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- ❖ **India's Mission Shakti**
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Babuddin Khan
Third Concept
LB - 39, Prakash Deep Building,
7, Tolstoy Marg, New Delhi-110 001.
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E-mail : third.concept@rediffmail.com
Website: www.thirdconceptjournal.co.in

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Price of Laxity!

Sri Lanka has seemingly paid a very heavy price for laxity in national security despite forewarning on what was going to happen. Though it is an internal affair of Sri Lanka to enquire into what, why, how of what has happened; concurrently, it also sounds warning signals for other democratic countries, including India, which have already been victims of terrorist violence to disallow any kind of laxity in national security, defence preparedness and vigilance. Having been named recently Lonely Planet's *numero uno* travel destination for 2019, and this image of Sri Lanka built over the past decade as a stable, relaxed island was shattered in the aftermath of suicide bomb blasts occurring on Easter Sunday on April 21. The end of a bloody, protracted civil war in 2009 had inaugurated an era of peace, prosperity and stability returning to the Sri Lanka and this decade-long spell of peace and stability has been severely jolted by the Sunday Easter suicide bombings sending shock waves throughout the globe. International media has termed this tragic occurrence to be the biggest terror attack in the history of Sri Lanka.

Media reports make it discernible that there were prior intelligence warnings that a radical group was planning to conduct suicide attacks targeting churches and hotels in island's capital, Colombo. Laxity, lack of coordination and negligence on the part of concerned agencies and authorities for not acting on the advanced intelligence inputs culminated in the suicide bombings of prominent hotels and churches in Colombo causing irreparable loss of human lives and property. The question as to how a 'little or unknown' radical group could carry out such a sophisticated bombing operation has left Sri Lankan and foreign intelligence experts stumped. Undoubtedly, Sri Lankan authorities have constituted a committee to conduct an investigation into lapses; nevertheless, the said committee will take its own time to come out with facts. Defence and intelligence experts attribute lack of preparedness as a significant factor enabling a little-known terror group to orchestrate such a deadliest terror attack. One expert has opined that terror attack of such a magnitude could be made possible by a much longer-term decline in functioning of security services and government. Taking cognizance of intelligence failure helps in ascertaining what its component parts mean.

Intelligence inputs ought not to be treated as mere raw information, rather these are cumulative output of the tireless efforts of well-trained personnel. This provides groundwork for the information analysts to collate, compare, evaluate and synthesize some information culled from other sources. Cognizance of the information experts along with their appropriate sense of judgment yields an analysis that provides meaning, relevance and accuracy to event-centric, situation-centric or issue-centric information that is to be made available to decision-makers for potential action. While emphasizing on according priority to both strategic intelligence as well as tactical intelligence, some defence experts insist on the fact that it enjoins upon the competent leaders with authority to be receptive to the intelligence inputs they receive and be bold enough to implement the same in letter and spirit. Failure of intelligence is attributable to laxity in security, absence of inter-departmental coordination, lack of synergy at inter-agency level, improper intelligence assessment and reluctance on the part of 'receptive leadership.'

Intelligence failure enables the perpetrators of terrorism to wreak havoc with the human lives and property thereby causing irreparable losses. What has happened in Sri Lanka, Pulwama and Uri in India recently, 9/11 in the United States, terror attack on Indian Parliament in India in 2001 and 26/11 in Mumbai etc., are such deadly incidents of intelligence failure. Some experts point that almost all top decision-makers in the United States had plenty of information by September 10, 2001 "but none of that got shared and therefore, didn't get synthesized' to create correct picture and the end-result was 9/11.

Undoubtedly, eternal vigilance is the price of freedom and our government is cautious enough about safeguarding the territorial integrity of the nation. We are equally proud of our Armed Forces and other security forces for their sacrificial spirit, valour and patriotism for the national cause. In order to cope with the menace of terrorism, which is not a nation-specific problem but a universal problem, well-coordinated efforts by all countries are needed to rein in terrorism.

— BK

Mission Shakti: A Leap Forward

Dr. Alok Kumar Gupta* & Ms. Shaily**

[In this brief article, authors have attempted to unravel technological spin-off accruing from India's success in launching of A-AST in the last week of March this year. While dwelling on India's capabilities in the realm of defence and space related technologies, the authors have also dealt with pros and cons of this new technological feat from the national, international, technological and international law perspectives. Ed.]

On March 27, 2019 India conducted Mission Shakti, an Anti-Satellite Missile Test (ASMT) from the Dr. APJ Abdul Kalam Island launch complex. This was a technical mission carried out by Defense Research and Development Organization (DRDO). It is a joint Program of the Defense Research and Development Organization (DRDO) and Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO). The satellite used in the mission was one of India's existing satellites operating in lower earth orbit. The DRDO's Ballistic Missile Defense interceptor used was a part of ongoing ballistic missile program.¹

What is A-SAT?

A-SAT is a weapon system that is designed to destroy or incapacitate a satellite in space. It is a missile based system to attack fast moving satellites in the Outer Space orbit. India shot down a satellite placed in Low Earth Orbit² (LEO) by an anti-satellite missile. The A-SAT program was named as 'Mission Shakti', which was completed in just three minutes.

The test successfully destroyed the low earth orbit satellite in space by using a missile which covered a distance of 300 km to engage the target. The interceptor was a three-stage missile with two solid rockets boosters. The A-SAT missile is among the most complex tests carried out by India and can be considered even more advanced

than the development of submarine-launched missile systems which was the last big breakthrough in Indian missile technology.

The Satellite

The A-SAT targeted a satellite which was Microsat-R, an imaging satellite that was launched by the ISRO on January 24, 2019 using a Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle (PSLV). The Satellite, weighing 740Kg, was placed in an orbit of 274 km above earth. The A-SAT shot down Microsat-R with a modified exo-atmospheric missile of the ballistic missile defence at an altitude of 300km.³ Currently there are 830 Satellites of USA orbiting in the outer space which is at the top and leads the world, followed by China with 280 Satellites. India has presently 54 satellites orbiting in the Outer Space.⁴

Why Indian Needed A-SAT?

China is a rival power of India not only in Asia and in global context but also in Outer Space as it had already developed this capability in 2007. China conducted another such test in the year 2017. International System being a system of self-help, India could not have relied on any outside power to have an assurance of providing security to its satellites under any eventualities of a threat. Therefore, Indian position is that A-SAT test has provided 'credible deterrence' against threats to space-based assets of India from long range missiles.⁵

Mission Shakti was undertaken to destroy the target which was an object in outer space. India has long developed the ability to intercept incoming missiles on its territory. In 2011,

* Associate Professor, Center for Political Studies, Central University of South Bihar, Gaya, Bihar.

* Research Scholar, Department of Political Studies, Central University of South Bihar.

modified Prithvi missile, mimicked the trajectory of a ballistic missile with a 600-km range.⁶ However, Space-based assets of India were still unsecured against any kind of threat. The current project has fulfilled the gaps.

Targeting and destroying satellites of the enemy can completely halt communication systems of a country and during conflict this would mean the enemy could fail to use its missiles or drones. A-SAT can destroy satellites for strategic military purposes. India's space program has been growing rapidly and thus such deterrence were the need of the hour. India has undertaken 102 spacecraft missions consisting of communication satellites, earth observation satellites, experimental satellites, navigation satellites, apart from satellites meant for scientific research and exploration, academic studies and other small satellites. India's space program is a critical backbone of India's security, economic and social infrastructure.⁷

The capability achieved through the A-SAT missile test provides credible deterrence against threats to India's growing space-based assets from long range missiles, and proliferation in the types and numbers of missiles as well as satellites. India has also been launching the satellites of other countries. Thus, it would also boost the image of India technological feat among the international aspirants and would create a commercial market for the same. It would also further repose the faith and trust of international customers of India in terms of reliability of India's technology of launch vehicles.

A Leap Forward

The A-SAT capability that India has come to acquire is indeed a great leap forward in many aspects.

Firstly, it is a matter of great pride for India and is a demonstration of technological prowess of India before the external world and global community. This has elevated India to the club of 'Space Super Powers'. India has already demonstrated its superiority in the field of space technology and has been launching number of

satellites of foreign countries. With A-SAT India has added another great feature in its cap.

Secondly, the test is seen as crossing new frontier just like India's 1974 and 1998 nuclear tests. Anti-satellite technology has so far been in the hands of very few countries. The successful execution of Mission Shakti has placed India into an elite club of space power. India now can boost itself to be member of the 'space superpower' club as stated above. The mission is an important step towards securing India's safety, economic and technological advancement. From the point view of India's security and economic development ASAT missile will give the country new strength and strategic outreach towards securing its assets in Outer Space.

Thirdly, the test is special as India has become fourth country to acquire a specialized and modern capability after USA, Russia and China. It means India is the fourth country in the whole of world to have acquired such a capability, which in itself speaks volumes about the feat.

Fourthly, entire effort of India is indigenous, which adds to India's credentials.⁸ India has acquired this capability through its own research and development by DRDO and ISRO.

Fifthly, India has a long standing and rapidly growing space program. It has expanded rapidly over the last decade that stands demonstrated by the test. The Mangalyaan Mission to Mars was successfully launched. Thereafter, the government has sanctioned the Gaganyaan Mission which will take Indians to outer space. India has undertaken 102 statecrafts missions consisting of communication satellite, earth observation satellites, and Experimental satellites, navigation satellites apart from satellite meant for scientific research and exploration, academic studies and other smaller satellites.

India's space program is thus by now a critical backbone of India's security, economic and social infrastructure. Overall this is a strong leap forward for India given the complexity of the involved technology, costly affair and the investment of time.

Mission Shakti—the Implications

This feat of India in the space has drawn both criticism and accolades depending upon the kind of implications that has been perceived by different countries and the people in different parts of the world. The test has sent a strong message to countries like China, that carried out a similar exercise first time in 2007 and the latest one in the year 2017.

Firstly, it is being said that this test of India would further add to the weaponization of the space. However, this test does not alter India's commitment against weaponization of Outer Space. India has also been advocating that it will continue to acquire high end technological weapons but will always maintain its stand of 'No First Use' (NFU). India is a peace-loving country and will continue to maintain its international personality to this effect.

Otherwise also this technology was first developed by US and it also had planned to develop Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) commonly known as Star War. It was a program which was all set to weaponize the Outer Space. One also need to understand that if the test conducted by US, Russia and China did not contribute towards weaponization of Outer Space then how come India's test be brandished for the same. Undoubtedly, responsibility lies on all the countries to maintain Outer Space as a 'No Weapon Zone' and 'No War Zone'.

Secondly, there are allegations that India may have violated Outer Space Law⁹ which is an international law. Indian Officials however said as per India's understanding, the test does not violate any international law or treaty obligations and is much less harmful than the Chinese A-SAT launched in 2007 that led to a large-scale scattering of debris in space that threatened other satellites. India is a party to all the major international treaties relating to Outer Space. It has been participating in all sessions of the UN Committee on the Peaceful use of Outer Space.

India supported UNGA resolution 69/32 on 'No First Placement of Weapons on Outer Space'.

India sees the 'No First Placement of weapons in Outer Space' as only an interim step and not a substitute for concluding substantive measures to ensure the prevention of an arm race, which should be a continued priority for the international community. India supports the substantive consideration of the issues of 'Prevention of an Arm Race in Outer Space' (PAROS) in the 'Conference on Disarmament' where it has been on agenda since 1982.¹⁰

Thirdly, that it has created debris in the outer space. According to Indian official reports, the test was done in the lower earth orbit to ensure that there is no space debris. Whatever the debris that generated will decay and fall back onto the earth within weeks. According to initial reports, the satellite targeted with an Anti-Satellite (A-SAT) missile under Mission Shakti was broken up into at least 270 pieces, most of which are expected to disintegrate within 45 days. This was also confirmed by the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD).

One of them was a large piece that has been deorbited and was estimated to be completely degraded by April 5, 2019. The rest of the pieces were estimated to disintegrate in less than 45 days.¹¹ However, five days after the test according to US finding i.e. by the head of American space agency NASA (National Aeronautics Space Administration) the destruction of satellite was 'terrible thing' and it had created 400 pieces of orbital debris and led to new dangers for astronauts aboard the International Space Station (ISS).¹²

According to some reports, the ISS is nearly 100 kilometers above the orbit in which the Indian A-Sate destroyed the satellite. According to US officials they had tracked about 60 pieces of 10 centimeters (six inches) or bigger. 24 of the pieces were going above the apogee of the ISS which is at 408 km according to US officials. Consequently, with the Indian test the risk of collision with the ISS has increased by 44% over 10 days. However, India admitted that it has conducted the test responsibly and that the pieces of debris will come back to the atmosphere of

the earth eventually and burn-up. US military has been currently tracking 23,000 objects larger than 10 centimeters. That includes about 10,000 pieces of space debris, of which nearly 3,000 were created by a single event: Chinese anti-satellite test in 2007 at 530 miles from the surface.¹³

Debris *in toto* is a huge problem in outer space. It composed of largely the defunct satellites and parts of launch vehicles etc. There is a difference with the debris from the anti-satellite mission since it is the destroyed parts of a satellite which happens to be of few tones. Therefore, in such cases the debris parts of the satellite are of smaller pieces.

Fourthly, there are also arguments that it was not needed for India. Allegedly, it would lead to an arms race in the outer space. However, according to Indian officials, the test was done to verify India which has capability to safeguard space assets. India has no intention of entering into arm race in outer space. India has always maintained that space must be used for peaceful purposes. India always believe that Outer Space is the common heritage of humankind and it is the responsibility of all space faring nations to preserve and promote the benefits flowing from advances made in space technology and its application for all.

Fifthly, the A-SAT space technology shows India's focus on security challenges, emanating beyond Pakistan. Since China which is in India's immediate neighborhood has acquired it, India had no choice but to go for the same, given the nature of India-China rivalry. The A-SAT weapon is likely to be the most potent military tool for the armed forces over the next few decades.¹⁴

Sixthly, the acquisition of this technology is expected to have spin-offs that India can exploit for commercial use, both domestically and globally. India has developed its own vehicles for commercial satellite launches and has been launching satellites of other countries.¹⁵ As stated above it would further strengthen the faith and trust of India's customer in the international

market to launch their satellites with commercial gains accruing to India.

Seventhly, the entire episode is expected to burnish also the nationalist credentials of the present political leadership, which has been putting emphasis on indigenously developed technology, skills and enterprise. Many of the programs like Atal Innovation Mission initiated by the present government delineate the importance of scientific discoveries and inventions at the schools and other levels. However, the way it was done on the eve of election and manner of sharing the information in the public has raised controversy. All such tests so far were announced by the Chairman of either ISRO or DRDO which ever agency did the major job. Yet this time the announcement to the public was made by the political leadership. Hence, it was unwarranted as the leadership requires to maintain maturity and strengthen the healthy traditions of such scientific and other institutions. Such occasions must not be used for political gains.

Conclusion

There is hardly any doubt that India has demonstrated a huge leap forward in the field space and defense related technological capability with the launching of A-SAT. However, Russia has already developed a clean technology known as laser technology to destroy satellites in Outer Space, which burns the satellites in the space without creating any debris. India needs to work on such technology for the future. India must take this challenge to develop a clean technology for itself.

This is needed for the fact that sooner or later this is going to initiate an arms race as more and more nation-states will try to develop this technology. This kind of arms race will contribute towards the creation of huge debris in the Outer Space which would surely have disastrous impact on the assets of different countries in space. India as a responsible nation-state must maintain the comity of nation-states and upheld the healthy traditions of arresting any damage to

globe as well as global community. If the arms race continues it may also create a war like situation by transforming space into a battle field even without deploying any weapons in the Outer Space. India must be concerned about it and act accordingly.

