibility of scientists and stayed away involving other stakeholders in media reports.

With the rise of alternative experts, the media objectivity norm to present a balanced view on a topic prompted journalists to include non-scientist actors as prominent sources in media reports. They pitted the scientists' opinions with the views and concerns of alternative experts to raise dramatic element in a story. The alternative experts were more willing to talk to journalists than scientists also tilted journalists more towards alternative experts in controversial matters. This was evident in media coverage of GM Food debate where NGO groups got almost equal representation on par with scientists in media coverage.

Skeptical Approach towards GM Foods

Science and technology in almost all the spheres was majorly in the hands of government in early phases. Governmental research institutes carried out all the necessary testing in government laboratories. With more number of private players entering into research of agri-biotechnology, the way it is being reported also slowly started to change. Agri-biotechnology produced by private companies is no longer considered with disinterestedness ethic of science. Corporate science is thus seen with more skepticism in media reports.

The commercialization of science had a significant impact on the credibility of research claims of scientific community among journalists (Nelkin, 2001: 205). Journalists who restricted themselves to scientists as the major and only source prior, started to include voices of non-

scientific interest groups (Nelkin, 2001: 205). Farmers' and consumers' concern over the GM foods and crops got widely reported in media debates on this issue in the last two decades.

Conclusion

Traditionally agri-biotechnology was presented in a positive tone in media stressing more on benefits over risks. Positive outcomes of it mainly hit the newspaper headlines and journalists largely neglected the day-to-day accomplishments or developments. Journalists mostly depended on scientists (Pfund and Hofstadter, 1981) as primary source of information. They hardly cross checked the information gathered from experts due to lack of expert knowledge, journalistic time constraints and thus had little control or authority over the issue they were reporting.

Media in its initial phase of coverage of GM Food debate projected it as something that is beneficial to society at large and it was media's job to educate public about the positive outcomes of the technology. But in recent times, this approach of media towards agri-biotechnology is slowly changing. Media, which promoted developments in agri-biotechnology prior to the 1990s, now has become more skeptical about ill-effects of agri-biotechnology. With the rise of alternative experts, media, which once used to solely depend upon university scientists for reporting on agri-biotechnology issues, is finding alternative sources to comment upon agri-biotechnology issues.

The differences within scientific communities in science, which were underrepresented by use of a consensual tone in earlier times, are now blatantly projected as controversies within agri-biotechnology. Genetic Modification news has slowly started to move out from science sections to general news sections and even made into front page news during controversial times. The risks

of S&T in general and risks of GM foods in particular, which once were projected as controllable, minimal are now represented irreversible and catastrophic.

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(Footnotes)

1. The paper argues that Science and Technology, specifically the GM technology as being represented as 'qualified good' and doesn't draw any general conclusions about media representations of science and technology in general.

2. The metaphor "Janus-faced" refers to the Roman deity who has two faces, one is cursed and the other is blessed.

3. The term alternative or contending expert here refers to people who are neither university scientists nor officials appointed by government or scientists who are representatives of private seed producing corporate companies. They are a group of people who raise their voice and concerns on behalf of farmers and consumer groups.

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Appraising Plight of the Tribals in India

Binoy Kr Pegu *

[*With an advancement in science and technology coupled with the process of the globalization, aboriginal or tribal people across the world have been victims of the greed and the need of the rising corporate and government aspirations to convert the forest land for the location of hi-tech modern industries and others.*]

India is not exception to the exploitation of the tribal people by the government officials as well as by its non-tribal people. As per the 2001 census, tribal population in India constituted 8.2% of the nation's total population, that is, over 84 million tribal people lived in India. There are around 668 different scheduled tribes in India as recognized in the Indian Constitution.

The legacy of the tribal people in India is worth-mentioning. During the British rule in India, the soldiers of the British Empire faced tough time in subduing the tribal people in India. Land alienation and subjugation by the British were the major cause of series of revolts by the tribal people throughout India. It's been over seven decades since India got independence from Britain; however, the sufferings of the tribal people are still rampant in India.

Despite the enactment of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006, there have been number of incidents where the basic rights of tribal people have been systematically denied by the officials of forest departments throughout India. This denial happens despite the fact that section 3(1) of the FRA provides several kinds of rights to communities, such as, access and use of the disposal if minor forest produce (MFP).

According the Shalenadra LeLe, a senior fellow, Centre for Environment and Development, Asoka Trust for Research in Ecology and the

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Environment, Bangalore; socially the livelihoods of 100-250 million people are intertwined directly with forests in India. Thus, it clearly emphasizes the importance of the forest for the tribal population. From generation to generation, forest has been a single source of their livelihood and for them it also has religious significance. For instance, for over one-year, tribal people of the Mendha-Lekha village were not issued permit to sell their produce outside their village by the forest department.

This denial affected the millions of people whose livelihoods were totally dependent on it. Later, on 21 March 2011, a circular was issued by the Ministry of Environment and Forest (MOEF) directing the state governments to facilitate the use and sale of the minor forest produce by the tribal people. A function was also organized in April 2011, where the then Union Minister of State for Environment and Forests, Jairam Ramesh, publicly displayed and distributed the transit pass for bamboo, given to the inhabitants from the Mendha Lekha village.

Land alienation has been a major problem for tribal people throughout India. For instance, in Godavari areas in Andhra Pradesh, the fertility of the land has been the main attraction for the immigrants. By taking the advantage of the ignorance and illiteracy of the tribes, non-tribal people become the owner of their land. There has been a constant clash between the tribal and non-tribal people in Andhra Pradesh. The nexus between the police and non-tribal has also heightened the problems for the tribal people.

Police cases registered against tribes and non-tribal

Year	Cases against tribals	Cases against the non-tribals	Cases under investigation
1995	10	3	0
1996	13	2	0
1997	34	3	15
1998	30	5	32
1999	30	3	29
2000	34	4	17
2001	18	0	8

Source: Police station, Jeelugumilli 10 April, 2001 Reproduced from the book, *Tribal development in India, the contemporary debate.*

It can be seen from the data shown in above table that there existed a kind of nexus between non-tribals and the local police. From 1995 to 2001, the total cases registered against the tribals were 169; on the other hand, the cases registered against the non-tribals were merely 20 in number. Landlessness among the tribals in Kerala is also one of the factors leading to the tribal poverty. The percentage of the landlessness among the tribes, which varies from tribe to tribe, for instance, 57% among the Paniyans are landless. Agriculture and forest are the lifeline of the tribal people in Kerala, and without the possession of land, their livelihood could be in peril.

There were 25,407 registered unemployed tribals in the age group 15-40 yrs., on 31 March 2001.

Thus, it clearly depicts the long-term impact of the landlessness among the tribal in Kerala, resulting into unemployment.

Between 21 February and 10 April 2011, a national infrastructure equity audit was conducted by Social Equity Watch (composed of set of organizations and individuals) in the 124 Gram panchayats from nine districts in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Orissa and Rajasthan. The objectives of the study were:

1. To capture how access and control over the infrastructure across different segments of population plays a vital role in determining the status of equity in society; and

2. To demonstrate the gross inequalities that exist with the placement of infrastructure in villages.

They came out with startling conclusions which are as follow:

● The SCs, STs and minorities are being fenced-off from access to the functional infrastructure by merely situating them in general and or BC (Backward Class) habitations.

