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CONCEPT

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INSIDE

Editorial

Farmers' Agitation!

If the next round of talks between the Central Government and farmers' representatives scheduled for 30th December proves a damp squib once again like previous five rounds of talks, then by the time of going to press, farmers' agitation would have entered 40 days since it began on 26 November 2020 surrounding Delhi's Singhu border, Tikri border and Ghazipur border along with many other places that are not fully reported by the mainstream media for reasons best known to them. Undeniably, farmers have been agitating against the three farm Acts - The Farmers' Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Act, 2020; The Farmers (Empowerment and Protection) Agreement on Price Assurance and Farm Services Act, 2020; and The Essential Commodities (Amendment) Act, 2020 – that were first promulgated in the form of three ordinances in early June when the entire country was under nationwide lockdown in the wake of COVID-19 pandemic and subsequently hurriedly got passed by the ruling dispensation from both Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha sans appropriate parliamentary procedures that are essential for passage of laws.

While the Central NDA Government led by BJP and Prime Minister Narendra Modi claim that these farm acts for the progress of farmers, whereas farmers 'bodies from Punjab and Haryana have been protesting against these farm acts since the very days of their promulgation in the form of ordinances in June past year and their subsequent passage from the Parliament in September last year. Initially, farmers' protests were confined to Punjab and gradually they started spreading to Haryana and no serious attention was paid to the demands of the farmers, thereafter farmers unions shifted their focus to Delhi in the last week of November last year. In the initial days of the farmers' protests at Singhu border and Tikri border where a few thousand farmers had started camping from 26th November onwards, the Central Government took protest movement lightly; nevertheless, when the number of agitating farmers started swelling, the Government made offer of talks to the protesting farmers.

First round of talks held on first December between the representatives of farmers and representatives of Central Government led by the Union Agriculture Minister failed to reach any amicable solution on account of differing positions of the negotiating parties. Farmers called for the repeal of three farm laws and guaranteed minimum support price (MSP) through an enactment of law on the same, whereas Government insisted on its previous stand that those laws were enacted for the development and welfare of the farmers and refused to repeal them. Thus, the first round ended in a fiasco. Subsequent round of talks saw Central Government adopting a slight flexible attitude by agreeing to make certain amendments in these laws, while the farmers' representatives insisted on the total withdrawal of 'draconian' anti-farmer laws.

Despite five rounds of talks held prior to 30th December, the stalemate continues to prevail with both sides sticking to their guns and showing no signs of let-up in their respective stand. In the meanwhile, the propaganda machinery of the BJP has embarked on a blitzkrieg against the protesting farmers branding them 'Khalistanis', Tukde Tukde gang, 'Recipients of funds from abroad', 'being prompted by Opposition parties' and 'being patronized by Pakistan and China' etc. Such allegations that are strongly detested by the farmers have further alienated the farmers and vitiated the atmosphere of fruitful negotiations. At the same time, a large number of farmers are pouring in from different parts of UP, Uttarakhand, MP, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat and other states. Reports in social media make it discernible that despite the use of local police to prevent farmers, especially from BJP-ruled states like UP, MP and Gujarat, from going to Delhi to join the protesting farmers, there is growing number of farmers pouring into the capital from these states. There seems on gainsaying the fact that it has become a pan-India movement that has been eliciting the support from other sections of the society as well. Many firsts have been established by this protest movement. Unlike other protest movements like on CAA/NCR, Article 370 etc., this movement has garnered support from various sections inside the country and abroad. Non-violent, disciplined and self-reliant character of this movement is lifetime challenge for the current leadership and we hope for its early solution.

—— BK

Leadership role in Russia's Foreign Policy

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[This article attempts to analyse the theoretical understanding of leadership. It sheds light how does a leader emerge in socio-political horizon. It discusses the leadership's role in shaping the orientation of Russian foreign policy.]

Leadership is an important determinant of state behaviour. Throughout the history leaders have forged a new path for others to follow. Leadership is a part of multi-causal social process which brings about concrete political outcomes (King, 2002; Greenstein, 2004). It is historically concrete phenomenon and its structure and methods change with the passage of time. Leadership is an essential aspect of the democratic system (Sakwa, 2008). To Machiavelli, Leaders should set aside all the moral considerations for nation's order and stability. His noted work 'Prince' has been described as a handbook for the rulers.

Bass (1990) describes that "Leaders as prophets, priests, chiefs, and kings served as symbols, representatives, and models for their people in the Old and New Testaments, in the Upanishads, in the Greek and Latin classics, and in the Icelandic sagas". This statement illustrates that the notion of leadership has been always crucial whether it has been a primitive age or today's modern complex society. India's realistic thinker Kautilya explains the political obligation for a virtuous King in the following words:

In the happiness of his subjects lies the king's happiness; in their welfare his welfare. He shall not consider as good only that which pleases him, but treat as beneficial to him whatever pleases his subjects (Arthashastra, Book 1, Chapter XIX).

In his celebrated book 'Republic', Greek philosopher Plato sheds light on the nature of leadership in an ideal state. Plato was at the core disappointed in the prevailing nature of the state. Leaders lack knowledge about the ultimate objective of the state. Plato strongly believes that an ideal state can never grow into realty until philosophers became rulers in this world. A good leader is beneficial to his subjects in the same way as a doctor

to his parents (Takala, 1998). A noted scholar James Macgregor (2004) noted that leadership derives its core assumption from different disciplines. The study of history reveals that leadership gains understanding of the complexity of human events that offers opportunity and stumbling block to political actors.

As society has changed, the role of leadership changed as well. However, the relevance of leadership is remained unchanged regardless of different perspective of the state. Gandhian principle of leadership will continue to enlighten the world. Lenin legitimized leadership for realizing proletarian revolution in Russia. Marx defines leadership on material condition by saying that "Every epoch creates its own leader". A 20th century philosopher Karl Marx noted that "The emancipation of the working class was to be achieved by the working class itself". Marx did not endorse the concept of the party as the vanguard of the working class.

As the time has changed, the style of leadership also changed. William Reddin categorically defined the role of leadership in the following words: "leaders may strive for efficiency or effectiveness either by doing things right or doing the right things or, by solving problems or producing creative alternative, by safeguarding resources or optimizing state resource, by following his duty." He points out that a leader should consciously vary his style in different situation combining "style flexibility" with "situational sensitivity" in order to exercise effective leadership" (Mills, 1981).

Lewin classifies leaders as Bureaucratic Leader, Traditional Leaders and Charismatic Leaders. Burns defined yet another classification: transactional leaders and transformational leaders. Transformational Leadership is similar to Charismatic Leadership style proposed by Weber. The Classical leadership approach focuses on the characteristics and behaviour of the leaders (Rost,

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1991; Avolio, 2005). This approach assumes that there is a unidirectional personal influence of the leader on the followers.

A new genre of leadership theory has emerged which invokes inspirational, visionary and symbolic behaviour which Weber calls charisma (House 1977; Burns 1978; Bass 1985). This theory reoriented towards exceptional leaders who left an outstanding impact on their followers and eventually on the social system. Throughout the 20th Century, charisma as a political authority has been a legitimate force in articulating the people's voice. Rudolph Sohm coined the term charisma as a "the gift of grace".

Sociologist Max Weber has categorized three types of authorities: Traditional, Charismatic and Legal-rational. Weber defines charismatic authority in the following words: "Charisma knows only inner determination and inner restraint. The holder of charisma seizes the task that is adequate for him and demands obedience and a following by virtue of his mission. His success determines whether he finds them. His charismatic claim breaks down if his mission is not recognized by those to whom he has been sent" (Sakwa, 2008).

Talcott Parsons (1947) notes that it is the charismatically qualified leader who is obeyed by virtue of personal trust in him and his revelation, his heroism or exemplary qualities so far as they fall within the scope of the individual's belief in his charisma. In this sense, charisma is self-determined and sets own limits. It rejects all external orders. It transforms all values and breaks all traditional and rational norms. It overturns all notions of sanctity (Dow 1978:2).

There is a galaxy of charismatic leaders such as religious leader Jesus, mass political leader Gandhi, dictator Hitler, the emancipator Martin Luther King and proletarian leader Lenin who possessed the charismatic traits. House (1977) argues that the basis for charismatic appeal is the emotional attraction that occurs between followers and their leader. Charismatic leaders arouse followers' motives to accomplish the leader's ideals and values. Charismatic leaders are almost great simplifiers, who cut through argument and offer a universal solution to everybody. British leader Winston Churchill galvanized by making remarks, "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat." This prolific speech had set the course for his charismatic leadership in Britain during the Second World War. Similarly, Soviet leader Lenin promised the war-wearing Russians "Peace, land and bread."

During the Indian national movement mass leader Gandhi galvanized across the country by making appeal "Do or Die" (Das 2000). Martin Luther King Jr., aroused entire USA by making a visionary appeal "I have a Dream". In 1921, Gandhi's non-cooperation movement awakened the entire country to stand up against British colonial rule. In his first presidential address American President Franklin Roosevelt restored the confidence by putting bold viewpoint and lofty vision, "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself".

Let us explain how charismatic leadership emerges in the political system. Does charismatic leadership emerge at the height of great desperate situation? Did great depression in 1933 create a desperate situation for the emergence of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Adolf Hitler? Were depressing circumstances of France responsible for the meteoric rise of flamboyant ruthless dictator Napoleon Bonaparte? Carl Friedrich points out that charismatic leadership is understood as leadership based on a transcendent entity. Such leadership should properly be conceived as grounded in a faith in god or gods (Friedrich, 1961). Sociologist Weber explained the condition under which it typically arises: (distress), one requirement for its maintenance (mission success), and its likely outcome over time (institutionalization) and some of the means by which charismatic leaders exercise their authority (power, vision, speech, heroism) (Willner, 1984).

This process is seen as a composite mixture of the three factors: the leader and his attributes; the social situation that demands an aspiring leader and finally the interaction between the leader and the followers. Neo-charismatic school defines leadership as a process by which leaders affect followers due to the motivational mechanism such as visionary behaviour; positive self-presentation; empowering behaviour, calculated risk taking; self–sacrificial behaviour; intellectual stimulation; and adaptive behaviour (Antonakis, 2011).

Contemporary theory of leadership defines it as a complex, dynamic, and ambiguous. Leadership does not automatically reside in single heroic traits. Uhl- Bien (2006) defines relational leadership as a social influence process through which emergent

coordination (i.e., evolving social order) and change (e.g., new values, attitudes, approaches, behaviours, and ideologies) are constructed and produced.

How Leadership Matters?

Various factors determine the foreign policy of Russia. Legvold (1980) noted that the internal environment is the most important factor in shaping the foreign policy. Nikitin (2008) noted that leadership factor is one of the key determinants of Russian foreign policy. Leadership traits as agency in political landscape are solely responsible for changing the course of a country's profile and position in international stage. There are various leaders such as Woodrow Wilson, Winston Churchill, Adolf Hitler, Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King Jr., Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher who proved influential internationally (Hussain and Shakoor, 2017). From Peter the Great through Stalin to Putin, they all have left their imprints on the external behaviour of Russia. Putin controls defence, foreign and security policies simultaneously in Russia (Chenoy and Kumar 2017).

As a Foreign Minister, Primakov was widely viewed as a strong and reliable figure in comparison to Kozyrev. His success was based on personal rather ideological element. In Russian history, institutional influence has been much more formal than real. For centuries, it has been individuals, not institutions, which have played a significant role in shaping the policies. Throughout the Tsarist and later the Communist regimes, individuals took primary positions instead of the institutions. Loo argues that "Over the past three decades, the stature of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has suffered from the unpalatable reputation of Russia's three Foreign Ministers in the post-Soviet period. Andrei Kozyrev was considered a limp-wristed and liberal Westernizing while centrist figure Yevgenii Primakov regarded as the arch-representative of Cold War geopolitical values" (Loo 2005). The transition from Kozyrev to Primakov as foreign minister marked a shift in the approach of Russian foreign policy.

It emphasizes Russia's role as a great sovereign power in self-help and structural international system (Mankoff, 2005). The personality of Yeltsin himself played the significant role in determining the nature of the post-Soviet foreign policy. His pro-Western approach effectively moderated the harder-line positions of the MFA (Eggert, 1997). The oligarch Boris Berezovsky's membership of the Yeltsin 'family' was critical in persuading the Kremlin to dilute the 1997 draft of Russia-Belarus Union Treaty (Lo, 2002). In the early 1990s, Moscow had joined various international institutions. Consequently, Moscow joined both IMF and World Bank too.

The role of the Russian parliament has been symbolic in the making of the foreign policy. The foreign ministry has also played a peripheral role during Putin's presidency. Strong-willed foreign minister Yevgeny Primakov and President Boris Yeltsin undermined the Foreign Ministry both personally and politically (Mankoff, 2009). Unlike Yeltsin, Putin leadership marks a dramatic change in the foreign policy arena (Herspring, 2003). His pragmatic, cautious and nuanced foreign policy is based on a policy of soft dominance in its neighbourhood; equality with key power centres, and membership in a multi-polar world order (Trenin 2009).

Bobo Loo has described his leadership impact on foreign policy in the following way: "His words, tone, actions, demeanour and postures are as much scrutinized as the actual content of his policies. He exudes an air of importance that has uplifted Russia's game in the international domain. Policies during his time have strongly brought Russia back to the great power politics. His actions in the Crimea and Georgia, regaining influence in the neighbourhood, revising major agreements of the 1990s with the West, Russia's role in the Syrian crises and steady expansion of ties with China, have all brought Russia back to the Great Game" (Loo 2003).

Sergei Medvedev points out: "Putin's foreign policy agenda has been dictated by domestic concerns, an awareness of the systemic crisis and a sense of the competitive pressures of globalization. Putin sought to ensure western support for domestic reforms, creating a friendly and a predictable external environment and showing Russia to be a trustworthy actor in world affairs" (Medvedev, 2008).

His leadership sought to be more active and have an assertive foreign policy which could re-establish Russia as a major global player. He launched a pragmatic, cautious and nuanced foreign policy. Under his leadership, foreign policy is based on a mix of Atlanticist and Eurasianist perspective. In the early 1990s, excessive Atlanticism has gone and

it began to trace the Eurasianism. In this period, Russia's self-identity had been undermined by the Western-style modernization. Later it became evident that Putin would take the country in 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 the global arena. His policy regarding the West is not like that of Yeltsin who was pro-West, but at the same time, he is not anti-West too.

Anatoli Chubais 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). Russia as a great power was projected under Putin's leadership. *Putin is the main decider of all the key policies, i.e., defence, security and foreign affairs.* He has linked domestic policy with the states' external behaviour. In March 2004, he himself outlined the multi-vector policy: "We shall build a multi-vectored foreign policy; we shall work with the United States, and with the European Union, and with individual European countries. We shall work with our Asian partners, with China, with India, with countries of the Asia-Pacific region. Due to its geographical position, Russia is both a European country and an Asian country simultaneously" (Putin, 2004).

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Post-COVID-19 China

Dr. Manoj Gupta*

[*The Chinese economy is bucking the trend in the post-pandemic world and is on a road to slow but steady recovery. This article tried to understand how could the country achieve this in light of a near-collapse of its internal economy, its exports brought to a standstill, its image tarnished by Covid-19 cover-up allegations, its friends in the international community reduced nearly to none because of its provocative stands against its neighbours and lastly, its continuing trade war with the United States. This article sets out to explore the manner in which China has withstood the brunt of the pandemic with the help of an analysis of published research and empirical studies. It will look at the special features of China's development model and policies which, in a post-pandemic world could become a viable alternative to the United States-led development model for the developing countries*]

China's economic model of development has come to be seen much in contrast to the rigid development orthodoxy of the West; its own development model is now considered flexible and practical, the essence of China's domestic developmental experience.

In recent years and more so during the pandemic year of 2020, China extended developmental aid and financial loans and grants to the developing countries in a bid to augment its soft power. It executed this while engaged in a no-holds-barred trade and tariff war with the United States, the latter tiring out as the year entered its last quarter. So much so, as if to boost the case of China, that Nobel Prize winning economist Joe Stiglitz said the American response to the pandemic resembled a so-called "Third World country". In his view, Europe fared no better, like England, with its confusing pandemic treatment and lockdown guidelines sending outrageous signals. China's plan to cope with Covid-19 was effective, in the scientist's opinion.

This article gives a recap of the events that led to the pandemic. China reported an outbreak of pneumonia cases in Wuhan province on December 31, 2019. Their second missive to the WHO by January 7, 2020 had identified the culprit as "a novel coronavirus as the cause". It shared the genetic sequence of the virus with the WHO on January 12. By this time, the United States had accused China of lying to the world about the outbreak of the virus, its ability to transmit from human and

human and the extent of its reach. Just before August, China had reported 4659 Covid-19 related deaths, but the United States claimed the toll had crossed 36,000. As if to this narrative, China experienced scores of minor pandemic outbreaks. Despite this, the Chinese people began to return to normalcy.

In contrast, the US registered its first Covid-19 case on January 20. By February 26, 58 people had tested positive, but then President Donald Trump refused to give credence to the test reports, saying instead that "you have 15 people [with Covid-19], and the 15 within a couple of days is going to be down to close to zero". This casual approach led to an acceleration in community transmission in the US by March end. By the second week of April, New York had registered more cases than any other country. more cases of Covid-19 than any country. This trend continues in the United States and large parts of Europe, thanks to a nonchalant approach and indifference of the people to wearing masks. A researcher said that by "late-July Florida was registering more new cases than any country on a daily basis".

President Trump led the anti-China narrative during this period, adding to the existing animosity between the US and China, and he started referring to Covid-19 as "that Chinese virus". His team started calling it the "kung flu". The US and the UK also began charging the Chinese with inhibiting a collective medical response by sitting on crucial information about the virus. China countered by circulating a counter narrative, that Covid-19 was brought to

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China by members of the American military. The Americans started saying the virus may have leaked from a laboratory in Wuhan. Both sides closed down their respective consulates in Houston and Chengdu.

China: 2008 And 2019

Let us now see how the pandemic period compares with the global financial crisis of 2008. Both are considered shocking and rare events which had a lasting impact on the global economies. At both times, surprising predictions were made about the Chinese economy and the impact of these events on its expansionist rise.

The 2008 crisis has its origins on Wall Street. By the end of the first month, the American model of high-finance capitalism was in its death throes. The march of unregulated markets and unchecked money flows had ended abruptly. The centre of global political and economic centre shifted away from the United States. While the Americans took more than a decade to recoup their lost appetite for the market, China emerged nearly unscathed. It was left with enough economic strength to bring the world economy out of its mire thanks to what analysts like A. Tooze called in his work titled, "Crashed: How a decade of financial crises changed the world", a decidedly non-neoliberal stimulus programme.