Notes

1. “Editorial, “Mission Shakti: What was Test? Which Satellite was used? MEA Issues Statement”, *Indian Express*, New Delhi, March, 27 2019 <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/mission-shakti-what-was-the-test-which-satellite-was-used-mea-issues-statement-5645068/>
2. Low Earth Orbit (LEO) refers to an Earth centered orbit at an altitude of 2,000 km.
3. Dinakar Peri, “Debris from anti-satellite test to disintegrate in 45 days: Official”, *The Hindu*, March 30, 2019. www.thehindu.com
4. Anonna Dutt and AFP, “India’s A-SAT test debris endangering ISS: NASA”, *Hindustan Times*, April 03, 2019.
5. Editorial, “India Tests its first anti- satellite Missile System Codenamed Mission Shakti”, *The Economics Times*, Delhi, March 28, 2019. <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/pm-modis-big-announcement-india-successfully-tests-anti-satellite-weapon/articleshow/68592702.cms>
6. Editorial, “What is Significant about Mission Shakti”, *The Hindu*, March 27, 2019. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/the-hindu-explains-what-is-significant-about-mission-shakti/article26652980.ece>
7. Abhishek Bhalla, “Decoded: Why Mission Shakti holds significance for India”, *MSN News, India Today*, March 28, 2019.
8. Editorial, “Mission Shakti Makes India Superpower, live satellite shoot down “”, *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, March 28, 2019. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/pm-narendra-modi-to-address-the-nation-soon-with-an-important-message/story-WUj0bVYMw34H4ySjT5NTVL.html>
9. The Principle International Treaty on space is the ‘Outer Space Treaty, 1967’ and India has already ratified it in 1982. This treaty prohibits only weapons of mass destruction in outer space, not ordinary weapons of the type. A-SAT is a weapon system which is not to be deployed in Outer Space.
10. Ibid., no.1.
11. Ibid., no.3.
12. Ibid., no.4.
13. Ibid., no.4.
14. Editorial, “What is Mission Shakti and why it is path breaking”, *Live Mint*, March 27, 2019. <https://www.livemint.com/news/india/what-is-mission-shakti-and-why-it-is-path-breaking-1553674516291.html>
15. Ibid., no.14.



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

Russia under Putin

Dr. Sandeep Tripathi*

[An attempt has been made by the author in this brief article to assess the role of Vladimir Putin in to restore Russia's status as a great power in the international politics and concurrently resurrecting Russian economy by addressing issues that have affected the lives of the Russian people in a manner that has ensured solutions of tricky problems. With specific focus om Chechnya issue, this article also deals with Russian domestic and foreign policies under the Putin regime under the first decade of the 21 Century. Ed]

(“Russia is going through one of the most difficult periods of its century-old history. Perhaps for the first time in the last 200- 300 years, it is facing the real danger itself in the second or even third echelon of world states” (Putin 1999.)

Charismatic leader emerges under the social distress and political anarchy. Goleman (1998) noted that different situations demand different leadership style. In fact post-Soviet Russia regime was a mixer of anarchy and oligarchy. Incompetence, nepotism and embezzlement were prevailing everywhere in the Russian federation. Russian economy was in ruins, its political system was in chaos and country's moral and social consciousness was low (Herspring 2007).

During the era of institutional distrust and demoralized nation, people have started to think about the rebuilding of dismantled state. Putin's leadership was determined to make modern great power which would be technically advanced, socially inclusive, economically strong and politically influential (Niconov 2004). Petrov (1999) noted:

“The political era associated with the name of Yeltsin is entering history. The regime proved unable to reproduce itself, and the change of leader will entail the change of the entire political system, based on the personal power of that leader.”

The strengthening of state authority was at the heart of Putin's core leadership. He has

dismantled non- institutional centres of power just as family, leading oligarchs, and head of the mass media outlets. His leadership initiated common rule for all economic and political actors. Some liberals began to criticize about the restoration of central authority by putting argument that Putin's reforms will pose potential threat to democracy and an attempt to establish authoritarian regime. Some groups of scholars hold that Putin is essentially determined to restore order and pride of the country. That is why he did not take radical step regarding the direct appointment of governors.

According to Putin, regional heads should be elected which would be part of our 'democratic constitutional order'. He made categorically clear that restoration of the state power should not be interpreted as an authoritarian model of state. Putin eloquently noted:

“Dear citizens, you know as well as I that the weakness of power affects above all millions of common people. The price of state disorder is personal insecurity, threats to property, housing and ultimately our future and that of our children. This is precisely why we need strong and responsible authority ... That is why I was elected Russian president, and it is this policy that I intend to pursue firmly and consistently in the future, just as we are doing today” (Sakwa 2008).

* Visiting Faculty at Amity University, Noida, UP.

He succeeded in maintaining order and stability during his first term (2000-2004). During this period, he was ambivalent regarding the balance between political freedom and authoritarianism. He has combined his authoritarian ways with economic liberalism and pro-West policy. As a pragmatic manager he launched new agenda: authoritarian modernization and partnership with the West (Shevtsova, 2010). Putin was not an ideological leader. His leadership is based on technical rationality and functionality rather than adhere to abstract principles.¹

On 16 May 2003, he addressed to the federal Assembly:

“Russia should be and will be a country with a developed society and stable democracy. Russia will guarantee with full human rights, civil liberties and political freedom. Russia should be and will be a country with a competitive market economy, a country where property rights are protected and where economic freedom makes it possible for people to work honestly and to earn without fear. Russia will be a strong country with modern well equipped and mobile armed forces, with an army ready to defend Russia and its allies and the national interests of the country and of its citizens. All this will and should create worthy living conditions for people and will make it possible to be an equal in the society of the most developed states. And people can not only be proud of such a country—they will multiply its wealth, will remember and respect our great history” (Putin 2003).

Putin’s leadership has initiated change, created new agenda and generated enthusiasm. He has re-designed national stature in the world community by combining two kinds of development-innovation in the economy and mobilization in politics. His policy agenda not only isolated from the legacy of more than half a century of communism but also sought to overcome the perceived excesses of Yeltsin period (Herspring, 2007). Putin’s lack of political biography and party affiliation provided him broader political and social base.

By introducing the principle of discipline and subordination he strengthened ‘line of vertical power’ and dismantled Yeltsin’s principle of ‘mutual convenience’ (Shevtsova 2001). Tsipko (2006) noted that “In Putin, Russia has not only rational, responsible, effective, competent, and sensible manager to run the company known as Russia; it also has a national leader with a true commitment, heart and soul, to the progress of national history.”

Let us see the personal traits of Putin’s personality which entail the likelihood of having long lasting impact on Russia’s future. Leader’s vision and traits are a determinant factor for the success or failure of any state. A newspaper article noted: “Putin must restore what Yeltsin destroyed. Russians want respect not sympathy.” Putin’s regime has forged new genre of leadership which provided an alternative both to a communist restoration and the incompetence of the democrats.²

Let us examine various aspects of Putin’s regime which have changed Russia’s identity domestically and internationally. His new federalism, economic reforms, foreign policy based on new realism and social pluralism triggered many observers to think about leadership of Putin. Protecting territorial integrity and maintaining political independence have been the fundamental national interest of state since its emergence.

Noted theorist of international studies Kenneth N. Waltz put very eloquently: “Each state pursues its own interest, however defined, in ways that it judges well. Force is a means of achieving the external ends of states because there exists no consistent, reliable process of reconciling the conflicts of interest that inevitably arise among similar units in a condition of anarchy” (Waltz 1990).

Since the collapse of USSR, Russian leadership has tried to re-define Russia’s identity in the world politics. During late 1990s, Russia began to restore its identity as an independent international actor in post-Cold war world. On

June 28 2002, Russia's foreign policy strategy has been declared which represents "Russian Federation as a Great Power.....one of the most influential centers of the world.....with a responsibility for maintaining security in the world both on a global and on a regional level" (Legvold 2001). The faster growth of post-Soviet Russia's economy and energy diplomacy laid the foundation for returning of great power.³

Nikitin (2008) has pointed out that Russian foreign policy would be based on five major factors: the character of leadership; status of the natural resources in which its economy is dependent; focuses on Central Asia, Caucasus, and Eurasian south rather than west; choice within Russian leadership between global super power and regional power; Choice within the Russian political forces for Isolationism, active nationalism, and globalism. Putin's leadership sought to be more active and have an assertive foreign policy which could re-establish Russia as a major global player. Putin launched a pragmatic, cautious and nuanced foreign policy. Under his leadership, foreign policy was based on a mix of Atlanticist and Eurasianists perspective. During the early 1990s, excessive Atlanticist has gone and began to trace of Eurasianism.

During the 1990s Russia's self-identity had been undermined by the Western-style modernization. Later it became evident that Putin would take the country on the line of Evgenii Primakov who had formulated multi-vector Foreign Policy. His presidential activism demonstrates that he would be more proactive in asserting Russia's status in global arena.

As it is put by the author of Trilateral Commission Report (2006): "Russia is essentially defensive and independent rather than aggressive and expansionist. Russia will use pressure of many kinds on less powerful neighbouring states and use leverage with major powers where it has itbut it does not seek confrontation with them.....The ambition of the present leadership is to re-establish Russia as a strong , independent,

and unfettered actor on the global stage"(Mankoff 2011).

He has described two fundamental models of a new world order. One is unipolar which means "might make right" and promotes war and expansion of military alliances. But Russia gave alternative vision by advocating multipolarity which was based on notion of globalization, interdependence, and the sovereignty of states. That is why Putin promoted the notion of OSCE as the determiner of continental security in Place of NATO. Putin's policy regarding the west is not like Yeltsin who was pro-West but at the same time he is not ant-West.⁴

Putin' leadership stressed that Russia's foreign policy should be based on realistic outlook. Putin has expressed his deep commitment to forge a 'new realism' which will be associated by the normative value with 'soft power'. His new realism will undermine the zero-sum logic of international politics. Sakwa (2010) has categorically outlined key features of 'New Realism':

First, Russian foreign policy would emphasize on geo-economy. Putin had insisted many times that domestic economic interest would be top priority while dealing state behavior. In a keynote address, Putin noted that integration into the world economy is the important strategic aim which can be realized by the promotion of Russia's economic interest. That is why he had decided to join the WTO and took membership of G8 despite the staunch domestic oppositions (Utkin 2006)).

Endorsing as a part of European cultural, Putin expressed his affinity with Europe. He asserted blatantly that "Russia was, is and will be European country by its location, its culture and its attitude toward economic integration" (Gower and Timmins 2009). Putin's has insisted on 'greater Europe' policy which was the key feature of his foreign policy.

Under the backdrop of second Chechen war and terror attack of September 11 on the USA, the issue of national security has become the priority for Putin's regime. Russia has dramatically joined the 'coalition against terror'. It was Putin who telephoned to Bush after the terror attack in USA. He has expressed his commitment by offering not only sympathy but also outlined five area of co-operation against 'international terrorism'.⁵ But at the same time Putin made it categorically clear that convergence of interest regarding global terrorism did not mean that Russia became junior partner of the USA.

Throughout 2000s, Putin's leadership has tried to improve its relationship with various multilateral organizations such as EU, NATO, and played instrumental role in SCO. Despite the rhetorical commitments for multilateralism, Putin has expanded bilateral relations with individual countries. Ivanov (2002) has insisted on bilateralism by pointing out that: "Russia's relations with various countries have qualitatively improved. Russia has become privileged partner with Germany, Great Britain, France Spain and others which is exceptionally valuable" Putin's second term was marked by the self- confident and assertive foreign policy which began to lose the core principle of 'new realism' and moves on toward traditional competitive realism.⁶

Under Putin's leadership, Russian foreign policy moved from regional power to global energy power. During the second term, Russia has given up the idea of joining to the West and redefined its orientations such as: policy of soft dominance in its neighborhood; equality with key power centers; and membership in a world multipolar order (Trenin 2009). Post-ideological cold war began to emerge. Divergence of interest came to fore in bilateral relations. Democratic imperialism of the USA began to emerge as a potential threat to Russian security.

Lieven (2006) noted thus: "Historians of the future will look back with amazement at US foreign policy at the turn of the millennium, especially with regard to Russia....at a movement when both the U.S. and Russia face the common enemy of Islamic terrorism-hard-liners within the Bush administration, especially the office of vice-president Dick Cheney, are arguing for a new tough line against Moscow along the lines of a scaled-down cold war.....some proposed US policy toward Russia seem deliberately provocative.....why castigate Moscow for working with dictatorships when Washington has long done the same thing, routinely accommodating any dictatorship possessed of sufficient oil? Why lecture Russia on the need to adopt 'universal market practices' and then howl when it raises its prices for supplying energy to its neighbors to market levels? Why give huge amount of U.S. aid to one Georgian leader after another just because they are anti-Russian, even after become corrupt potentates?"

Scholars argue that Putin has dramatically reoriented Russia's foreign policy by initiating many marked step. He has agreed with United States to cut nuclear arsenals by two-thirds. After 9/11, Putin adopted softened approach to NATO expansion in Baltic region. Even he did not oppose to the temporary stationing of Washington's troops in Central Asia. Russian federation sought to become member of the WTO.

Anatoli Chubais has rightly noted that "Russian foreign policy has turned around 180 degrees under the Putin leadership.....There may never have been a change on a similar scale in all the history of Russian statehood" (Treisman 2002). In February 2007, defining relationship between Moscow and Washington began to deteriorate after the Munich Security conference. In his speech, Putin embarked on a new confrontationist attitude in which he criticized US policy for 'forcing its will on the world'. Munich Speech has certain implications which obtained international significance.

Putin has strongly criticized the prevailing normative order: "...what is a unipolar world? However one might embellish this term, at the end of the day it refers to one type of situation, namely one centre of authority, one centre of force, one centre of decision- making. It is world in which there is one master, one sovereign. And at the end of the day this is pernicious not only for all those within this system, but also for the sovereign itself because it destroys itself from within.what is even more important is that the model itself is flawed because at its basis there is and can be moral foundations for modern civilizations"(Reshetnikov 2010).

US anti- missile shield sparked 'new Cold War' between Russia federation and USA. During second term, Putin began to reassert Russia's role in international arena. Russia has strongly resisted by giving message that U.S. must withdrawal its anti-missile shield from central Europe. He noted that "Unipolar model is not only unacceptable but also impossible in today's world". NATO's expansionist policy and role in Iraq, Iran, Balcones and its proposed anti-missile shield in eastern Europe triggered fears of a new cold war (Mahapatra 2007). Some scholars argued that Russia's leadership sought to display its rising geo-political and economic ambitions. Others noted that Russia has emerged from its volatile and chaotic situation of the 1990s and tried to reassert its role in international politics.

Lucas (2012) pointed out that both countries started blame game just as NATO attacked on Serbia and supported anti-Serbian separatist in Kosovo, same way Russia has attacked on Georgia and promoted anti-Georgian separatist in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. On August 2008, for the first time since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia has launched its military power abroad and recognized South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent states. The attack on Georgia was a stunning point to the West (Mankoff 2011).

Chechen crisis and Putin's leadership

Chechen crisis has certain implications for the Russia's national identity. Russian federation sought to redefine its political and cultural identity after the disintegration of USSR. Chechens have long historical legacy of resistance against Russia.⁷ Chechen problem has posed potential threat to the integrity of the federation since the collapse of the USSR. Daniels (1997) noted: "Chechnya, of course, is an extreme instance in relations between Moscow and its regions. However it serves as a warning that federalism may fail in Russian republics just as it failed in the Soviet Union as a whole, ground up between the millstones of imperial centralism and ethnic particularism". Russia does not want to grant national self-determination to Chechnya. Chechens and Russia federation both claimed about the resolve for the issue. Under the backdrop of Chechen conflict, radical Islam began to emerge across the North Caucasus which was supported by Afghan Taliban (Trenin 2004).

Post-Soviet Russian leadership conducted a referendum in which Chechnya did not participate. Subsequently it rejected to follow the constitution of the Russian federation which does not allow the right to secede. On 1st November 1991, a defining declaration had been made which claims that Chechnya was not a constituent part of Russian Federation. These centrifugal tendencies forced to Russian leadership to resort war against Chechnya. There was basic difference between the first and second Chechen war. Restoration of law and order was the basic cause behind the first Chechen war. During the second Chechen war, Chechens were explicitly involved in terrorist activist supported by Taliban and extremist groups. Russian federal law empowers the state authority to fight against terrorism (Makinen 2004).

Despite the harsh criticism by human right originations and other liberal forces, Putin took decision to forge war against Chechens which

decisively boomed his popularity as a strong ruler. Even later Putin was convinced by his decision by claiming that his 'counter-terrorist operations' has saved the country in making further disintegration.