● There are still many SC/ST habitations which are left officially uncovered. The people in these habitations have to travel longer distance than prescribed in official norms.

● At places where infrastructure facilities are located in SC/ST habitations, a sizable percentage of service providers are from the General and or BC category.

In a foreword written for the Eleven Five Year Plan 2007-2012 volume I (Inclusive Growth), the then Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh said "we also need to ensure that growth is widely spread so that its benefits, in terms of income and employment, are adequately shared by the poor and weaker sections of our society, especially the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, other backward classes and minorities."

However, from the study undertaken by the Social Equity Group, it does not seem that growth has reached to the weaker section of society, instead it gave further opportunity to exploit the weaker sections of the society.

The strength of tribal population in Tamil Nadu is minimal as compared to the tribal population of other states of India. Tribal population constituted only 1% of the total population of Tamil Nadu State. However, the problems faced by them are not small one. On June 20, 1992, a team of more than 200 police, forest and revenue officials raided Vachathi village on the suspicion of tribals' linkage with sandalwood smuggler Veerappan. During the raiding, they committed a heinous crime by raping 18 tribal women, among them few were minor. For three years, no complaints were registered by the police despite the agitation by the Left parties and the victims.

Finally, a case was filed in March 1995. But the justice was not given instantly; it took 19 years for the 18 victims to get justice. The court process was so long that 54 accused officials in the Vachathi mass rape died before the landmark court verdicts. It was on 29 September 2011, that all 269 accused in the Vachathi mass rape were convicted and 17 rapists were sentenced to the rigorous imprisonment. There was a wide coverage in electronic and print media on the proceedings of the court verdicts. Media across the India hailed this verdict as a historic. According to the English newspaper, *The Times of India*, "the verdict should reinforce public faith in the subordinate judiciary's ability to deliver if it is allowed to do its job."

There is saying that injustice anywhere is threat to the justice everywhere. On November 22 November, 2011, a team of policeman from Tirukovilur police station, Villupuram, picked up four Irula women on their alleged connection with theft and raped them. Later, a case was filed against the five policemen and they were suspended after Tirukovilur judicial Magistrate submitted a report. The state government lost no time and declared a compensation of rupees 5-lakh to the four victims on 29 November 2011.

This is an incident which happened in Tamil Nadu, there might be number of such incidents which go unnoticed all over India. The condition of tribal people all over India is very grave, the state and central government should work hand in hand for the protection and preservation of the tribal rights and their rich culture from the onslaught of the modernization.

The development of the tribal people is deeply associated with the forest; hence the Central and State governments cannot uplift the tribal people without taking forest into consideration. The Centre and State have to formulate some kind of schemes, which are tribal-friendly, in the sense that these do not displace them from their original habitats. Therefore, some suggestions, which could prove useful for the government officials, policymakers and others, are given below.

- The State government has to curtail or check the migration of non-tribal into tribal areas.

- The Centre and State governments have to set up a grievance cell at every region where tribal people are in large number. A person well-versed in the tribal language will be an added asset.

- The Centre and State should create awareness about the tribal people's rights.

- The State governments have to open more bank branches in tribal regions, where tribal people can get a loan. For instance, in tribal regions of Andhra Pradesh, where tribal people borrow money from moneylender; when unable to pay money on time, their lands are being mortgaged.

- The Centre and State governments have to allocate more funds to those NGOs which were doing tremendous work for the development of tribal people.

- The concept of tribal tourism is not given much importance by the concerned authorities. The State tourism board or concerned departments should popularize the concept of tribal tourism in such a way that it not only improves the living standard of the tribal people but also creates a bridge between the urban people and tribal people.

- Making provisions of modern technology and equipment which they can integrate easily for their works. It may take time for them to adapt, however in the long run it will be beneficial for them. It will save their time, energy and also give efficient results. In that case, the State governments can ask the leaders of tribal areas to visit places like Punjab and other states of India, where with the help of modern technology and equipment, the agriculture production has increased tremendously.

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Women Empowerment via Govt Schemes in Uttarakhand

Dr. Mamta Joshi*

[*Women constitute half the human resources and thus the economic wealth of the country and if about half the nation's human resource is neglected, the overall progress of the country would obviously be hampered. Recognizing the need for involving women in various development activities, the Government of India has initiated several affirmative measures by way of programmes and schemes to bring them into the mainstream of development.*]

These affirmative actions have brought about perceptible changes in the socio-economic conditions of women. As per the census of 2011, an effective literacy rate for men was 82.14% whereas for women it was 65.46% only. In the case of India, the gender gap in labour force participation rate is more than 50 percentage points. The data base also brings out the areas where the progress has been slow if not retrograde. Net enrolment ratio for girl children dips from 88.7% at primary to 51.93% at secondary and to a dismal 32.6% at higher secondary levels.

Roughly, one in every five girls enrolled drop out after class 8. The population ratio of India 2011 is 940 females per 1000 of males which indicate that society still does not welcome a girl child and the preference rests with sons. Nearly 40% girl children get married before they attain 18 years of age. Findings of the new Global Nutrition Report 2017 place India at the bottom of the table. In India, more than half (51%) of all women of reproductive age have anaemia, whereas more than one in five (22%) of adult women are overweight. Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) is quite high, with 130 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births reported in 2017.

Thus, there is room for much more to be done to ameliorate the plight of women at the grassroots level. India may have taken strides in developments but even today high in the mountains of Kumaun in Uttarakhand state,

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women are victims of culture, traditions, overwork and above all of globalization also, which makes the paradise of hills as a hell for the rural women. It is well recognized fact that women contribute major to the rural population and participate fully in agriculture but their participation is only recognized in form of invisible workers.

There is; however, ample evidence that indicates that women's defector status as heads of households does not translate into effective managerial control in communities structured by patrilineal and patriarchal system of inheritance and social organization. The situation is of more concern when reproductive health of rural women and girls of hills is concerned. The sluggish decline in maternal mortality and morbidity is rooted in the powerlessness of women and girls, women's unequal access to resources in families, society and economic markets.

Background

According to census 2011, the number of females in Uttarakhand is 49, 62574, which is about one percent of total female population of our country. Our women are famous for active participation in social & environmental movements, despite the fact that their lives mostly revolve around fuel, fodder and water. Against the male literacy rate of 88.33 percent, the female literacy rate stands at 70.70 percent thus, women lag behind by a wide gap of 17.63 percent in literacy.

The overall sex ratio of the state is 963 females per 1000 males; however, in population up to 6 years, the sex ratio is 886. Despite this, it is interesting to note that out of total 13 districts, females exceed in numbers to males in 08 districts. The decadal growth rate has one notch down to 19.17 (2001-2011) from 19.20 (1991-2001).