In the post-financial crisis era, China was hardly considered a world economic hegemony. However, how China's sustained economic growth "lifted hundreds of millions of people out of poverty" is still a subject of research. Economics researchers concluded, to quote a research paper, Covid-19, "China and the future of global development", appearing in the December, 2020 issue of Science Direct: "Crucially, China employed a pragmatic and eclectic mix of policies which ran counter to orthodox development policy promulgated by the likes of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund."

The paper explains how China travelled from 2008 to 2019: "This crisis differs from 2008 in three very important ways. First, the scale and scope of the impending economic crisis will require unprecedented state intervention that will be even more difficult to reconcile with neoliberal ideology...

We have already seen countries move to impose capital controls, bail out private corporations, roll out basic income grant schemes and expand social welfare programs. Some countries may have little choice but to nationalize failing companies and manage production of essential goods. Second, China was an engine of growth after the 2008 crisis but its global presence was modest in comparison to today. Since the announcement of its signature Belt and Road Initiative in 2013, China has ramped up its activity abroad and significantly enhanced its soft power. Finally, the US has scorned multilateralism under Donald Trump's banner of America First, and even long-time allies are weary of Washington's transactional diplomacy. …The result is that the US Government faces a crisis of legitimacy at home and abroad, and its leadership has not been this tenuous in the post-war era."

Unique China Development Model

What is the China model of development? Rather, what is the meaning of 'development' according to China? The world over, development became the cornerstone of domestic and international policies after the Second World War. For the United States, it became an excuse to halt the spread of communism. Development was the weapon to "defeat" the USSR in the Cold War era. China never got into these debates. It remained equidistant from both the US and USSR. Thus, it remains insulated from the American model while it was never tainted by the self-destructive policies of Stalin.

Moreover, even when in dire economic straits, China never allowed itself to be forced to accept debts from the IMF. Chinese leaderships preferred trial and error methods to come up with practical models of development suited to their policies. The 1990s saw the end of political reforms in China, but it continued to experiment with economic and development structures. It preferred to take its own sweet time to transform its essentially rural, agrarian society into a modern, techno-industrial colossus that would eventually become the world's manufacturing power house, in the process turning millions of unskilled and semi-skilled pastoral workers into a skilled, technologically professional labour force. This was achieved by simultaneously lifting most of these millions out of property and

improving their living, health and education standards.

This China model, after the arrival of President Xi Jing, became the basis for expansion outside China, exporting the development model to developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, with a view to control or at least influence global markets, finances, economies and supply chains. That would make it the only competitor to the United States at the apex, or so the thought went until Covid-19 happened.

H.F. Hung in The China boom: Why China will not rule the world says: "Chinese development assistance appears designed to reorient the global economy in ways that strengthen Sino-centric production networks." X. Zhang, in his paper "Chinese capitalism and the maritime silk road: A world-systems perspective" in the 2017 issue of Geo Politics, says that "the Belt and Road Initiative could entrench Sino-centric networks of trade, investment, and infrastructure in East Asia, Southeast Asia, Eurasia and beyond, echoing Japan's 'flying geese' model, but on a much more expansive geographic dimension, and in a more complicated, diverse and multi-scalar manner".

This simply translates to this: China's focus is first of all on infrastructure, like railways, energy grids and ports. Its companies locate production facilities in nearby industrial complexes. They are backed by the communist officials all the way. China would offshore some segments if needed to ensure that the value chains are intact and always expanding. Contrast this with the western – American – policy of merely opening markets and allowing market forces to decide if infrastructure needs to be built at all. The Chinese approach, going by the experience of developing countries, is preferred to the American one today, as evidenced by more and more such countries eager to take part in China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

The second aspect of the development model relates to debt relief in the short term. Most developing countries partnering China in BRI have received such debt relief that sustained them in the short run. Thereafter, they were able to be in a position to go to the IMF or such financial institutions for long-term debt relief. Economic analysts

D. Lawder, G. Crossley, in their pioneering work, Mnuchin says IMF and World Bank funds won't repay debts to China, point out a problem these countries encounter: "However, a long-term solution will be far more difficult to engineer because the US retains a dominant position at the World Bank and IMF and insists that no assistance from either institution be used to pay off debts to China." This is the American way of trying to slow down China's economic expansion internationally.

In their seminal work, "Covid-19, China and the future of global development", economic researchers Seth Schindler, Nicholas Jepson and Wenxing Ciu write: "Any sustainable solution will require China to be fully integrated into the multilateral debt system of the Paris Club and IMF, yet doing that successfully will mean accommodating China's very different lending philosophy. This would require an overhaul that would lead many G20 countries to balk, not least the US. If an accommodation is not reached between China and the Paris Club, developing countries may find themselves in a position where they have to choose between defaulting on either Chinese loans or Paris Club and IMF debt.

At present this impasse is far from being resolved, and one result of a prolonged struggle surrounding debt could be the emergence of two distinct economic blocs reminiscent of the Cold War. There are signs this is already happening. For example, after the US withdrew from the nuclear deal with Iran and sanctions were re-imposed, European countries balked at US intransigence but they were unable to piece together a program to mitigate American sanctions. Rather than forcing the Iranians to the bargaining table, however, this pushed them into a $400 billion deal with China."

Biden and 'pax americana'

The economists echo market and development research institutions the world over that the real test for China would be after Joe Biden becomes US President. They contend: "While Biden's approach to China would surely be more civilized in tone than Trump's, issues such as the balance of trade and intellectual property rights would nevertheless have to be resolved before relations could be reset. The countries would remain competitors, yet unlike

Trump, Biden could go on a global charm offensive and marshal support among traditional American allies.

Even before the Covid-19 pandemic European companies were seeking to reduce their dependence on China while the EU has soured on a trade deal with China. Similarly, Japan followed suit by providing support in its Covid-19 stimulus package for the repatriation of supply chains from China. More recently, tensions flared between China and India over disputed territory in the Himalayas, and the United Kingdom has ruled that Huawei hardware must be removed from its 5G infrastructure by 2027." What they are pointing to is a possibility that the Biden presidency may see the revival of "Pax Americana". Its primary objective will be limiting China's influence over global systems of finance, trade and production.

China may have its moment in the sun with its pragmatic development model that has stood the test of Covid-19 – as more research shows below – but the fact remains that the world reacts unfavourably to the expansionist policies of the Chinse Communist Party led by President Xi Jinping. His brash adventures in the Himalayas to provoke India and intimidatory actions against the countries in the South China Sea Region and its skirmishes with Australia and Japan and finally, the deleterious effects of BRI partnership on the small countries, all of them make the world suspicious of China. How the Biden administration reviews Trump's trade and tariff war with China in this backdrop is yet to be seen.

There is also the distasteful side. Notwithstanding the revival of the Chinese economy post-Covid-19, the flow of precious funds to BRI is causing a bit of unrest domestically. Joblessness continues to be high; companies continue to look for export contracts which are yet to rise to pre-pandemic levels, the factories are yet to reach 100 per cent production capacity despite re-opening months ago. The country's total debt is said to exceed 300 per cent of GDP. For the first time in years, China did not set a GDP target for 2020. And yet, it is expected to emerge out of the Covid-19 crisis with less damage when compared to the battering some of the major economies are suffering at present.

The latest issue of Diplomat says of China's latest vital economic statistics: "China reported third-quarter GDP growth up 4.9 percent from a year ago, bringing growth for the first three quarters of the year to 0.7 percent year-on-year, according to data released on October 20 by the National Bureau of Statistics….imports increasing by 13.2 percent and exports rising 9.9 percent from a year earlier….The pandemic has severely hit developed countries, causing a steep reduction in the degree of their centrality in trade networks, but has not affected the central position of China. Besides, China retains its 14th spot in the top-performing economies in the Global Innovation Index (GII) 2020 released on September 2, according to the U.N.'s World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)."

Global Ratings Back China

S&P Global Ratings has come out with an extensive research on China's economic performance in 2020 and its prognosis for 2021. It primarily focuses on expansion of corporation credit of China. It says: "The Covid-19 outbreak should slow the country's economic growth to just 1.2% this year, prompting a rapid expansion in credit. This will escalate China's debt-to-GDP ratio, which we estimate will rise 24 percentage points to 273% in 2020. So far, so normal. GDP slowdowns typically lead to credit expansions in China. But S&P Global Ratings believes this crisis may be different in how aggressively China may restore debt discipline."

In recent years China has started to become less reliant on using credit to extract on the lack of GDP target, S&P says: "One way of reading China's decision to not commit to a GDP target at the National People's Congress (NPC) in late May was that it was reluctant to over-use debt to hit growth targets. Chinese government officials have told us that Beijing viewed its decision to turn on the credit tap during the 2008-2009 global financial crisis as a mistake it does not want to repeat."

About China's prospects of stabilised economic post-Covid-19, it says: "If China is more cautious than it has been in the past on using debt, we might believe Beijing is succeeding in reducing its long dependence on debt. This might signal more tolerance for a more moderate pace of growth and

greater reliance on productivity as the underlying driver of the economy."

The ratings agency confirms China recognises that reducing its corporate debt growth is the key. China has loosened its controls of local government debt growth to cope with the economic fallout of COVID-19. However, the government will likely be able to resume its debt controls in 2021 as the domestic and global economy stabilizes and try keeping deficits below 3% of GDP.

Basis for China Revival

Any research looks for empirical evidence to understand, like in this case, why China is doing well in the post-pandemic era even as its image has taken a beating globally. The explanations are not far off and are not political either. They have to do with the basic strength of a country's, here China's, economy and the depth of its resilience. One may turn to a latest research paper by a team of international economists.

This macro-economic study by the US-based National Bureau of Economic Research has come out with a report in the last quarter of 2020 that in the post-pandemic world, "China and others in the region may fare better globally thanks to their manufacturing bases". The study uses 40 years of quarterly data to forecast a lengthy global recession resulting from coronavirus, "with the manufacturing bases of China and East Asia predicted to fare better than most Western economies".

The report, being applauded by eminent economic research bodies, predicts that "global GDP will drop three per cent below pre-pandemic estimates by the end of 2021, with many Western nations seeing 'deeper and longer-lasting' effects compared to China and other Asian economies".

The study "captures the economic volatility" caused by the last 40 years of 'rare events'. It uses this historical data to "forecast the longer-term effects of the pandemic on individual economies." "The research suggests that economic growth will be stymied in at least 80% of the world's advanced nations and many emerging market economies due to 'excess global uncertainty'."

The researchers who conducted the study argue: "The pandemic will lead to a 'significant fall in world output' – the consequences of which could last much of the dawning decade. The COVID-19 pandemic is a global shock like no other, involving simultaneous disruptions to both supply and demand in an interconnected world economy. Infections reduce labour supply and productivity, while lockdowns, business closures, and social distancing also cause supply disruptions. On the demand side, redundancy and the loss of income from death, quarantines, and unemployment plus worsened economic prospects reduce household consumption and firms' investment."

Using the "IMF's GDP growth forecast revisions between January and April 2020 to identify the COVID-19 economic shock", the researchers "created a model of 33 countries covering 90% of the global economy, using data from 1979 onwards – in particular the rare economic shocks – to predict the range of GDP loss likely to be suffered by each nation and region as a result of the pandemic".

Conclusion

The study suggests: "The US and the UK are likely to experience deeper and longer-lasting effects, while China has more than a 50% chance of its economy improving far quicker than its major Western counterparts. The odds for the Euro area are 'skewed negatively', but it's likely to experience a speedier and sturdier recovery than the US by the end of 2021...Pulled by China, most of the emerging economies in Asia have a higher chance of performing better than the global average."

In contrast, the study suggests the reverse for services-strong economies, like in the West. It says: "Economies with strong service industries have proved resilient in the past as manufacturing was more exposed to market fluctuations, but COVID-19 and the digital age have turned this on its head: services suffer as people stay at home en masse while goods are still traded through online platforms. Non-Asian emerging markets stand out for their vulnerability, and will suffer from a significant output collapse in 2020, with a less than 30% chance of not experiencing an output loss by the end of 2021. Turkey, South Africa, and Saudi Arabia will almost certainly see at least eight quarters of severely depressed economic activity.

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India-US Defence Relations during the Covid19

Dr. Mallikarjun Sharanappa*

[The Covid19 crisis has changed the relations between different countries. Apart from Covid19 challenge, India faced border tensions with the People's Republic of China in May 2020. Before such critical phase, the US President, Donald Trump visited India in February 2020 and there was new phase of bilateral relations between India and the US. The spread of Coronavirus pandemic has created health crisis in the US and India, the largest producer of HCQ Malarial drug, which was helpful to treat Corona patients, has exported the same to the US. On the other hand, after minor clashes between the Indian and the Chinese troops in the borders of Ladakh, the US has sent two aircraft carriers to South China Sea to ease the situation. Apart from this, the US has supplied modernized military supplies to India. In this way, there is more improvement in India and US defence relations in the early 2020.]

The interests of the US towards India have been subject to variations with regard to different issues such as India's dispute with Pakistan and China, proliferation, terrorism, human rights, education, trade and investment opportunities, nuclear energy, etc. In the 1990s, especially after India's declared policy of economic liberalization, it came to be viewed as an attractive market for US business. Despite the lack of an overall policy framework, security cooperation also increased during this period. During the Gulf War, the Indian Government granted re-fueling rights to US military aircraft en route from the Pacific to the Middle East. In 1996 and 1997, the Indian and US Navies held joint exercises (the Malabar series) in the Indian Ocean (Far Eastern Economic Review, 2000).

It has been observed by some that President Clinton's India visit was recognition of India's new-found status. During his visit to India, President Clinton and India's Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee on 21 March 2000 resolved to 'create a closer and qualitatively new relationship between the United States and India' and signed a joint statement on bilateral relations entitled *US-India Relations: A Vision for the 21st Century* (Text, 2000).

On July 5, 2005, President Bush and Prime Minister Man Mohan Singh signed a historic agreement in New Delhi on a program for civilian nuclear cooperation between the United States and India. The agreement provided for India to propose a plan for separating its nuclear program into two branches: a safeguarded civilian part and an unsafeguarded military program. In June 2010, the United States and India formally re-engaged the US-India Strategic Dialogue initiated under president Bush when a large delegation of high-ranking Indian officials, led by the then External Affairs Minister S.M. Krishna, visited Washington D.C. As leader of the US delegation, the then Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton lauded India as "an indispensable partner and a trusted friend" (White House Papers, 2010).

According to foreign policy experts, US President Obama's India visit in 2010 was instrumental in changing US approach towards India permanently. This was proved when President Obama saw India as a prominent Great Power on the world stage and declared it as one of the most important allies of the US. President Obama also openly supported India's bid for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. During the visit of President Barack Obama, the then US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton and India's External Affairs Minister agreed to "further strengthen the excellent bilateral relationship" (Meera Shankar, 2010).

During the period of the Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Modi (2014-2020), the bilateral relations are at height. There are frequent exchange of visits of high-level dignitaries and delegates from the US to India and vice versa so as to discuss strategic and defence issues. It shows that, the US and India are coming nearer with increased cooperation and coordination so as to achieve motto of "Chalein Saath Saath: Forward Together We Go" and "Sanjha Prayas, Sab ka Vikas" (Shared Effort,

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Progress for All) as stated by the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Due to such relations, the US President, Donald Trump is also keenly interested to fight against terrorism and frequently warning to Pakistan to stop terrorism. Both the countries have also same views on counter-terrorism issues.

India and the US Defence Relations during the Covid19 Period

During the talks held in Washington in December 2019, both India and the US have agreed to "promote practical cooperation in infrastructure development, cyber security, counter-terrorism and regional connectivity". To that end, the U.S. has launched a "Blue Dot Network" which has already taken Japan and Australia on board to encourage private investment in infrastructure projects. The network is "ratings mechanism" that would grade infrastructure projects in the Indo-Pacific region on different parameters to ensure transparency and is planned as direct counter to China's Belt and Road Initiative.

After the Corona Virus Pandemic and border clashes in 2020, there is increase in tension between China and India, resulting in estrangement between the two. In this changing equation, the India-U.S. strategic partnership was strengthened as the US extended all-round cooperation, especially providing cooperation in defence and maritime issues.

On February 24, 2020, the US President, Donald Trump visited Ahmedabad, Gujarat to address a large Indian crowd. The event, titled "Namaste Trump", was a response to the "Howdy Modi" event held in 2019. Attendance of over 100,000 people was reported. The event served as a platform for the U.S. President and the Indian Prime Minister to articulate their friendly relationship.

Trump emphasized "Quad Initiative" during his visit to India. Trump's direct invocation of the 'quad' marked a rare leader-level endorsement of the concept, which had largely remained at the working level until the September 2019 ministerial meeting. "Together, the Prime Minister and I are revitalizing the Quad Initiative with the United States, India, Australia, and Japan," Trump said, speaking after Modi at a joint press conference in New Delhi on the second day of his visit to India (Panda, 2020). The US has assured extended cooperation on counter-terrorism, cyber security and maritime security to ensure a free and open Indo-Pacific.

The two leaders announced plans to work together on counter narcotics and mental health. India agreed to purchase $3 billion worth U.S. military equipment, and U.S.-based oil company ExxonMobil announces a deal with state-owned Indian Oil Corporation.

In the month of December 2019, in Wuhan Hubei Province, China, a number of people suffered from severe respiratory illness. As there was no medicine and the Corona Virus (known as Covid19) has spread across many parts of the world, the US has become worst affected country. During Covid19 crisis, Hydroxychloroquine (HCQ), a drug of Malaria was found as useful to treat Corona virus affected patients and the demand for HCQ suddenly increased all over the world. India is the largest producer of HCQ and the US President, Trump called Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi in the midst of the crisis for releasing Hydroxychloroquine (HCQ) and India exported HCQ to the US.

After that Trump, himself recognized this step by tweeting "Extraordinary times require even closer cooperation between friends. Thank you, India and the Indian people for the decision on HCQ. Will not be forgotten!" when India agreed to allow exports of the anti-malarial drug hydroxychloroquine to the US which is being seen as a possible cure for COVID-19". The U.S. blames China for this pandemic. Here, India has remained silent.

The defence relationship is strengthened as there is agreement to acquire MH-06 Seahawk Anti-submarine warfare helicopters at an estimated cost of US$2.6 billion. India has also signed a Letter of Offer and Acceptance (LOA) with the US for the sale of six additional AH64E Apache Guardian attack helicopters. The US is India's fourth largest source of arms after Russia, Israel and France between 2008 and 2020.

In June 2020, during the George Floyd protests, the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial in Washington, D.C. was vandalised by unknown miscreants on the intervening night of June 2 and 3. The incident prompted the Indian Embassy to register a complaint with law enforcement agencies. Taranjit Singh Sandhu, the Indian Ambassador to the United

States called the vandalism "a crime against humanity". U.S. President Donald Trump called the defacement of Mahatma Gandhi's statue a "disgrace".

