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PREFACE PREFACE PREFACE PREFACE PREFACE In the curricular structure introduced by this University for students of Post Graduate degree programme, the opportunity to pursue Post Graduate course in Subjects introduced by this University is equally available to all learners. Instead of being guided by any presumption about ability level, it would perhaps stand to reason if receptivity of a learner is judged in the course of the learning process. That would be entirely in keeping with the objectives of open education which does not believe in artificial differentiation. Keeping this in view, study materials of the Post Graduate level in different subjects are being prepared on the basis of a well laid-out syllabus. The course structure combines the best elements in the approved syllabi of Central and State Universities in respective subjects. It has been so designed as to be upgradable with the addition of new information as well as results of fresh thinking and analysis. The accepted methodology of distance education has been followed in the preparation of these study materials. Co-operation in every form of experienced scholars is indispensable for a work of this kind. We, therefore, owe an enormous debt of gratitude to everyone whose tireless efforts went into the writing, editing and devising of a proper lay-out of the materials. Practically speaking, their role amounts to an involvement in invisible teaching. For, whoever makes use of these study materials would virtually derive the benefit of learning under their collective care without each being seen by the other. The more a learner would seriously pursue these study materials the easier it will be for him or her to reach out to larger horizons of a subject. Care has also been taken to make the language lucid and presentation attractive so that may be rated as quality self-learning materials. If anything remains still obscure or difficult to follow, arrangements are there to come to terms with them through the counselling sessions regularly available at the network of study centres set up by the University. Needless to add, a great part of these efforts is still experimental—in fact, pioneering in certain areas. Naturally, there is every possibility of some lapse or deficiency here and there. However, these do admit of rectification and further improvement in due course. On the whole, therefore, these study materials are expected to evoke wider appreciation the more they receive serious attention of all concerned.

Professor (Dr.) Subha Sankar Sarkar Vice-Chancellor
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7 INTRODUCTION INTRODUCTION INTRODUCTION INTRODUCTION INTRODUCTION 'Modernity' is a cognate
concept of 'Modernization'. Basically these two concepts stand for the mentality or approach to thoughts, style and
methods of thinking, beliefs, religion, education, art, culture and creative faculties opposed to 'Tradition'. Something is
called modern when it opposes the traditional. The concept of 'Tradition' is close to the concept of 'heritage' which
stands for things and ideas which have historical value and importance and deserves to be preserved. In human thinking
every generation considers itself modern whereas ideas and thinking of the preceding generations are considered old
and traditional. In course of time the ideas and beliefs of the modern generation is considered traditional by the next
generation. The new generation often views its preceding generation as 'old' and therefore unacceptable. In all ages this
pattern is found in every aspect of life-style and culture, namely, religious beliefs and rituals, literature, art and craft,
education system, social and political thinking, even dresses, style of speaking and communication. There is no calendar-
based division between traditional and modern. The characteristics, attitudes and temper of one age become gradually
assertive and do not follow any calendar calculation. Historians generally agree that the temper of the 'modern' age
began to be noticed gradually in the post-Renaissance period in Europe. The typical 'modern' age in Europe was the
product of two major revolutions, namely, Industrial Revolution and French Revolution, which occurred in the second
half of the eighteenth century. Subsequently, the ideas and thinking of the eighteenth century were challenged by
Marxism in the second half of the nineteenth century. In a similar way, Marxism was challenged by neo- liberalism and
global capitalism toward the end of the twentieth century. Side by side, towards the end of the twentieth century new
challenges to liberalism in ideas and thinking emerged as post-modernism, feminism, ecologism or environmentalism,
and demands of the indigenous and tribal communities. Thus the main ideas of Enlightenment and sovereignty of reason
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8 came to be challenged by post-modernism which equates 'modernism' with domination, control and suppression. But this ideology has not been universally shared. The Critical theorists and the Marxists straightway reject post-modernist ideology and profess to follow scientific and open thinking. Similarly, consumerism has been challenged by the ideology of sustainable development. In post-colonial societies the latest buzzwords are development and good governance. These two concepts admit a new thinking in socio-economic and political thinking, and give birth to a creative imagination of a developed, prosperous and happy society. This new thinking does not blindly reject everything in the tradition of a community, nor does it uncritically accept everything connected with modernist passion. In the words of Swami Vivekananda, the proper attitude should be "ready to dissociate, ready to associate". That is, not to destroy everything traditional in an iconoclastic manner but to rediscover and renovate the best in the tradition and accommodate it with the needs of the modern. The mentality of modernity has not grown in all countries at the same time. The modern era begins in a country only when its intellectual elites accept Reason as the guiding principle of life and take their decisions in an open mind. In other words, modernity arrives when the human mind begins accepting critically the beliefs and prejudices of the medieval life. In any social order, modernity begins only after the feudal bondage is broken and man learns the art of earning livelihood in professions other than agriculture. At this point, the urge for freedom of thought and action is felt and new wealth creation becomes possible first with expansion of trade and commerce and then building of industry. Generally speaking, this is the precondition of the beginning of modern thinking in religion as well as socio-economic and political aspects of human living. On this point, the urge and necessity of loyalty to the established religious order and to the monarchy are weakened. In Europe, modernity arrived at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In India, this condition gradually came with the fall of the Mughals and the arrival of the European traders and clergymen at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Modern political thinking in India could be found in the minds of the elites since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Generally speaking, three sources of modern Indian political thought can