According to NFHS-II, only 54.3 percent women of Uttarakhand are involved in decisions about their own health, percentage of births of order 3 and above is 46.5, percentage of births within 24 months of previous birth is 24.8, about 45.8

percent births are assisted by Traditional Birth Attendants, 45.2 percent women suffer from anaemia.

In Uttarakhand around 26 women empowerment and child development programmes are running to empower women and adolescent girls through central and state-sponsored schemes.

These plans conceived to be a nursery for experimenting with ideas about meeting the special needs of mountain women, exploiting the strengths of mountain women, and devising suitable schemes which would benefit women, particularly schemes that enable women to participate more fully in all aspects of human endeavour. The key principles to be observed whilst formulating proposals for consideration of these funding are:

1. Sustainability

2. Ownership

3. Inclusiveness

4. Accountability

5. Emphasis on results

6. Incremental and synergetic

7. Innovative and model building

8. Each project should have an in built component for women empowerment activities, women's health and where possible, recreation and drudgery reduction.

Objectives for which planning funds may be sought in the hilly areas:

- Drudgery reduction

- Imparting of self-employment or job employment skills

- Creation of women-specific infrastructure

- Development of women friendly technologies

- Support to women led initiatives to enhance the participation of women in social, economic and political activities.

- Legal literacy and awareness generation

- Assistance to secure and defend the rights of women

- Assistance to combat all forms of discrimination against women

- Assistance for strengthening support services for women

- Support for activities related to health and development of girls and women

- Promotion of women entrepreneurship

- Support to women self-help groups

- Support for enhancing education of girls and women

- Research, surveys, evaluation, studies, publications and advocacy on women related issues

- Gap filling, where required, in existing schemes for women or schemes impacting on women

Conclusion & Findings

Women around the world share a common condition they are not full and equal participants in public policy choices that affect their lives. Nowhere is the gap between de jure and de facto equality among men and women greater than in the area of decision making. The top decision-making position remain largely male dominated spheres where women have little influence.

The lack of women's participation in political decision-making has important consequences. It deprives women of important rights and responsibilities as citizens and excludes their perspectives and interests from policy-making and decision-making. Their voices are missing from key decisions on national budgets and setting of government priorities. Their skills and viewpoint often remain unheard, underrepresented or ignored.

India as a country is still recovering from years of abuse in the time of the Raj and more years of economic suffering at the hands of the License Raj. It is only now that globalization, liberalization and other socio-economic forces have given some respite to a large proportion of the population. However, there are still quite a few areas where women empowerment in India is largely lacking.

To truly understand what women empowerment is, there needs to be a sea-change in the mind-set of the people not just the women themselves but the men have to wake up to a world that is moving towards equality and equity. It is better that this is embraced earlier rather than later for our own good.

We have many schemes many programs for the purpose of women empowerment at every stage of administration, all we need is a good system and agencies for the implementation of these policies and programs, and if we can build up that system and if we can implement these programs, then the goal of women empowerment can be achieved very easily through these programs.

Suggestions

● Proper awareness for laws should be there, i.e., law should not be restricted to papers only but the implementation of law should be there in local languages so that every woman can be familiar with her rights. Significant steps should be taken to implement all the laws which are amended to facilitate detention, prevention and punishment.

● Women's Internet education should be encouraged to become e-savvy which can make their access to ICT a bit easy.

● Strict implementation of the schemes and policies for women empowerment should be done.

● Local awareness camps for women should be organized in rural and interior areas where they can become familiar with the framed schemes and policies and can take benefit of those schemes and policies.

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Industrial Mergers and Acquisitions in India

Binanda Boruah *

[*One of the significant objectives of any sovereign is to achieve high rate of economic growth. For achieving this, it keeps reviewing and improving its policies from time to time and introduces various measures, both at micro and macro levels. It also requires various regulatory measures to channelize all economic efforts to achieve its social and economic objectives and to prevent unhealthy practices entering into its economic system which is unfavorable to public welfare.]*

The corporate sector all over the world is restructuring its operations through different types of consolidation strategies like Mergers and Acquisitions in order to face challenges posed by the new pattern of globalizations, which has led to the greater integration of national and international markets. The intensity of such operations is increasing with the de-regulation of various government policies. The reforms process initiated by the Indian government since 1991, has influenced the functioning and governance of Indian firms which has resulted in adoption of different growth and expansion strategies by the corporate firms.

These reforms have unveiled a whole lot of challenges both in the domestic and international spheres. In that process, Indian corporations are facing challenges from both domestic competitions as well as foreign competitors, who can suddenly appear from anywhere on the globe. The enlarged competition in the global market has provoked the Indian companies to go for Mergers and Acquisitions as an important strategic choice.

Mergers and Acquisitions activities have increased rapidly since 2000. Historically, Mergers and Acquisitions have shown a cyclical pattern. There have been six waves of Mergers and Acquisitions for the past 100 years; these are those of the early 1900s, 1920s, 1960s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. The trends of Mergers and Acquisitions in India have altered over the years. The instant effects of the Mergers and Acquisitions have also been varied across various sectors of the Indian economy.

Review of Literature

Harris (2000) has analyzed the impact of horizontal mergers of US hospitals' technical efficiency pre- and post-merger. By using DEA approach, they found a positive impact on hospital's level of efficiency. Constant returns-to-scale model indicated an overall reduction in input utilization after merger as compared to variable returns-to-scale model.

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Ravindra P. Purohit (2000) has stated that the dynamics of globalization is now a major force in shaping development in countries. The basic reasons behind this globalization are rapid advances in and convergence of information and communication technology. Increasing availability of capital at global level has also played major role.

Saple V. (2000) in his research thesis on "Diversification, Mergers and their Effect on Firm Performance: A Study of the Indian Corporate Sector", concludes that the target firms were better than industry averages while the acquiring firms had lower than industry average profitability. Overall, acquires were high growth firms which had enhanced the performance over the year prior to the merger and had a higher liquidity.

Giles (2000) in his study has reported that one of the main reasons for failure of a merger or acquisition is based on human resources neglect. Companies which have failed to recognize the importance of human resources in their organizations and their role in the success of integration have failed to reach success. This is particularly critical in the area of mergers and acquisitions. Human issues in mergers and acquisitions, which have been the most sensitive issue, have been often ignored).

Vardhana Pawaskar (2001) focuses on the impact of mergers on corporate performance. The study compares the pre- and post-merger operating performance of the companies involved in merger to study their financial characteristics. Also, the effect on merger induced monopoly profits is identified by looking at persistence of profits. This is by taking 36 cases of merger from 1992 to 1995, it is seen that there are no significant differences in the financial characteristics of the two companies involved in merger. The merger seems to lead to financial synergies and one- time growth. The regression analysis shows that there is no significant increase in the post-merger profits.

Zhu et al (2004) further add that communication during a merger needs to vary in its openness, depending on the nature of information to be communicated, goals of the organization, specific needs and concerns of the employees, and different needs and expectations of acquiring and acquired company employees. Once the deal is closed, the organization needs to decide on their reward strategy.