There was tension between India and the China border when the troops of both the countries were locked in a standoff at different places located across the Line of Actual Control in Eastern Ladakh since May 05, 2020. As a result, even 20 Indian Army personnel were also killed due to clashes at Galwan Valley. After negotiations between the Indian National Security Advisor, Ajit Doval and Chinese Foreign Minister, Wang Yi, the Chinese army started to withdraw troops from the border.

During this period, Indian-American Congressman Raja Krishnamurthy and others passed resolution in the American Congress, which emphasized "The Government of the People's Republic of China should work toward de-escalating the situation along the Line of Actual Control with India through existing diplomatic mechanisms and not through force" (Economic Times, July 20, 2020).

In US, the ruling Republican and opposition Democratic parties have introduced legislations to strengthen the India-US defence ties, especially in the area of the fifth-generation fighter aircraft and to accelerate joint research and development in the military field. Moving an amendment to the National Defence Authorisation Act (NDAA) 2021, Senator Mark Warner and Senator John Cornyn asked for assessment from Defence Secretary Mark Esper whether the Israel-US Binational Industrial Research and Development Foundation and Fund provides a model for US-India private sector collaboration on defence and critical technologies.

The US Government must be appreciated for building joint peacekeeping capacity efforts; enhancing US-India maritime domain awareness cooperation; leveraging the secure communications equipment enabled by the communications compatibility and security agreement; installing liaison officers at US Naval Forces Central Command and the maritime Information Fusion Centre of India; and establishing a secure hotline for the four 2+2 ministers (Economic Times, June 30, 2020).

The US President, Trump amended rules that restrict the sale of military-grade drones to foreign partners like India, it said, adding that prominent among them being the recent announcement by the Trump administration changing its interpretation of the Missile Technology Control Regime. As reported in the Economic Times (August 05, 2020), the US is looking to ramp up arms sales to India, including those of armed drones that can carry over 1,000 pounds of bombs and missiles, said a media report, noting that the "new push" comes following the violent Indo-China troop clashes in Ladakh in May 2020.

The US military continue to stand strong" in relationship to a conflict between India and China or anywhere else, a top White House official has said, after the US Navy deployed two aircraft carriers to the strategic South China Sea to boost its presence in the region. It shows the concern of the US towards India.

As remarked by Tanvi Madan, Director of India Projects at Brookings, US, "US administrations have seen India as a geopolitical counterbalance or democratic contrast to China. So, the US is watching India's response closely—it will contribute to perceptions of India's willingness and ability to tackle the China challenge. Washington has sought to be helpful where possible—while letting Delhi take the lead in requesting that support" (Ghosh, 2020).

India needs the support of the U.S. and its ally, Israel, in cyberwarfare, satellite mappings of China and Pakistan, intercepts of electronic communication, hard intelligence on terrorists, and controlling the military and the Inter-Services Intelligence in Pakistan. India needs the U.S. to completely develop the Andaman & Nicobar, and also the Lakshadweep Islands as a naval and air force base, which the U.S. can share along with its allies such as Indonesia and Japan. India needs technologies such as thorium utilisation, desalination of sea water, and hydrogen fuel cells, but not Walmart and U.S. universities to start campuses in India, as proposed in the new National Education Policy draft (Subramanian Swamy, 2020).

During a panel discussion moderated by US former envoy to India Richard Verma, Antony Blinken said "We have a common challenge which has to deal with an increasingly assertive China across the board

including its aggression toward India at the Line of Actual Control but also using its economic might to coerce others and reap unfair advantage. Ignoring international rules to advance its own interests asserting unfounded maritime and territorial claims that threaten freedom of navigation in some of the most important seas in the world" (NDTV, 2020).

As reported in NDTV (August 15, 2020), wishing India on its 74th Independence Day on 15th August 2020, the US Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo emphasized that, the US and India "have shared close bonds of friendship and democratic traditions" and "see each other as great pluralist democracies, global powers and good friends", "Over the years, the relationship has grown into a comprehensive global strategic partnership, involving ever closer cooperation on issues vital to global security and prosperity in the 21st century".

Concluding Remarks

From the above discussion, when the milestones between India and the US cooperation are analysed, it is found that, there are frequent ups and downs and it is due to change in administration between both the countries. But the year 2020, is hopeful for progressive bilateral relations between India and the US. It is clear that India has extended cooperation to solve the problems of the US by supply of HCQs in Covid19 period. Similarly, during the border clashes with the China, the US has extended defence cooperation with India by sending two aircraft carriers to face emergency situations. Even the US has extended its cooperation in supplying modern defence equipment such as armed drones and other military equipment. In this way, India and the US have good cooperation not only in defence but also strategic, trade, FDI, healthcare, and so on.

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India China Economic Relations

Kanchan Devi*

[*India and China both are emerging as the large and the fastest-growing economies of the world with a huge population. But at different times the relationship between India and China is questioned due to their conflict on the border issue. Though China emerges as the largest trading partner of India, from the last few decades, the relationship between the two countries is found to be full of suspicion and mistrust than friendly and cordial. Despite all such problems the relationship between India and China in terms of bilateral trade is the strongest of all. This paper is an attempt to describe in-depth India's economic relations with China.*]

The relationship between India and China has been occupying an important place in Asian history. Both countries are in a race with time for development and tackling the common issue of poverty. Though both countries are rapidly growing in terms of economy but they are adopting different techniques in the process of development. China is a little bit ahead in the process of development than India but India is also gradually doing well. If we see the relations between India and China from history, then we find that the relationship is not much smooth.

Some major issues like border dispute and China-Pakistan relations are perennial creating problems between the two countries. Sometimes, the relations between the two countries are found as a strategic one. The visit of the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1988 for handling the crisis of 1986-87 marked the beginning of contemporary relations between India and China. As a result of that visit, Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) agreement was adopted for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity along the line of actual control (LAC) in India and China in 1993.

Both the countries are sharing the common membership in some regional bodies like Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), BRICS, Asian Défense Ministers Meeting (ADMM), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARR), etc. Due to China's accession to the WTO (World Trade Organization) in 2000, China and India's relationship in trade took

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the turning point towards rapid improvement. After the prime ministership of India headed by Narendra Modi in 2014, the relationship between the two countries is seen to be stronger as many economic issues are resolved.

There is plethora of literature available that describes China and India's relations in economic forums. According to S. K. Mohanty (2004), India and China both followed the trade liberalization policy but it is their unilateral policy to cope with global competition. India has a large export potential to China than any other South East Asian country. So, the trade relationship between the two countries has much potential for further development. In Dragon and Elephant (2010), the speaker of the conference viewed that the economic growth of both the countries has been passing through impressive phases for some decades but the pattern of growth is uneven as the growth of some sectors is more rapid than other sectors.

According to the World Bank estimates, China and India have already occupied the second and fourth rank to be the large economies based on purchasing power. India and China at present are representing as the most unique and strongest combination with their large GDP followed by a low standard of living and low per capita income (China, statistical yearbook). In the World Competitive Index of 2020, China is occupying 20th position and India's position is 43rd (Assam Tribune 17 June 17, 2020).

Historical Background

India and China had been sharing a wide-ranging relationship with the extension of Buddhism from India to China since the first century A.D. Both the

countries had a conflict of interest in the case of Tibet issue. In the 1950s, after the end of the civil war of 1949, China wanted to control Tibet and free the Tibetan people from Lamaism and feudalism. Nehru informed the Chinese leader that India had not any territorial and political interest for Tibet issue. But an agreement was signed between India and Tibet in May 1951 to carry on the existing social and political system of Tibet.

In 1954, an eight-year agreement in the form of the Panch Shila principle was signed between India and China for mutual trust and cooperation. In the decade of the1950s, a famous slogan for the relation between India and China was framed i.e., well known to us as 'Hindi-Chini-Bhai-Bhai' (brother). During that time the political, economic, cultural, and military bond of the relation between the two countries got strengthened. They even had a common objective and mutual understanding between their governments.

In the 1960s the relationship between India and China came under challenging phases due to border disputes. The Sino-Indian war of 1962 was the result of the conflict. In 1965, during the India-Pakistan war, China played a diplomatic role and involved in a proxy war with India. The Chola incident of 1967 and the Sino-Indian skirmish of 1987 were some areas of conflict between the two countries. However, the economic and diplomatic relations between the two countries improved since the 1980s. In 2008 China was the largest trading partner with India. The strategic and military relations between the two countries also improved since then.

Apart from trade and commerce, other some areas also got common interest from both the countries. The two countries are the member of some common platform like trade, climate change and reformation of financial order of the globe, etc. China has an imbalance of strategic relations on the part of India and in many cases, China is supporting Pakistan, which is a matter of dissatisfaction for India. Despite such existing conflicts, the economic relationship between the two countries is very strong. In the year 2012, China prospected that India and China's ties could gain the most important bilateral partnership of the era. So, Wen Jiabao former premier prime minister of China and then prime minister of India Manmohan Singh set some strategic goals to increase the bilateral trade between the two countries to 100 billion by 2015. In 2020 the diplomatic ties between the two countries completed the 70th anniversary.

Objectives of the Study

The study is based on the following objectives:

1. Compare the growth pattern of China's economy to that of India.

2. To have an idea of the economic relations between both the countries.

3. To prospect the importance of China and India's relation in the future and provide necessary recommendations.

Methodology

This descriptive study is done by studying extensive kinds of literature on the relations between India and China. Different secondary sources like articles, research papers, journals, etc are used for finding out requisite information.

Findings

India and China are two global giants of the Asian economy that are representing Asia in global competition. It must be admitted that both the economies of India and China are rapidly improving but the pattern of economic development differs in both the countries. If we compare the two economies in terms of trade, the result is such that the economy of China is six times larger than that of India. In the year 2007, the trade of China is found to be $433 billion greater than India. India's trade at present is also hardly 1% greater than global trade.

Though the Indian economy is one of the fastest-growing economies after China, India's share of trade on a global level is very low. China has occupied the position among top global traders of the world. Of course, China's economy is indeed facing some serious challenges due to low domestic demand in China. China's domestic demand is only 36% of its GDP, whereas the figure is 50%-60% in the case of India. Again, if we see the composition of the population in China, then we may see that the

Indian economy comprises a younger population than China. It is a positive sign for the Indian economy.

Both economies are following a common shift in the trend of growth since the 1980s to a more sustainable level of growth. But the per capita growth structure of Indian and the Chinese economy holds a huge gap. India's average per capita growth in GDP is 4.8, which is about half of China's 8.1 per capita GDP from 2000 to 2005. The expenditure on research and development in both countries is also found to be different. In China, it is 1.4, which is less than 1 for India (as per the data of OECD survey India and China).

The Indian economy is assumed to be more adaptive than China as the evidence of telecommunications shows that telecommunication lines in India increased from 5 million in 1991 to over 200 million lines today. Again, in the case of market flexibility, China's product and financial market are adopting new and technological development making it more flexible than India.

Bilateral trade is taken as a confidence-building measure in China and India's relation. The major exportable items from India to China include: Iron, Chrome ore, plastic and linoleum, marine products, cotton textiles and fabrics, organic and inorganic chemicals, bulk drugs and pharmaceuticals, construction quality wire rods, tobacco, and tea, etc. China's main exportable items include raw silk and silk yarn, coking coal, some types of chemicals, pulses, mercury and antimony, freshwater pearls, newsprint and other low technology items to India. Bilateral trade is a common pillar of the strongest relationship between India and China. Border trade enhances the trading system to the remote areas of both the country. Border area trade is helpful in enhancing peace and prosperity.

Both China and India are welcoming foreign direct investment and also are acting as an investor in many countries. Though there is a strong trading relation between China and India in bilateral trade but India accounts for only near 1% in China's total foreign trade, while China accounts for over 5% in India's foreign trade. According to some data from the Government of India, India, and China's bilateral trade has increased from $38.02 billion to $71.45 billion. There is a sharp increase in trade volume between India and China in the year 2011-12 and 2014-15 due to the rise of Chinese exports to India. The year 2017 is known for India- China ties (Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India).

Discussions

The share of the trade by china can be explained with a figure below:

The increasing share of trade by China in the global market may be due to the following reasons – the environment of competition is more favourable in China; China spends three times more in infrastructure than that of India and the most importantly the people of China and the Chinese government is found to be more optimistic. From the potential point of view, India's possibility for development is more as the Indian economy is full of young population and the savings potential of young people is generally more. The main weakness of the Indian labour market is its being more labour-intensive in all sectors.

There is a huge gap between labour and capital used in the Indian manufacturing sector. But the Chinese manufacturing sector is balanced. Indian manufacturing sector must use a balanced and technology-oriented strategy to compete with China. The infrastructure i.e., power sector; where India has many advantages but due to inadequate infrastructure facility the sector is not growing according to its potentiality (OECD survey India and China).

Post-1962 India-China War, the trade between the two countries started to move in a positive direction. In the first phase i.e., from 1962 to 1980, the trend of growth of trade is extremely slow, during the 1980s the trend was gradually occupying the centre stage and the trend of trade increased more than expected in the 2000s. Though there exists a diplomatic relationship between the two countries for several reasons, but after the nuclear test of 1998 by India, the situation between the two

countries normalized, and the bilateral trade is started, which is the first sign of strong relationship between the countries.

The agreement 'General Parameters' of 2005 for settlement of their border problem and opening of the trade through Sikkim in 2003 helped in further strengthening friendly relations between the two countries. The India and China FTA (Free Trade Area) is also a good sign of economic relations between the two countries. The prime ministers of both the countries in 2005 set the target to take the bilateral trade to $20 billion by 2008.

But the bilateral trade between the two countries reached the target by the end of 2005 itself. Again, the target of $30 billion bilateral trade was set for the year 2010. But the target was fulfilled in 2008 or before two years i.e., 2010. The East Asian financial crisis was the reason behind the diversion of trade from India to China. The share of trade by different countries in different period can be observed from the below diagram:

From the figure, it is visible that the share of trade to China is mostly from India and is rapidly increasing from 1993 to 2003. In the year 1993, the share of trade by India in the Chinese economy was 35.22% which was increased to 47.81% in 1999, and in 2003 the share was about 66%.

Though the bilateral trade between India and China is increasing in an imbalanced pattern and trade balance is in favour of China. There is a deficit of $51.11 billion for India in the bilateral trade with China. This shows the inability of India to compete with Chinese manufactured goods. The Chinese manufacturing industry is its strength to encourage exports like electrical power equipment, electrical machinery, etc. India exports resource-based goods like iron ore and cotton. The Indian manufacturing sector has a long way to compete with China. The trend of bilateral trade between India and China can be analysed with the diagram below:

In the figure, financial years are placed on X-axis and the trend is plotted on Y-axis. From the year 2007-08, total bilateral trade between the two countries is continuously found increasing at a rapid rate. The integration of the two countries in terms of bilateral trade brings significant gains to both economies.

China is yet playing a diplomatic role with India by setting some protectionist policies that prevent many Indian companies to enter into the Chinese market. Indian government time to time pushes China to open up its market to Indian IT, pharmaceuticals, and agricultural products to reduce its trade deficit. India has a 20% advantage of the global generic medication production but Indian firms do not find an easy way to enter the Chinese market. India is also following the restriction on the imports of cheap Chinese products. But the Indian electronics and IT market are highly dependent on China. China's FDI into India was USD 1.67 billion in 2000-2010, which was very low or only 0.49% of total inflows of FDI into India over the same period. Some Chinese companies like Alibaba, Baidu, and Tencent, etc put USD 5.2 billion for Indian start-ups.

Still, there exist some important challenges in the relationship between India and China like trade imbalance, market access issue, restrictive regulatory environment, and border issues, which are not in favour of India.

Policy Implications and Conclusion

Despite some problems existing in both the economies, the prospect of the brightening of both economies is very high. The border dispute between the two countries is thus far a vexing issue between India and China that has remained unsolved and comes in the way of further strengthening economic and diplomatic relations between the two countries. On the night of 15th June 2020 (Monday) twenty Indian Army personnel and the undisclosed number of Chinese soldiers were dead in the Galwan Valley of Eastern Ladakh due to a fierce clash. As a result of this clash, the boycott of each other's products in both countries started. However, Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Zhao Lijan on the 18th of June 2020 said that China and India both agreed to deal with the serious matter of Galwan Valley conflict in 'just manner' (Times of India. June 18, 2020).

At present, for both countries trade is the important driver of their economies. The border issue should be resolved between the two countries over time so that the relationship between the two countries would be stronger. The agreement 'Political parameters and guiding principles for the settlement of border' already provides framework to resolve the border problems between the two countries. China's action many times had been harmful to many South Asian countries. India has to understand the action of China and its intentions much carefully.

The following policies are recommended for India and China's economic growth:

1. China needs to rebalance its growth strategy in such a way that its domestic demand increases.

2. India's growth and development will continuously tend to improve if economic reforms get expanded in India.

3. The gap between capital and labour used in the Indian manufacturing industry should be narrowed by making proper reforms in the labour market.

4. India should manage the problem of shortage of power supply.

5. India should make product differentiation in India's product market keeping the interest of the large culturally diverse and heterogeneous population of India.

6. India needs large scale investment in firms taking its competitive advantage in wages from low-cost labour.

7. India should reduce regulations involved in the Indian financial market. India has more restrictions in the product market than other economies of OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development). Hence, we can conclude with the statement that China and India's economic relation should be used as a strategic weapon against their political dispute.

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Is the Balkans splitting the EU apart?

Pyotr Iskenderov*

[*The European Union is going through a serious internal crisis over the prospects of its further expansion, with the main line of confrontation running between Paris and Berlin. On October 15, France, backed by Denmark and the Netherlands, blocked the EU's decision to start negotiations concerning the admission of Albania and Northern Macedonia. Germany and other EU members opposed the move as unfounded, citing previous decisions by the European Commission. This split at the very top of the 28-member bloc could seriously undermine its status in the eyes of the Balkan states, and force them to shift their foreign policy priorities and possibly turn towards Russia and its integration mechanisms.*]

The news of the decision by France, the Netherlands and Denmark to block the previous EU decision to start admission talks with the two Balkan states, citing the slow pace of their reforms followed the EU foreign ministers' meeting in Luxembourg. The three countries opposed the start of negotiations with Albania, and France's position concerning similar talks with Northern Macedonia was equally negative. Paris also insisted on a fundamental reform of the EU's accession process. Germany and other EU members disagreed, arguing that in late May, the European Commission had found Albania and Northern Macedonia fully in line with EU conditions and ready to engage in EU accession talks with Brussels. Moreover, Brussel's promise to start such negotiations is clearly mentioned in the list of official decisions made by the European Union.

At the same time, Brussels uses a differentiated approach to Balkan countries' applications for membership, with the EU Commissioner for European Neighborhood Policy and Enlargement, Johannes Hahn, speaking against inviting Serbia and Montenegro to start negotiations, arguing that they should make "more efforts to protect the rule of law."[1]

Naturally enough, the Balkan counties were disappointed by this decision. Just a few days before the Luxembourg meeting, the leaders of Albania, Northern Macedonia and Serbia gathered in the Serbian city of Novi Pazar, accusing Brussels of ignoring their interests.