Putin put it; "The situation in the Republic has become so difficult that this territory became bridgehead for expansion of international terrorism to Russia. The initial cause here was also the absence of unity. And Chechnya in 1999 recalled the former mistakes. And only the counter-terrorist operations could remove the threat of Russia's collapse. Professional soldiers helped to protect the dignity and integrity of the state."

Let us discuss how Putin's stand has been justified on various grounds. Vladimir Zorin has vindicated Putin's operation. Zorin argued that to resort to force was the sole option for resolving crisis. On moral and legal point of view, Putin's action was justified because Chechen leadership did not follow Khasavyurt agreement.⁸

Historically Putin's anti-terrorist operation has been justified. Safeguarding integrity and protect sovereignty has been the top priority for Russian leadership rather than the nature of the methods taken to reach that goal. Russia intends to eliminate Chechen and international terrorist who have taken up arms against the integrity and sovereignty of Russia. Never in the history of Russia have such attempts been left unfinished. And neither will they be now. Chechnya is and will be part of a United Russia (Shoigu 1999).

The leader of the Edinstvo parliamentary faction Gryzlov also justifies Putin's action by saying that that "Caucasus is the most important geostrategic place and Chechnya is the subject of the Russian federation". Strategically it becomes important for Russian leadership to protect the Chechen republic. Vladimir Pekhtin (2001) also vindicates by responding that "It completely coincides with the attitudes of the President toward Chechnya and with the policy which is adopted by the Government". Thus,

issue of Chechnya became more crucial for Putin's leadership from security point of view. Russia's cooperation with the United States of America in the war against terror changed the strategic equations. Shevtsova (2003) noted that U.S. remained quiet about Chechnya because of deepening bilateral relation with U.S.

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Notes

1. Putin knows the difference between rhetoric and reality. He blatantly rejected the notion of 'state ideology'. It does not flourish intellectual and spiritual freedom, demoralized ideological pluralism.
2. The dual nature of Putin's leadership would engage with the west which creates space for democracy and at the same time he adopted authoritarian means to build a hierarchy of power. He has destroyed the omnipotence of the regional elite, undermined the political influence of Oligarch and oligopolies.
3. Russia's economy is booming, its energy power upgraded Russia's profile in world community. Russia's energy diplomacy brought closer to many regional organizations.
4. Putin's era is known as pragmatic politics where national interest determines state behavior. Putin has tried to maximization of national power. Unlike Yeltsin, he was neither pro-West nor anti-East. He believes in New Realist theory which put emphasis on 'self-help'.
5. Putin was highly concerned for the rising extremism in Central Asia and Afghanistan which posed serious threat to Russia's national security. Joining hand with U.S. against extremism, radicalism, and terrorism was crucial strategic initiative for Russia's national interest.
6. Putin made it clear categorically that to fight against terrorism with USA did not mean that Russia became junior partner. His new realism has been diluted by the growing fear of new cold war. Munich speech laid foundation that Russia's foreign policy would play defining role in world politics.
7. Chechens did not feel as organic part of Russia federation. During the Soviet period Chechens strongly resisted to Soviet leadership. That is why since the collapses of USSR, separatist feeling began to emerge in Chechnya which led to war between Russian federation and Chechen Republic.
8. This agreement was signed on 31st August 1996 which ensured that Russia would withdrawal its solders from the territory of Chechnya. Later on another agreement was signed between Chechen elected President Aslan Maskhadov and Russian President Yeltsin which prohibits resorting force to resolve conflicts.



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China's American Dilemma

Prof. Anis H. Bajrektarević*

*(Author is chairperson and professor in international law and global political studies, Vienna, Austria. He has authored six books (for American and European publishers) and numerous articles on, mainly, geopolitics energy and technology. He is editor of the NY-based *GHIR* (Geopolitics, History and Intl. Relations) journal, and on the editorial board of several similar specialized magazines on three continents. His 7th book, 'From WWI to www. – Europe and the World 1918-2018' has been just released.)

Does our history only appear overheated, but is essentially calmly predetermined? Is it directional or conceivable, dialectic and eclectic or cyclical, and therefore cynical? Surely, our history warns. Does it also provide for a hope? Hence, what is in front of us: destiny or future?

One of the biggest (nearly schizophrenic) dilemmas of liberalism, ever since David Hume and Adam Smith, was an insight into reality; whether the world is essentially *Hobbesian* or *Kantian*. As postulated, the main task of any liberal state is to enable and maintain wealth of its nation, which of course rests upon wealthy individuals inhabiting the particular state. That imperative brought about another dilemma: if wealthy individual, the state will rob you, but in absence of it, the pauperized masses will mob you. The *invisible hand* of Smith's followers has found the satisfactory answer – sovereign debt.

That 'invention' meant: relatively strong central government of the state. Instead of popular control through the democratic checks-&-balances mechanism, such a state should be rather heavily indebted. Debt – firstly to local merchants, than to foreigners – is a far more powerful deterrent, as it resides outside the popular check domain. With such a *mixed blessing*, no empire can easily demonetize its legitimacy, and abandon its hierarchical but invisible and unconstitutional controls. This is

how a debtor empire was born. A blessing or totalitarian curse? Let us briefly examine it.

The Soviet Union – much as (the pre-Deng's) China itself – was far more of a classic continental military empire (overtly brutal; rigid, authoritative, anti-individual, apparent, secretive), while the US was more a financial-trading empire (covertly coercive; hierarchical, yet asocial, exploitive, pervasive, polarizing). On opposite sides of the globe and cognition, to each other they remained enigmatic, mysterious and incalculable: *Bear* of permafrost vs. *Fish* of the warm seas. Sparta vs. Athens. Rome vs. Phoenicia... However, common for the both was a super-appetite for omnipresence. Along with the price to pay for it.

Consequently, the Soviets went bankrupt by mid 1980s – they cracked under its own weight, imperially overstretched. So did the Americans – the 'white man burden' fractured them already by the Vietnam war, with the *Nixon shock* only officializing it. However, the US imperium managed to survive and to outlive the Soviets. How? The United States, with its financial capital (or an outfoxing illusion of it), evolved into a debtor empire through the Wall Street guaranties. Titanium-made *Sputnik* vs. gold mine of printed-paper... Nothing epitomizes this better than the words of the longest serving US Federal

Reserve's boss, Alan Greenspan, who famously said to then French President Jacques Chirac: "True, the dollar is our currency, but your problem". Hegemony vs. *hegemoney*.

House of Cards

Conventional economic theory teaches us that money is a universal equivalent to all goods. Historically, currencies were a space and time-related, to say locality-dependent. However, like no currency ever before, the US dollar became – past the WWII – the universal equivalent to all other moneys of the world. According to history of currencies, the core component of the non-precious metals money is a so-called promissory note – intangible belief that, by any given point of future, a particular shiny paper (self-styled as money) will be smoothly exchanged for real goods.

Thus, roughly speaking, money is nothing else but a civilizational construct about imagined/projected tomorrow – that the next day (which nobody has ever seen in the history of humankind, but everybody operates with) definitely comes (i), and that this tomorrow will certainly be a better day than our yesterday or even our today (ii). This and similar types of social contracts (horizontal and vertical) over the collective constructs hold society together as much as its economy keeps it alive and evolving. Hence, it is money that powers economy, but our blind faith in (constructed) tomorrows and its alleged certainty is what empowers money.

Clearly, the universal equivalent of all equivalents – the US dollar – follows the same pattern: Strong and widely accepted promise. What does the US dollar promise when there is no gold cover attached to it ever since the time of Nixon shock of 1971?

Pentagon promises that the oceanic sea lines will remain opened (read: controlled by the US Navy), pathways unhindered, and that the most traded world's commodity – oil, will be delivered. So,

it is not a crude or its delivery what is a cover to the US dollar – it is a promise that oil of tomorrow will be deliverable. That is a real might of the US dollar, which in return finances Pentagon's massive expenditures and shoulders its supremacy.

Admired and feared, Pentagon further fans our planetary belief in tomorrow's deliverability – if we only keep our faith in dollar (and hydrocarbons' energized economy), and so on and on in perpetuated circle of mutual reinforcements.

These two pillars of the US might from the East coast (the US Treasury/Wall Street and Pentagon) together with the two pillars of the West coast – both financed by the US dollar and spread through the open sea-lanes (Silicone Valley and Hollywood), are an essence of the US posture.

This very nature of power explains why the Americans have missed to take our mankind into completely other direction; towards the non-confrontational, decarbonized, de-monetized/de-financialized and de-psychologized, the self-realizing and green humankind. In short, to turn history into a moral success story. They had such a chance when, past the Gorbachev's unconditional surrender of the Soviet bloc, and the Deng's Copernicus-shift of China, the US – unconstrained as a *lonely superpower* – solely dictated terms of reference; our common destiny and direction/s to our future/s.

Winner is rarely a game-changer

Sadly enough, that was not the first missed opportunity for the US to soften and delay its forthcoming, imminent multidimensional imperial retreat. The very epilogue of the Second World War meant a full security guaranty for the US: Geo-economically – 54% of anything manufactured in the world was carrying the *Made in USA* label, and geo-strategically – the US had uninterruptedly enjoyed nearly a decade of the 'nuclear monopoly'. Up to this very day, the US

scores the biggest number of N-tests conducted, the largest stockpile of nuclear weaponry, and it represents the only power ever deploying this 'ultimate weapon' on other nation.

To complete the irony, Americans enjoy geographic advantage like no other empire before. Save the US, as Ikenberry notes: "...every major power in the world lives in a crowded geopolitical neighborhood where shifts in power routinely provoke counterbalancing". Look the map, at Russia or China and their packed surroundings. The US is blessed with neighboring oceans – all that should harbor tranquility, peace and prosperity, foresightedness.

Why the lonely might, an *empire by invitation* did not evolve into empire of relaxation, a generator of harmony? Why does it hold (extra-judicially) captive more political prisoners on Cuban soil than the badmouthed Cuban regime has ever had? Why does it remain obsessed with armament for at home and abroad? What are we talking about here – the inadequate intensity of our confrontational push or about the false course of our civilizational direction?

Indeed, no successful and enduring empire does merely rely on coercion, be it abroad or at home. However, unable to escape its inner logics and deeply-rooted appeal of *confrontational nostalgia*, the prevailing archrival is only a winner, rarely a game-changer.

To sum up; After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Americans accelerated expansion while waiting for (real or imagined) adversaries to further decline, 'liberalize' and bandwagon behind the US. *Expansion is the path to security* dictum only exacerbated the problems afflicting the *Pax Americana*. That is how the capability of the US to maintain its order started to erode faster than the capacity of its opponents to challenge it.

A classical imperial self-entrapment!! And the repeated failure to notice and recalibrate its imperial retreat brought the painful hangovers to Washington by the last presidential elections.

Inability to manage the rising costs of sustaining the imperial order only increased the domestic popular revolt and political pressure to abandon its 'mission' altogether. Perfectly hitting the target to miss everything else.

When the Soviets lost their own indigenous ideological matrix and maverick confrontational stance, and when the US dominated West missed to triumph although winning the Cold War, how to expect from the imitator to score the lasting moral or even a momentary economic victory?

Neither more confrontation and more carbons nor more weaponized trade and traded weapons will save our day. It failed in past, it will fail again any given day.

Interestingly, China opposed the I World, left the II in rift, and ever since Bandung of 1955 it neither won over nor joined the III Way. Today, many see it as a main contestant. But, where is a lasting success?

Greening international relations along with greening of economy (geopolitical and environmental understanding, de-acidification and relaxation) is the only way out. Historically, no global leader has ever emerged from a shaky and distrustful neighborhood, or by offering little bit more of the same in lieu of an innovative technological advancement. Ergo, it all starts from within, from at home. Without support from a home base, there is no game changer. China's home is Asia.

Hence, it is not only a new, non-imitative, turn of technology what is needed. Without truly and sincerely embracing mechanisms such as the NaM, ASEAN and SAARC (eventually even the OSCE) and the main champions of multilateralism in Asia, those being India Indonesia and Japan first of all, China has no future of what is planetary awaited – the third force, a game-changer, lasting and trusted global leader.



Journalism in the Age of Social Media

Umashankar Mishra* & Dr. Rashmi Bohra**

[Emergence of social media has changed the way how information is stored, published, searched and consumed. Now everybody has power to disseminate information through social media which can revolutionize the world within moments. Social media has also changed the news consumption pattern. Now audience is not much dependent on conventional news sources such as newspapers, television or radio for their information needs. This paper represents some key emerging journalism trends in the age of social media.]

A lot of transformation has been observed in journalism since the invention of the printing press in the 1400s by Gutenberg. It was in 1991, when Internet became available for the public, and since then daily business of the people has completely changed. The world's first website info.cern.ch began on August 6, 1991. This website was developed for the European Organization of Atomic Research, CERN. British computer scientist and father of World Wide Web, Tim Berners-Lee created this website.

With the creation of World Wide Web (www), existence of various kind of websites has come true. In the last few years, social media has occupied a large space on the Internet. There are approximately 4,346,561,833 active internet users in the world and this number is growing rapidly. Around 70 percent of these internet users daily coming into the cyber space because they want to use social media.

The term social media is used to express the type of media that provide an opportunity of conversation and interaction online. Social media is an electronic form of networking and communicating through text, pictures, video, blogs, status updates on sites such as Facebook, LinkedIn, MySpace or microblogs such as

Twitter. In today's era, social media has become an important part of life, which has many features, such as providing information, entertaining and educating are mainly involved.

Social media emerged as an effective platform for communication among communities and news-breaking tool as well. Due to the interference of social media, the concept of breaking news in mainstream media is shrinking.

A Twitter user had overtaken most news-maker companies by tweeting about the Bali bombings in July 2009. There are lots of other such examples. Recently, Google and Microsoft have started to integrate Twitter messages into their own search engines, this is a new feature that has been described as a real time search. Mainstream media is also adopting social media, especially with blogging and twitter, but not much discussed about its long term effects on journalism.

Some experts say that media organizations don't own the news anymore. In mainstream media, journalists considered to be gatekeeper of information. Now acceleration of social media has transformed their role of gatekeeping. Therefore, citizen journalism has to be taken into account. However, Responsibility and reliability of information disseminated through social media is a matter of concern. It is important for the audience to see how the news is being produced, from where the information comes, and how it works.

A lot of things can be seen, when we login twitter or Facebook. However, only Information dissemination cannot be considered as

* Research Scholar, Dept of Journalism & Mass Communication, Vardhman Mahaveer Open University, Kota.

** Director, Regional Centre (Vardhman Mahaveer Open University), Near Suraj Pole, Udaipur.

journalism. It needs more discipline, analysis, explanation and context in journalism. Many news organizations such as Huffington Post and Washington Post compete with each other not in terms of journalism, but in terms of its readers. Social media is not only important for citizen journalism, but it is also important for most of the media organizations in reaching out to the readers as well. Media houses are exploring ways to use social media for catching traffic for their websites; already many mainstream media organizations trying to capture web traffic with the help of social media.

Television, radio and newspapers are there and its competition is growing with interactive online media. Social websites emphasize user-generated content, ease of use and community participation. It allows for openness, organization and creating community in virtual space. Online publishers such as Wikipedia, MySpace, Facebook and YouTube are creating platforms instead of content, which can be used by any individual for publishing their own content.

News consumption today is not same as pre-satellite era when people had to wait for newspapers in the morning or they have to sit down at a fixed time for evening television news. More readers, viewers and listeners are going online for consuming news. It reflects in the annual (2008-09) report of the BBC that its television reach among the age group of 16-34 years has fallen between 2003 and 2008, from 82.6 percent to 75.4 percent. It is also revealed that the amount of BBC television viewership of teenagers has fallen from 39 minutes a day in 2003 to 24 minutes a day in 2008.

Pew Research Center's Annual Report (2011) has also found such noteworthy trends in American journalism. It is revealed in the report that every news platform saw decline in number of their audience except the web. Meantime in America, a study showed that 40 percent of those surveyed got most of the news content from online sources, up from 24% in 2007.

According to pew research center's report newsrooms of newspapers were found to be at

least 30% smaller than in 2000. Nearly half of the Americans were getting some form of news on their mobile devices. Above all, news stories are now breaking first on the social media platforms like Twitter.