Dash (2004) has analyzed the financial impact of mergers on the shareholders of the acquirer firms. The study found that on an average, mergers lead to value destruction, irrespective of their pattern over a long period of time and the destruction is relatively greater in the case of unrelated mergers.

Dr. Neena Sinha, Dr. K.P. Kaushik & Ms. Timcy Chaudhary (2010) in their research article on "Measuring Post Merger and Acquisition Performance: An Investigation of select Financial Sector Organizations in India", have observed the impact of mergers and acquisitions on the financial efficiency of the selected financial institutions in India. The study consists of two stages; Firstly, by using the ratio analysis approach, they calculate the change in the position of the companies during the period 2000-2008. Secondly, they examine changes in the efficiency of the companies during the pre- and post-merger periods by using nonparametric Wilcoxon signed rank test. The findings of the study indicate that Mergers and Acquisitions cases in India show a noteworthy correlation between financial performance and the Mergers and Acquisitions deal, in the long run, and the acquiring firms were able to generate additional value.

Gupta, M. A., Kumar, R., & Upadhyayula, R. S. (2012), in their joint study entitled, "Success of a Merger or Acquisition - A consideration of influencing factors", in International Journal of Management Practice, 5(3): 270-286, show that Mergers and Acquisitions (M&As) continue to be a dominant business strategy for organizations. Despite evidence of greater number of failures than successes, organisations still view Mergers

& Acquisitions as a beneficial strategic activity. This paper looks at different factors that impact the success or failure of a merger at each stage of the process and brings out the factors that managers need to keep in mind to ensure a successful merger

Jharkharia, S. (2012) in his paper entitled, "Supply chain issues in mergers and acquisitions: A Case from Indian aviation industry', published in International Journal of Aviation Management, 1(4): 293-303, focuses on understanding the importance of supply chain integration in mergers and acquisitions (M&A) with a focus on the aviation industry. A comprehensive literature review is followed by the case of a merger from the Indian aviation industry. Managers who were involved with the task of M&A in their organisations were interviewed for this research. It is observed that apart from concentrating on the long term financial and marketing synergies, it is also important to give due consideration to the supply chain synergies at every stage of the Mergers & Acquisitions process.

The supply chain of the new organisation should pick up the best characteristics from each of the value chains of the merging entities. An early involvement of supply chain managers in merger process may help in identifying the potential operational synergies. Based on the literature and experiences of the merged entities it is observed that the results of mergers and acquisitions will go on the expected lines only by the early involvement of supply chain leadership in premerger talks and later by proper restructuring of the supply chain of the new organisation.

Mr. S.H. Kapadia, (2012) retired as Chief Justice of India on 29th September 2012. He was elevated to the bench of Supreme Court of India on 18th December, 2003 wherein he dealt with matters under SEBI Act, 1992, Companies Act, 1956, RBI Act, Mergers & Acquisitions, Banking Regulation Act, Taxation, Information Technology and validity of Indian Accounting Standards. Prior to his role as Chief Justice of India, he also served as Chief Justice of Uttaranchal High Court, Additional and Permanent Judge of the Bombay High Court, Judge of the Special Court (Trial of Offences Relating to Transactions in Securities) Act, 1992, Judge of Special Court dealing in matters related to Accounts and Finances of Banks and Financial Institutions.

Khan (2012) studied pre and post-merger financial performance appraisal of acquiring banks in India through ratio analysis. The result indicated that the post-Merger & Acquisitions have not created difference in the financial performance of the acquiring banks.

Objectives of The Study

To examine industry-wise differences, if any, in the Mergers and Acquisitions with a view to bring out the important industries, those have attracted mega Mergers and Acquisitions. In this study, an attempt is made to examine industry wise Analysis of Mergers and Acquisitions in India. The principal objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To studying Mergers and Acquisitions of Food & Agro-based and Tobacco Products Industry

2. The identify occurred Mergers and Acquisitions of Textiles Industry

It is proposed to analyse the industry-wise open offers for Mergers and Acquisitions in India with a view to identify which industry has attracted the maximum number of Mergers and the Substantial Mergers and Acquisitions of share deals and also which industry lost its importance. For this purpose, the Indian industries have been broadly classified in to the following industry group.

Hypothesis of the Study

To accomplish the objectives of the study, the following null hypotheses have been developed for empirical testing:

1. There is no significant difference between the industries as far as the value of substantial acquisition of share deals is concerned.

Test of Hypothesis

Further, it is proposed to analyze the data by exercising ANOVA with the following null Hypothesis;

HO: There is no significant difference among the industries as far as the value of substantial acquisition of share deals is concerned.

Scope of The Study

The study covers "Industry – wise analysis of Mergers & Acquisitions India"

Is focused on the following broad aspects:

a. Presenting the trends and patterns of Mergers and Acquisitions in India at aggregate level, industry-wise.

b. Bringing out inter-industry diversities and identify the attributable factors.

Sources of Data

Source of the study is based on secondary data.

Secondary Source of Data

The secondary source of data for studying the impact of Globalization on Corporate Mergers and Acquisitions in India is collected from the monthly issues of RBI Bulletins, Annual Reports of RBI, Reports on Currency and Finance of RBI, CMIE Reports. Further, the additional relevant data pertaining to the Mergers and Acquisitions are also collected from World Investment Reports, World Development Reports, etc. The different websites relevant to the topic are also used for collecting relevant data.

Methodology

The study of the "Industry – wise analysis of Mergers & Acquisitions India" is examined with the help of Annual Rate of change and Averages. Further, to test the levels of significance and establish the relationship among the Industry Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) are applied.

Limitations of The Study

The following are some of the limitations of the study:

i. The study is based on the aggregate analysis of Mergers and Acquisitions in India. Therefore, the generalizations drawn from the study may not be uniformly applicable to entire corporate sector.

ii. The study depends upon availability of comparable data for the period is covered. Therefore, paucity of data may hinder to carry out such analysis. Hence, it is restricted to a few aspects, sometimes to a limited part of the study period.

iii. Secondary data are collected from more than one source. The gap in one source is tried to be filled up by adopting the data available from some other sources.

iv. While calculating the percentages, averages, and other statistical measures, the resultant figures are approximated. Though enough care is taken in approximation, sometimes the totals may not be exactly tallied.

FOOD, AGRO-BASED AND TOBACCO PRODUCTS INDUSTRY

India is the world's second leading producer of food next to China, and has the prospective of being the biggest with the food and agricultural sector. The Indian food market is approximate at over US$ 182 billion, and accounts for about two-third of the total Indian retail market. According to the opinion of industry experts, the market for carbonated drinks in India is worth US$ 1.5 billion while the juice and juice – based drinks market accounts for US$ 0.25 billion. This trend is growing at a rate of 25 per cent, the fruit- drinks category is one of the fastest growing in the beverage market.

The Indian food processing industry plays a considerable role in diversification of agriculture products, generates employment, enhances income of farmers and creates a surplus for export of agro- foods. The significant cause of the Mergers and Acquisitions activity commenced in this industry is deregulation, restructuring disinvestment, restructuring by parent companies and presence of foreign players.