Briefing reporters after the meeting, Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama called on his colleagues from Northern Macedonia and Albania to work out a foreign policy agenda without waiting for tips from Brussels.

"There has been no change in the agenda of our international partners, but the format of relations that we are building has changed, as we are not waiting for the EU to find time to pay attention. Let's be honest, we are not a priority for the EU, because they prioritize their own reforms. We cannot expect to become a priority for the EU, but we are still able to promote more active and organized cooperation," Edi Rama said.

Northern Macedonia's Prime Minister Zoran Zaev and Serbian President Aleksandar Vucic see the creation of a visa-free zone in the Balkans - "a small Schengen" – as one example of such cooperation. This is sending a clear message to Brussels to consider a situation where even such EU members as Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia, still remain outside the pan-European visa-free space.[2]

Poland, which is the Balkan candidate states' most active ally in the EU, has fairly tense relations with the big shots in Brussels. During a recent meeting of the leaders of the Vicegrad Group (Hungary,

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Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic) held in the Czech city of Lany, attended also by the Slovenian and Serbian leaders, the Polish President Andrzej Duda described the start of EU accession talks with Northern Macedonia and Albania as "a litmus test that will show how open the EU really is." He said that both these Baltic nations had already met all the necessary criteria for admission to the European Union and emphasized that Warsaw, for its part, favoured Europe with "open doors," which is the only way to ensure the EU's peaceful and peaceful development.[3]

This position is fully shared by Germany, with Michael Roth, Minister of State for Europe at the Federal Foreign Office, telling the newspaper *Die Welt* that "Albania and Northern Macedonia have done their homework. In recent years, they have been outstandingly successful all across the board fulfilling all the prerequisites for starting negotiations. They need to be rewarded for this, and this is exactly what the Bundestag did in an unambiguous vote. I am sure that the terms proposed by the Bundestag will convince others in the EU to greenlight the start of the EU accession talks," Roth emphasized. He added that "the EU's decision is being watched very closely not only by those in Albania and Northern Macedonia, but in the whole region as well.

The EU must show that reform efforts are encouraged. Any further postponement would seriously undermine confidence in the EU with negative consequences for peace and stability in the region." He also voiced fears that a political vacuum would result in Russia, China, Turkey, the countries of the Near and Middle East coming to the region.[4]

In his seminal work on 5 historic Europes, prof. Anis H. Bajrektarevic notes: "The inner unionistic equilibrium will be maintained only if the Atlantic-Central Europe skilfully calibrates and balances its own equidistance from both assertive Russia and the omnipresent US. Any alternative to the EU at present is a grand accommodation of either France or of Germany with Russia. This means a return to Europe of the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries – namely, direct confrontations over the Continent's core sectors, perpetual animosities wars and destructions.

Both Russia and the US have demonstrated ability for a skilful and persistent conduct of international affairs, passions and visions to fight for their agendas. It is time for Brussels to live up to its idea, and to show the same. Biology and geopolitics share one basic rule: comply or die."[5]

Ergo, latest events in Brussels are yet another indication of serious undermining of the European Union's role in the Balkans. That surely wide opens the space for other key players, above all of Russia, China and the United States. Therefore, Moscow needs to develop a more clear-cut concept of its own interests and goals in the region and ways of its implementation, always mindful of the local geopolitical situation and the time-tested traditions of Russian-Balkan cooperation.

Notes

1. URL: https://www.dw.com/ru/Paris-blocking-negotiations-on-Albania's-and-Northern Macedonia's-accession-to-EU/a-50847311

2. URL: https://regnum.ru/news/polit/2744398.html

3. URL: https://regnum.ru/news/polit/2741857.html

4. URL: https://www.welt.de/politik/ausland/plus201795520/EU-Osterweiterung-Russland-China-und-die-Tuerkei-stossen-in-Luecken-die-wir-lassen.html

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Trajectory of India's Northeast Development:
The Way Ahead

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[An attempt is made in this paper to cross-examine the subject all the way through rigorous intellectual enquiry founded on the works of eminent scholars and intensive field visits. The discourse began with the ethno-cultural paradigm to gauge its viability in an intertwined environment crisscrossing tradition and modernity. The strategic paradigm was analysed while projecting the region in the larger geo-political space of India's national interest. The institutional paradigm that mirrored political representation and economic decentralisation to reduce the problems confronting the region was deliberated. The neo-liberal paradigm was advanced to reap economic dividends augmenting cross border trade, connectivity and culture in the region. Moreover, taking due cognizance of the underlying principles of the shifting paradigms, the study derived its inferences in the form of policy alternatives to address the impending challenges.]

The Union Government applied several paradigms to map the trajectory of development of India's Northeast. In the aftermath of India's independence, ethno-cultural paradigm was applied to preserve the cultural milieu of diverse tribal populace of North-Eastern region. The tribal ethno-space of the colonial period defined as Excluded, Partially Excluded and Frontier Areas were put under the sixth schedule of the Indian Constitution which granted them autonomous districts and autonomous regions with elected councils to manage their customary laws, administer justice and control the land.

To resonate the argument, the approach of the Union Government, christened as Nehruvian policy towards North East Frontier Agency(NEFA) could be cited here as an example that was 'determined to help the tribal to grow according to their own genius and tradition; it is not the intention to impose anything on them'(Elwin 2007:56).The logic behind this paradigm was that their culture was pristine and it was to be shielded from the perils of 'big bad wolf called economic development' (Ramesh 2005).No doubt, the political discourse during this period gave them wider cultural space to preserve their uniqueness minus industrial development.

Strategic Paradigm

The strategic paradigm emerged in the wake of Chinese invasion of India in 1962 and the region became strategically significant in the grand geo-politics of India's location in the East and South East Asia. Thus, Northeast was perceived as a strategic frontier which became dominant discourse of thinking reflecting the policies of the Government towards the region (Ramesh 2005). Sanjib Baruah writes 'the imperative to nationalize space dictated by the high politics of national security has determined the choices made in every other policy area.

The interests of the people of the area, or of the unique environment, the potential choices between alternative development strategies, the respect for the autonomy of sub-national governments enshrined in India's federal Constitution, the rights of indigenous peoples, and even considerations of political stability- all have had to play second fiddle to the imperative of nationalizing space' (Baruah 2005:40). The national security approach as Baruah entailed 'has led to the creation of cosmetic federalism in North East India' (Ibid).

Institutional Paradigm

During seventies, the region witnessed transformation in shifting towards institutional paradigm entailing political representation through pluralistic participatory democracy and economic decentralization by setting up of North-Eastern Council (NEC). The Northeast (Reorganisation) Act 1971 created new states like Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura along with two union territories viz; Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram by reorganising the state of Assam. It was envisaged that many of the problems of the region would be resolved

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through the instruments of participatory democratic politics (Ramesh 2005).

The economic aspect of development through NEC was thrust in the region to get rid of the problems of identity and ethnic assertion. However, neither of those institutional mechanisms could bring in development nor could they mitigate the problems on ethnic lines by experimenting participatory democracy.

Neo-Liberal Paradigm

The neoliberal paradigm was thrust in comprehending the geo-economic importance of India's Northeast in an era of increasing regional and global cooperation .The Shukla Commission Report observed that 'with the softening of geo-political rigidities following understandings with China, then Myanmar and, most especially, with Bangladesh, the Northeast is no more burdensome peripheral region somewhere out there, but is poised once again to resume its dynamic role as a bridge to the booming economies of Southeast Asia and Southwest China to mutual benefit. No surprise that proposals to construct a Trans-Asian Highway and Asian railway have been revived' (Planning Commission, 1997).

The High-Level Commission Report to the Prime Minister on 'Transforming the North East' found the resource-rich region of North East as a national asset. The hydroelectric, oil, gas, coal, bio-diversity and agro-horticultural potentials 'hold out promise of national solutions through regional development' and 'will add immeasurably to national security in every respect' (Ibid.). Despite its potentialities, the region lagged behind development as compared to other regions of India.

Hence, the Northeast dimension was incorporated into India's Look East policy in a meeting between the External Affairs Minister, Shri Pranab Mukherjee and the Chief Ministers of the North eastern States in October 2007.The policy became an integral part of North Eastern Region Vision 2020 – 'a roadmap for development of the Region' in July 2008 (MDONER 2008).In nutshell, the vision document focused on a) connectivity and physical infrastructure (b)trade and investment protocols (c) shortfalls in operationalisation of existing assets and facilities (d) soft aspects of bi-lateral / multi-lateral relationships such as in tourism and enhanced people to people interaction through sports, culture, academic and medical research etc (Ibid).

So, the neo-liberal paradigm demanded economic integration through cross border trade and connectivity corridors by identifying the issues and concerns through several policy alternatives for the development of the Northeast. Let us highlight them in details:

Rethinking Cross -Border Land Corridors

Cross border land corridors connecting India's Northeast is an option to cement India's neighbourhood policy and sub-regional/regional cooperation efforts for the emergence of free trade architecture in the region. The first one, Guwahati-Singapore (4356.2km) corridor, linking Guwahati—More (595.8 km), More-Mandalay (480.4), Mandalay –Bangkok (1332.5 km), Bangkok—Kuala Lumpur1471.7 km) and Kuala Lumpur –Singapore (475.8 km) through Asian Highway 2(AH2) would connect India's Northeast with the South-East Asian countries in terms of trade, transport, investment, banking, education, tourism, technology and allied services. The second one, Guwahati-Ho Chi Minh city (3346.2 km) corridor, linking Guwahati –Moreh (595.8 km), Moreh-Mandalay (480.4 km), Mandalay-Bangkok (1332.5 km), Bangkok-Phnom Penh (707.6km) and Phnom Penh- Ho Chi Minh city (229.9km) through Asian Highway 1(AH 1) would connect India's Northeast with Myanmar, Cambodia, and Vietnam (CLMV) in multiple ventures.

Both the corridors are quite feasible propositions in terms of their cost benefit analysis as compared to the trans-shipment of goods to Southeast /East Asia from Northeast via Kolkata port passing through the narrow Siliguri corridor. It is also pertinent to mention here that that most of the Asian highway projects of the aforesaid countries are finished except the pending projects in Vietnam. Hence, any such transnational-connectivity corridor involving India's Northeast would help in strengthening free trade regime in India's eastern neighbourhood.

But the hard fact is that the Northeast region has just remained a consumption centre, it has not yet emerged as a producing one. There are tremendous potentialities in the Northeast to develop industries based on agricultural, horticultural and plantation products; non-timber forest products: bamboo, cane, medicinal plants / herbs, and aromatic grass, etc.; textiles (handlooms and power looms),

handicrafts and sericulture; pharmaceutical; minerals and oil-based polymer and allied industries but unfortunately, they have not yet been properly harnessed to meet the domestic as well as international demand.

Hence, both the government as well as civil society of Northeast would have to make conscious and sustained efforts to dispel the lacklustre attitude towards investment and generate congenial atmosphere for pro-industrial climate and export-oriented culture in the region. Otherwise, the overflow of cheap Chinese goods through the third country would adversely affect India's domestic economy.

The ground reality also speaks how of late 'foreign-made' goods have made strong inroads into the markets of the northeast at the cost of domestic products. The customs officials also acknowledge such transactions. ''There is no way to prevent it in such a hostile market situation. The Chinese produce quality items and flood them in the market. Their tax structure is also helping the traders' (Rediff 1998). Thus, Guwahati-Singapore/Guwahati-Hoch Minh corridor could only be possible when the North-eastern economy emerges with specific manufacturing products and earns India's brand image abroad by capturing the neighbouring markets, specifically in ASEAN as a counterweight to China.

Hence, the present border trade at Moreh -Tamu sector may be reinforced as Land Custom Station (LCS) subsequently paving the way for other cross border land corridors to tap the opportunities for transnational trade and commerce.

Generating Growth Triangles

The cross-border policy would generate growth triangles in the region. Growth triangles are formed on the basis of different comparative strengths of contiguous regions by capitalising their natural resources, technology, finance and human resources for a successful trilateral venture. This concept was unveiled by the first Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore Goh Chok Tong in 1989 in the form of Singapore–Johor–Riau (SIJORI) Growth Triangle which coalesced the technology and finance of Singapore with that of the land, labour and natural resources of Ria Island of Indonesia and Johor of Malaysia (Pattnaik 2016).

Hence, there could be possibilities of similar growth triangles such as (a) Eastern Bangladesh, India' Northeast and Western Myanmar, (b) Eastern Bangladesh, Western Myanmar and South –west China, and (b) Myanmar, India's Northeast, and Thailand etc. based on amalgamation of their comparative advantages quite akin to the SIJORI Growth Triangle (Pattnaik 2016).

Sustaining Institutional Reforms

The Inner Line Regulation (ILR), imposed since 1873 in the North–East Frontier of British India is still continuing in Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Nagaland. The locals vehemently oppose the abolition of inner line regulation which in their opinion protects the ethno-cultural identities of indigenous population and restricts the mass exodus of illegal migrants. So, the ILR may continue to check the illegal migration from across the border, particularly Bangladesh, and dispel the raising insecurity syndrome of the locals of this sensitive border state. But a liberal labour policy ought to be framed for economic development, cross-border trade and economic cooperation. In case of inner line regulation, this may be streamlined and the recently introduced e -Inner Line Permit (e-ILP) may be vigorously pursued to eliminate red tapism or bureaucratic hurdles.

Initiating Land Reforms

Current land holding system among the indigenous communities poses challenge to the agro-horticultural and industrial development in the Northeast. Land holding in the tribal areas is more a community right, than an individual right. Neither there has been any cadastral survey of the land nor any attempt to register the land through land registration system. Customary rights tantamount to one's claim over the land or right to inherit the landed property. The recently introduced land settlement registration only legalizes the customary rights over such occupied lands. In the cities or in urban areas, mostly the customary rights of holding landed property are also manipulated to the interests of local leaders/ influential/moneyed persons.

In the process, the occupied land, later legalized through the land settlement registration system, is used either as a rent accruing mechanism given on rent to the migrant workers or bargained as a medium of compensation during the commissioning of any mega industrial/ road corridor project. This

rentier mode of economy does not suit to the genuine economic development of the Northeast. Moreover, this is not a sustainable form of development. So, the need of the hour is to have a through cadastral survey of the land and identification of genuine land holders for the acknowledgement of their individual land rights for the real economic development of the Northeast.

Addressing the Problem of Insurgency

The problem of insurgency is to be addressed to realise the potentials of India's recent policy on Northeast. This region shares border with the insurgency ridden North West Myanmar - a safe haven for the insurgent groups in Myanmar.

The major insurgent groups of Northeast are: United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA), Anti Talk/ Independent, National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB), Assam; National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak and Muivah (NSCN-IM), National Socialistic Council of Nagaland-Khaplang (NSCN-K), National Socialistic Council of Nagaland-Reformation (NSCN-R), Nagaland; People's Liberation Army (PLA)/Revolutionary People's Front (RPF), United National Liberation Front (UNLF), People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK), factions of Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP), Kanglei Yaol Kanba Lup (KYKL), Manipur People's Liberation Front (MPLF), Manipur; All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF), National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT), Tripura; Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council (HNLC) and Garo National Army (GNLA), Meghalaya (MHA 2015).

There is a section of intellectuals who think that how can cross-border cooperation sustain in the sensitive border region infested with insurgency? They have   sceptical views about this corridor being hostage to the militants. On the other, a few academics also viewed that the problems of insurgency will be automatically resolved, once the highway and allied infrastructural developments take place. The Highways/ corridors will create job opportunities bringing substantial changes in the social and economic aspects.

As a sequel to this, the disgruntled youth would remain away from the unlawful activities and participate in the   process of economic development. Besides this, the problem can be resolved through multipronged strategies. In this respect, both India and Myanmar should try to secure peace constituencies across the border lands which are afflicted with insurgencies. They should also create congenial atmosphere through back channel methods and sustain the dialogue process with their respective insurgent groups to bring them back into the social mainstream.

Moreover, the academia and civil society organizations through engagement paradigm should intensify their efforts for the peace building process. Then, efforts should be channelised to generate confidence among disgruntled youth and then wean them away from the path of insurgency by addressing their legitimate grievances with adequate rehabilitation packages (Pattnaik 2016). Lastly, geopolitical borders should be transformed into potential economic opportunities to flourish trade and development in the region, so that the unemployed youth will not be allured to join the ranks of insurgency (Ibid.).

Tackling the Non- Traditional Security Challenges

There is an apprehension that drugs and small arms might sneak into NER in the event of open borders with the neighbouring Myanmar jeopardizing the peace and stability of the region. Myanmar, located in the opium producing golden triangle, acts as the land bridge to such regional/sub-regional cooperation and in the event of cross border trade, Guwahati-Singapore/ Hochi Minh corridor may be transformed into a potential drug corridor. It is reported that the drug cartels use about thirty trafficking routes.

Some of these, marked by the Indian Narcotics Control Bureau (NCB),are: Behiang-Singhat-Churachandpur-Imphal,Behiang-Singhat-Tipaimukh-Silchar,Mandalay-Tahang-Imphal, Tamu-Moreh-Imphal, Homalin-Ukhrul-Jessami-Kohima, Mandaly-Tahang-Tiddim-Aizawl-Silchar, Homalin Khamjong-Shangshak Khullen-Ukhrul–Imphal, Myitkina-Maingkwan-Pangsau Pass-Nampong-Jairampur-Digboi, Putao-Pasighat-Tezpur-Guwahati, Tamanthi-Noklak-Kohima-Dimpur, New Somtal-Sugnu-Churachandpur-Imphal-Kohima-Dimapur, Tahan-Tiddim-Melbuk-Champhai-Aizawl-Silchar, Tohan-Vaphai-Khawlailung-Serchip-Aizawl, Tahan-Falam-Ngarchhip-Khawlailung-Serchip-Aizawl, Falam-Dawn-Thingsai-Hnahthial-Lunglei-Demagiri-Chittagong Hill Tracts-Chittagong, Falam-Lungbun-Saitha-Chittagong Hill Tracts-Chittagong,

Churachandpur-Ngopa-Aizawl-Phuldungsei-Jampui Hills-Agartala-Chittagong (Bhaumik 2015: 193-194).

In this context, the potential threats emerging out of these drug corridors cannot be easily overlooked. It is also pertinent to mention that the state-run Chinese arms manufacturing company, China North Industries Corporation (Norinco) of Yunnan, which shares its border with the Indian states of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Manipur, supplies unlawful weapons to the "buyers ranging from the African dictators to the Asian rebels" (Uninathan 2011). Subir Bhaumik observed, "There is growing evidence of connivance between Chinese intelligence and ordnance establishments, as well as evidence of paybacks to Burmese military commanders who allow the weapons to pass through Burmese territory from Yunnan to Northeast India" (Bhaumik 2015: 189).