9 be identified. The first source was definitely the impact of European, especially English, political thought. The British colonizers basically intended to transform the Indian society and its leaders in the image of the Western culture. The spread of English language among the elites decidedly had an enduring impact on the aspiration and thinking of the Indian elites. The British political authority firmly established itself after the Great Uprising of 1857. Till then the ruling power was the East India Company which for about hundred years (1757-1857) intended to make maximum profits for the Company and only tangentially tinkered with the social and political reforms as demanded by the emerging intelligentsia of India. The ideas of the Renaissance and the Reformation, the French Revolution and more immediately the thoughts of Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Thomas Carlyle, Samuel Coleridge, Walter Scott, Thomas Paine, John Locke ignited the trends of modernity in Indian political thinking. All these were possible mainly because the core of the new Indian intelligentsia voluntarily adopted the system of modern education introduced by the British rulers. The elites became conscious of the modern politics and modern ideologies like liberty, equality, fraternity, democracy and the rule of law. The new professional classes like lawyers, educationists, journalists, teachers, medical doctors gradually emerged since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and in course of time, began shaping Indian public opinion. Indeed the emergence of the educated middle class had enormously contributed to the growth of modernity in Indian mind. In due course, the entire liberal school of India, developed under the intellectual leadership of Dadabhai Naoroji, Madhab Govind Ranade, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Surendranath Banerjea and others. The second source of influence was the German philosophers like Kant, Hegel, Herder, Fichte and Schelling. The ideas of Volk (folk), community, individualism, nationalism, political obligation and rights captured the imagination of the Indian intelligentsia and the emerging political elites. A section of them, rejected all efforts of the Englishmen to modernise the Indian society in the British fashion. Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay and Swami Vivekananda exercised significant influence on the development of Indian nationalism and promoting the social values of Indian culture. Their intellectual leadership finally led to the emergence of the unique political thinking of Aurobindo Ghosh who completed the politico-cultural mission

10 started by Bankim and Vivekananda. These three great political modernisers made the Indians conscious of their national unity and generated in them a sense of India having a superior civilization and a message for the humanity as a whole. To some extent, the poet-philosopher Rabindranath Tagore also greatly contributed to the growth of modernity in India. But all this was 'modernity' with a difference from the meaning the word has for the western societies. The third source was, of course, the traditional Indian thought. Intensive study and research made by Sir William Jones and Max Mueller revealed to the world of learning the rich tradition of Indian philosophy and culture. The richness of Indian culture was also wonderfully underlined by Sri Aurobindo. These scholars were highly impressed by the Gita's philosophy as stated in the great epic the Mahabharata. There are many elements of modernity, especially the doctrine of selfless duty, which created a mental revolution in the minds of the youth of India in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The individual-society relation was understood in a new way, which promoted intense patriotism and sacrificing one's self-interest for the benefit of one's country. Bankimchandra, Vivekananda, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and Subhas Chandra Bose carried this message to the people at large. The modern mind-set was fully developed in Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and their ilk. Notably, the modernity of Indian political thought in the twentieth century was linked with the ideas of Vivekananda in many ways. Again, Gandhi's political thought was unique as it raised the issue of ethics in political thinking and practice as well as in strategy of political movements. Marxism influenced a significant area of Indian political thinking and movements in the twentieth century. Marxism as well as Gandhism were re-interpreted by some political thinkers and practitioners. Side by side, a new kind of politics of protest emerged in the politics of the marginalised sections of population. It will be fair to conclude that Indian political thought of the colonial period owes its origin and modernist character to the western ideas, and its varieties and richness owed much to India's traditional values and culture. Module 1 contains discussion on the theme of modernity in Indian political thought. It will be studied in four units. Unit 1 discusses Rammohun Roy; Unit 2 discusses Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay; Unit 3 discusses Syed Ahmed Khan; and Unit 4 discusses Rabindranath Tagore.