Packaged food industry is the fifth largest sector in India which is attracting more foreign direct investments through the Mergers and Acquisitions process. It is evident that the highest numbers of mergers – 41 with the value of Rs. 6,100.60 million substantial acquisitions of share deals – were registered in the food & other food products for the year 2002-03. As against this the highest value of Rs. 1, 47,430.70 million substantial acquisition of share deals with the lowest number of mergers 3, were recorded in the year 2012-13. The average numbers of mergers 19.46 with the average value of Rs. 26,980.89 million substantial acquisitions of share deals were noticed during the period of this study.

In case of Tobacco products and Floriculture the meagre value of substantial acquisitions of share deals were noticed with an average amount of Rs.153.94 million and Rs. 1.86 million respectively during the period under review. Whereas, the other agriculture products average value of substantial acquisition of share deals was Rs. 1723.42 million. In this group of industry total average number of mergers was 21.73 with the value of substantial acquisition of share deals Rs. 28,870.36 million was observed during the period under review.

Textiles Industry

The Indian Textile Industry was predominantly unorganized industry in the early economic liberalization of Indian economy. The opening up of Indian economy post-1990s led to an amazing growth of this industry. Indian Textile Industry is one of the biggest textile industries in the world. Today, Indian economy is largely dependent on textile manufacturing and export. India earns around 27 per cent of the foreign exchange from exports of textiles. Further, Indian Textile Industry contributes about 14 per cent of the total industrial production of India. Furthermore, its contribution to the gross domestic product of India is around 3 per cent only.

The Textile Industry involves around 35 million workers directly and it accounts for 21 per cent of the total employment created in the economy. However, the imperative reasons for the Mergers and Acquisitions in this industry are: growth of power looms and handlooms industry at the cost of mills which has ultimately resulted in making them sick and unfeasible. This has led to an enhanced closure of mills; in addition, continued and unrelenting use of old plant and machinery has led to low profitability in the mill sector and thereby forcing some of mills to close down.

India has fruitfully placed its pioneering range of Man-Made Fibers (MMF) textiles in almost all the countries across the globe. The MMF production increased by about 4 per cent during the year 2013-14. The industry (including dyed and printed) attracted foreign direct investment worth of Rs 6,710.94 crore (US$ 1.11 billion) during the period 2000-14.

The private equity firm Everstone plans to invest Rs 100 crore (US$ 16.62 million) for an undisclosed minority stake in the fashion label of designer Ritu Kumar. Raymond's 'Complete Man' plans to enter the developed markets in the US, Europe and East Asia as the textile company looks for to enlarge the network of its Made to Measure (MTM) stores. With different types of plans to invest around Rs 200 crore (US$ 33.24 million), the company is looking for partners to assist to increase its overseas business. Arvind Ltd has picked up the 49 per cent stake held by the Murjani Group in Calvin Klein in India.

To analyze the number of mergers and value of substantial acquisition of share deals the textile-based products industry is classified into the following sub-products;

i. Cotton & Blended Yarn

ii. Cloth

iii. Man-Made Filaments & Fibres

iv. Textile Processing

v. Readymade Garments

vi. Diversified Cotton Textile

vii. Other Textiles.

The data reveals that the highest average number of mergers of Other Textiles reported at 2.8 and the Readymade Garments and Cotton and Blended Yarn are at 2.53 each out of the total average number of mergers 12.2. Whereas the lowest number of mergers were observed in the case of Cloth, Textile Processing, Diversified Cotton Textile and Man-Made Filaments & Fibres at 1.93, 0.86, 0.8 and 0.73 respectively.

Similarly, the maximum value of average substantial acquisition of share deals are related to Cotton and Blended Yarn Rs. 4,102.15 million, Cloth Rs. 3,861.88 million, Other Textiles Rs. 1307.55 million, Readymade Garments 1,223.93 million, Man-Made Filaments & Fibres Rs. 973.82 million, Diversified Cotton Textiles Rs. 484.50 million and Textile Processing Rs. 201.20 million. It is noticed that the total value of substantial acquisition of share deals of Textiles-based Products Industry moved from Rs. 1301.20 million in the year 2003-04 to Rs. 59,290.20 million in the year 2009-10.

Thereafter, it drastically declined to reach at Rs. 10,198.70 million in the year 2013-14. The average number of mergers and the value of substantial acquisition of share deals were reported at 12.2 and Rs. 12,155.04 million during the period under review.

The properly executed Mergers and Acquisitions are creating the greater value to merging company. The diligence company should analyse thoroughly and proceed with the takeover. For this the finance, legal and human resource departments should provide the appropriate data which can help in monitoring and assessing the success of Mergers and Acquisitions. It is evident that the highest numbers of mergers – 41 with the value of Rs. 6,100.60 million substantial acquisitions of share deals – were registered in the food & other food products for the year 2002-03.

Today, Indian economy is largely dependent on textile manufacturing and export. India earns around 27 per cent of the foreign exchange from exports of textiles. Further, Indian Textile Industry contributes about 14 per cent of the total industrial production of India. Based on this it is very clear to estimate the increase or decrease in share price, revenue, operating profit, productivity levels, profitability and market share of the diligence company and so on.

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Financial institutions and Agricultural credit in India

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[*Agricultural sector occupies a key position in the Indian economy. It provides employment to about 65 percent of the working population of India. Around one-fourth of India's National income originates from the agricultural sector. It is imperative that the problems of farmers are addressed with a sense of urgency. Hence, agricultural credit, particularly commercial bank credit, promoted agricultural inputs to meet their various day-to-day agricultural expenses. Besides, it had also motivated them to adopt intensive methods of cultivation. This paper analyses the need and importance of agricultural credit, problems of agricultural credit, various institutional and non-institutional sources of credit for agriculture.*]

Agriculture credit is an important prerequisite for agricultural growth. Agricultural policies have been reviewed from time to time to provide adequate and timely availability of finance to this sector. Rural credit system assumes importance because for most of the Indian rural families, savings are inadequate to finance farming and other economic activities. This coupled with the lack of simultaneity between income realization and expenditure and lumpiness of agricultural capital investments.

The institutional credit system is critical for agricultural development and its role has further increased in the liberalized economic environment. In India a multi-agency approach comprising cooperative banks, scheduled commercial banks and regional rural banks (RRBs) has been followed to allow credit to agricultural sector.

Banks are considered as the backbone of modern banking business. Banks play an important role in the development of Indian economy. Banks had played an important role in bringing agricultural revolution. Before the development of modern banking facilities, the condition of Indian agriculture was very terrible. Indian farmers were severely exploited by money-lenders and Sahukars but due to the improvement in modern banking facilities the condition of Indian farmers had improved up to a lot extent.

Banks had provided tremendous facilities to the farmers in India. Finance in agriculture is important as other inputs being used in agricultural production. Technical inputs can be purchased and used by farmer only if he has money. But his own money is always inadequate and he needs credit. Professional money lenders were the only source of credit to agriculture till 1935. They used to charge unduly high rates of interest and follow serious practices while giving loans and recovering them.