Unless this unlawful smuggling of arms is stopped, it would be quite difficult to materialize any sub-regional cooperation or cross border synergy in the region. Yet, this problem can be addressed specifically by India and Myanmar by reinforcing joint surveillance mechanism through information and communication induced technology and intensifying border patrolling to check illegal entry of drugs and small arms.

No doubt, the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed between India and Myanmar for sharing intelligence information, synchronizing patrolling across the international border, exchanging information to combat insurgency, arms smuggling and drug trafficking and initiating measures to foil illegal cross-border movements, if realized in true spirit, would ensure 'peace, stability and security' across the international border (MEA2014). Besides this, the highways/ corridors once reopened to regulate the formal border trade in India-Myanmar sector would also substantially check the illegal exodus of drugs and small arms into the region through various surveillance mechanisms.

Strengthening Coordination between Central & State Agencies

The coordination between the central and state agencies needs to be strengthened to reap better dividends from the perspective of India's neighbourhood policy. State wise Act East policy Department may be created in the Northeast that can work in close collaboration with the Ministers of External Affairs (MEA), Ministry of Commerce and Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region (Monir) and North Eastern Council (NEC) for effective delivery. Moreover, an Act East Council may be setup at Guwahati or Shelling to provide necessary feedbacks to the Union and state governments to ensure time bound implementation of this policy. In nutshell, a vibrant, dynamic, self-accountable and transparent model of operation can be framed taking every stakeholder on board.

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The role of ICT in Education

Dr.Dipak Pathak*

[The importance and effects of education on people has increased from past to present and become a critical issue today. It is accepted that there is a positive correlation between increasing educational status of the society and the development of it in all areas. Therefore, education that is among the priorities of both developed and developing countries is seen as the key of sustainable development.]

Sustainable development is so crucial for the societies to survive in a globalizing world. Meanwhile, producing and using technology has become one of the priorities of the societies as well as sustainable development. Yet, the rapid improvement and change cause the societies to face with the challenges both difficult and complex. Especially, technological improvements and their effects have become one of the most critical issues for education lately. From now on, demands from technology has become supplying the needs and expectations of future rather than answering today's needs. In other words, the real important thing is the tasks to be done from now on in the view of future (Drucker, 1994). As we can graduate the generations the future needs, ICT use in schools is vital. Therefore, we should integrate ICT in education and use it effectively.

Information and communication Technologies (ICT) are the major contemporary factors shaping the global economy and bringing rapid changes in society. The ICT plays a major role in human activities in every walk of life of today. After the emergence of ICT, the whole world has become a global village where all activities are utilized for optimum result. ICT has made everybody's life happy and has made the match of globalization an indispensable reality.

Tinio (2015) defined ICT as 'Diverse set of technological tools and resources used to communicate, to create. To disseminate, to store and to manage information". ICT implies the technology which consists of electronic devices and associated human interactive materials that enable to employ them for wide range of teaching learning in addition to personal use. These technologies include computers, internet, broadcasting technologies such as radio and television and telephony. ICT also refers to the convergence of audio-visual and telephone networks with computer networks. The technology encompasses a wide range of activities.

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A major advantage of the convergence of ICT is the emergence of the Internet, which is a content of distribution network. It consists of a global system of interconnected computer networks through which data is interchanged. The technology includes millions of private and public academic, business and government networks of both local and global levels. ICT uses the information to meet human needs and it also facilitates the dissemination and exchange of information.

Education in India

ICT is regarded as critical tool for preparing and educating students with required skills for the global work place. Ibe-Bassey, G.S (2011) It is a diverse set of technological tools and resources used to communicate and manage information.

According to Anthony. O (2012), the impact of ICT in education cannot be overemphasized. ICT open windows for new thinking and atmosphere of innovation. Government and organisations such as the World Bank took steps towards bridging the digital divide between the developed and developing countries of the world. These made remarkable efforts to apply ICT in providing job in education sector.

The use and integration of ICT in building inclusive knowledge societies for all and overall socio-economic development is increasing in India. These have been used to attract investment, to create job opportunities, to promote knowledge and sharing, to facilitate innovation and to contribute to good governance. ICT together with education empower citizens to be aware of these rights and to participate actively in shaping public policy, governance and developments.

The International Institute for the Communication Developments (IICD) report 1998 mentioned that ICT develop teacher's abilities to integrate pedagogical and content knowledge in the classroom. It helps in alleviating common challenges like crowded classrooms, resource shortages and outdated pedagogical methods. To achieve excellence in education in developing countries like India has played a pivotal role. These are some applications of ICT in promotion of education:

- To broadcast material online facility can be used as source of information in different subjects.

- To facilitate communication for pupils with special needs

- To facilitate video-conferencing to involve wide range of students from distance places.

- To combine conventional classroom learning with E- learning systems

- To carry out and promote Internet-based research.

- To ensure more effective learning environment through the use of ICT.

- To empower learners with ICT awareness and skills which are essential for success in contemporary knowledge economy.

Application of ICT in Education

The applications of ICT in education are numerous for better and effective communication. In education, communication process takes place between teachers, students, management and administrative personnel, which requires plenty of data to be stored for retrieval as and when required to be transmitted in the desired format. The hardware and software like printed materials, television, Radio, computers and related software are used in the educational process. However, ICT today is mostly focused on the use of computer technology for processing the data. In this context, advantages of ICT in education can be numerated as follows:

Easy Availability of updated Data

Sitting at home the desired information can be accessed easily. This helps the students to learn the updated content. Teachers also can keep themselves abreast of the latest teaching learning strategies and related technologies.

Catering to the Students

ICT can contribute in catering to individual needs of the students as per capabilities and interest. Crowded class rooms have always been a challenge for the teacher to consider the needs of every student in the class. With the advent of ICT, different means of communication are being introduced in the

teaching learning process. Offline learning, on the online learning is some of the resources that can be used in educational institutions. ICT has contributed in shifting the focus on learning than teaching. ICT helps students to explore knowledge to learn the content through self-study.

Teachers can help the students by ensuring the right direction towards effective learning. Programmed learning, many on line learning courses are a few examples of self-learning strategies that are being utilised with the help of ICT. This would result in the enriching learning experience. Presently, the amount of information available to any individual is enormous and pupils need to be equipped to evaluate it and build personal knowledge.

Teaching methods are means that teachers use to drive home from their lesson presentation and thereby making learning experience concrete to learners. Mbakwe (2005) In Eya et al. (2012) affirms that methodology of teaching is what makes a teacher a professional. The old methods of teaching presents learners as mere spectators listening and swallowing all that comes from the teachers. Collins et al. (2001) investigated what experts considered as necessary components of scientific methods that pupils could learn.

Conclusions

One of the most significant results regarding the role of ICT in schools is that ICT has particularly a very useful and indispensable role in schools. The participants voice the role of ICT in schools that ICT's place in schools cannot be filled. They, also, emphasize that ICT is another world and it has brought a different perspective for the education. In fact, these thoughts show that the participants have positive perceptions about ICT use and its benefits for schools. Besides these positive thoughts, it is seen that there are some fears about ICT use in schools as well. They stress they have anxiety regarding ICT use, as they have fears about ICT is replacing the teachers in schools.

They think that ICT should not lower the effectiveness of teachers. On the contrary, it must assist themselves in teaching process. The results indicate that while teachers benefit from ICT, they are cautious about integrating advanced technologies into school studies. As Barak (2006) states teachers value the potential of technology for stimulating students' learning, but do not think that ICT is preferable to class-based instruction in terms of promoting cooperation and reflection processes in learning

The role of information and communication technology in providing job opportunities in both public and private institutions all over the world in ICT capabilities. These jobs range from educational, commercial, social and security needs in the developing world. The rapid development of ICT has turned the world into global village as ICT is used all over the world.

Important applications of ICT in education have been discussed, however, to make it more successful, the following recommendations are made for implementation by the government of India:

 The Government of India should, as a matter of urgency, provide all facilities to train the youth of our nation in application of ICT in education and management. This will provide them opportunities for higher learning and employment.

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Empowerment of women in India

Sangita Kalita*

[*In the last five decades, the concept of women empowerment has undergone a sea change from welfare-oriented approach to equity approach. It has been understood as the process by which the powerless gain greater control over the circumstances of their lives. Empowerment particularly includes control over resources and ideology. It leads to a growing intrinsic capability- greater self-confidence, and an inner transformation of one's consciousness that enables one to overcome external barrier. This view mainly emphasizes on two important aspects. Firstly, it is a power to achieve desired goals but not a power over others. Secondly, idea of empowerment is more applicable to those who are powerless-whether they are male or female, or group of individuals.]*

One step for women ten steps for nation. The role and participation of women in the society cannot be ignored. The Constitution of India has made various provisions to protect the interests of the women. Series of legislation have been enacted from time to time to provide protection to women against social discrimination, violence etc. For centuries, women have remained backward and they have been exploited and humiliated. Even after 63 years of Independence condition of women in India is still wretched. Women are subjugated, subordinated and exploited by the social forces, the responsibility of which lies on the members of family, particularly the law enforcing authorities and policy makers.

The concept of empowerment flows from the power. It is vesting where it does not exist or exist inadequately. Empowerment of women would mean equipping women to be economically independent, self-reliant, have positive esteem to enable them to face any difficult situation and they should be able to participate in development activities. The empowered women should be able to participate in the process of decision making. In India, the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD-1985) and the National Commission for Women (NCW) have been worked to safeguard the rights and legal entitlement of women.

The 73rd and 74th Amendments (1993) to the constitution of India have provided some special powers to women that for reservation of seats (33%), whereas the report HRD as March 2002 shows that the legislatures with the highest

percentage of women are Sweden 42.7%, Denmark 38%, Finland 36% and Iceland 34.9%. In India "The New Panchayati Raj" is the part of the effort to empower women at least at the village level.

Women represent half the population of mankind. They are part of the development of the country without which the development is not possible. They give birth to human beings facing many problems and educate them. They are the first teacher of the children in the beginning of life. Without them the household could not be properly managed and adorned. They can bring love, peace and affection among the human beings. Without women the real human development is not possible.

The importance of women's role in the development process and to improve the status of women was recognized internationally by the United Nations. In the June 1946, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) established the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) to ensure the empowerment of women and gender equality. Over the years, the CSW has organized different Conferences in order to assert and improve the Rights of women. So far, Four World Conference on Women has taken place.

Women's empowerment is a process in which women gain greater share of control over resources-material, human and intellectual (knowledge, information, ideas) and financial resources and control over decision-making in the home, community, society, and nation and to gain 'power'. According to a Report of the Government of India, "Empowerment means moving from a position of enforced powerlessness to one of power". In this process, women should be empowered socially,

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economically, educationally and politically that can help them take self-decision regarding education, mobility, economic independency, political participation, public speaking and awareness to exercise rights.

Women's Participation in Politics

The emergence of women's participation in politics can be traced back to the nineteenth century reform movement. Raja Ram Mohan Roy focused on issues, namely women's education and abolition of sati. Several eminent women reformers participated in this movement as well as in the religious reform movement of this period.

Pandit Arabia, Manorama Majumdar, Sarala Debi Ghoshal Who started Bharata Street Mahamandal for the education of women. Swarna Kumari Debi who started the women's organisation Sakhi Samiti in 1886 for widows, are few examples. The struggle for the emancipation of women took place mainly in three directions-to make necessary laws for social reforms; to provide maximum opportunities for their education; and provide them with the fundamental political rights.

Women in India raised the issue of representation in politics first in 1917. At that time, it was basically a demand for universal adult franchise and political participation. By 1930 women had gained the Right to vote, which initially benefited women from elite families. Women's involvement in struggles for political and civil rights in India was, however, sought to be linked to nationalist movements in alliance with males against the common foreign enemy.

Constitutional Provisions to Empower Women in India

Women are given equal rights and status with men by the Indian Constitution and various provisions had been made to protect the interests of the female population. Series of legislations have been enacted from time to time to provide protection to women against social discrimination, violence, etc. The five-year plans had been paying special attention to women's welfare, emphasizing female education, access to resources and their political empowerment. Article 14 of the Indian Constitution guarantees equality before law and equal protection by it. Article 15 prohibits discrimination against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, or any of them. Article 15 (3) empowers the state to make any special provision, for women and children. Article 16 (1) guarantees equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment in any office under the state.

Like any other civilized country, a number of laws have been enacted in order to provide protection to women. For instance, the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act, 1937, the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, Sati Prevention Act, 1987, etc. In order to provide effective protection of the rights of women who are victims of violence the Domestic Violence Act. 2005 was passed. The National Commission of Women was also set up. The Government of India has also set -up women-specific administrative and economic structures, such as Women and Child Development Department at the Union and State Government levels.

The Government had introduced a bill in Parliament to amend the Factories Act, 1948 in order to provide flexibility in the employment of women at night while requiring the employer to ensure measures for safety and protection, and thereby generate employment opportunities for women. Distance Education Programme for Women's Empowerment 2000. Government had started a certificate course in the Distance Education mode on Women's Group Mobilisation and Empowerment.

Women 's Reservation Bill or the Constitution (108th Amendment) Bill proposes to provide 'thirty-three per cent of all seats in the Lower house of Parliament of India and State Legislative assemblies reserved for women. The women's Reservation Bill has been a political raw nerve for nearly a decade now. Due to female feticides, infanticide and issues related to women's health, sex ratio in India is alarming at 1.06 males per female. It is expected this bill will change the society to give equal status to women.

Participation in Political Life

Women's participation in mainstream political activity has important implications for the broader arena of governance in any country. Governance relates to a set of rules, institutions, and values that are involved in the management of state and society. Governance institutions and processes include political parties, parliaments, government and their

interactions with society. For empowerment, women need to have a voice in decision making and planning through adequate representation. Reservation of women in the rural and urban local bodies had enabled representation of nearly a million women at the grassroots who play a very important catalytic role in transforming the society. Similar representation in State Legislature and Parliament would further strengthen the process of empowerment of women.

Conclusion

India is committed to the cause of empowerment of women. However, the journey towards progress is long and arduous. India has witnessed great change in the last two decades. Age old prejudices and gender-based biases are giving way to gender equality and harmonious development. Policies designed toto raise women's age at marriage, enhancing their educations and opening up greater employment opportunities etc., will also help to empower them, at least in some respects. Our goal is to cause policy, institutional and individual changes that will improve the lives of women and girls everywhere.

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Role of UN Peacekeeping Operations
in Resolving Religious Conflicts

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[*Different cultures, societies, religions and faiths have been subsisting around the world since the ancient times. These religions, faiths and cultures are spread by different ways in each country. Some used teachings and education, while others used violence and forceful enforcement of religion. Religion is important for every society and culture. It teaches morals, values, spirituality, and a guided path and principles of life. At times these different believes conflict with each other claiming their own superiority, thus creating and causing fanaticism, intolerance, and discrimination towards other religions and cultures. That is what we call "Religious Conflict". "Religious Conflict" is a term that covers phenomenon, where religion is either the subject or the object of violent behaviour. Religious violence is a violence that is motivated by or in reaction to, religious precepts, texts, or doctrines of a target or attacker. It includes violence against religious institutions, people, objects, or events. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, a casual glance at world affairs would suggest that religion is at the core of much of the strife around the globe.*]

Although not necessarily so, there are some aspects of religion that make it susceptible of being a latent source of conflict. All religions have their accepted dogma, or articles of belief, which the followers must accept without question. This can lead to inflexibility and intolerance in the face of other beliefs. At the same time, scripture and belief are often vague and open to interpretation. Therefore, conflict can arise over whose interpretation is the correct one, a conflict that ultimately cannot be solved because there is no arbiter. So, UN has chosen to play the role of arbiter and it fulfils this duty with the help of its UN Peacekeeping Operations. United Nations

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Peacekeeping Operations (UN PKOs) increasingly engage with local communities to support peace processes in countries war-torn due to religious and inter-religious conflicts. Contemporary UN Peacekeeping Operations (UN PKOs) are often mandated to engage in religious conflict management at the local level, as has been in Cote d'Ivoire, the Central African Republic, and Sudan. UN PKOs' local intergroup dialogues represent one of the most prominent tools for doing so. They are organized by the civilian components in UN Peacekeeping Operations.

Conflict is an inherent and legitimate part of social and political life, but in many places, conflict turns violent, inflicting grave costs in terms of loss of lives, degraded governance, and destroyed livelihoods. In recent years, armed conflicts with a religious di-mension have dominated world news, and indeed they have become more frequent. The role and significance of religion in armed conflict is complex.

Religion can be used or mobilized to promote either conflict or peace building. Religion may not be the principal cause of conflict, even when the opposing groups, such as Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, are differentiated by religious identities. Religion has long been, and will probably continue to be, a contributing factor in violent conflicts, whether in its own right or as a proxy for political battles, in places as widely scattered as Northern Ireland, the Middle East, the Balkans, Sudan, Indonesia, and Kashmir. Religion may, indeed, be instrumentalized or become a mask for violence.

During recent years, armed conflicts with religious overtones in countries like the Central African Republic (CAR), Mali, Nigeria and Somalia have been on the rise in sub-Saharan Africa. One possible explanation of this rise is religious discrimination. According to Ted Gurr's "Relative Deprivation Theory", discrimination should breed grievances and hence result in aggression and violence Feeling marginalized creates frustration and the resulting aggression may lead to violence.

United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UN PKOs) increasingly engage with local communities to support peace processes in war-torn countries.

Yet, while existing research tends to focus on the coercive and state-building functions of UN PKOs, their concrete local activities with community leaders and populations remain, empirically and theoretically, understudied. However, UN Peacekeepers' through their Community-Based Intergroup Dialogue activities help in resolving Religious & Inter-religious Conflicts and Violence. It argues that facilitating dialogue between different religion identity-based groups locally can revive intergroup coordination and diminish negative biases against other groups, thereby reducing the risk of communal and religious conflict escalation.

Meaning of Religious & Inter-Religious Conflicts

Religion: The word religion has many definitions depending on the perspective with which one is looking at it. According to Smith, religion is man's attempt to achieve the highest possible good by adjusting his life to the strongest and best power in the universe and this power is usually called God. Most of the definitions of religion point to the issue of beliefs.

Conflict: Conflict may be external or internal, explicit, physical or intellectual, emotional or moral or religious. The word conflict means contest, fight, combat or a struggle.

Religious conflict & Inter-religious conflict: Religious conflict is best described as a more complex phenomenon that engages a combination of contested domains, including power, personality, space or place, and group identity. Whereas, Inter-religious conflicts mean conflicts between members of two or more religions.