Speed and immediacy considered to be the most useful aspects of social media in receiving news. Social media has empowered the newsmakers to publish stories online at any time of the day that is different with the old practice of submitting a story for the morning's newspaper.

Apart from challenges to journalism, there are opportunities as well. Journalists can use social sites as a source of their stories, to find interviewees, to promote their own writing, or to network with other journalists. Some journalists use Twitter as a source of input or quotations they seek for their stories, and to push their finished work out to new audiences. For journalists, now getting scoop or breaking news is also depends largely on what is trending on social media. The hashtag (#) is an important tool on various social media platforms such as twitter. It is helpful in tracking major stories trending on the social media. For example searching #climate change will bring up all other mentions of #climate change made by other users.

Digital journalism is dependent on advertisements, and that requires more clicks by readers. Social network sites can be big traffic drivers for media organizations looking for free online distribution for their content. Facebook uses an algorithm based on a software, to determine which articles get the most distribution. There are certain things online journalists can do to help their profession.

Recently Facebook has prioritized posts that include videos, particularly live streamed videos. Stories that are directly being published on Facebook network, are also prioritized – that means that the stories are hosted on Facebook so that users aren't clicking to head off to other websites. One can think this doesn't generate any clicks. It is true, but Facebook is advertising alongside such articles and sharing the revenue

with the publishers as incentive. Now publishers are not only changing the types of content they create (more videos), but it's also changing where that content lives online.

Social media platforms such as Twitter, has given journalists opportunity to build a public profile that would have been difficult few years ago. As a journalist, having a social profile allows readers to know you on a more personal level. It is expected that these social media followers will get the chance to enjoy quality journalistic work, not just the overdose of posts. Such kind of personalization is harmful as well particularly in the cases of female journalists as they can be targeted for harassment.

In the internet age, much of the news has become a conversation, and web journalists need to do as much listening to the community as they broadcast to them. The feedback of audience was always there, but they were not responded as much today they are getting attention of journalists. Now, many of these conversations are taking place online. Journalists are now managing and amplifying the conversations the community is having; conversations that will happen with or without them.

As the publishing of news through the social media platforms emerged as a trend in most of the organizations, the Social Media Reporters has also secured more space in the newsroom. Most of them are playing the role of multimedia journalists. The social media reporter works along with social media marketing staff and other newsmakers. They include editors, bloggers and other reporters.

Conclusion

Journalism is adapting according to time and the future journalists need to reinvent themselves accordingly. They have to prepare themselves to think where audiences are and how they are going to reach to them. It is also need to preserve the journalistic values such as accuracy, reliability and fairness. Overall, social media has done a quick job of changing a centuries-old profession. And the changes are still coming.

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Entrepreneurship, SMEs & Economic Growth

Basawaraj Kombin*

[Relationship between small business and entrepreneurship as well as also the difference between the two make it discernible that both are important. Concurrently, it also reveals as to where these overlap each other. In the early part of the last century, small businesses were both vehicles for entrepreneurship and source of employment & income generation. This scenario continued to rule the roost till the middle of the 20th century. Undoubtedly, in the post-independent India, small business continued to play important role in India's economy; nevertheless, from the 1960s onwards induction of large-scale industries into the national economy started affecting the role and contribution of small business in the overall economy in terms of raw material, production, transfer of technology and fiscal resources and marketing of products. However, government's central role in entrepreneurialism for the economy has, by its very nature, been enabling. Furthermore, entrepreneurship is acknowledged as a driver for economic growth, competitiveness and job creation.]

Entrepreneurship and small business are related but certainly not synonymous concepts. On the one hand, entrepreneurship is a type of behavior concentrating on opportunities rather than resources (Stevenson & Gumpert, 1991). This type of behavior can happen in both small and large business but also elsewhere. On the other hand, small businesses can be vehicle both for Schumpeterian entrepreneurs introducing new products and process that can change the industry and for people who simply run and own a business for a living (Wennekers & Thurik, 1999). The latter group includes many franchisees, shopkeepers and people in professional

occupations. They belong to what Kirchoff (1994) calls "the economic core".

That both entrepreneurship and small businesses matter is not a new observation. In particular, they are important where they overlap. This is in the area of new small and often fast-growing businesses. However, the way in which they matter has evolved over time. During the first decades of the last century, small businesses were both a vehicle for entrepreneurship and a source of employment along with income generation. This is the era in which Schumpeter (1912) conceived his *Theory of Economic Development*. Here Schumpeter (1912) emphasizes the role of the entrepreneur as a prime cause of economic development.

* Asst. Prof. of Economics, Govt F.G. College, Jewargi,

He describes how the innovating entrepreneur challenges incumbent firms by introducing new inventions that make current technologies and products obsolete. This process of creative destruction is the main characteristics of what has been called the Schumpeter Mark I regime.

During the post-War years, small business still mattered, increasingly less on the grounds of economic efficiency, and more for social utility. At a time when large firms had not yet gained their powerful position in the 1960s and the 1970s, small businesses were the main supplier of employment and hence of social and political stability. Scholars, such as Schumpeter (1942), Galbraith (1967) & Chandler (1977), had, however, convinced the economists, intellectuals and policy makers of the post-War era that the future was in the hands of large corporations and that small business would fade away as the victim of its own inefficiencies.

Policy in the United States was divided between allowing for the demise of small business on economic grounds, on the one hand, and preserving at least some semblance of a small-enterprise sector for social and political reasons, on the other. Small business, it was argued, was essential to maintaining US democracy in the Jeffersonian tradition. Certainly, passage of the Robinson-Patman Act (Foer, 2001), which has been accused of protecting competitors and not competition (Bork, 1978), and creation of the United States Small Business Administration were policy responses typical of a Schumpeter Mark II regime.

In *Capitalism, Socialism & Democracy*, Schumpeter (1942) focuses on innovative activities by large and established firms. He describes how large firms outperform their smaller counterparts in the innovation and appropriation process through a strong positive feedback loop from innovation to increased R&D activities. This process of creative accumulation

is the main characteristic of what has been called the Schumpeter Mark II regime.

In Audretsch & Thurik (2001) the two Schumpeterian regimes are used in the framework of two broader concepts of organizational economies:

1. The managed; and
2. The entrepreneurial

They introduce the concept of the managed economy that flourished for most of the last century. It was based on relative certainty in outputs, which consisted mainly of manufactured products, and in outputs, which consisted mainly of land, labor & capital. The twin forces of globalization and the telecommunications and computer revolutions have drastically reduced the cost of shifting not just capital but also information out of the high-cost locations of Europe into lower-cost locations around the globe. This means that economic activity in a high-cost location is no longer compatible with routinized tasks. Rather, globalization has shifted the comparative advantages of high-cost location to the knowledge-based activities, and in particular search activities, which cannot be freely transferred around the globe.

Knowledge as an input into economic activity is inherently different from land, labour and capital. It is characterized by high uncertainty, high asymmetries across people and is costly to transact. The response to a trend establishing knowledge as the main source of comparative advantages is the entrepreneurial economy. Audretsch & Thurik (2001) identify 15 characteristics that differ between the entrepreneurial and managed economies and provide a framework for an understanding as to how the entrepreneurial economy fundamentally differs from the managed economy.

The aim of the present contribution is to show that, since the 1970s, the world has changed considerably, and that this change has had

consequences for the current policy debate. It deals with some aspects of the recent scientific literature on the relation between entrepreneurship and small business, on the one hand, and economic growth, on the other. In particular, it gives a summary of some work of the EIM/CASBEC research group in The Netherlands. It refers to scientific analyses showing that countries that are lagging behind in the process of restructuring will pay a penalty in terms of forgone growth (see Caree & Thurik (2003) for an extensive survey of the literature on the relation between entrepreneurship & economic growth).

Small business as a vehicle for entrepreneurship

In today's world, small business is a social good that should be maintained at an economic cost of the important role of entrepreneurship. Indeed, recent econometric evidence suggests that entrepreneurship is a vital determinant of economic growth (Audretsch & Thurik, 2000; Audretsch *et al.*, 2002b; Caree & Thurik, 1999; Caree *et al.*, 2002; Audretsch *et al.*, 2001). According to Audretsch *et al.* (2002a), a cost in terms of forgone economic growth will be incurred from a lack of entrepreneurship. The positive and statistically robust link between entrepreneurship and economic growth has now been verified across a wide spectrum of units of observation, spanning the establishment, the enterprise, the industry, the region, and the country.

Thus, while small business has always mattered to policy makers, the way in which it has mattered has drastically changed. Confronted with rising concerns about unemployment, job creation economic growth and international competitiveness in global markets, policy makers have responded to this new evidence with a new mandate to promote the creation of new businesses, i.e. entrepreneurship (see Reynolds *et al.* (2000)). Initially, European policy makers

were relatively slow to recognize these links but since the mid-1990s there has been building rapid momentum in crafting appropriate approaches (see EIM/ENSR (1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997) & Audretsch *et al.* 2002b)).

Yet, without a clear and organized view of where and how entrepreneurship manifests itself, policy makers are left in uncharted waters without an analytical compass. This explains the variation in their responses (European Commission, 2000, 2001; Audretsch *et al.*, 2002b). The so-called Green Paper (European Commission, 2003) is the first EU document extolling the virtues of entrepreneurship as the most important driver in the economy and paving the way for Union-wide stimulation programmes.

Evidence of the shift to small business and entrepreneurship

There is ample evidence that economic activity moved away from large firms to small firms in the 1970s and the 1980s. The most impressive and also the most cited is the share of the 500 largest US firms, the so-called *Fortune 500*. Their employment share dropped from 20 per cent in 1970 to 8.5 per cent in 1996 (Carlsson, 1992, 1999). European data dealing with the size distribution of firms were not available in a systematic manner until recently.

However, Eurostat has begun publishing yearly summaries of the firm-size distribution of (potential) EU- members at the two-digit level for the entire business sector. The efforts of Eurostat are supplemented by the European Network of SME Research (ENSR), a cooperation of 19 European institutes. This organization frequently publishes a report on the structure and the development of the small business sectors in 19 European countries (see EIM/ENSR (1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997) & European Commission (2000, 2002))

Additionally, the annual *Global Entrepreneurship monitor* will be contributed

to our knowledge of the rate of entrepreneurship, because it assembles unique data on nascent entrepreneurship and new business start-ups in a large number of countries across various phases of economic development (see Reynolds *et al.* 2000, 2001, 2002)).

Cause of the change

Acs and Audretsch (1993) & Carlsson (1992) provide evidence concerning manufacturing industries in countries in varying stages of economic development. Carlsson (1992) advances two explanations for the shift toward smallness. The first deals with fundamental changes in the world economy from the 1970s onwards. These changes related to the intensification of global competition, the increase in the degree of uncertainty and the growth in market fragmentation. The second explanation deals with changes in the character of technological progress. Carlsson shows that flexible automation has various effects, resulting in a shift from larger to smaller firms. The pervasiveness of changes in the world economy, and in the direction of technological progress, results in a structural shift affecting the economies of all industrialized countries.

Also, Piore & Sable (1984) argue that the instability of markets in the 1970s resulted in the demise of mass production and promoted flexible specialization. This fundamental change in the path of technological development led to the occurrence of vast diseconomies of scale.

This shift away from large firms is not confined to manufacturing industries. Brock & Evans (1989) show that this trend has been economy-wide, at least for the USA. They provide four more reasons why this shift has occurred:

1. The increase in labour supply leading to lower real wages & coinciding with an increasing level of education;
2. Changes in consumer tastes;

3. Relaxation of (entry) regulations; and
4. The fact that we are in a period of creative destruction.

Loveman & Sengenberger (1991) stress the influence of two trends of industrial restructuring: that of decentralization and vertical disintegration (the breaking-up of large plants and businesses) and that of the formation of new business communities. These intermediate forms of market coordination flourish owing to declining costs of transaction. Furthermore, they emphasize the role of public and private policies promoting the small business sector. Audretsch & Thurik (2000) point to the necessary shift towards the knowledge-based economy being the driving force behind the move from large to smaller businesses. In their view globalization and technological advances are the major determinants of this challenge of the Western countries (see Loveman & Sengenberger, 1991; Act *et al.*, 1999; Carree *et al.*, 2002) for a further documentation of industrial changes and their causes.

Consequences of the change

The causes of this shift are one thing. Its consequences cover a different area of research. Acs (1992) began the discussion. He distinguishes four consequences of the increased importance of small firms:

1. a vehicle for entrepreneurship;
2. routes of innovation;
3. industry dynamics; and
4. job generation.

His claims are that small firms play an important role in the economy, serving as agents of change by their entrepreneurial activity, being the sources of considerable innovative activity, stimulating industry evolution & creating an important share of the newly generated jobs. Baumol (1993) amply deals with the role of entrepreneurial

activities and the different effects it may have. The role of smallness in the process of innovative activities is investigated extensively by Acs & Audretsch (1990) & Audretsch (1995).

The discussion of the relation between the role of small firms and industry dynamics is spread out: examples can be found in Audretsch (1995). Cohen & Klepper (1992) focus on the role of the number of firms and diversity for obtaining that the change is of major importance and talk about the shift from the managed to the entrepreneurial economy (see also Audretsch & Thurik (2004)).

The growth penalty

In short, a series of studies has identified that the industry structure is generally shifting towards an increased role for small enterprises. However, the extent and timing of this shift are anything but identical across countries. Rather, the shift in industry structures has been heterogeneous and apparently shaped by country-specific factors (Carree *et al.*, 2002). Apparently, institutions and policies in certain countries have facilitated a greater and more rapid response to globalization and technological change, along with the other underlying factors, by shifting to a less centralized industry structure than has been the case in other countries (Audretsch *et al.*, 2002a). An implication of this high variance in industry restructuring is that some countries are likely to have industry structures that are different from “optimal”.

But what determines this “optimal” structure? It is beyond the scope of this paper to define or even discuss this (Audretsch *et al.*, 2002a). For intimation, we have to refer to the field of industrial organization. There is a long-standing tradition in this field devoted to identifying the determinant of industry structure. Scherer & Ross (1990) and Chandler (1990) expand the determinants of optimal industry structure to include other factors as well as the underlying

technology. Dosi (1988, p. 1157), in his systematic review of the literature in the *journal of economic literature*, concludes that each production activity is characterized by a particular distribution of firms.

Conclusion

Government policy in the managed economy was largely about control. High certainty with respect to technology and stability of mass consumer markets dictated that it was known what to produce, how it should be produced, and who would produce it. This led to a predominance of scale economies. The role of government was to constrain the power of large corporations, which were needed for efficiency under mass-production, but posed a threat to democracy through their concentration of power. Under the managed economy, the policy debate aimed at competition policies (antitrust), regulation and public ownership of business.

In the entrepreneurial economy, these constraining policies have become increasingly irrelevant. The central role of government policy in the entrepreneurial economy is enabling in nature. The focus is to foster the production and commercialization of knowledge. Rather than focus on limiting the freedom of firms to contract through antitrust, regulation and public ownership, government policy in the entrepreneurial economy targets education, increasing the skill and human capital of workers, facilitating the mobility of workers and their ability to start new firms, lowering administrative burdens for small business and promoting knowledge transfer to innovative new enterprises.

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Evolution of Political Science Studies

Dr. Padmanna Pujari*

[This article presents a brief appraisal of the evolution of the study of political science from the Platonic, Aristotelean perspective to Neo-Platonic tradition to shifting focus on political history from political philosophy under Machiavellian influence to impact of Lieber and its further journey in the United States where some of the leading universities of the nineteenth century contributed to the evolution of political science from different perspectives, ranging from positivists to constructivists to behavioralists. Ed.]

The first efforts to systematically study politics can be traced to Plato's Republic (c. 427 –c. 347 BCE) and Aristotle's politics (384-322 BCE). Their works were later incorporated into Christianity through Neo-Platonists, such as St. Augustine (354-430 CE), and neo- Aristotelians, such as St. Thomas Aquinas (c.1225-1274 CE). The classical and Christian tradition of political philosophy postulated metaphysical first principles and relied on a process of deductive reasoning that sought to derive the moral and ethical principles of an ideal-state was ever achieved by any civilization was considered secondary to discovering the "highest good "that ought to guide citizens and statesmen.