As a result, farmers were heavily burdened with debts and many of them perpetuated debts. With the passing of Reserve Bank of India Act 1934, District Central Co-op. Banks Act and Land Development Banks Act, agricultural credit received impetus and there were improvements in agricultural credit. A powerful alternative agency came into being. Large-scale credit became available with reasonable rates of interest at easy terms, both in terms of granting loans and recovery of them. Although the co-operative banks started financing agriculture with their establishments in 1930's real impetus was received only after Independence when suitable legislation were passed and policies were formulated.

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Thereafter, bank credit to agriculture made phenomenal progress by opening branches in rural areas and attracting deposits. Till 14 major commercial banks were nationalized in 1969, co-operative banks were the main institutional agencies providing finance to agriculture. After nationalization, it was made mandatory for these banks to provide finance to agriculture as a priority sector. These banks undertook special programs of branch expansion and created a network of banking services throughout the country and started financing agriculture on large scale. Thus, agriculture credit acquired multi-agency dimension.

Development and adoption of new technologies and availability of finance go hand in hand. In bringing "Green Revolution", "White Revolution" and "Yellow Revolution" finance has played a crucial role. Now the agriculture credit, through multi-agency approach has come to stay. The procedures and amount of loans for various purposes have been standardized. Among the various purposes "Crop loans" (Short-term loan) has the major share. In addition, farmers get loans for purchase of electric motor with pump, tractor and other machinery, digging wells or bore wells, installation of pipe lines, drip irrigation, planting fruit orchards, purchase of dairy animals and feeds/fodder for them, poultry, sheep/goat keeping and for many other allied enterprises.

Definitions

Agricultural credit is considered as one of the most basic inputs for conducting all agricultural development programmes. In India there is an immense need for proper agricultural credit as Indian farmers are very poor. From the very beginning, the prime source of agricultural credit in India was moneylenders. After independence the government adopted the institutional credit approach

Reviews

Hopkin et.al: Referred agricultural finance as the means of acquiring and control of assets ownership by cash purchase or borrowing or leasing or custom hiring.

William. G Murray (1953): "Agricultural finance is the economic study of the borrowing of funds by the farmers; of the organization and operation of farm lending agencies and societies interest in credit for agriculture".

Tandon and Dhondyal (1962): Defined agricultural finance "as a branch of agricultural economics, which deals with and financial resources related to individual farm units."

A. Ranga Reddy (2004): Studied that the National Commission on Agriculture (1976) projected that the actual requirements of credit for agriculture would be Rs.9, 400 crore by 1985. But, the Planning Commission target for 1984-85 was Rs. 5415 crores, while actual disbursement of credit was Rs. 6167 crores in 1985-85. Although Planning Commission's target figure for 1984-85 was surpassed by the actual disbursement, the National Commission's projected figure was not achieved.

Rakesh Mohan (2004): In his work "Agricultural Credit in India: Status, Issues and Future Agenda", it focuses A key difference in approach would have to be the much greater involvement of region specific market participants, and of private sector suppliers in all these activities, and credit suppliers ranging from public sector banks, cooperative banks, the new private sector banks and micro-credit suppliers, specially self-help groups.

Rama Rani (2015): In her study "Sources of Agriculture Finance in Punjab" international journal of quantitative economic and applied management" This paper studies the availability and growth of agricultural credit in Punjab. When agriculture sector transforms from traditional towards commercialized, the demand for capital increases for variable and fixed expenses. So, in agricultural finance, many formal institutional arrangements were initiated to reduce uncertainty and to reduce cost.

Objectives

1. To know the significance of agricultural credit in India

2. To know the problems of agricultural credit in India

3. To find the remedial measures.

Methodology: Data has been collected from secondary sources such as books, journals, government reports, magazines and various websites.

Significance of credit for Agricultural Development

The word credit is derived from the Latin word "Credire" which means to believe or to have a trust or have a faith or confidence. Credit is a means of obtaining resources at a certain period of time, with an obligation to repay it at subsequent period in accordance with the terms and conditions of the credit obtained" (RBI, 1954). In a broader sense, credit is not only the life-blood of modem economic system but also the magic word of socio-economic transformation and a lever of development. Credit is one of the most crucial but scarce inputs used in agriculture. Farm credit is an important instrument, which has been used to increase agricultural productivity. Credit is the most important input of modern farming.

Agricultural credit may be defined-" as the amount of investible funds made available for the farm business and farmers' family needs." In other words, agricultural credit means money borrowed for farm investment as well as seasonal agricultural operations. Agricultural credit is the money extended to the farmers to stimulate the productivity of the limited farm resources. It is not a mere loan or advance; it is an instrument to promote the well-being of the society.

The role of farm credit in strengthening and developing both input and output markets in agriculture is crucial and significant. Providing appropriate finance for agricultural operations. In the past, agricultural credit was confined to a few needy farmers and a few elite moneylenders. During the drought conditions, the farmers used to get food grains from rich farmers, on the conditions the same would be returned with interest after harvesting the next crop. Now days it has become a powerful instrument in bringing about agriculture and rural development. It has more significance in the case of marginal and small farmers as their savings are meager. They are in the vicious circle of poverty.

Credit, if properly channelized, can break this vicious circle of poverty by providing them means to get productive assets or by providing employment opportunities. Hence, credit has a crucial role to play in raising the rural incomes (Padmanabhan, 1986). The advent of modern technology has led to increased demand for inputs. As a result, adequate agricultural credit is required for agricultural development. Dantwala (1966) rightly states that provision of good credit facility to the farmers at the right time in the right place in the right proportion is a requisite for the transformation of agriculture.

The non-availability or scarcity of credit retards agricultural progress in particular and rural development in general. Indian agriculture is still traditional subsistence and stagnant in nature, hence credit is needed to create the supporting infrastructure for adoption of new technology. Massive investment is needed to carry out major and minor irrigation projects, 92 rural electrification, installation of fertilizers and chemical plants, implementation of agricultural promotion programmes and poverty alleviation programmes in the country.

Source of Agricultural Credit in India

There are two broad sources of agricultural credit in India:

I. Non-Institutional Sources

II. Institutional Sources

I. Non-Institutional Sources: The non-institutional finance forms an important source of rural credit in India, constituting around 40 percent of total credit in India. The interest

charged by the non-institutional lenders is usually very high. The land or other assets are kept as collateral. The important sources of non-institutional credit are as follows:

i. **Money-Lenders:** Money-lending has been the widely prevalent profession in the rural areas. The money-lenders charge huge rate of interest and mortgage the property of the cultivators and in some cases even the peasants and members of his family are kept as collateral.

ii. Other Private Sources:

a. Traders, landlords and commission agents: The agents give credit on the hypothecation of crops which when harvested is used to repay loans.

b. **Credit from relatives:** These credits are generally used for meeting personal expenditure.