Link between Religion and Conflict

Although not necessarily so, there are some aspects of religion that make it susceptible to being a latent source of conflict. All religions have their accepted dogma, or articles of belief, that follower must accept without question. This can lead to inflexibility and intolerance in the face of other beliefs. After all, if it is the word of God, no one can compromise it! At the same time, scripture and doctrine are often vague and open to interpretation. Therefore, conflict can arise over whose interpretation is the correct. The winner generally is that interpretation, which attracts the most followers. However, those

followers must also be motivated to action. Although, almost invariably, the majority of any faith hold moderate views, they are often more complacent, whereas extremists are motivated to bring their interpretation of God's will to fruition.

In order to better understand the role of religion in conflict, there are two basic as-pects to consider: Religion as the identity-marker of the conflict parties, and Reli-gion and its influence on the issue the parties disagree about. First, religion can play a role in conflict as a marker of group identity. This means that the fault lines of conflicts follow religious identity lines, either be-tween world religions or between differ-ent strands of the same world religion. Religion can be both a way of identifying with a given group, as well as a way of dif-ferentiating from another group. In this brief, we will call such conflicts religious identity conflicts. Second, religion can shape what the conflict parties fight about. Religious issues can, in turn, have higher or lower importance relative to other issues in the conflict. This can take various forms such as contesting (a religiously impor-tant) territory, the power in a country based on religious grounds, or the role religion should play in determining how a country is governed.

Causes of Religious & Inter–Religious Conflicts

Following are the causes of Religious & Inter-religious Conflicts:

1. Socio-economic Causes of Inter-religious Conflict - When groups are defined on religious lines economic tensions between them can easily turn into inter-religious conflict. Economically disadvantaged groups can also be oppressed on the basis of religious convictions.

2. Political Causes of Inter-religious Conflict - If majority group members have no access to the resource (in terms of education, housing, health care, etc.) and politics of the nation, uncertainty about their future socio-economic status fuels their anxiety of incompleteness and these people revolt against the minority class, who have control over politics and other resources.

3. Ethnic-Cultural Causes of Inter-religious Conflict - Religion can trigger conflict by entering into a pact with the ethnic-cultural context. In that case religion functions as a vehicle of ethnic identity construction or a support for nationalism. It reinforces the superior attitude and dominance of certain groups in society. Relating national pride (nationalism) to a religious majority can lead to feelings of superiority among this majority, while religious minority groups are seen as inferior.

4. Religious Causes of Conflict Between Religious Groups – When people of one religion consider themselves superior to people of another religion, this leads to religious conflicts. Sometimes, religion motivates people to fight for justice in the name of God. Vanquishing the other is interpreted religiously as a victory over evil.

5. Derogatory Statement and Intolerance - This is a situation whereby particular religion is making statement that will run down the other. This could be in form of malicious attacks based on disagreement over beliefs and practices. Sometimes religious adherents in Nigeria vehemently attack one another due unconstructive and sweeping statements, maybe aimed at running the other down.

6. Political Dissatisfaction - Political dissatisfaction surfaces when one religion is given political priority over the other.

7. Superiority Complex - Superiority complex is a situation whereby one religion tends to play a dominant role over the others thereby arousing undue competition and rivalry. This rival, after staying for a long time may break into serious violence in an attempt to resist and defend. The religion claiming superiority may want to subjugate others and the others may want to resist thereby causing conflicts.

8. Provocation - Provocation means something that makes somebody angry or indignant or something that incites somebody to attack somebody else. Provocation causes annoyance and if it continues, it leads to violent reactions. All the violent reactions in Nigeria among religious adherents have led to death, loss of properties worth millions of Naira, hatred, enmity, impairment of development among other things.

Inter Group Dialogues: A Method of UN Peacekeeping Operations for Resolving Religious and Inter-religious Conflicts:

Contemporary UN peacekeeping operations (UN PKOs) are often mandated to engage in conflict management at the local level, as in Cote d'Ivoire, the Central African Republic, or Sudan. Intergroup dialogues represent one of the most prominent tools for doing so. They are organized by the civilian components in UN PKOs and involve community leaders and ordinary citizens of different ethnic groups. Yet, despite the importance of changes in local norms and behaviour for sustainable peace building and the centrality of local conflict resolution capacity for peaceful political development, research has neglected these activities with community leaders and populations locally. Do UN peacekeepers' local intergroup dialogues help reduce violence after war?

This study suggests that UN PKOs' local intergroup dialogue activities help decrease communal violence. First, intergroup dialogue activities offer an opportunity for community leaders of different groups to meet and discuss local conflict issues, sometimes with the help of direct mediation by civilian peacekeepers. In so doing, these activities facilitate intergroup information sharing and coordination on intergroup agreements to maintain social order locally. Second, intergroup dialogue activities may reduce negative feelings and biases toward "out-groups" by providing opportunities for positive contact between members of different groups living in the same locality and by promoting norms of peaceful intergroup relations. Overall, intergroup dialogue may thus mitigate violent communal conflict.

If we saw intergroup dialogue activities organized by the UN PKO in Cote d'Ivoire. The data set was created based on thousands of UN press releases published between October 2011 and May 2016. In this period, the United Nations Peacekeeping Operation in Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI) carried out 777 intergroup activities in different towns and villages. Peacekeepers organized these activities in response to or in anticipation of violent conflict.

Intergroup dialogues convened by UN PKOs are essentially social engineering interventions aimed at influencing groups of people to change their behaviour. A growing number of studies find that social engineering has peace-inducing effects. A randomized control trial in post-war Liberia shows that alternative dispute resolution trainings in local communities organized by civil society and the UN helped resolve individual land conflicts and decreased violence in the three years after the intervention. In post-war Sri Lanka, peace workshops and education interventions for youth leaders of different ethnic groups contributed to an increase in interethnic behavioural empathy.

Mass education interventions appear to change not only individuals' attitudes but also collective behaviour. For instance, Collier and Vicente (2014) show that a voter education campaign in Nigeria decreased incidents of violence. Given these optimistic results, it is timely to investigate social engineering on the part of UN peacekeepers to promote local conflict resolution.

UN PKOs can help prevent violent communal conflicts by facilitating intergroup exchange in war-torn societies. While the pathways through which intergroup dialogue events reduce local violence may not be exhaustive of all possible mechanisms and overlap in practice, it is helpful to analytically distinguish two plausible pathways:

Solving information and coordination problems: First, intergroup dialogue activities may help overcome information and coordination problems among community leaders of different ethnic groups, thereby strengthening locally rooted modes of peaceful conflict resolution. Existing research highlights that UN peacekeepers can ease communication, alleviate uncertainty, and build trust between belligerents because of their function as impartial third-party arbiters. Furthermore, intergroup dialogues are sometimes jointly organized by local civil society groups and civilian components of UN PKOs.

That is, civilian peacekeepers strengthen or help realize local initiatives for dialogue by providing logistical, organizational, and financial support— for example, transportation for participants, meals for the event, or administrative assistance. Finally, civilian peacekeepers sometimes directly mediate between community leaders during intergroup dialogue events. Professional mediation helps

community leaders identify solutions to lingering intergroup conflicts.

Reducing negative feelings and biases: Second, intergroup dialogue activities may also reduce stereotypes and negative feelings regarding other groups and consequently generate support for local nonviolent conflict resolution. That is, UN PKOs' dialogue activities create the right conditions for making intergroup contact between ordinary citizens and community leaders from different groups beneficial to intergroup peace building. Participants in dialogues are afforded equal status as rightful citizens in a particular locality or as leaders in their respective communities; work toward the common goal of local peace; are required to cooperate to attain this goal; enjoy the support of other customary authorities and local governments, which are also invited to intergroup dialogue events; and are offered opportunities for friendship through common activities such as meals, theatre, and sports matches.

These favourable conditions enable community leaders and members to correct mistaken views about the other groups, form emotional ties, reconsider their group's superiority, and refute alleged threats posed by other groups. Moreover, civilian peacekeepers promote values of reconciliation, emphasize the importance of these values for local development and peace building, and highlight the authority of community leaders and the legitimacy of local conflict resolution mechanisms. So, the effectiveness of intergroup dialogues depends on peacekeepers' ability to meaningfully engage with and persuade local community leaders and citizens.

Conclusion

In the eyes of many, religion is inherently inconsistent, but this is not necessarily so. Therefore, in part, the solution is to promote a heightened awareness of the positive peace building and reconciliatory role that religion has played in many conflict situations. More generally, fighting ignorance can go a long way. Interfaith dialogue would be beneficial at all levels of religious hierarchies and across all segments of religious communities. Where silence and misunderstanding are too common, learning about other religions would be a powerful step forward. Being educated about other religions does not mean conversion, but may facilitate understanding and respect for other faiths. Communicating in a spirit of humility and engaging in self-criticism would also be helpful.

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Education and Health of Nomadic Children

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[*Nomadic tribes are wandering from place to place as their social culture and source of livelihood is based on different places. They include fortune tellers, snake charmers, monkey-players, herbs-sellers, acrobats, rope-walkers, etc. In modern period, they are facing many of the problems and challenges. They were branded as Criminals under The Criminals Act passed by the British, still they are treated as criminals and robbers in society by many people. As many of their occupations are based on forests, due to different laws and legislations passed by the Government, their occupations are declined in society and as such, they have no source of livelihood. Due to their frequent mobility from place to place, education of their children is affected adversely. The nomadic children are also suffering from many of the health problems. This paper has explored the educational and health problems of nomadic children in India.*]

The term 'Nomad' has been derived from the original Greek word 'Nemo', meaning "animal husbandman" or "cattle rearer" and Nomas in Latin. In Kannada, the term used is Alemari. The term 'Nomadic Tribes' sociologically refers to the people who were forced to live a wandering life by the Indian social system divided into deferent castes and their origins. Hence, the tribes that do not have a village of their origin, nor own agricultural lands or permanent homesteads but keep migrating from place to place in search of livelihood, are educationally, economically and socially backward and exist on the extreme periphery of the mainstream society, are generally known as 'nomadic tribes'.

The nomadic tribes are "those people that because of their wandering lifestyle are unable to satisfactorily fulfil their needs of food, clothing, shelter and formal education, those that do not own immovable property, nor have a village of origin nor possess tools of trade, but who, for survival, opt to beg or steal, whom the larger society has for millennia branded as aliens, and who have no place in the village affairs or the Balutedari system, may be defined as 'Nomadic tribes' (Kadam, 1995). It is estimated that there are about 801 denotified (DNT), nomadic (NT) and semi-nomadic tribes (SNT) in the country, comprising a population of approximately 13.5 crore people.

The nomadic tribes are with unique socio-cultural and physical characteristics, wander from place to place regularly along with their families including spouse, children and even the domestic animals such as dogs, cow, sheep, etc. They have no any native place and as such, in search of employment based on their tribal occupations, they are frequently wandering and generally, they live in a single place for 3-6 months. They generally live-in small tents or temporary settlements at the outskirts of villages, towns or cities. When it is observed, they have their own language, which is not written but communicated.

Earlier they were pastorals or engaged in animal husbandry and even few of these tribes were engaged in hunting as their occupation. Few of these tribes were living in forests earlier, but displaced due to the impact of the Criminal Tribes Act passed by the British and latest forest legislations. Generally, these tribes are well known for occupations such as snake charming, fortune telling, rope walking, making stone vessels, musicians, dancers, acrobats, gymnasts, artists, monkey-players, etc. A few of these tribes were robbers and criminals. Earlier, many of the people were used to get entertainment from them and providing them money or food grains for their arts.

Objectives and Methodology

The present paper is aimed to look into the background of the nomadic tribes in general and status of the nomadic children in particular. It is specifically aimed to look into the education and healthcare problems of nomadic children, which are derived from socio-economic status of nomadic

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tribes. Many of the journal articles have already been published on nomadic tribes and their socio-economic conditions. These journal articles and research papers will be analysed, so as to assess the healthcare and educational problems nomadic children. Hence, the present study is made on the basis of analysis of published literature or secondary literature.

Nomadic Tribes in Modern Period

The quality of life of the nomadic tribes is very poor because of their extreme poverty. This has resulted in the prevalence of high rates of under-nutrition, high morbidity and high infant and maternal mortality among these tribes. Their nomadic lifestyle does not allow their children to acquire a regular education which results in low capability development. There political representation at the state as well as the local level is almost nil, which, in turn, results in very little articulation of their needs at the political and administrative levels. Their traditional occupations are being threatened by legislation and have virtually been made redundant by modern technology. Most importantly, even though they have been legally de-notified as criminals, they continue to face social, economic, political and cultural discrimination and exclusion because of the stigma attached to them historically (Japhet, et al, 2015).

According to National Convention, 2005 and Krätli & Dyer, 2009, extreme poverty, ignorance from outside world, early marriage, homeless and migratory life, illiteracy, superstitions, unemployment, lack of unity and political leadership, scattered groups, alcoholism, drug abuse, lack of civic amenities, social services in the nomadic settlements, harassment by police, loss of traditional occupations, inconvenient present occupation such as working on daily wages in construction group, hotels, robbery and thieves, difficulty in perusing formal schooling due to nomadic life style of the parents, non-availing of the welfare measures schemes, physical and mental disabilities among the old aged, malnutrition, lack of basic facilities such as safe drinking water, electricity, afraid of government officials, unavailability of birth certificate resulting in difficulties with schooling, identification with citizenship, pressure of private loans, health issues due to life style, malnutrition and hygiene etc.

The nomads were well-known for their public entertainment especially at trade fairs, Jatras, religious festivals, etc. It is said that, few of these tribes were revolted against the British in 19th century. As such, the British were passed the Criminal Tribes Act, 1871 to suppress many of these tribes. The rules under the Act were very vague and cruel. Under the Act were faced constant surveillance, vigilance, search and arrest without warrant, if any of the person of the group become suspected. Police were given absolute, rather sweeping powers to arrest them and watch over their movements. In this way, some of the tribes were branded as criminal tribes and become convenient scapegoats. Consequently, many of these tribes were increased fear and hesitation from the public and society and isolated themselves from other castes and tribes at different places.

After independence, though the Criminal Tribes Act was withdrawn by the Government of India, still the status of nomadic tribes was not improved. Occupations of these tribes were depended on forests and after passing of the Forest Conservation Act and the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act, these tribes were dislocated from the forests. Many of these tribes were engaged in monkey playing, snake charming, selling of herbs, etc and the Wild Life Protection Act (1972) and Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act (1960) have restricted and become obstacle to those tribes which were engaged in animal related entertainment to public.

As their source of livelihood were declined, many of these tribes were unaware of other occupations and start begging as their occupation and even in many states, the Prevention of Beggary Act (1959) has restricted begging. In this way, their occupations were disappeared or restricted by the Government. Further, the modern media such as television and internet were become popular means of entertainment and the entertainment shows such as snake charming, monkey-playing, rope walking, acrobats, etc were neglected and declined in modern period. Consequently, almost all the nomadic tribes are unemployed. Though started working in unorganized sector, due to the impact of the Criminal Tribes Act, they are facing stigma or branded as criminals or thieves or robbers in society. As such, people are not believing them easily.

Apart from the lack of source of their livelihood, the nomadic tribes are also facing many risks and threats from civil society. As they were branded as Criminals earlier, people still believe in such laws. As such, whenever there is theft or robbery at their places, they attack nomadic tribes staying in temporary settlements at their villages or towns or cities. Under such circumstances, the Police suspect the nomadic tribes and enquire them. In this way, nomadic tribes are most vulnerable group with lack of education and source of income.

Nomadic tribes are following orthodox culture and rituals. As such, they are keeping away from civilized modern society. Due to the above-mentioned reasons, they fear, hesitate and shy in civil society. In this way, they are excluded sections of the civil society. As a result, they follow conventional culture with reference to gender inequality and female subjugation. Women in nomadic tribes are most neglected as they are illiterates, facing gender inequality, subjugation, depression, suppression and domestic violence. Many times, whenever a few of the members of the tribes were engaged in allegations of theft, the people even attack women of these tribes. In this way, women are most neglected sections of the nomadic tribes. As almost all of these tribes are illiterates, they are unaware about healthcare, especially reproductive healthcare.

As such, they are not following family planning practices and possessed a greater number of children. Child marriages are common. In some of the nomadic communities like the Pardhis or Vaidus, women are sold, exchanged, mortgaged and even leased out (Mane, 2001). There are also stringent rules on conduct and behaviour of women. The most traumatic aspect is the penalty imposed on women when these rules are broken.

Problems of Nomadic Children

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 25) states that, "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of him/herself and his/her family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social service. Everyone has the right to education and health" (What is Foreign Aid, 2010). But in reality, many of the tribes are deprived from healthcare, education, hygiene and nutrition in India.

The reason for the same is that, the nomadic children are poor, wandering, neglected and unaware about the facilities and even civilization.

Poor health condition is main problem of nomadic children. As the nomadic tribes are poor and living in temporary settlements at the outskirts of the villages, towns and cities, they are living in unhygienic conditions. Absence of sanitation has resulted in different diseases from poor environment. Due to their poverty, the food intake of children is poor. Consequently, nomadic children are under-nourished and they are physically, psychologically, emotionally, intellectually weaker and not productive and even they suffer from chronic diseases and illness. Malnutrition affects performance of child, its health and overall physical and psychological development adversely. With the passing of age, the early nutritional deficits are linked to impairments of intellectual performance, lower resistance to infections, work capacity, reproductive outcomes and poor health during adolescence and adulthood. There is also morbidity and mortality among these children.

The poor sanitation and intestinal parasites prevail at the open outskirts of the cities and towns, where the nomadic children are living and the food, which they are consumed to a greater extent is wasted. Diarrhoea washes food from the body before its nutrients can be absorbed, while intestinal worms share what little food there is with the human hosts. The food habits of nomadic tribes are raw as they are eating domestic animals such as dogs, cats, bore, pigs, etc and birds such as pigeon, peacock, parrots, etc and a few of nomadic tribes are also eating dead animals and birds, which may spread diseases among children.

Wandering is also another problem of these tribes, through which they are getting frequent stress, tension, fatigue, etc. Further, they are living at different places and climatic conditions. It may lead to common health problems to children such as cold fever, malaria, dengue, flu, etc. As nomadic tribes are living in groups, they are more prone to epidemic diseases. Even few of the people in these tribes follow unsafe sexual practices and as a result, there may be Sexually Infected and Transmitted Diseases even spread among children.

It has been discussed already that, majority of these tribes are illiterate and poor and as such, they are unaware about health problems. Hence, they are unable to get proper healthcare. Earlier, they were consulting godmen, going for herbal remedies and roots, etc and many of them are even hesitating to visit health centres. Now, these tribes have started to visit healthcare centres, especially Government hospitals or public hospitals so as to avail healthcare facilities and services.

It is observed that, many of these tribes are unaware about the facilities and services of the hospitals, they are neglected by staff working in hospitals and healthcare centres. Recently, due to the strict official formalities, it is essential to produce Aadhar Cards to get healthcare facilities and services, which has also become a barrier for nomadic children as they are wandering and no fixed place and as such, many of their families are don't have Aadhar Card, Ration Card, Election Photo Identity Cards (EPIC), etc.