The political writings of Machiavelli were the first to break with these traditions of political philosophy. Machiavelli believed that the study of political history could yield general principles to guide statesmen in the conduct of politics, diplomacy, and war. He studied existing and historical political institutions, and the action of great statesmen, not for the purpose of discerning a morally ideal –state, but to identify institutional arrangements that would maintain social order and political stability.

The separation of politics from any metaphysical or theological foundation led subsequent political philosophers to seek a new basis for legitimate political authority, although, in the end, solution such as reason, natural law, custom, and tradition were superseded by the idea that sovereignty resides in a nation's people.

From Political Philosophy to Political Science

Francis Lieber (1798-1872) is considered the first modern political scientist. He was a liberal German émigré to the United States, who from 1827 to 1832 devoted himself to writing and editing the thirteen –volume Encyclopedia Americana. Its major contribution was to establish "the idea of the state," or Staatswissenschaft, as the organizing concept of political science. The idea of the state was gaining wide currency in Europe, particularly in Germany, but it was Lieber who first argued in the United States that the "idea of the state is the basis of a class of sciences, and gives them a distinct character as belongs to the various classes of history, philosophy, the theological, medical, and other sciences" (1838, Vol. 10, p. 225).

He drew a distinction between idea of the state and the "form of government," which was "merely a means of obtaining the great objects of the state" (1838, Vol.11, p. 568). Against the

* Asst. Prof. of Pol. Sc., Govt Women's First Grade College, Jewargi, Kalaburagi.

backdrop of events leading up to the U.S. Civil War, Lieber articulated a distinctly idealistic theory of the state which identified the state as an abstract and organic sovereign society that was the source of governmental authority & the basis of its legitimacy. Lieber's appointment as professor of history & political science at Columbia University in 1857 made him the first person to hold that title in the United States.

The Domain and Methods of Political Science

After Lieber, political science was established as a broader discipline when Johan W. Burgess, a professor of constitutional law, founded the Faculty of Political Science at Columbia in 1880. Burgess's school became the leading graduate Faculty in political science during the 1890s along with the department of History, politics, and economics, which had been established by Henry Baxter Adams at Johns Hopkins University in the 1870s. Burgess & Adams were both adherents of the *Staatswissenschaft* doctrine, but they shifted the discipline's methodological emphasis from political ethics to history.

In 1886, Columbia's faculty founded the *Political Science Quarterly (PSQ)*, which was the new discipline's first scholarly journal. In its first issue, Edmund Munroe Smith, a professor of international law, announced that it would "recognize but one political science- the science of the state" (1886, pp. 2-3). However, the *PSQ* also facilitated a new departure in *staatwissenschaft* by emphasizing that it was one thing to describe the state's development, comparatively and historically, but more was required to *explain* changes and development in the state. Smith argued, "if we seek to trace through history the evolution of the state, we find each step in its development recorded in the evolution of the law & explained to a great degree by economics changes." The economic

interpretation of history was developed first by James E. Thorold Rogers (1823-1890), a professor of political economy at Oxford University, whose work stimulated the next advance in the discipline.

The Economic Basis of Politics

The populist revolt and the progressive movement were fertile political environments for an intellectual revolt against the formalist-idealism of the early discipline. The method of economic interpretation led to a new iteration of *staatswissenschaft* that seemed better able to explain the political conflicts of the era. During the 1890s, there were several miscues in the effort to define "the method of economic interpretation," including both skirmishes and dialogues with Marxian historical materialists. The major breakthrough came from Edwin R. A. Seligman, a political economist in Columbia's Faculty of political science. Seligman's general statement of the economic interpretation of history is that:

The existence of man depends upon his ability to sustain himself; the economic life is therefore the fundamental condition of all life. Since human life, however, is the life of man in society, individual existence moves within the framework of the social structure & his modified by it... To economic causes, therefore, must be traced in the last instance those transformations in the structure of the society which themselves condition the relations of social classes and the various manifestation of social life (1967, p.3).

The method of economic interpretation was widely adopted by political scientists in the early twentieth century, particularly after Seligman had differentiated it from Karl Marx's historical materialism. Nevertheless, the method of economic interpretation is most often identified

with the work of Charles A. Beard, one of Seligman's students, and the author of *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913). In its political context, the book became an intellectual lightning rod, because according to Beard capitalistic interest had dominated the U. S. Constitutional Convention of 1787 and, consequently, they authored a founding document that appealed "directly and unerringly to identical interests in the country at large" (p.188). Beard later sought to generalize this doctrine in *The Economic Basis of Politics* (1992).

The Positivist Movement

During the 1930s, there began a paradigm shift in political science that culminated in the behavioral revolution of 1950s. The first aspect of this paradigm shift was a redefinition of the meaning of "science". The positivist movement sought to place political science on the same methodological foundation as the natural sciences. This movement was also promoted by the federal government, which was anxious to bring about the same type of technical success in the social sciences as had been achieved in the physical, life, & behavioral sciences (psychology) during the First World War.

Positivists claim that all research is similar in method and differs only in the specific problem to be solved by a particular science. Thus, there is single "scientific method" that starts with the formulation of a hypothesis, followed by empirical observation or experimentation, which leads to a falsification or verification of the initial hypothesis. Knowledge is accumulated incrementally as hypotheses are rejected or accepted as a result of empirical tests.

The Behavioral Revolution

The positive influence reached its apogee in the "behavioral revolution" of the 1950s, which consolidated the discipline's paradigm shift, first, by codifying behavioral methodology and, second, by finally rejecting outright the concept of the state. The behavioral broke with the earlier practice of political scientists by claiming to have discovered a "value-neutral" science and by viewing all earlier works on politics as merely a storehouse of hypotheses for empirical falsification or verification. This attitude toward political philosophy widened the long simmering rift between empirical political science and normative political theory with the latter regarded as an "unscientific" legacy of the discipline's past.

Easton's model of the political system stimulated a great deal of research over the next two decades on decision making, interest groups, political communications, political parties, elections and voting behavior, legislative behavior, political socialization political beliefs, and the policy process. These fields of research have also been characterized by ever increasing level of sophistication in the use of statistical techniques & concepts. However, the system model was often limited in applicability by its emphasis on system stability and the assumption of institutional arrangements peculiar to Western democracies.

These limitations were partly addressed by the functionalists, who employed a modified concept of the political system that focused on "functions" and "processes," while acknowledging that the same functions could be fulfilled in various political systems through different processes or institutions. Functionalism was particularly influential in the study of comparative politics and Western political systems, where there were different institutional arrangements or where the

use of statistical techniques was hampered by the absence of data & technology.

During the 1950s the political science discipline also assumed its current form as a collection of distinct subfields with most political scientists specializing in one or two subfields, while having less and less interaction with practitioners in other subfields of the discipline. The standard subfields are American government, comparative politics, international relation, political theory, public policy, although the two latter “applied” fields have often been shifted into separate academic units, such as schools of public administration or public policy, while political theory is now actually practiced as often by historians, philosophers, & literary critics as by political scientists.

Political Science, Behavioral

Behavioral political science is an approach to the study of politics that claims to be more “scientific” and methodologically sophisticated than the older, so-called “traditional” political science. Although the study of politics & government dates back to Plato and Aristotle, Greek philosophers in the fourth century BCE, political science only emerged as a separate academic discipline toward the end of the nineteenth century. Since that time, the science of politics has shifted from a descriptive focus on political history, formal institutions, & legal codes to a more “behavioral” emphasis upon decision-making processes, the political behavior of individuals & groups, and their informal relationship. Methodologically, behavioral political science has replaced the predominantly historical, legalistic, & institutional studies of the traditional approach which the more empirical

methods of modern social science, borrowed mostly from the field of psychology.

Broadly defined, the traditional approach of political science was concerned with the purpose, nature, and organization of the “state,” stressing humanistic, ethical, & philosophical perspectives. The traditionalists shared a preference for intensive case studies & other qualitative observations in which inferences were derived on the basis of subjective norms and values. Quantitative methods were only rarely used, because the traditionalists doubted that the “scientific method” of the natural sciences could be successfully applied to the investigation of the more indeterminate human behavior.

Research typically focused on the detailed description of historical data, political institutions, constitutions, & legal systems, earning traditionalists the label of “hyper-factualists.”

Traditionalist political scientists regarded both empirical and normative questions as equally worthy of scholarly attention, often undertaking their studies because of strongly held personal opinions about the nature of politics. Many of their inquiries showed a normative or prescriptive slant, trying to describe the general principles and best-suited institutions of “good” government. They were also inclined to examine the influence of human values in politics and prescribe specific public policies.

Behavioralist-oriented political scientists try to be more rigorous & disciplined in their research, seeking scientific precision by the quantification and measurement of collected data, through the formulation and systematic testing of empirical hypotheses.



Gandhi's Views on Truth and Non-Violence

Dr. Deepan Das*

[Gandhi is known for propounding the philosophy of Satya and Ahimsa. He was a pre-eminent political and spiritual leader of India during the Indian independence movement. Gandhi dedicated his life to the wider purpose of discovering truth. He tried to achieve this by learning from his own mistakes and conducting experiments on himself. He called his autobiography 'The story of my experiments with truth' - A confessional document of unique appeal. Gandhi got his practical understanding of Ahimsa from his mother. Gandhi was a potent instrument for social and collective transformation. It was in this Gandhian emphasis on love and non-violence that King Martin Luther Jr. discovered the method for social reform that he had been seeking.]

Gandhi was the architect of India's freedom and one of the greatest men of the century. He was a seeker after truth and had developed the conviction early in life that truth could be reached only through non-violence. He was a man of action who reacted with vigour to every critical situation of political, social, religious or cultural conflict that he was faced with and tried to resolve it by truthful and non-violent means. He always practiced what he taught. He did not do evil to anybody; and also, he did not even consider the evil doer as wicked. He wished him well, and wished all well. He looked upon all with love and worked all through life to put an end to hatred and to spread love. That is why he is called Mahatma, the great soul. He is officially honored as the Father of the Nation.

Truth & Non-Violence

Non-violence for Gandhi was linked up with truth. Truth was the end. Non-violence was the means of reaching it. It was not merely a negative step of harmlessness but a positive step of love of doing good even to the evil doer. Truth and non-violence were described by Gandhi "as the two sides of a coin, or a smooth, unstamped

metallic disc", there being no heads or tails in it. Pursuit of truth did not admit of violence being enforced on one's opponent.

Non-Violence a Great Force

Non-violence for Gandhi was a great "Force", and it was here that he differed from the traditional advocates of non-violence who had talked of non-violence in a negative sense and associated it with non-killing of human beings and sometimes extended it to the non-killing of animal life.

For Gandhi, non-violence was something positive and involved as the very essence of it, action. He threw himself heart and soul into the centre of the struggle, whenever he found it necessary to carry on a struggle and tried to build up non-violence into a powerful instrument of resolving the struggle.

Conflict Resolution Approach

It would not be correct to describe it as a conflict management approach, which involves a certain degree of bargaining. It would be more appropriate to describe it as a conflict resolution approach, which believes in carrying the conflict to a stage where it is resolved once for all, to the entire satisfaction of the two, or several parties

* Asst. Prof. in Pol. Sc., R.G. Baruah College, Guwahati, Assam.

to the struggle. Not that he always succeeded in it, but that was his objective.

His technique of non-violence was directed primarily to political and social change and sometimes towards changing the character of the human beings who were in close contact with him. Doing good to the evil-doer, according to Gandhi, does not mean “helping the evil-doer to continue the wrong or tolerating it by passive acquiescence”.

One had to resist the wrong doer by dissociating himself completely from him, even though it might harm him, or injure him physically, as long as the inspiration behind action was that of love and not of anger.

No Distinction between Ends and Means

For Gandhi there was no distinction between ends and means. He treated them as a continuum. Adoption of wrong means could never lead to right results. One could not hope of getting a rose by planting an obnoxious weed. He compared the means to a seed and the end to a tree. “We reap exactly as we sow”. He was, therefore, convinced that swarajya obtained through untruthful and violent means would inevitably lead to tyranny and exploitation. He was mainly interested in training the countrymen in following the path of truth and non-violence.

Self – Suffering

Self-suffering was an indispensable part of the struggle for the attainment of truth through non-violence. The technique of Satyagraha that Gandhi developed involved not only truth and non-violence but also self-suffering. Self-suffering which he regarded as “non-violence in its dynamic condition” had to be conscious. “Conscious suffering” did not mean to Gandhi “meek submission to the will of the evil doer”. It meant, on the other hand, “the pitting of one’s

whole soul against the will of the tyrant”. He himself continued to do so till the end of his life.

Gandhi has perhaps been best understood by Martin Luter King Jr. In the words of Martin Luter King Jr.: “Love for Gandhi was a potent instrument for social and collective transformation. It was in this Gandhian emphasis on love and non-violence that I discovered the method for social reform that I had been seeking for so many months. The intellectual and moral satisfaction that I failed to gain from the utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill, the revolutionary methods of Marx and Lenin, the social contract theory of Hobbes, the “back to nature” optimism of Rousseau, I found in the non-violent resistance philosophy of Gandhi. I came to feel that this was the only morally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom”.

On September 13, 1931, Gandhi delivered a radio address to the American people. Gandhi did not write out this speech in advance; his remarks were completely extemporaneous.

“The struggle for freedom drawn the attention of the world I know does not lie in the fact that we Indians are fighting for our liberty, but in the fact that the means adopted by us for attaining that liberty are unique and as far as history shows us, have not been adopted by any other people of whom we have any record. The means adopted are not violence, not bloodshed, not diplomacy but they are purely and simply truth and non-violence no wonder that the attention of the world is directed towards this attempt to lead a successful bloodless revolution... we feel that the law that governs brute creation is not the law that should guide the human race. That law is inconsistent with human dignity... I have called suffering a process of self-purification. It is my certain conviction that no man loses his freedom except through his own weakness”.

Basic Aspects of Non-Violence

Gandhi often said that if cowardice is the only alternative to violence, it is better to fight. He made this statement conscious of the fact that there is always another alternative: no individual or group need submit to any wrong, nor need they use violence to right the wrong; there is the way of non-violent resistance. This is ultimately the way of the strong man. It is not a method of stagnant passivity.

The phrase “Passive resistance” often gives the false impression that this is a sort of “do-nothing method” in which the resister quietly and passively accepts evil. But nothing is further from the truth.

For a while the non-violent resister is passive in the sense that he is not physically aggressive toward his opponent, his mind and emotions are always active, constantly seeking to persuade his opponent that he is wrong. The method is passive physically, but strongly active spiritually. It is not passive non-resistance to evil; it is active non-violent resistance to evil.

A second basic fact that characterizes non-violence is that it does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and understanding. The non-violent resister must often express his protest through non-cooperation or boycotts, but he realizes that these are not ends themselves; they are merely means to awaken a sense of moral shame in the opponent.

Another point concerning non-violent resistance is that it avoids not only external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit.

Another basic fact about non-violent resistance is that it is based on the conviction that the universe is on the side of justice. Nonviolence can touch men where the law cannot reach them. The way of non-violence means a willingness to

suffer and sacrifice. It may mean going to jail. It may even mean physical death. Mahatma Gandhi never had more than one hundred persons absolutely committed to his philosophy. But with this small group of devoted followers, he galvanized the whole of India, and through a magnificent feat of non-violence challenged the might of the British Empire and won freedom for the people. This method of non-violence will not work miracles overnight. Men are not easily moved from their mental ruts, their prejudiced and irrational feelings.

The words of Einstein are noteworthy. “Gandhi, the greatest political genius of our time, indicated the path to be taken. He gave proof of what sacrifice man is capable once he has discovered the right path. On the whole, I believe that Gandhi held the most enlightened views of all the political men in our times. We should strive to do things in his spirit; not to use violence in fighting for our case and to refrain from taking part in any thing we believe as evil.”

“Revolution without the use of violence was the method by which Gandhi brought about the liberation of India. It is my belief that the problem of bringing peace to the world on a supranational basis will be solved only by employing Gandhi’s method on a large scale... I have been a pacifist all my life and regard Gandhi as the only truly great political figure of our age. Generations to come will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth”.