II. **Institutional Sources:** The general policy on agricultural credit has been one of progressive institutionalization aimed at providing timely and adequate credit to farmers for increasing agricultural production and productivity. Providing better access to institutional credit for the small and marginal farmers and other weaker sections to enable them to adopt modern technology. National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) is an apex institution established in 1982 for rural credit in India. It doesn't directly finance farmers and other rural people. It grants assistance to them through the institutions described as follows:

Rural Co-Operative Credit Institutions: Rural Credit cooperatives are the oldest and most extensive form of rural institutional financing in India. The major thrust of these cooperatives in the area of agricultural credit is the prevention of exploitation of the peasants by moneylenders. The rural credit cooperatives may be further divided into short-term credit cooperatives and long-term credit cooperatives.

The short-term credit cooperatives provide short-term rural credit and are based on a three-tier structure as follows:

a. Primary Agricultural Credit Societies (PACs): These are organized at the village level. These societies generally advance loans only for productive purposes. The main objective of a PACS is to raise capital for the purpose of giving loans and supporting the essential activities of the members such as supply of agricultural inputs at cheap price, improving irrigation on land owned by members, encourage various income-augmenting activities such as horticulture, animal husbandry, poultry etc. In India, around 99.5 percent of villages are covered by PACs.

b. District Central Cooperative Banks: These cooperatives are organized at the district level. The PACS are affiliated to the District Central Co-operative Banks (DCCBs). DCCBs coordinate the activities of district central financing agencies, organize credit for PACs and carry out banking business.

c. State Co-Operative Banks: The DCCBs are affiliated to State Co-operative Banks (SCBs), which coordinate the activities of DCCBs, organize provision of finance for credit worthy farmers, carry out banking business and act as leader of the Co-operatives in the States.

Long-term credit Cooperatives: These cooperatives meet long-term credit of the farmers and are organized at two levels:

i. Primary Co-Operative Agriculture and Rural Development Banks: These banks operate at the village level as an independent unit.

ii. State Co-Operative Agriculture and Rural Development Banks: These banks operate at state level through their branches in different villages.

Commercial Banks: Commercial Banks provide rural credit by establishing their branches in the rural areas. The share of commercial banks in rural credit was very meager till 1969. The All India Rural Credit Review Committee (1969)

recommended multi-agency approach to the rural and especially agricultural credit. It suggested the increasing role of the CBs in providing agricultural credit. Further, under the Social Control Policy introduced in 1967 and subsequently the nationalization of 14 major CBs in 1969 (followed by another six banks in 1980), Commercial banks have been given a special responsibility to set up their advances for agricultural and allied activities in the country.

The major expansion of rural branches took place and commercial banks introduced Lead Bank scheme and district credit plans for rural areas. Banks were asked to lend 18 percent of their total advances to agriculture within the quota of 40 percent of priority sector lending. This expansion of rural credit remained till the late 1980s. However, during late 80's, commercial banks suffered huge losses due to waiving of agricultural loans by the government. The financial liberalization process with the adoption of Narasimham Committee report in 1993 has necessitated the banks to focus on profitability and adopt prudential norms. The proportion of bank credit to rural areas especially small borrowers has come down steadily.

Regional Rural Banks (RRBs): RRBs are the specialized banks established under RRB Act, 1976 to cater to the needs of the rural poor. RRBs are set-up as rural-oriented commercial banks with the low-cost profile of cooperatives but with the professional discipline and modern outlook of commercial banks. Between 1975 and 1987, 196 RRBs were established with over 14,000 branches. As a result of the amalgamation, the number of RRBs was reduced from 196 to 133 as on 31 March, 2006 and to 96 as on 30 April 2007. RRBs covered 525 out of 605 districts as on 31 March 2006. After amalgamation, RRBs have become quite large covering most parts of the State. Increased coverage of districts by RRBs makes them an important segment of the Rural Financial Institutions (RFI). The branch network of RRBs in the rural area form around 43 per cent of the total rural branches of commercial banks.

A large number of branches of RRBs were opened in the un-banked or under-banked areas providing services to the interior and far-flung areas of the country. RRBs primarily cover small and marginal farmers, landless laborers, rural artisans, small traders and other weaker sections of the rural community. However, even after so many years, the market share of RRBs in rural credit remained low and has suffered huge losses. In recent years Government has initiated reform process to improve the functioning of RRBs.

Micro Finance Institutions (MFIs): Banks offer concessional interest rates for the rural credit. However; small farmers are unable to access them because of borrower-unfriendly products and procedures, inflexibility and delay, and high transaction costs, both legitimate and illegal. Thus, Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) are providing alternative means to enhance access to credit by the poor since the mid-70's. After pioneering efforts by organizations like SEWA, MYRADA, PRADAN and CDF, in 1992 the RBI and NABARD encouraged commercial banks to link up with NGOs to establish and finance self-help groups (SHGs) of the poor.

The RBI has included financing of SHGs under priority sector lending. At present, there are three groups of SHGs viz. SHGs formed and financed by the banks (20 percent); SHGs formed by other formal agencies but financed by banks; SHGs financed by banks using NGOs and other agencies (8 percent).These institutions provide small loans to the poor at low interest rates without collateral. The experience of micro-finance scheme in India suggests that i) It is the cost effective way of financing the rural poor; ii) The repayment rate of SHGs is more than 95 percent due to peer pressure; iii) It reduces transaction costs of borrowers as well as lenders; iv) It inculcates the habit of thrift among members and provide timely credit.

Table-1

Institutional Credit to Agriculture Sector in India

Year	Co-operative banks		Regional Rural banks		Commercial banks		Total in Crores
	In crores	percent	in crores	percent	In crores	percent	
2006-07	42,480	18	20,435	09	1,66,485	73	2,29,400
2007-08	48,258	19	25,312	10	1,81,088	71	2,54,658
2008-09	45,966	15	26,765	08	2,28,951	77	3,01,908**
2009-10	63,497	16	35,217	09	2,85,800	75	3,84,514
2010-11	70,105	16	43,968	09	3,32,706	75	4,46,779

Source: NABARD

** Includes Rs.226 crores by others agencies.

Problems of Agricultural Credit in India:

The cooperative sector, commercial banks and rural banks are trying simultaneously for meeting credit requirements of the farmers. Even then, there are number of problems faced by agricultural credit structure of the country which are standing on the path of development of the agricultural sector.

Insufficiency: In spite of expansion of rural credit structure, the volume of rural credit in the country is still insufficient as compared to its growing requirement arising out of increase in prices of agricultural inputs.

Inadequate Sanctioning of credit: The amount of loan sanctioned to the farmers by the agencies is also very much inadequate for meeting their different aspects of agricultural operations. Considering the amount of loan sanctioned as inadequate and insignificant, the farmers often divert such loan for unproductive purposes and thereby dilute the very purpose of such loan.

Lesser Attention of Poor Farmers: Rural credit agencies and its schemes have failed to meet the needs of the small and marginal farmers. Thus, lesser attention has been given on the credit needs of the needy farmers whereas the comparatively well-to-do farmers are getting more attention from the credit agencies for their better credit worthiness.

Growing Over-dues: The problem of over-dues in agricultural credit continues to be an area of concern. The recovery of agricultural advances to various institutions is also not at all satisfactory. In 1997-98, the recovery of agricultural advances of commercial banks, co-operative banks and regional rural banks were 63 per cent, 66 per cent and 57 per cent respectively. Such growing over-dues have also been resulted from poor repaying capacity of farmers. As a result of that, the credit agencies are becoming wary of granting loan to farmers.