It is noted that there is higher illiteracy among nomadic tribes as they are wandering regularly. Still, the enrolment of nomadic children is increasing in schools but retention rates are not satisfactory. Poverty, seasonal migration, parental apathy, domestic insecurity, unattractive format of education and societal ridicule are main hindrances in the spread of education (Bokil, 2002). Realizing the prevalence of illiteracy and frequent migration among nomadic children, the Government has opened Ashram Schools and Mobile schools, but the facilities are not satisfactory in these schools. Hence, it is suggested to open more residential schools with hostel and food facilities for nomadic children. Girls' education is most neglected area among nomadic tribes. As such, realizing the importance of female education, there is need to provide specialized education for girls among these tribes. For this purpose, there is need to open girls' schools and hostels with food especially in places, where nomadic population is dominated.

Suggestions and Conclusion

Many of the studies made have already revealed the socio-economic conditions of nomadic tribes. Basically, they are illiterates and poor and as such, they don't have their own source of livelihood. Consequently, they are deprived of education, healthcare, socio-economic status and respect.

Even they don't have their own houses. Many of them are unaware about their native place as they are frequently wandering from place to place. To empower them, there is need for self-employment and income generating activities so as to assure them a minimum income for their livelihood. For this purpose, it is suggested to provide them self-employment training along with financial assistance.

Further, there is need to provide more housing facilities under different housing schemes such as Dr Ambedkar Yojana, Indira Awas Yojana, Ashraya, etc. As they are wandering frequently, education of their children is affected adversely and for this purpose, there is need to open residential schools for the children of nomadic tribes. Free schooling, free hostel and free food should be given to the nomadic children so as to encourage education. Mass awareness should be given to nomadic tribes against the blind faith regarding healthcare, habits, gender inequality, etc. Formation of Self-Help Groups among the nomadic tribal women should be encouraged by providing seed capital and loans to income generating activities started by Self-Help Groups of nomadic tribes. Education and awareness on reproductive health should be given to girls and women among nomadic tribes. In this way, there is need to empower nomadic tribes in general and nomadic children in particular.

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Next Generation Educational Reform in Odisha

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[*India's revolutionary reforms in the school and higher education sector are being met by the New "National Education Policy 2020, approved by the Government of India on 29 July 2020", paving the way for the country. It aims to revamp the education system of the world, making "India a powerhouse of global awareness." "The 21st century classroom needs teachers of the 21st century". "The NEP adds reverence to the practise of teaching". "Teachers professional growth, building their transparency through the tenure track system and periodic performance assessment, can all have a positive impact". "The elimination of rigid distinctions between curricular, extracurricular and co-curricular subjects in school and the availability of numerous higher education entry and exit opportunities allows students the opportunity to hone their skills and interests". It is also a "student friendly policy". This new NEP policy is aligned with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and focuses on (a) access, (b) equity, (c) efficiency, (d) affordability and (e) transparency as the fundamental pillars of the New Education Policy (NEP). The paper discussed the positive issues of the New Education Policy-2020 and the Odisha HEIs challenges were addressed.]*

The Indian education system is very old and has its roots in the ancient period. The Indian higher education system commanded respect in the ancient world. The important learning temples like "Nalanda" and "Taxila" attracted the best students and academicians from across the globe. After Independence, successive governments took several steps to decolonize the education system, including through the "Commission on University Education" (1948-49), the Commission on Secondary Education (1952-53), Commission of D. S. Kothari (1964-66) and National Education Policy (1968).

India has certainly had three education policies to date. "Under Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi respectively, the first came in 1968 and the second in 1986; the 1986 NEP was updated in 1992 when P V Narasimha Rao was Prime Minister". The third is the NEP, released in 2020 after 34 years under Narendra Modi's Prime Ministership. 'Experiential learning and critical thinking' are the focus of the current education Policy.

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"The latest NEP pitches for a 5 + 3 + 3 + 4 configuration corresponding to the age groups 3-8 years (foundational phase), 8-11 (preparatory), 11-14 (middle), and 14-18 (secondary) are a major change from the 1986 policy, which advocated for a 10 + 2 school education structure". "This puts early childhood education (also referred to as pre-school education for children aged 3 to 5) within the framework of formal education". "As per the 2018-19 All-India Higher Education Survey (AISHE), India has 993 universities, 39,931 colleges and 10,725 (awarding diplomas) Stand Alone Institutions". Further, 993 universities are sponsored by the government, private sector universities, and universities of several different forms. 298 are partner universities, though, with 39,931 colleges under them. In addition, there are more than 500 affiliated colleges at thirteen (13) universities. "In addition, the key goal is to implement NEP-2020, which will increase the GER (Gross Enrolment Ratio) in higher education from 26.3 percent in 2018 to 50 percent by 2035".

Literature Review

Indian culture and philosophy have had a strong influence on the world. The data for the study was obtained primarily from secondary sources consisting of various books, newspapers, journals,

business newspapers, etc. For the purpose of the study, comprehensive information is obtained from the different volumes of education materials published, i.e., Year Book of India-2020, India Report on digital Education, June-2020, and UGC/ MHRD website, Ministry of Education, Government of India websites. According to Meghwal, Arjun Ram (2020), the NEP has suggested that timely steps would finally merge the gap between industry and academia and leverage our demographic dividend. Rajput, J.S. (2020) says that the newly announced education policy has all the ingredients that could pave the way for a truly transformed India.

As an international hub of scholarship and learning that attracted learners from virtually every civilised society in the heydays of Taxila, Nalanda, Vikramshila and others, it could lead India to its ancient glory. This paves the way to get out of the clutches of a transplanted scheme that requires more than eight lakh children to go abroad for studies, each losing around 1.5 lakh annually. Competence, dedication and ingenuity, exhibited at the implementation stage, can once again make India a globally sought-after educational hub.

According to Shresth Vardhan (2020), the professional education is the part and parcel of the overall higher education system; for professionals to take on the mantle, a skillset comprising education in the ethic, the importance of public purpose, interdisciplinary thinking, critical analysis, debate, innovation, and research must be inculcated and put to play. This can be surmountable if professional education does not suppress the individual's forte. Self-governing bodies in other areas, such as agricultural universities, universities of health sciences, technical universities, legal universities and autonomous institutions, must aspire to become bodies promoting multidisciplinary education.

Surinder Kumar and Anupriya Sharma (2020) reported that public spending on education in India was also highlighted to be one of the lowest in the world at 4.43 percent of GDP. It has been resolved to raise it to 6 percent of GDP at the earliest, an unfulfilled commitment of the last 50 years. The Kasturirangan Committee, which drafted the Education Policy document, had recommended that public expenditure on education should be raised from 10 percent of the budgetary expenditure of the central and state governments to 20 percent over the next ten years (Surinder Kumar and Anupriya Sharma, 2020)

Objectives of the Study

This study is aimed at conducting the following:

a) To discuss the New Education Policy-2020 in brief as quality imperatives as regards to higher education.

b) To explore problems and challenges of New Education Policy as a case of Odisha state at micro and macro levels.

Analysis and Discussion

The development of higher education in India has been possible since independence. "Just 20 universities and 500 colleges at the time, now rising by 38 times, i.e., 760 in the case of universities and 77 times (i.e., 38,498 in the case of colleges)". "Currently, new innovative approaches have changed higher education, such as the introduction of the National Institutional Ranking System (NIRF) for educational institutions". "The UGC has also introduced the scheme for B. Voc degree with multiple exits at diploma/ advanced diploma under national skill qualification framework (NSQF)". "The National Digital Library of India is envisaged as a national knowledge asset which will provide ubiquitous digital knowledge source". "On a national platform with a comprehensive academic structure, "Swayam" is a Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) initiative".

"The Global Academic Network Initiative (GIAN) aims to harness the talent pool of scientists and entrepreneurs worldwide in order to promote their interaction with higher education institutions in India". Accreditation for institutions running open distance learning and online programmes is provided by the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020.

Further, For the Higher Education Institutes (HEIs), this is a rare opportunity to expand the courses offered, improve access, increase enrolment and provide lifelong learning opportunities.

NEP-2020 Challenges for Odisha State

At Odisha, the several departments like (a) School and Mass Education, (b)Higher Education, (c) Skill Development &(d) Technical Education departments and how it is integrating with a good direction with Finance department may also be taken as a great challenge. Another challenge is that about 40 percent of the teaching posts in most of the universities are lying vacant and basic teaching requirements are met through contractual appointments. NEP has rightly underlined that contractual appointments must be dispensed with, as it is no substitute for regular and competent faculty. Most critical challenge is the financial stability and autonomy of the public universities. Over the last 30 years, most of the regional universities are starved of public funding. Three decades back, the share of state funding to public universities was about 80 percent and now it has been reduced to about 20 percent.

Most of the affiliating universities are forced to meet their expenses by levying various types of service charges on the affiliated colleges, examination fee, and charges from distance education students, which is like a 'monopoly rent'. When the affiliation system is discontinued as proposed by the NEP, all these universities will be in a serious financial crisis. It is appreciable that NEP recognizes expenditure on education as public investment.

The School and Mass Education Department was established as a separate department in January 1993 to address the issues pertaining to (a) Elementary Education, (b) Secondary Education, (c) Teachers Training, (d) Sanskrit Education, (e) Computer Education, (f) Special Education and (g) Mass Education in the state. The question is how to synchronous learning can be made. The Higher Education Department was also having (a) Government Colleges, (b) Private Aided Colleges,

(c) Self-financed Colleges. How far their survival in terms of their sustainability as regards to structural changes. Policy like up-gradation of infrastructure and vocational education for students at school level are positive reforms.

However, adequate funding is required to achieve these goals. "According to United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) figures, the overall financial demand for India to meet Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 by 2030 is $2,258 billion, which for the years 2017-30 averages $173 billion a year, well exceeding the current government budget of $76.4 billion a year for education". "It would be impractical to expect such massive contributions coming exclusively from the government and strictly philanthropic projects". "Under the four-year curriculum proposed in the new NEP, students can leave with a certificate after one year, with a diploma after two years, and with a bachelor's degree after three years". How much the seat matrix in this respect will be altered? In 15 years, these affiliated colleges are required to become autonomous and degree-granting to the extent that they benefit. Via efficient, open processes, educators will be hired.

The promotions would be merit-based, with a mechanism to become school administrators or teacher educators for multi-source periodic performance evaluations and accessible advancement routes. What credentials are appropriate to direct the four-year research programme? As far as the board of directors is concerned, political interference is widespread, especially in government-supported schools and colleges. Politicized unions of teachers and students' conflict with the daily running of schools. This will only accelerate the commodification and centralization of education, which is perilous considering the probability of the ruling party thrusting its ideological and capital requirements.

This 'autonomy' will now bring organizations and institutions vested with financial and educational independence, to the brink of corporatism, wherein they are enabled to create additional courses and

departments. Disjunctively, without funding from government bodies, institutions will naturally turn to the students. Parents' annoyance with admitting their wards to specific institutions so that they can achieve some social standing. It has been the parents and their wards' regular business to make a beeline for admissions to the offices of schools and colleges.

Furthermore, a substantial proportion of college teaching is done by *ad hoc* teachers. "The real-world application-oriented education in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) to STEM Skills (Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts and Mathematics) to Liberal Arts and to lateral or design human thinking for problem solving". Moreover, a centralized education system leading to social exclusion and dilution of the Right to Education Act. For governance, it is proposed that universities will have a board of governors, which will consist of highly qualified, competent and dedicated persons and the state will ensure that the institutions are free from outside interference.

Conclusion

With India moving towards restoring its role as a Viswa Guru, the NEP has pegged investment in education at 6 per cent of the GDP. The Prime Minister Narendra Modi has stated that the focus of the NEP is on generating "job creators". The policy talks on establishing a National Education Technology Forum to advance digital learning and e-content. States are bound to resent the concept of a National Higher Education Regulatory Council as an apex control organisation. Similarly, a national aptitude assessment body will have to persuade the States of its merits. Donning another feather in the policy is the inclusion of coding as a subject with the intent to merge with the rapidly increasing technological era.

This will expand innovation and seamless creativity while promoting analytical and logical thinking. Similarly, the policy refers to a detailed collection of guidelines for supporting online and digital education as a result of the recent epidemic, to better prepare the system for alternative modes of quality education in the event of such a need.

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Sino-Indian relations

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[The forthcoming visit of the Chinese President to India offers some of the most promising results for not only the evolving Sino-India bilateral ties, but for the entire East as both the Asian giants together can either make or unmake the prospects of peace, prosperity and security of Asia and ultimately of the whole world.]

India and China are two ancient civilisations. They have had very close cultural and civilizational ties during not so very distant past. But unfortunately due to British colonial misdemeanour at the 1914 historic Conference which led to formation of Macmohan Line, separating the distinct territories of these two neighbours, has become a bone of contention between them particularly after the independence of India in 1947 from the British colonial rule. As Macmohan Line is an imaginary demarcation between them, China, being a larger and most populous and also being a powerful nation, has always taken the advantage to capture other nation's territories in Southeast Asia, Asia-Pacific and South Asia including India besides expanding up to Indian Ocean. It had badly defeated India during 1962 sudden war being waged by it against New Delhi despite harping on Hindi-Chini Bhai- Bhai slogan, that both the nationalities are close brothers. However, much has changed since then in both the countries where their mutual suspicion and animosity of the yesteryears have far surpassed to assume closer bilateral ties involving almost all areas of cooperation with a view to wipe out the blot of aggressor-victim syndrome between them. The bilateral ties between them are as diverse as economic, trade, educational exchange programme, scientific relations besides having Joint working group over the vexed border issue although that has not yet achieved any milestone in the direction of resolution of this dispute. Instead, China has intruded into Indian territory of Arunachal Pradesh where it has already established its base camp around two decades ago. Also, China has recently put forward its claim over entire South China Sea and is having territorial disputes with all the countries of Southeast Asia.

China and India are the world's most populous countries and two Asian giants, their relationship has important implications both regional and global affairs. The past few years have especially witnessed an increasing interest in this relationship by the international community, mainly because of the rapid economic growth of both countries and the conspicuous transformation of the relationship itself. China India relations have seen dramatic fluctuations and stalemates of many kinds in the period since the late 1950's including a direct conflict in 1962.On the evolution of China-India relations, different people have different interpretations. With regard to the relationship between two countries, however, there was consensus that since the late 1950s, hostility and confrontation had featured in the China-India relations. The blurring in these analyses of China-India relations indicates the shortcomings and deficiencies of the traditional approaches. A good and healthy China-India relationship will contribute not only to the development and prosperity of the two countries themselves, but also to the peace and stability of the region and the world.

Treating each other as new partners rather than adversaries and acknowledging the need for comprehensive approaches to national security, both China and India have accordingly adjusted their respective policies towards each other since the end of the cold war. Walking out of the shadow of India's nuclear tests, China-India relations have entered a new stage of comprehensive cooperation and the establishment of a strategic partnership. They preferred to shelve the border dispute and promote China-India friendship by establishing economic, technological and cultural interactions. Great achievements in this regard during Li Pang's 1991 visit to India included the reopening of border trade, cooperation on space research, and India's commitment to "a dynamic increase and diversification of exchanges in the economic field, including trade".

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It is against this backdrop, the upcoming visit of China's President Xi Jinping to India may herald a new erain Sino-Indian relations embedded with strong strategic resonance because a new dynamic, powerful and stable political dispensation under the Prime Minister ship of Mr. Narendra Modi awaits him. The change of leadership in China in the recent past has also infused new dynamism in its relations with New Delhi and that may be seen as a positive attempt towards establishing more constructive bilateral ties with India in the coming visit of its President. However, another important reason appears to evolve a solid strategic counterpoise by Beijing with the help of India against the USA as Washington's strategic pivot towards East in the recent past has unnerved China to a considerable extent and now in the changed scenario of balance of powers, it cannot sustain for long its animosity with New Delhi in the times to come. Further, as India is a rising techno-economic power with the vast potential of overall growth and development and as 21st century is said to that of the East, China may be holding a perception that the Sino-Indian joint endeavour can do miracles particularly in countering the USA's increasing influence in Asia, Asia-Pacific and the Far East besides Australia, with which Washington had concluded a defence treaty in the recent past. At the same time, China is not satisfied with its status of a regional predominance only and aspires to be a global hegemon by replacing the unquestioned position of the USA. And in that endeavour, it has to have cordial relations with India which has moved far ahead towards Washington and recently towards Tokyo and Canberra. Under these circumstances, the forthcoming visit of the Chinese President to India offers some of the most promising results not only for the evolving Sino-India bilateral ties, but for the entire East as both the Asian giants together can either make or unmake the prospects of peace, prosperity and security of Asia and ultimately of the whole world.

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Agricultural Credit in India: Policies and Its Implications

Dr. Dipen Saikia* Tabang Mibang**

Agriculture in India though a vocation, is taken as a culture due to which innovations, application of technology, marketing management and other business practices are absolutely absent. However, in recent times a little improvement is observed in terms of proactive agricultural policies of the government and marketing reforms. Commercial and professional propositions in agriculture sector are now a day's noticed in the form of extension services from the Universities and Agricultural Research Institutes all over the country.

Agriculture contributes about 16 per cent of total GDP and account for 10 per cent of exports in recent years. Over 60 per cent of India's land area is arable making it the second largest country in the world in terms of total arable land. Agriculture plays a significant role in Indian economy for it supplies substantial food and fodder as a major source of livelihood for workers, manufacturers, farmers and traders. Agriculture provides employment directly to rural population and indirectly to non-agriculturists like artisans, traders, and service providers, it is also provides raw-materials to industries and to Micro, Small, Medium enterprises. In-spite of all these advantages, agriculture in India is yet to transform into an engine of prosperity and economic growth.

There has no a second opinion in the matter agriculture in India as the backbone of Indian economy. Even today agriculture and allied activities stand for the main source of livelihood of the vast majority of rural population in India (about 58.2 percent of the working population). Even though the contribution of agriculture to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of India is showing a declining trend (it is only 13.7 percent in 2012-13 compared to 51.9 percent in 1950-51) its capacity to encompass an extensive workforce reflects its importance in Indian economy. Indian agriculture is mostly a gamble of monsoon, which sometimes shatters all

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wishes and hopes of the majority of farm folk comprising small and marginal farmers. So the farmers in India are always in a vicious circle of problems and troubles. These all situations compel the Indian farmers to depend on credit for upholding their farming operations. So credit, in its adequate quantity and timely availability, constitutes a central input in Indian agriculture which plays a very decisive role in Indian economy as a whole. Because, the food production and prices can trembles the economy by making its reflections on other macro-economic variables in the economy. So, agricultural credit remains as a very sensitive and perceptive subject discussed ever by the government, politicians, policy makers and economist.