Edgar P. snow American correspondent, author and lecturer, had rightly remarked “In Gandhiji’s teachings and writings I think you will find no lies, no meanness, no slander, no dogmatism, no hypocrisy, no fear, no arrogance, no false pride, no hatred, no claims of infallibility. He was a practical social reformer and in the true dialectical sense, a great revolutionary. For Gandhi in himself was the living synthesis of

good means and good ends. And the world question is can Gandhi's technique be applied without Gandhi. Surely the first answer must come from India itself, where the master's teachings are specific and clear. No one who spoke to him in his last days and who could follow his idiom at all can doubt that he was deeply dissatisfied with the corruption in government and the failure to extirpate the weedy communal groups which were sponsoring violence".

What remains to be revealed is whether the body of men and women who now shape the destiny of India can summon among themselves the collective discipline and the inner purity necessary to command the love, in order to impose the social progress and the promised justice and equality. It is the heavy responsibility to carry before the eyes of the world, the heritage of a saint.

The International Day of Non-Violence

On 15th June 2007, it was announced that the "United Nations General Assembly" has "Unanimously Adopted" a resolution declaring 2nd October Gandhiji's Birthday as "The International Day of Non-Violence"

Film and Literature

Mahatma Gandhi has been portrayed in film, literature and in the theater

Ben Kingsley portrayed Gandhiji in the 1982 film "Gandhi". Gandhiji is also a central theme in the 2006 Bollywood film 'Lage Raho Munna Bhai'. The 2007 film "Gandhi, My Father" explores the relationship between Gandhi and his son Harilal. The 1996 film, 'The making of the Mahatma', documents Gandhiji's 21 years in South Africa.

"Gandhi Vs Gandhi" a drama depicts his personal life.

Gandhiji's life and teachings inspired many leaders. Barack Obama at the Wakefield high school speech in September 2009, said that his biggest inspiration came from Mahatma Gandhi. It was when a question posed on him as 'who was the one person, dead or alive, that he would choose to dine with?' and his quick reply was "Gandhi". He continued and said that. He's somebody I find a lot of inspiration in. He inspired Dr. King Martin Luther with his message of non-violence the changed the world just by the power of his ethics".

Conclusion

In the present materialistic world, Gandhi's ideas will give a human touch to the life. It is our responsibility to understand and follow the ideals of Gandhiji and insist our students to follow the ideals of Gandhi.

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Perspectives on Secondary Market in Ethiopia

Prakash Patil*

[Review of the existing literature indicates that securities markets contribute to economic growth by mobilizing saving and channeling it to productive investment. Ethiopia, though having growing markets for primary issues of equity and debts securities, does not have a secondary market & as a result is not reaping the benefits. The purpose of this study is to assess the benefits & costs of operating secondary market for equity & debts securities in the light of extant literature. In order to achieve this objective, the literature available on securities markets has been critically studied & summarized. The result of the research shows that Ethiopia should pave the way for secondary markets' development in the medium term as their benefits exceed costs. The study concludes that the policymakers must seriously consider the launching of secondary market in Ethiopia.]

Financial markets channel savings to those individuals & institutions that need more funds for spending than that are provided by their current incomes. The financial system consists of many players like financial institutions, financial markets, regulators, markets participants & others having stake on it. Money & Capital Markets operating within the financial system make possible the exchange of current income for future income and the transformation of saving into investment which result in increased production, employment, income, & living standards (Rose, 2001).

The size of the world stock market was estimated at about \$36.6 trillion at the beginning of October 2008. (seekingalpha.com). The total world derivatives market has been estimated at about \$791 trillion face or nominal value, 11 times the size of the entire world economy (BIS,2008).

Statement of the Problem

In traditional economic theory, the inputs used in a production process to create value are land, labour, capital. When it comes to the Ethiopian context, the country has rudimentary primary market & no secondary capital market. The Daily Monitor (cited in allafrica.com) reported that the Managing Director of New York Stockbroker

Auer Bach Grayson and Company said Ethiopia – the continent's second most populated & one of the biggest import markets – could boost the current high economic growth, if capital market started soon.

Grayson further stated: "Ethiopia would be the most attractive investments destination Africa, if it had a stock market & one could invest in Ethiopian businesses as cheaply as people are now investing through private transactions. Letting the private sector develop the capital market would lead to more transparency & more capital allocated to fuel Ethiopia's rapid growth."

The capital Ethiopia newspaper reported (under the caption: Ethiopia's struggle for a capital market) the following news item:

For more than fifty years Ethiopia has been trying to have its own capital market & in June 2011 the Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce & Sectoral Association (AACSA) held a workshop to help make this dream a reality. In what seems to be a fresh attempt to use its Private Sector Development (PSD) Hub to bring the issues to the public's attention, capital market consultants such as Ruediger Ruecker, from Sweden, spoke in June 2011 at the intercontinental Hotel. Ruecker said that in order to create a capital market there needs to

* Asst. Prof. of Economics, Govt Women's First Grade College, Jewargi, Kalaburagi.

*be an institutional, legal & policy framework.
(edited by researchers for brevity)*

In its “Africa Market Entry Intelligence: Ethiopia Market Entry Brief”, the Africa Group (which offers ground market intelligence & a unique perspective on investing & doing business across the African Continent) identified the following “Growth Hurdles” in Ethiopia:

- Access to capital remains the largest single limiting factor for Ethiopian industry. Banks only lead to on collateralized based loans, & many Small & Medium Enterprises (SMEs) lack sufficient collateral to secure the type of credit they need.
- Capital markets in Ethiopia are at a nascent stage & lacking in strong legal & institutional framework. the treasure bills market is the only actively functioning market.

There had been a few studies focusing on the development of securities markets in Ethiopia in the last 15 years. Ruecker & Shiferaw, (2011) conducted the most recent study & other older studies, cited in Ruecker & Shiferaw (2001) Conference on “Promoting Capital Market in Ethiopia”; Haregework & Debessay (1995); East African Security Company (1995 & 1999); Ernst & Young (1999); & Maxwell (2010).

These studies recommended the careful development of the security market in Ethiopia. Based on the studies recommendations, many actors such as the Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce & Sectoral Association (AACCSA) tried to procure the government’s permission of security market development. Yet such efforts did not succeed. Thus, the development of organized & vibrant securities markets in Ethiopia is still a dream to be realized.

Objectives and methodology

The objective of the study is to assess the benefits & costs of operating secondary market for equity & debt securities in the light of extant literature available. In order to achieve this objective, the literature available on securities markets has been critically studied & summarized.

Benefits of Securities Markets

Securities markets offer a number of benefits to the country & the surveyed literature prove this emphatically. The salient benefits of having securities markets are summarized in the following paragraphs:

Enhanced saving mobilization and risk management

Stock & bond issues serve to increase the national saving rate by creating incentives to invest. Since securities are risky investments, they generally earn higher returns than more secure instruments such as bank saving deposits.

Offering Liquidity to Investments

Securities markets provide comparatively higher returns without losing the liquidity of an investment desired most by investors. Liquidity in turn affects economic growth positively by increasing incentive to invest & save. Levine (1996) found that countries with well-developed financial sector & a liquid capital market experience faster rates of capital accumulation & greater productivity gain.

Redistribution of wealth facilitated by diffused ownership

Securities markets give many people (especially the poor) a chance to buy shares of listed companies & become part-owners of profitable enterprises. Many people sharing the profits of business in turn help to reduce large income inequalities. (Etienne & Vincent, 2008) Wider distribution of corporate profits develops a general sense of ownership & an assumption of responsibility on the part of the citizen. People will be united by their common defense of their business interest & ethnic & religious differences would gradually dissipate. (Tessema, 2003)

Improved Corporate Governance

Self & external regulations of the stock exchange help to ensure that the market is working efficiently, fairly & transparently. Over the decades, the stock exchange has been raising requirements for new corporations seeking listing.

Efficient Resources Allocation

In a market economy, issues of securities help raise capital for projects whose outputs are in the highest demand by society, & those enterprises which are most capable of raising productivity. Thus, efficient enterprise management is rewarded by access to investments funds. (Tessema, 2003) without securities markets, companies must rely on internal resources (retained earnings) for investments funds on bank financing or on governments grants or subsidies

Competent and Vibrant Financial System

Securities markets break the oligopoly that would be enjoyed by the banks in the absence of securities markets. Securities markets provide impetus for the establishments of financial prices based on scarcity values rather than on administrative fiat.

Investor Education

Capital markets through the brokerage community, investments advisers, securities analysis, and well-developed financial journalists serve to educate the investing public. Such institutions are critical to an economy.

Barometer of the Economy

At the stock exchange, shares rise & fall depending, largely, on market forces. Share prices tend to rise or remain stable when companies & the economy in general show sign of stability.

Alternative to Taxation

The government & even local authorities may decide to borrow money in order to finance huge infrastructure projects by selling another category of securities known as bonds.

Costs of operating Securities Markets

Security markets are not without costs. Significant costs of operating securities markets can be briefed in the following paragraphs:

Profiteering Behavior of Intermediaries

The strategic position that financial intermediaries hold in the market system in terms of access to information & control over transaction can lead to *profiteering behavior* that decreases the benefits accruing from the

mobilizing & allocating functions of the securities market system as a whole. (Tessema, 2003)

Speculations

Stock market price do not accurately reflect the underlying fundamentals when speculative bubbles emerge in the market (Binswanger, 1999). In such situations, price on the stock market are not simply determined by discounting the expected future cash flows, which should reflect all currently available information about fundamentals.

Higher Costs to Intermediaries and Regulatory Agencies

The specialized services of financial intermediaries in securities markets are costly, yet indispensable. Expenses related to the organization & function of regulatory agencies as securities commissions, stock exchange & associated with the control of securities markets abuses. (Tessema, 2003)

Cumbersome Reporting Requirements

The demanding reporting requirements represent costs to participation companies. In addition, companies have incentives to falsify such reports, which result in distorted investments decisions on the part of securities purchases that may lead to decreased government tax revenues. (Tessema, 2003)

Conclusion

Establishing securities market in a country is not a task that can be achieved over-night. It requires careful planning & long-term orientation. By drawing information from primary & secondary sources, this study points out the various issues to be considered for the development of securities markets. Further the study weighs the benefits & costs of these markets to the economy as a whole & to market participants, & assesses Ethiopian-specific opportunities & challenges. It lays out institutions and infrastructures needed for security markets development. Considering (i) current growth in the number of share companies, (ii) need for infusing higher capital to various economic sectors, & (iii) increased capacity to save due to higher economic growth,

researchers conclude that the policy-makers must seriously consider the launching of securities markets in Ethiopia.

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Women Empowerment through SHGs

Dipen Saikia*

Empowerment of women is basically a process of inclusion and participation in all activities of life, both within the household and outside. The process of empowerment begins in the minds of women, in their very belief about themselves and their rights, breaking free of the sense of inferiority since childhood. Women being considered the most oppressed, empowerment has come to be associated with their struggle for social justice, economic and gender equality.

Poor women are relatively powerless without control of resources. Until recently, women's relatively low participation in setting up business and in economic activities in developing countries was because of the social system that promoted skewed ownership of resources (especially land and capital) in favour of male members. And yet there is clear evidence that whenever the social system deviates from the standard norm of male ownership of economic resources, women can seize business opportunities with equal success as men.

Role of Self-Help Groups (SHGs)

The rise of SHGs and more formal SHG Federations coupled now with SHG Bank linkage have made this a dominant form of microfinance in addition to microfinance institutions (MFI). The policy environment in India has been extremely supportive for the growth of the microfinance sector in India.

Particularly during the International Year of Microcredit 2005, significant policy announcements from the Government of India (GoI) and the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) have served as a shot in the arm for rapid growth.

* Associate Prof., Dept. of Pol. Sc., Moridhal Collage, Moridhal, Assam.

SHGs have spread rapidly due to their ease of replication. SHG Bank Linkage has provided the capacity for SHGs to increase their capital base to fund more members and bigger projects. Today, it is estimated that there are at least over 2 million SHGs in India. In many Indian states, SHGs are networking themselves into federations to achieve institutional and financial sustainability. Cumulatively, 1.6 million SHGs have been bank – linked with cumulative loans of Rs.69 billion. In 2004 – 05 alone, almost 800,000 SHGs were bank – linked.

Structure of SHG

A SHG is a group of about 10 to 20 people, usually women, from a similar class and region, who come together to form savings and credit organisations. They pooled financial resources to make small interest bearing loans to their members. This process creates an ethic that focuses on savings first. The setting of terms and conditions and accounting of the loan are done in the group by designated members.

SHG-Bank Linkage

A most notable milestone in the SHG movement was when NABARD launched the pilot phase of the SHG Bank Linkage programme in February 1992. This was the first instance of mature SHGs that were directly financed by a commercial bank. The informal thrift and credit groups of poor were recognised as bankable clients. Soon after, the RBI advised commercial banks to consider lending to SHGs as part of their rural credit operations thus creating SHG Bank Linkage. The linking of SHGs with the financial sector was good for both sides. The banks were able to tap into a large market, namely the low – income households, transactions costs were low and repayment rates were high. The SHGs were able

to scale up their operations with more financing and they had access to more credit products.

Promotion of SHGs

SHGs are promoted on the concept of small group formations of poor, rural women having similar living conditions which they unitedly seek to better. Although lending occurs to individuals, each group is held jointly accountable for the behaviour of its members. One member's non-repayment can cause all members to be denied future credit. This creates peer-pressure and also encourages the development of mutual help within groups. It induces a form of self-selection, where good risks come together and drives bad risks out of the market. Careful and proper member selection for the group is the first step towards women's empowerment through SHGs. The interest of every member is to select only such members to form the group who can carry the group forward. Selection of members is their independent choice, without any outside pressure. This naturally evolves into a group discipline.

TNCDW Ltd.

In this context, The Tamil Nadu Corporation for Development of Women (TNCDW), which was established in 1983 is playing a vital role in bringing about socio-economic development and empowerment of women. The Corporation implements Mahalir Thittam, IFAD assisted Post Tsunami Sustainable Livelihoods Programme and also SGSY, a major anti-poverty programme meant for self-employment of rural poor. For proper and better coordination in implementing various schemes for Self Help Groups, Tamil Nadu Corporation for Development of Women Ltd was brought under the control of Rural Development and Panchayat Raj Department from July 2006.

TNCDW Ltd. – Share Capital

The authorised share capital of the company is Rs. 1 crore, with a subscribed and paid up share capital of Rs. 78.42 Lakhs of this Rs.40 lakhs is held by the Government of Tamil Nadu and Rs. 38.42 Lakhs by the Government of India.

Most of the activities of the corporation are conducted through selected Non-Governmental Organisations and other Training Institutions. Funds are obtained from Government of Tamil Nadu through Budgetary allocations for specific projects and covered by sanctions through Government orders. As the organisation operates for a developmental cause, the concept of organisational profitability is not relevant. No losses have been incurred since inception and there are accumulated reserves.

To implement Mahalir Thittam, district offices were established over the last several years. The district level PIUs are headed by a Project Officer (PO) assisted by Assistant Project Officers (APOs) in the functional areas of training, livelihood, monitoring, administration and other schemes. There is a District Project Coordination Committee (DPCC) headed by the District Collector for coordinating between the different partners working on the project and for promoting convergence of services of the different departments.

Revolving Fund

SHGs become eligible for Revolving Fund (RF) after passing the first credit rating which is undertaken 6 months after the date of formation of the SHGs. It is aimed at augmenting the group corpus and makes them credit worthy to access Bank loan. After passing the first credit rating, SHGs in rural areas are provided with Revolving Fund subsidy of Rs.10,000/- under schemes like Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana Scheme (SGSY). But, RF subsidy was not available to SHGs in urban areas which restricted their access to credit from banks. Prior to 2006-07, there was no scheme to provide RF subsidy to urban SHGs.

The Government announced a new scheme to provide RF subsidy to urban SHGs in 2006-07. During the last 4 years, Rs.87.93 crores have been provided as RF subsidy to 87,939 urban SHGs in the State. Similarly, during the last four years, 1,93,944 rural SHGs have been provided RF subsidy of Rs. 10,000/- each with the total

amount of Rs. 193.94 crores. As such, during the four years from 2006-07 to 2009-10, RF subsidy of Rs.281.88 crores along with the bank credit of Rs.1,164.23 crores have been disbursed to a total of 2,81,883 SHGs.