Inadequate Institutional Coverage: In India, the institutional credit arrangement continues to be inadequate as compared to its growing needs. The development of co-operative credit institutions like Primary agricultural credit societies, land development banks, commercial banks and regional rural banks, have failed to cover the entire rural farmers of the country.

Red Tapism: Institutional agricultural-credit is subjected to red-tapism. Credit institutions are still adopting cumbersome rules and formalities for advancing loan to farmers which ultimately force the farmers to depend more on costly non-institutional sources of credit

Remedies

1. Removal of middlemen between the credit agencies and borrowers.

2. Reserve Bank of India should arrange sufficient fund so that long term loans can be advanced to the farmers.

3. The Government should see that farmers should not be exploited by moneylenders.

4. The banks should have a simplified procedure for sanctioning of loan to the farmers.

Conclusion

From the above analysis, it has been revealed that the extent of agricultural credit in India is very much inadequate and the private non-institutional sources still remained very important in supplying credit to the farmers. Further, the major problem of institutional credit faced by lending institutions, particularly the cooperatives, is the unsatisfactory huge level of over-dues ranging between 40 to 47 percent. This has resulted in a bad health of the institutional credit and thus these lending institutions will not be able to advance more credit for meeting the growing needs of our farmers. In spite of that, these institutional sources nowadays are advancing more than 60 per cent of the required short-term production 'credit of the Indian farmers.

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Plight of Physically-Challenged Persons in Rural Areas

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[*Disability is an important public health problem especially in developing countries like India. The problem will increase in future because of increase in trend of non-communicable diseases and change in age structure with an increase in life expectancy. The issues are different in developed and developing countries, and rehabilitation measures should be targeted according to the needs of the disabled with community participation. In India, a majority of the disabled resides in rural areas where accessibility, availability, and utilization of rehabilitation services and its cost-effectiveness are the major issues to be considered. Research on disability burden, appropriate intervention strategies and their implementation to the present context in India is a big challenge.*]

Disability refers to any limitation experienced by the impaired individual in comparison with the activities of the unimpaired individual of similar age and sex. Disabled people are the people with physical or mental incapacities. Common physical disabilities include blindness, deafness and paralysis, while common mental disabilities include autism and the effects of Down's syndrome. Disabilities generally vary in severity. One person with Down's syndrome for instance may be very limited in terms of activities available while another person only relatively mildly affected may be able to hold down a job and be much more self-reliant.

There are four types of physically challenged, they are physically handicapped, Blind, Deaf, and Dump. The term disabled suggests a state of helplessness; something which falls short of the norm or standard viz., 'physical fitness'.

The physically challenged persons are one of the excluded sections of the society and also they face number of problems in their daily life. In order to bring them in the mainstream, both the Central as well as the state governments are introducing many welfare measures and schemes. To avail these welfare measures and the schemes, first of all they must aware about the same. Most of the government welfare schemes are not reaching to the physically challenged persons.

The issues are different in developed and developing countries, and rehabilitation measures should be targeted according to the needs of the disabled with community participation. In India, a majority of the disabled resides in rural areas where accessibility, availability, and utilization of rehabilitation services and its cost-effectiveness are the major issues to be considered. Research on disability burden, appropriate intervention strategies and their implementation to the present context in India is a big challenge.

Literature Review

The relevant literature pertaining to the present investigation reports on problem faced by physically-challenged persons and their rehabilitative measures. The main thrust of research is to understand the type of problems experienced by the physically-challenged persons, both within family and outside the family and their utilization of welfare measures which are implemented by both the Central as well as the state government.

Disability as a condition of impairment physically or mental is having an objective aspect that can be usually described by a physician (Coft and Tindall, 1974). Impairment is defined as any deviation from the normal which results in defective function, structure, organization or development of whole or any part of the individual (Sussaman, 1977). The term "crippled" or orthopedically "Handicapped" is

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restricted to one group among the disabled, i.e. those who have physical defect or deformity which causes an interference with the normal functioning of the bones, muscles and joints.

As said earlier, orthopedically handicapped are those whose physical capacity is impaired by the loss, deformity or paralysis of one or more limbs. They are the victims of diseases or injuries which after cure, leave behind a certain disability which is permanent and lifelong (Government of India, Planning Commission, 1951-61). The physically handicapped face problems as they attempt to adjust the demands of living in social environment. Their problems are not only those caused by their disability but also that of adjustment in a world that has apathetic or hostile attitude towards them magnifies their troubles and threatens their very existence as human beings.

They face psychological, educational, employment and social problems. Among these, the most difficult is the adjustment to the hostile social forces in the society (Sharma, 1981), disabled persons suffer with the erroneous beliefs, which dry up their day-to-day way of life. It automatically generates a social resistance to accepting means of treating or ameliorating disability (Nirmala, 1977).

The above literature gives an account of the problems experienced by the physically-challenged and various welfare schemes introduced by the government. Yet very few empirical studies are available regarding the utilization of welfare services. In order to fill this research, gap the present study is being conducted among the physically-challenged persons.

Common Problems of the Physically-Challenged

The existing transportation and infrastructural facilities available to disabled are hardly adequate. Public transport related problem comprises the problems related to design of the vehicles (high and incompatible steps of vehicles from the platform level). Road constraints involve encroachment of bus stops by vendors, temporary structures and parked vehicles stopping of buses far from actual bus bays. This causes great inconvenience to them and fosters a feeling of insecurity to be felt by the disabled while travelling in private buses. The

disabled person is largely dependent on a family because he gets economical and emotional support from family.

The disabled person also gets emotional support from friends and relatives and also gets encouragement. The public is also responsible as part of welfare measures introduced by the government and various welfare schemes to benefit physically-challenged persons. However, there exists a gap in the utilization of the services. Government has extended the rehabilitation programme in the field of medical, education, psychological support etc., for disabled persons. The provisions of reservation of seats and the financial institutions providing loans and assistance have to collect necessary information in order to identify the nature for disability. While providing three wheelers, ambulatory services, armchairs, crutches etc., to disabled persons, the low-income groups disabled should be given priority.

Social Problems for Disabled Person

Disabled people sometimes have difficulty doing things and other people may take for granted, such as travelling on public transport, climbing stairs or even using some household appliances. However, the greatest challenge that disabled people have had to face has been society's misperception that they are the "breed apart". Historically, they have been pitied, ignored, vilified-even hidden away in institutions.

Until the second half the 20th century, it was unfortunate that the disabled people had some abilities, needs and interests as the rest of the populations. Nevertheless, discriminations continued to exist in certain important areas. Some employers were reluctant to take on or promote disabled people; some landlords refused to give the land on rent to them; and courts sometimes deprived them of basic rights, including custody of their children. In recent decades, this situation has undergone some positive changes through adjustments in legislation and public attitudes. Also people with disabilities have lobbied for their rights as full citizens and productive individuals.

(....Contnued the Next Issue)