Need for Credit in Agriculture Sector

Agriculture in India suffers from many setbacks. A few of them are: (i) cultivation of large variety of crops leading to poor professionalization and specialization, (ii) uncertain water supply and poor irrigation facilities, (iii) uneconomical size of landholdings and predominance of tiny farmers, (iv) absence of commercial motivation of the farmers, (v) existence of surplus labor resulting in underemployment and unemployment (vi) low level of technology application and (vii) inadequate and unreliable land records throwing the agriculturists in a state of confusion and uncertainty. Thus the importance of agriculture in India is undermined by the setbacks in the system. As such, it can be said that agricultural economy in India is craving for support from various agencies in general and financial institutions in particular.

Shortage of agricultural inputs is one of the reasons for the erratic trends in crop production in the country. Provision of adequate credit at right time and at reasonable rate of interest is a critical aspect of agricultural development in India. All through the age's agriculture starved for credit because of the traditional disapproval of business character to agriculture operations. As stated earlier, agriculture was never treated as a business proposal but it was taken as a bequeathed profession. Further, the intermittent failure of monsoons and other customary vicissitudes of farming, rural indebtedness became a serious evil affecting the development of agriculture. It is often said that agriculturists are born in debt, live in debt and die in debt because of several reasons.

Role of Financial Institutions in Agriculture Credit

Farming activity has been a 'hands to mouth' economy in India for centuries because of which there was poor savings and investment in this sector. No doubt crop production has been showing gradual improvement year after year but with erratic growth. However, the farm operations are not able to produce considerable surplus to cover the rising cost of production resulting a little or no savings. As such investment in farming activity is not encouraging. The farmers are not able to finance the agricultural operations by themselves because of which they look for outside assistance. On one hand the cost of inputs are uncertain to be lucrative. The problem of investment in agricultural operations is not a new and it has been persisting for several decades in India. Further, in recent times, the cost of living in rural areas is increasing and the life style of the people is ever changing. It is significantly reflected by the use and possession of expensive gadgets inside and outside the work place. Hence, dependence on credit is invariably unavoidable for all the farmers irrespective of the scale of operations. After the instance of government of India the RBI, NABARD and almost all types of financial institutions are advance the loans to agriculture sector.

The development and strengthening of Indian agriculture was the major emphasis of the maiden government after independence. The very objective of the first Five Year Plan (FYP 1951-56) implemented in India also emphasizes the same objective by setting a 2.1 percent target rate of growth in this field. The plan was very success, which realized a high rate of 3.6 percent. The successive initiatives like green revolution (late 1960s), nationalization of banks (1969 and 1980), establishment of Regional Rural Banks (RRBs in 1975) and National Bank for Agriculture and Rural development (NABARD in 1982), etc were provide a boost to agricultural credit flow to small and marginal farmers in India. While the policies and pattern of development starts a remarkable shift sine 1990s.

The year 1991 marks the opening of a liberalized era and the financial sector reforms in India. A sudden and explicit reversal of the policy of social and developmental banking coupled with the reforms has created wide ramifications in rural India, especially in the agricultural sector. The agricultural credit flow has shown a substantial decline resulting to the debilitation of institutional framework for agriculture after reforms. The wide ranging impacts

of the above include increased sidelining of small and marginal farmers in the supply of agricultural credit, strengthening the hold of money lenders on rural debt portfolios, the recurring instances of farmer's suicides, declining public capital formation and straggler growth rates in agriculture (Satish, 2007 ; Ramakumar and Chavan, 2008).

By realizing the very dismal picture of the Indian economy after the financial sector reforms the government of India and the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) has introduced a host of policy measures to boost the flow of credit to agricultural sector in India. Those policies were guided mainly by the considerations of ensuring adequate and timely availability of credit at reasonable rates through the expansion of institutional structure, its outreach and scale as also by way of direct lending (Golait, 2007).

An initial step in this regard is relating to the direct and indirect finances. Since October 1993, both direct and indirect finances have been considered together for meeting the priority sector target, with some ceiling on the latter. The definition of 'indirect finance' has also been changed by the government gradually by incorporating a large number of beneficiaries.

Under Special Agricultural Credit Plan (SACP) introduced in 1994-95 for public sector banks, the banks are required to fix self-set targets for achievement during the year. The targets are generally fixed by banks about 20-25 percent higher over the disbursement made in the previous year. This mechanism gradually extended to the private sector banks after 2005-06.

In 1989, NABARD introduced the Kisan Credit Card (KCC) scheme, as a unique credit delivery innovation for providing adequate and timely credit to farmers under a single window with flexible and simplified procedure. The key features of no collateral requirements; less stringent monitoring of actual use of loan and renewal facility after three years to good standing borrowers, make the scheme more popular and user friendly among rural farmers (NABARD, 2013).

The Comprehensive Credit Policy introduced as an integral part of "New Deal for Rural India" promised by the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government in 2004 aims to double the flow of credit to agriculture over a period of three years. The policy include the commitment to raise agricultural credit flow by 30 percent every year; financing of 100 farmers per branch (thus, 50 lakh farmers in a year); two to three new investments in agricultural projects per branch every year and a host of debt relief measures, such as debt restructuring, one-time settlement and financial assistance to redeem loans from money lenders (Ministry of Agriculture, 2007).

Government of India announced an interest subvention scheme in 2006-07 to enable banks to provide short term credit to agriculture (crop loan) up to Rs. 5 lakh at 7 percent interest to farmers. Further, to incentivize prompt repayment, in the Union Budget for 2009-10, government of India announced an additional interest subvention of 1percent to those farmers who repay their short term crop loans promptly and on before due date. This was subsequently raised to 2 percent in 2010-11 and 3 percent in 2011-12 and 2012-13 also. Thus, farmers, who promptly repay their crop loans, are now extended loans at an effective interest rate of 4 percent per annum. As proposed in the Union Budget 2013-14, interest subvention scheme for short term crop loans to be continued and extended for crop loans borrowed from private sector scheduled commercial banks.

In the context of massive farmer suicides, to mitigate the distress of farmers in general and marginal farmers in particular, the Agricultural Debt waiver and Debt Relief Scheme (ADWDRS), 2008 was announced in the Union Budget 2008-09. The scheme covered direct agricultural loans disbursed (i) between 31 March, 1997 and 31 March, 2007; (ii) overdue as on 31 December 2007 and (iii) remaining unpaid until 29 February, 2008. The debt waiver exercise was completed by 30, June2008, where as the debt relief exercise was closed in June 2010 after granting a few extensions.

In the recent past also the government of India, Reserve Bank of India (RBI) and NABARD has implemented and executed several financial assistance policies and packages which include developing of Joint Liability Groups (JLG), Primary Agricultural Credit Societies (PACS), extending credit facilities to marketing federations, direct lending to cooperative banks, concessional refinance scheme 2011-12, etc. most of them aiming to the small and marginal farmers.

Conclusion

The study is clearly indicates that the agricultural loans disbursed by all the banks individually and collectively increased significantly. The growth percentages of loans by different banks increased

but at different rates. Though there is a positive correlation, one has to be aware that increased production of food grains is not only the outcome of adequate credit but also many other factors like timely and adequate monsoon, quality of power, timely application of labor, reasonable timely use of fertilizers, pesticides and wedcides, and the quality of soil and seeds. It is observed that the disbursement of loans by purpose indicates that all types of banks have focused better on advancing of short-term loans rather than the term loans. Hence, all the financial institutions should come forward to extend the term loans to the agriculture sector rapidly. However, it can be concluded that the Commercial Banks are balancing well their investment portfolio in agricultural credit.

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Job Satisfaction of Secondary School Teachers

Dr. Karabi Kakati*

[*The present study was conducted to study the job satisfaction of Secondary School teachers of Kamrup (Metro) and Kamrup (Rural) Districts of Assam. The sample comprised 400 Secondary School teachers which included male-female and urban-rural category. Yudhvirendra Mudgil, Prof. I.S. Mhar and Prabha Bhatia's Teachers' Job Satisfaction Scale (TJSS) was used to collect the data. The results indicated that there is significant difference in job satisfaction of male and female Secondary School teachers.*]

Job satisfaction is a complex variable and is influenced by situational factors of the job as well as the dispositional characteristics of the individual. It is defined as the positive emotional response to the job situation resulting from attaining what the employee wants from the job. This implies that job satisfaction can be captured by either a one-dimensional concept of global job satisfaction or a multidimensional faceted construct of job satisfaction capturing different aspects of job satisfaction. Job satisfaction is a pleasurable emotional state of the appraisal of one's job; an effective reaction an attitude towards one's job.

No doubt job satisfaction is an attitude but one should clearly distinguish the objects of cognitive evaluation which are affective, beliefs and behaviours. Hence, job satisfaction is an attitude towards job taking into account feelings, beliefs and behaviours. According to Dictionary of Education, job satisfaction is the quality, state and level of satisfaction as a result of various interests and attitudes of a person towards his job. It is the desire with which employees view their work. It expresses the extent of match between the employer's expectations of the job and rewards that the job provides.

Job satisfaction is a set of favourable or unfavourable feelings and emotions with which employees view their work. Job satisfaction is an affective attitude consists of feelings, thoughts and intention to act. It may be defined as overall attitudes towards the profession, which results from a balancing and summation of many specific likes and dislikes experienced in connection with the job. Job satisfaction typically refers to attitudes of a particular employee, but assessments of individual employee's satisfaction can be averaged over all members of an organization.

In this regard the investigator feels that a study of job satisfaction can provide information to educational administrators to help them understand the teachers in a better way and explore the best possible ways to maximize the career adjustment of the Secondary School teachers.

Objectives of the study

• To find out the job satisfaction of urban and rural secondary school teachers.

• To study the job satisfaction of secondary school teachers in relation to their gender

Hypotheses

• There is no significant difference in job satisfaction of urban and rural secondary school teachers

• There is no significant difference in job satisfaction of secondary school teachers in relation to their gender

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Method

Descriptive Survey method was adopted for conducting the present study.

Sample

A sample of 400 secondary school teachers from 40 schools (Kamrup metro and rural) were taken as sample of study out of which 95 were male and 75 were female from rural category. In the urban category, there were 150 male and 80 female teachers.

Sample of the study Table:1.1

SL.	Gender	Rural	Urban	Total
1.	Male	95	150	245
2.	Female	75	80	155
		170	230	400

Tool

To collect the data 'Teachers' Job Satisfaction Scale' (TJSS) by Yudhvirendra Mudgil, Prof. I.S. Mhar and Prabha Bhatia was used.

Statistical technique used

• Percentage technique

• T test

Result and Discussion

Objective No.1:

To find out the job satisfaction of urban and rural secondary school teachers.

To find out the job satisfaction of teachers of urban and rural secondary schools, the investigator applied the "percentage technique" to calculate the level of job satisfaction according to locality.

Table: 1.2

Level of job satisfaction according to locality

Category	High	Average	Low	Total
Urban	30.50%	63.4%	6.1%	100
Rural	22.44%	69.3%	8.26%	100

The investigator applied the "t" test to know the significant difference between job satisfaction of urban and rural school teachers.

Table:1.3
't' value of Job Satisfaction of Urban and Rural School Teachers

Category	N	Mean	SD	df	't'	Remarks
Urban	230	670.2	34.03	398	2.69	*s
Rural	170	542.3	30.22			

Note: * s means significant at .01 level of confident interval

The result presented in the table 1.3 shows that difference exist between job satisfaction of urban and rural school teachers. The calculated "t" value of job satisfaction of teachers of urban and rural school is found 2.69 which is greater than critical value of 2.58 at .01 level of confidence interval. Hence, there is significant difference of job satisfaction of urban and rural school teachers.

Objective No.2:

To study the job satisfaction of secondary school teachers in relation to their gender

To study the job satisfaction of secondary school teachers in relation to their gender, the investigator used "percentage technique"

Table:1.4

Levels of Job Satisfaction according to Gender

Category	High	Average	Low	Total
Male	27.17%	60.2%	12.63%	100%
Female	30.10%	65.4%	4.5%	100%

In order to know the significant difference of job satisfaction of secondary school teachers in relation to their gender the investigator used "t" test technique.

Table:1.5

't' Value of Job Satisfaction according to Gender

Category	N	Mean	SD	df	't'	Remarks
Male	245	550.3	39.5	398	3.59	*s
Female	155	680.5	37.33			

Note: * s means significant at .01 level of confident interval

Table 1.5 reveals that difference exists between job satisfaction of male and female teachers.

The calculated 't' value of job satisfaction of male and female teachers is found 3.59. It is greater than the critical value of 2.58 at .01 level of confidence interval. So, there is significant difference of job satisfaction of male and female teachers. So, Ho2 stating "There is no significant difference in job

satisfaction of secondary school teachers in relation to their gender" is rejected.

Findings of the Study

1. Job satisfaction of secondary school teachers is different in different locality. The study shows that 30.50% secondary school teachers have high job satisfaction in urban area. It means they are fully satisfied with their job.

2. The present study shows that in urban area 63.4% teachers have average job satisfaction and 6.1% have low job satisfaction. It means 6.1% teachers are not satisfied with their job.

3. The study also reveals that 22.44% teachers have high job satisfaction in rural area. It means they are totally satisfied with their job.

4. In rural area, 69.3% teachers have average and 8.26% teachers have low job satisfaction in their locality.

5. The study also shows that difference exists in job satisfaction of urban and rural school teachers.

6. The study also shows that job satisfaction of male and female teachers is different. It means female teachers are more satisfied than male teachers in their job.

7. There is significant difference between job satisfaction of male and female teachers.

Conclusion

Job satisfaction is the fulfilment of one's expectation from job. It is a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job experience. But the expectation of people may not be homogeneous. It may differ from person to person, place to place, job to job, context to context and organization to organization. So, job satisfaction cannot be generalized. From the academic perspective, workplace conditions, compensation, infrastructure and professional development affect the job satisfaction of the teaching faculty.

The present study has tried to discover the level of job satisfaction among the teaching faculty of Secondary Schools of Kamrup districts.

The study is expected to make an important contribution to the Secondary Schools of Assam to understand the job satisfaction level among the teaching faculty and help to increase the satisfaction level so as to retain good employees and ensure increase in the performance of the teaching faculty.

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Tradition of Women Education in Medieval Karnataka

Ambikadevi*

[*History of education is an interesting aspect in history of Karnataka, its origins can be traced to the third century BC. Initially education was imparted orally only, but after the development of script and literature, it took the form of writing and reading. Palm leaves and wooden pieces were used for the purpose, which helped spread of the written word. It is important to note that ancient Indians did not consider literacy as the only aim of education- self-sufficiency, social service, and spiritual knowledge were considered the actual goals of developing reading and writing skills. Temples and community centres took the role of schools. On several occasions, one's education started in his/her own home. In early stage of education as well as in vocational education, the father played a very important role in educating the children.*]

Generally, it is believed that women were denied education, particularly from medieval times to the period of the advent of the British. Absence of evidences to female students in traditional educational institutions like agraharas, mathas and ghatikas further lead to confirm this view.

Education of Women in Ancient India

A regular system of domestic education existed in India for girls since ancient times, which continued even up to nineteenth century. Available information from Kannada kavyas, sculptures, paintings and depiction in lithographs (printing) provide us glimpses of unhindered tradition of imparting education to females in reading writing, arithmetic, recitation from classics, dance, drama, music, besides general knowledge about ways of the world. Few observations could be made from the above available sources, starting with general knowledge.

"The skill of a teacher imparted to a worthy student attains greater excellence as the water of a cloud is turned into a pearl in a sea-shell", holds teacher Ganadasa in Malavikagnimitra of Kalidasa.[1] In ancient India a teacher always dreamt to get good students and the fulfilment of his attainment in them. How far they could fulfil this eternal dream with the help of the society is worth to study.

During Vedic times, there was no gender discrimination in the field of education. In Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, we find reference to Gargi and Maitreyi distinguishing themselves in the highest knowledge (Brahmavidya).[2] I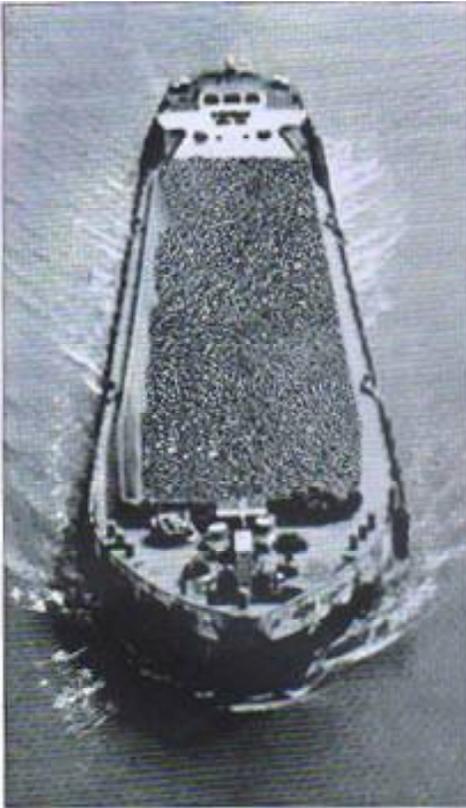n the Grihyasutras several mantras are found to be recited by women and that the women should be taught because it was held that they cannot perform agnihotra sacrifice without such studies.[3] Panini and Patanjali also refer to women admitted to Vedic study. A woman student of the Katha school was called a Kathi, and that of the Rigvedic Bahvricha school, Bahvrichi. Female students were also admitted to the study of mimamsa and the one who studied mimamsa-sutra of the sage Kasakritsna is called Kasakritsna. There are references of chhatri (lady students) and Upadhyayi (Lady teachers).[4]

This scheme of liberal education for women declined in the period that followed. The right of women for initiation to Vedic studies through upanayana seems to have withdrawn slowly, though learned women are found mention in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. By the age of the smritis, their education seems to be limited only to domestic and vocational studies, by which they could become good housewives. It is probably the early foreign invasions of India which may have been the cause for the exclusion of women from Vedic studies.
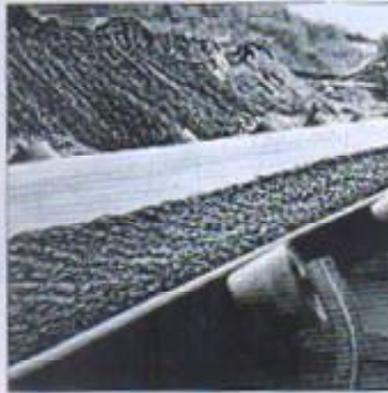
"In almost every nation of the world, in the primitive stages of its development, the early ideas about the inferiority of the female gender prevailed - When the people of Hindustan who had already attained to a high degree of civilization came in contact with their first foreign rulers, far less civilized than they, they might have adopted those rules concerning the position of women, which belonged peculiarly to an imperfect civilization".[5] India is known for assimilating foreign influences and giving colour of its own. It is not strange that this alien custom become slowly part of the Indian society also.

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