With the enhanced allocation of RF subsidy by the Government, the waiting time of the SHGs

to receive RF after the credit rating which used to vary from 6 months to 4 years has been reduced to almost zero. During 2010-11, another 65,000 SHGs will be provided RF subsidy.

Details of RF sanctioned to the SHGs since 2006 – 2007 to 2009 – 2010 is given below. (Rs.in Crores)

Year	No. Of		SHGs	Financial		Assistance
	Rural	Urban		Total	Subsidy	
2006-07	19,024	5,000	24,024	24.02	36.04	60.06
2007-08	18,563	25,000	43,563	43.56	65.34	108.91
2008-09	1,06,047	43,953	1,50,000	150.00	739.69	889.69
2009-10	50,310	13,986	64,296	64.30	323.16	387.46
Total	1,93,944	87,939	2,81,883	281.88	1,164.23	1,446.12

Credit Rating

The SHGs that complete 6 months become eligible for credit rating. Credit rating is a bench marking exercise to grade the group and ascertain its credit worthiness. The credit rating committee consists of an Assistant Project Officer from Mahalir Thittam, a representative from DRDA, a Banker, and a NGO representative. In an effort to strengthen the Panchayat level federation (PLF) of the SHGs, one representative from the PLF has been included in the credit rating committee.

Regularity of savings, frequency of meetings, and proper maintenance of registers, internal loaning and repayment are some of the key parameters for rating of groups. The successfully credit rated SHGs, become eligible for credit linkage. They are given revolving fund through schemes like SGSY, TAHDCO or directly provided loans by banks.

The groups also undergo a second credit rating after the lapse of another six months to ascertain their readiness and suitability to undertake an economic activity. The groups which pass the second credit rating are provided financial assistance to start an economic activity through SGSY / TAHDCO schemes along with bank funding.

Credit Linkage

Bank Credit is one of the most critical inputs for empowering SHGs and to reduce rural indebtedness. Bank normally extend cash credit of Rs.10,000 to Rs.30,000 to SHGs along with RF subsidy of Rs.10,000 provided by Government. But, the quantum of credit extended by banks to SHGs was not adequate to meet the credit requirements of all the SHG members. Therefore, both the Central and State governments have taken special efforts to increase the quantum of credit to SHGs and ensure credit is made available to SHGs in multiple doses. Due to the efforts taken by Government, banks in the State have started providing minimum of Rs.50,000 as first linkage and minimum of Rs.1 lakh and Rs.1.5 lakh as second and third linkages respectively.

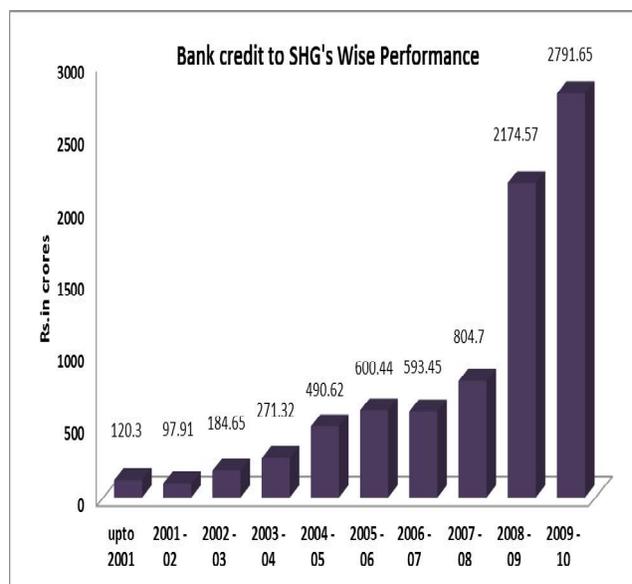
From the inception of Mahalir Thittam, SHGs have been assisted with the cumulative credit linkage of Rs. 1,765.24 crores only up to March 2006. But, during the last four years alone, credit linkage to SHGs has touched Rs. 6,364.37 crores due to the positive interventions made by the Government and the whole hearted co-operation received from the Banks in the State. During 2001 – 2011, the focus of Mahalir Thittam would be on increasing credit linkages to SHGs,

particularly repeat loans and a credit target of Rs.3,000 crores has been fixed for the year 2010 – 2011.

SHGs Achievement

The details of credit availed by SHGs are given below:

Sl.No.	Year	Achievement (Rs. In crores)
1	Up to 2001	120.30
2	2001 - 02	97.91
3	2002 – 03	184.65
4	2003 - 04	271.32
5	2004 – 05	490.62
6	2005 – 06	600.44
7	2006 – 07	593.45
8	2007 – 08	804.70
9	2008 – 09	2,174.57
10	2009 – 10	2,791.65
	Total	8,129.61



Conclusion

Thus, the TNCDW Ltd., has more achievements to its credit. It has reached the quantitative targets of loans disbursed and also has overachieved by 40% of the number of groups to be formed. In view of the lead role played by TNCDW, the women group members have been helped to

develop the habits of systematic savings. It is also found that the recovery rate of bank loans from self-help groups is excellent. There has been a good co-ordination between the Government, TNCDW and officers of various departments, the banks and NGOs.

The corporation has helped to increase the degree of self-confidence, greater mobility, and greater ease to visit banks and to converse with different officials, among the self-help group members. It is undoubtedly true that the TNCDW has been rendering pioneering services for the upliftment of poor women by eradicating poverty and relieving them from the clutches of the local money lenders.

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Development, Displacement & Human Rights

Siddhartha Phukan*

[Every year the lives and livelihoods of more than ten million people across the globe are affected by forced displacement due to infrastructural projects such as dams, mines, industries, power plants and roads etc. thereby denigrating them from their culture, customs and language by mainstream communities. As a way out, the process of displacement and rehabilitation ought to be executed as a last resort and that, too, be achieved in a planned and more humane manner while taking into confidence the affected people.]

Urbanisation, mining and infrastructural development projects carried out by states, often with the assistance of the international community, are the major forces of displacement all over the world. They cause an adverse impact on millions of people as they deprive them of their livelihood, their shelters that stand in the way of dams, highways, or other large-scale construction projects and also their social and cultural systems besides pushing them mostly into abject poverty. In fact, land acquisition has destroyed their life style and social setting and has violated their basic human rights. Although, as in some cases, the project affected population have protested tooth and nail against their displacement, others have simply acquiesced while expecting huge rehabilitation packages which they rarely receive.

As a consequence, people's responses against infrastructural development have become a prominent phenomenon on the socio-cultural and political scene of our times. The anti-infrastructure development movement, comprising displaced people has given a boost by the active support of diverse groups creating an atmosphere more receptive to displacement and rehabilitation issues. The resistance against land acquisition has become organised and sustained and has had a

profound influence on the entire discourse of displacement and rehabilitation leading to marginalization.

Evidently, all these require the urgent attention of states to systematically address the displacement consequences of development because "No trauma could be more painful for a family than to be uprooted from a place where it has lived for generations. Yet, the uprooting has to be done, because the land occupied by the family is required for development projects which hold the promise of progress and prosperity for the country and people in general. The family getting displaced thus makes a sacrifice so that others may live in happiness and be economically better off."¹

Impact of the displacement caused by development projects

While an estimated 25 million people are displaced worldwide by conflict, the number of people uprooted by development projects is thought to be much higher. In 1994, a study of all World Bank-assisted development projects from 1986-1993 that entailed population displacement found that just over half were in the transportation, water supply and urban infrastructure sectors. Extrapolating from World Bank data to derive estimates of global figures, the study concluded that, in the early 1990s, the

* Director, Utopian Academy, Silapather, Dhemaji, Assam.

construction of 300 high dams (above 15 metres) each year had displaced four million people.

Urban and transportation infrastructure projects accounted for six million more displaced each year. On-going industrialisation, electrification and urbanisation processes are likely to increase, rather than reduce, the number of programmes causing involuntary population displacement. Causes or categories of development-induced displacement include the following: water supply (dams, reservoirs, irrigation); urban infrastructure; transportation (roads, highway, canals); energy (mining, power plants, oil exploration and extraction, pipelines); agriculture expansion; parks and forest reserves; and population redistribution schemes.

The consequent sufferings of the displaced people generally aggravate due to lack of transparency and accountability of agencies responsible for resettlement. Other factors that contribute to the feeling of helplessness among displaced people include partial and delayed information, weak efforts to ensure participation of affected communities and non-responsiveness to grievances. As a result, a number of socio-economic and occupational changes do occur in the social structure of the affected region.

Evidently, there is growing consensus in rehabilitation and resettlement literature that the displacement process leads to a decline in living standards and heightens impoverishment. A renowned social anthropologist Michael Cernea's *Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model*² is a significant approach in displacement and resettlement research which shows how displacement goes hand in hand with physical, social, and economic exclusion, culminating in a broad range of impoverishment risks. His findings on development-induced displacement and resettlement research for the World Bank, point out that being forcibly ousted

from one's land and habitat carries with it the risk of becoming poorer than before displacement, since a significant portion of people displaced do not receive the adequate compensation for their lost assets, and effective assistance to re-establish themselves productively.

Cernea has identified eight interlinked potential risks intrinsic to displacement.³ These are put hereunder as key impoverishment risks with their implications for the so-affected people:

Landlessness

Expropriation of land removes the main foundation upon which people's productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods are constructed. This is the principle form of pauperisation of the displaced people. Once people lose their land to development projects, it becomes very difficult for them to own land again due to scarcity of agricultural land for resettlement and inadequate compensation to replace the lost land. Landlessness brings about changes in occupation, reduce ability to hold assets (livestock) and lessens food supply and resource base for securing other necessities.

For those who succeed in getting land for land, the average size of the land holding decreases, the land quality changes for the worse and livestock holding is also reduced. Unless the land basis of the productive system is reconstructed elsewhere or replaced with steady income-generating employment, affected families become impoverished.

Joblessness

The risk of losing wage employment is very high both in urban and rural displacements for those employed in enterprises, services or agriculture. When landowners lose their land, landless agricultural labourers working for them also lose their source of income and employment to support

their families. Small enterprise, traditional artisans and wage labourers are also adversely affected. Similarly, tribal people living in and around forests also depend on shifting cultivation and forest produce collections. When forestland is also taken over for industrial purposes along with plain lands, people lose their traditional rights over forest products apart from occasional agricultural work.

In fact, competition with host communities in new set-ups forces displaced people to take-up non-traditional jobs at relocation sites. The impoverishing effects of unemployment or underemployment among resettled people last for quite long time and mostly compel them to opt for seasonal and interstate migration and to work as bonded labour or child labour for minors. Lacking other income sources, women, children and even adult men engage in menial activities such as collecting firewood from forests near to their homes. Yet creating new jobs is difficult and requires substantial investment.

Homelessness

Loss of home or shelter leads to the deprivation of cultural identity and space and, ultimately, paves way towards cultural impoverishment. It tends to be only temporary for many people being resettled; but, for some, homelessness or a worsening in their housing standards remains a lingering condition. In fact, home gives a sense of belonging, social and psychological security and an assurance of togetherness. It enshrines and enriches life and provides psychological and spiritual attachment with ancestors. The feeling of oneness and attachment to one's birthplace and kin members is a binding force in the social structure. Homes of tribal and backward communities often include domestic animals and livestock adds as their supplementary income.

While a few "better-off" displaced people spend a sizable proportion of the compensation amount

in building a house after relocation, the tribal and other backward classes take more time to do so as they remain busy collecting food from outside or working as labour most of the day and use their homes only for cooking, storing and sleeping. In a broader cultural sense, loss of a family's individual home and the loss of a group's cultural space tend to result in alienation and status deprivation.

Marginalisation

Marginalisation occurs when families lose economic power and spiral on a "downward mobility" path. Many individuals cannot use their earlier-acquired skills at the new location; human capital is lost or rendered inactive or obsolete. Displaced people in new locations are often considered "outsiders" and experience identity crises and feel deprived when treated as strangers. They face cultural crises as well as problems of adjustment and lose their self-respect and confidence. In India, the tribal people share a long heritage and accordingly place great value on their culture. And consequent upon a top down decision-making process on relocation, low compensation and the manner in which people are treated, the tribals mostly fail to assert their voice and the resultant low self-perception leads to an acceptance of their subordinate status and thus they do not demand benefits for themselves.

Economic marginalisation is often accompanied by social and psychological marginalisation expressed by a drop of in social status, loss of confidence, a feeling of injustice and deepened vulnerability. Also, people with low self-esteem then become involved in self-destructive activities like excessive drinking of liquor, petty crimes, destruction of forests etc. Further, displacement pushes them into repetitive, unrewarding seasonal migration for construction and other temporary work and marginalises them and their subsequent generations.

Food Insecurity

Forced uprooting increases the risk that people will fall into temporary or chronic undernourishment, defined as calorie-protein intake levels below the minimum necessary for normal growth and work. The rural communities usually collect their food from three sources—their own crops, surrounding forests/water bodies and local markets. Food or nutritional security depends on sustained production, access to forests and water sources, better market availability and the purchasing of the displaced people. In their absence they find scarcity of food at new locations and fall prey into the vicious circle of unemployment, poverty and chronic undernourishment.

Further, due change of their native places, the new locations require different kind of cropping pattern with which they happen to unaware and that causes the unfamiliar problem of food insecurity.

Increased Morbidity and Mortality

Displacement-induced psychological and socio-cultural stress, the use of unsafe water supply and improvised sewage systems, increase vulnerability to epidemics and chronic diarrhoea, dysentery, or particularly parasitic and vector-borne diseases such as malaria, dengue and schistosomiasis etc. are the immediate consequences of involuntary resettlement which lead to fast deterioration in health standards. Also, when such displaced people are forced to live for a long time in camps with poor and unhygienic conditions, diseases spread rapidly. Among the groups most vulnerable are women, children and elderly people. In fact, health hazards are the common experiences for resettled people and those with whom they come in contact in the process of resettlement and all these increase the risk of morbidity and mortality.

Loss of Access to Common Property

For poor people, particularly for the landless and asset-less resettled communities, loss of access to the common property assets (pastures, forest lands, water bodies, burial grounds, quarries and so on) result in significant deterioration in income and livelihood levels because the common property resources at resettlement sites are mostly far less than what they earlier have had in their native places. Tribal people depend most on such resources and that they are bound to lose when forced to resettle elsewhere. Also, the quality of facilities also gets worsened after displacement.

Social Disintegration

Displacement causes a profound unravelling of existing patterns of social organisation. This unravelling occurs at many levels. When people are forcibly moved, production systems, life-sustaining informal networks, trade linkages, etc. are dismantled besides addition of other risks such as the loss of access to public services, degradation of environment, loss of access to schooling for school-age children, and the loss of civil rights or abuse of human rights, such as loss of property without fair compensation, or violence from security forces or risks of communal violence in resettlement areas.

Disproportionately-affected indigenous people & ethnic minorities

Studies on the social impact of development projects suggest that indigenous people and ethnic minorities are disproportionately affected. Coming from politically marginalised and disadvantaged strata of society, these groups often end up neglected and impoverished. In India, the Adivasi or tribal people, although only representing eight percent of the total population, make up 40-50 per cent of the displaced. In Nepal, indigenous groups displaced by a dam on the Kaligandaki river have lost their land and

livelihood and have reportedly been inadequately compensated. The livelihood of an estimated 35,000 indigenous Ibaloi people is threatened by the construction of the San Roque Dam in the Philippines. Mon, Karen and Tavoyans in Burma are probably among the worst off, displaced by large infrastructure projects and subject to forced labour and abuses by the military.

Challenges of displacement & rehabilitation

Although challenges of displacement and resultant rehabilitation are multi-fold and they can't be precisely described, yet a reasonably brief description would be pertinent here to illustrate the gravity of the situation under such circumstances. In fact, the organisation of any society crucially involves the environment as an important factor in determining the relationships between human beings and nature. The adaptations human beings make to adjust to a particular environment are clearly reflected in all such major institutions of society. The displacement and rehabilitation bring forth several changes in the social structure hitherto unknown to the displaced people.

In reality, the resettlement entails a new life full of agonising hardships to them. They are forced to struggle to adapt to a new environment and to improvise strategies to meet their basic means of survival. To sustain themselves and for practical considerations they have to make changes in certain social relationships as they stand exploited and marginalised in the new environment and social setup. In terms of survival, the problems they face vary from practical ones such as lack of fuel, water and wood to interpersonal kinds of familial adjustments and the selection of a suitable life partner besides several cultural changes in dress patterns, hairstyles and use of cosmetics etc., which are largely due to contact with other people in the new environment. Their poor

economic conditions also force them to depend on moneylenders.

Consequent upon all these hardships, the resettled people internalise a sense of helplessness and powerlessness because of encounters with the powerful external world into which they are pushed without adequate preparation. They also do internalise the value system of a formal society that do not recognise their social and economic contribution and culture and, hence, they consider their own society and culture as irrelevant or of little value. Such kind of internalisation makes them considerably incapable of rebuilding their lives, let alone improving their lifestyles.

Thus, their standards of living, social status and self-esteem also decline. The physical condition of resettlement sites, small landholdings or landlessness and lack of livelihood created a sense of alienation, anger and helplessness among the displaced people due to their inability to change their situation. In host villages where land was purchased by the displaced people who have no kinsmen, mistrust or estrangement over resource sharing (especially common property resources and civic amenities) soon become common and social harmony becomes difficult to achieve. Since village-system gets broken up, a sense of community feeling is lost.

One becomes unwanted among hostile strangers that at times openly harass the resettled community. As compared to their past living conditions, the resettled people mostly find themselves to be the biggest losers in the process of development.⁴

Human rights Law and development-induced displacement:⁵

In 1986, the UN General Assembly adopted a Declaration on the Right to Development, which states that "every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to and

enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realised.” The heart of the problem is that people displaced by development projects are generally seen as a necessary sacrifice on the road to development.

The dominant perspective is thus that the positive aspects of development projects, the public interest, outweigh the negative ones, the displacement or sacrifice of a few. However, a change in paradigm has emerged in recent years with more emphasis on human rights and social justice. These rights include:

Right to Participation-The affected communities must be able to participate in different levels of decision-making, from the local (project), state (programme), national and international levels. The right to participation is well grounded in the International Bill of Human Rights (for instance, ICCPR, art. 25). More specifically, the 1991 International Labour Organisation Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO Convention 169) stipulates (Article 7) that indigenous and tribal peoples shall participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of national and regional development plans that affect them.

Right to Life and Livelihood- When security forces take action to move people forcibly or to quell civil dissent against development projects, this may constitute a direct threat to the right to life, which is protected in the UDHR (Article 3) and the ICCPR (Article 6). The right to livelihood is threatened by the loss of home and the means to make a living – whether farming, fishing, hunting, trading or the like – when people are displaced from habitual residences and traditional homelands. The right to own property and not to be arbitrarily deprived of this property as well as the right to work are spelled out in the

UDHR (Articles 17 and 23, respectively) as well as in Article 6 of the ICESCR. Article 11 of the ICESCR, moreover, provides for “the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions”.

Included in the right to life is the right to environment. This concept has also been phrased as “intergenerational equity” or the right of future generations to inherit a planet, or a particular piece of it, that is capable of sustaining life. The many linkages between protection of human rights and protection of the environment have long been recognised. The 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment declared that “man’s environment, the natural and the man-made, are essential to his well-being and to the enjoyment of basic human rights—even the right to life itself”.

Rights of Vulnerable Groups-While development projects may create vulnerability through impoverishment, they disproportionately affect groups that are vulnerable to begin with, particularly indigenous people and women. Human rights of vulnerable groups are protected generically in the International Bill of Human Rights. The ILO Convention 169 spells out protections for indigenous groups. The principle of non-discrimination is not only codified in the UDHR (Article 2), the ICCPR (Article 2) and the ICESCR (Article 2) but also in the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

Right to Remedy- The right to remedy is asserted in the UDHR (Article 8) and in the ICCPR (Article 2). As noted in a report to the World Commission on Dams, “often, due to the nature of the development process, the project-affected peoples come to know about actions that have been taken without their knowledge or consent.

Therefore, they need a quick and efficacious remedy that can halt on-going violations and prevent future ones. The right to remedy is therefore crucial...to all development projects.”⁶

Development induced-displacement in the Guiding Principles

The internally displaced person (IDP) definition in the Guiding Principles does not specifically mention development projects as a possible cause of displacement, the words “in particular” introducing the listed examples of causes indicate that this list is not exhaustive. It can be argued that development projects, such as the construction of hydroelectric dams, leaving communities without adequate resettlement and compensation, could be considered a “human-made disaster” and a human rights violation, and therefore that those displaced fall within the definition in the Guiding Principles.

Furthermore, Guiding Principle 6 explicitly covers development-induced displacement by restating the prohibition of displacement in cases of large-scale development projects “which are not justified by compelling and overriding interests”. As noted by Walter Kälin, one of the drafters of the Guiding Principles, development projects can contribute significantly to the realisation of human rights, and therefore such displacement is not prohibited. Rather, the Guiding Principles ensure that “development cannot be used as an argument to disguise discrimination or any other human rights violation by stressing that development-related displacement is permissible only when compelling and overriding public interests justify this measure”⁷.

The words “compelling” indicate the notion of proportionality whereas the word “overriding” demands the balancing of public and private interests. Principle 6 does not mean that persons displaced by justifiable and lawful projects are

not internally displaced. In fact, the Guiding Principles describe anyone as an internally displaced person who is coerced to leave his or her habitual residence, regardless of whether the displacement was illegal or not.

Protection of affected people by development projects

Although the Guiding Principles were not written to address all specific issues of development induced displacement, they are nonetheless relevant and applicable to situations of displacement caused by development projects. In this regard, the Guiding Principles are largely in line with the World Bank guidelines relating to involuntary resettlement and other related policy documents developed by regional development banks and other institutions. Principles highlighted below are of particular importance to the protection in situations of displacement caused by development projects.

Principle 7: Proper treatment of IDPs by the authorities when displacement does occur, in particular in situations other than armed conflicts.

All efforts should be made to avoid, and minimise displacement and its adverse effects; this is well reflected in the World Bank’s and OECD’s guidelines as follows:

World Bank: Operational Directive 4.30 – Involuntary Resettlement

“Involuntary resettlement should be avoided or minimised where feasible, exploring all viable alternative project designs. For example, realignment of roads or reductions in dam height may significantly reduce resettlement needs.”

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development: Guidelines for Aid Agencies on Involuntary Displacement and Resettlement in Development Projects

“Involuntary population displacement should be avoided or minimised whenever feasible by exploring all viable alternative project designs. In every case, the alternative to refrain from carrying out the project (the “non-action” alternative) should seriously be considered, and people’s needs and environmental protection must be given due weight in the decision-making process.”

- Minimum conditions to be met: proper accommodation, satisfactory conditions of safety, nutrition, health and hygiene, and protection from family break-up;
- In situations other than during emergency phases of disaster or armed conflicts (which would include instances of development-induced displacement), the Guiding Principles provide additional procedural safeguards and guarantees:
 - a. The displacement must be lawfully mandated and carried out;
 - b. It must seek the free and fully informed consent of those affected, as well as their active participation;
 - c. It must guarantee compensation and relocation, where applicable;
 - d. It must be subject to the right of judicial review and effective remedy.

Principle 9: Authorities must take special care to protect against the displacement of indigenous people, minorities, peasants, pastoralists and others with special attachment to their lands;

Also particularly relevant are

- Principle 18: IDPs have a right to an adequate standard of living.
- Principle 28: Authorities are responsible for facilitating the durable resettlement and integration of IDPs;

- Principle 29: Upon resettlement, IDPs shall not be discriminated against, in particular with regard to access to public services and participation in public affairs; the authorities are responsible for ensuring that IDPs receive appropriate compensation for lost properties.

Conclusion

Thus the agony and trauma of displaced people is essentially beyond the purview of any sort of compensation. In fact, this ought to be the guiding principle for a state or an agency seeking displacement of people from their ancestral houses and immovable properties for development projects. In fact, the so displaced people mostly do sacrifice a lot by throwing themselves into a new environment of abject penury and various kinds of hardships so that others may live comfortably. This fact should be sympathetically considered by those entrusted with the task of resettlement of such people.

While, on the one hand, the process of displacement should be accomplished as a last resort, with utmost care and in a well-planned manner, the affected people be treated while having mandatory due consultation with them. To lessen the chances of displacement, the suitable policies and development paradigms be framed that may minimise the loss of fertile land for farming purposes and also sources of water and available flora and fauna. The tendency to grab extra land must be curbed and displacement for non-priority issues be totally stopped.

The government must remain very responsive and sympathetic towards displaced people and must address their grievances on priority basis. It should also devise such programmes and institutions which may particularly mitigate the adverse effects of displacement as described above and may ensure a better, secure and prosperous future for the displaced people.

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5. <http://www.worldbank.org/resettlement>
6. In 1990, the World Bank developed guidelines to protect those displaced by development projects. The basic principle of the World Bank's Involuntary Resettlement Policy is that the displaced should enjoy some of the benefits of the project and their standards of living be improved or at least not degraded. See Operational Policy on Involuntary Resettlement, OP 4.12:
7. <http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/Institutional/Manuals/OpManual.nsf/toc2/CA2D01A4D1BDF58085>
10. <http://www.adb.org/Resettlement/default.asp>
11. The Asian Development Bank formally adopted an involuntary resettlement policy in 1994. Like the World Bank policy on which it was modelled, it seeks to avoid involuntary resettlement, if possible, to minimise displacement where it is unavoidable, and ensure that the displaced people receive adequate assistance to restore their living conditions to at least the pre-project levels. A review mechanism (called the Accountability Mechanism) was also created in 1995 to address concerns of persons affected by ADP-assisted projects. See ADB's Policy on Involuntary



Degradation of Environment

Dr. G. P. Surve*

[Environmental degradation is the disintegration of the earth or deterioration of the environment through consumption of assets, like, air, water and soil. The destruction of environments and the eradication of wildlife. Air pollution, pollution of the natural environment is a big challenge for the world. Still, India has a long way to go to reach environmental quality similar to those enjoyed in developed economies. Pollution remains a major challenge and opportunity for India. Environmental degradation is one of the primary causes of diseases, health issues and long-term livelihood impact for India.]

When we think about environment the basic question arises that what is environment? The term environment means surrounding. It is an English word formed by two words – ‘environ’ and ‘ment’ which means ‘encircle’ or ‘all around’. We all live on the earth and this earth has the human environment. It includes all the physical parts of the earth such as air, soil, minerals, rocks and water and its entire living organism such as animals and plant.

In present century scientific and technological development has given several benefits to humankind but at the same time it is also responsible for various types of environmental degradations. Day by day man is using the environmental factors to fulfill all his purposes. Although nature has its own system of recovery of maintenance of eco-balance, but when over exploitation is done it fails to recover. Thus, several environment problems have emerged. Now the whole world is facing the problem of environmental degradation due to technological and scientific development on the one hand and burgeoning population, urbanization and industrialization on the other.

Pollution through Industrialization

* Associate Prof. in Mathematics, K. A A N M Sonewane
A S C College, Satana.

Nowadays the rapid rate of industrialization has resulted in more and more air pollution. Various industrial processes release almost all types of pollutions into the air. Some industries like cement, iron and steel, fertilizer, petrochemical etc. are such examples. Without air, man and animals cannot live as air provides us oxygen. If the air is polluted there is no use of this air. Without air there would be no clouds, no winds no rains, no snow and no fire. In other words, there would be no life on the earth.

Unorganized Mining

Mining is one of the most important economic activities. Because of the growing knowledge of the mineral resources as well as due to technological and scientific developments, now mining is performed on a very large – scale. The ultimate result of this large-scale mining is that it has created a threat to the environment. There are two types of mineral resources viz. non-metallic minerals, mineral fuels. All these are useful.

Therefore, mining operations are expanding without taking into consideration the impact on the environment. The result of mining areas is destruction of land. In USA alone about 1,50,000 acres of land has become wasteland due to mining. In India, one can already see the

destruction of land caused due to mining in the states of Bihar, Orissa, MP and Rajasthan. Unplanned and unorganized mining is dangerous to the environment. Some measures like leveling of mining areas, re-use of waste material proper management and planned, regulated mining can solve many problems.

Rapid Deforestation

As the population increased more forests were cleared for various uses. Apart from this the main cause of the deforestation is over exploitation of forests. There was a time when 29 percent of the land area was covered with forest and now the total forest cover has shrunk to 16 percent only. In countries like Indonesia, India, Thailand etc. the rate of annual cutting of forests is very high and it has created a great problem to the environmental safety, particularly in India. Deforestation is going on at a very fast rate in India. Rapid expansion of industries, excessive mining, river valley projects and urbanization etc., have been instrumental in over exploitation of forests. The following measures can be helpful in solving this problem to some extent.

- i. Actual growth of trees be supervised.
- ii. We have to develop an alternative for wood; moulded plastic, etc., for furniture and other articles.
- iii. Development of National Parks and game sanctuaries.
- iv. Social forestry be developed.
- v. In fact, forests can be protected by everyone through public movement.

Depletion of Ozone: The presence of the ozone layer is an essential factor in man's environment. Ozone is normally present in the atmosphere about 0.05 ppm at sea level. It is produced naturally in the atmosphere by the action of electrical discharges on oxygen. The ozone layer

provides a cover to the earth's surface and protects the earth from the ultra violet rays. But ozone layer has emerged from synthetic chemicals called chlorofluorocarbons. Recent scientific studies indicate that if this chlorofluorocarbon increased continuously then it makes holes in ozone layer. These chemicals are increasing because of the demand of products such as deodorant, hair sprays, and countless other consumer cosmetics.

Rapid Urbanization: The result of rapid pace of urbanization in cities like Mumbai, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, Bangalore etc., has been worsening of living conditions there. Even minimum shelter is also not available. Due to uncontrolled urbanizations in India, environmental degradation has been occurring very rapidly and causing for shortages of housing, worsening water quality, excessive air pollution etc. today there is a need to intensity cooperation between different levels of government local, regional and national and each one responsible to protect the urban environment.

There is also tremendous surge in private vehicles in urban areas so more cars causing smog like pollution. i.e., effecting the eyes and causing conjunctives. Smog is the result of vehicular pollution.

Over-Population: The growth of human population is a continuous process and in the last 10,000 years the population of the world has increased over a thousand-fold; to about 4.5 billion and the process of this growth continuously going on. India is the best example of the relationship between population and environment. With the rapid growth of population this balance between man and nature has not only been disturbed but it is responsible for the degradation of the environment. India's population has very rapidly grown, over the past few decades. The average rate of population

growth has been roughly about 2.5 percent annually. This rapid population increase has put strain on natural resources which result in degradation of environment. Advance medical Technological facilities has increased mortality rate which result in increase in life span. Hence, over-population means more demand for food, shelter, clothes and homes to millions of people.

Air pollution: in India is a serious issue with the major sources being fuel wood and biomass burning, fuel adulteration, vehicle emission and traffic congestion. Air pollution is also the main cause of the Asian brown cloud, which is causing the monsoon to be delayed. India is the world's largest consumer of fuel wood, agricultural waste and biomass for energy purposes. Traditional fuel (fuel wood, crop residue and dung cake) dominates domestic energy use in rural India and accounts for about 90 per cent of the total. In urban areas, this traditional fuel constitutes about 24 per cent of the total.

Fuel wood, agri-waste and biomass cake burning releases over 165 million tons of combustion products into India's indoor and outdoor air every year. These biomass-based household stoves in India are also a leading source of greenhouse emissions contributing to climate

change. On per capita basis, India is a small emitter of carbon dioxide green house

Natural causes: things like avalanches, quakes, tidal waves, storms and wildfires can totally crush nearby animals and plants groups to the point where they no longer survive in those areas.

Conclusion

There is a need of sustainable growth i.e. growth which is not harmful to environment. The eco-friendly development can solve the problem of environmental degradation. As the adage goes "technology as produces the crisis and technology can solve it", so the problem of environmental degradation can be remedied with the help of technology

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