11 MODULE - 1 MODERNITY

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13 Unit - 1 : Unit - 1 : Unit - 1 : Unit - 1 : Unit - 1 : □□□□□ Rammohun Roy Rammohun Roy Rammohun Roy Rammohun Roy Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) (1772-1833) (1772-1833) (1772-1833) (1772-1833) Structure Structure Structure Structure Structure 1.011.011.011.011.01 Historical Context and Significance Historical Context and Significance Historical Context and Significance Historical Context and Significance Historical Context and Significance 1.021.021.021.021.02 Life and Times Life and Times Life and Times Life and Times Life and Times 1.031.031.031.031.03 Inaugurator of Indian Renaissance Inaugurator of Indian Renaissance Inaugurator of Indian Renaissance Inaugurator of Indian Renaissance Inaugurator of Indian Renaissance 1.041.041.041.041.04 Liberty and Democracy Liberty and Democracy Liberty and Democracy Liberty and Democracy Liberty and Democracy 1.051.051.051.051.05 Press Freedom and Political Rights Press Freedom and Political Rights Press Freedom and Political Rights Press Freedom and Political Rights Press Freedom and Political Rights 1.061.061.061.061.06 Concluding Remarks Concluding Remarks Concluding Remarks Concluding Remarks Concluding Remarks 1.071.071.071.071.07 Suggested Readings and Sample Questions Suggested Readings and Sample Questions Suggested Readings and Sample Questions Suggested Readings and Sample Questions Suggested Readings and Sample Questions Objectives Objectives Objectives Objectives Objectives This unit would acquaint the learner with : • The historical conditions in which Rammohun Roy emerged as a force to reckon with ; • The meaning attached to the expression Indian Renaissance and Roy as its pathfinder ; • The advocacy of Roy in defence of liberty and democracy in a colonial set-up ; and • The overall contribution of Roy as an usherer of modernity. 1.01 Historical Context and Significance 1.01 Historical Context and Significance 1.01 Historical Context and Significance 1.01 Historical Context and Significance 1.01 Historical Context and Significance Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) was born at a time when India was passing through political decay, economic regression and social degeneration. With the death of Aurangzeb, the last powerful Mughal Emperor, in 1707 India fast entered into a long period of political decay. Agriculture, industry, trade and commerce began experiencing a decline in production. In social and cultural field, religious superstitions and extreme sectarianism dominated. That was the time when in social practices, politics, religion, art India entered the zone of uncreative habit, decadent tradition, low human values and

14 stagnant education and culture. Rammohun Roy grew up in an ambience of political disintegration and low level of culture. After he settled in Calcutta, which was then the main seat of politics and government under the East India Company, Rammohun started revitalizing Indian society and politics by his creative endeavour, challenged the medieval ideas, habits and customs of the people, and brought in the fresh air of modernity in many aspects of Indian politics and socio-economic system. As Rabindranath Tagore has emphasized, Rammohun initiated India

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into the modern era of world-wide cooperation of humanity. Rammohun heralded a new era of social and religious reforms, persuading his fellowmen to

fight against age-old, cruel and evil socio-religious practices and superstitions

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and to revive the true spirit of enlightened Hinduism as taught in the Vedas and the Upanishads.

He also spearheaded the popular agitation for constitutional reforms without challenging the East India Company's legal right to rule India of his time. At that time the West knew very little about India. It was Rammohun who lived and worked as a link between the East and the West. Jeremy Bentham, the celebrated English political philosopher and legal expert, greeted Rammohun as "an intensely admired and dearly beloved collaborator in the service of mankind." Rammohun had to face the hostility of orthodox Hinduism, on the one hand, and aggressive Christian missionaries, on the other. The orthodox Hindus ridiculed him as a dangerous innovator of ideas and reforms while the Christian missionaries were instinctively distrustful of anyone endeavouring to bring enlightenment to a demoralised subjugated people. For a long time, the value of Rammohun's contributions to politics and social reforms was not dispassionately assessed. However, as an extremely courageous intellectual and determined reformer, Rammohun refused to be brow-beaten by the ruling British authority of the East India Company and also by his orthodox, dogmatic and mean-minded fellow Indians. As Max Mueller in his Biographical Essays pointed out, Rammohun never attempted to make his reforms more palatable by toning down his rejection of the tradition. He would have no playing with words, no shifting of responsibility. He was the first socio-religious reformer in India, who had clearly grasped the extent to which passivity and dogmatism had paralysed the Indian mind. He had a clear vision of the future direction which Indian socio-religious and political thought was bound to follow, if it meant to survive the varieties of

15 challenges coming in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Rabindranath Tagore quite justifiably called him "the inaugurator of the modern Age in India." Brajendranath Seal, the great philosopher, in his book Rammohun Roy : The Universal Man (1933), assessed him as the "Prophet of humanity." The moot point is that Rammohun fully satisfied the criterion of modernity by his thought and deeds. He was a champion of free thinking and open mind. He was a realist who could read the writing on the wall and clearly diagnosed the ills of India's socio-religious and political life in the early nineteenth century. He was uncompromising in his zeal for liberty as a great principle necessary for leading a dignified life. He refused to be bound by the unreasonable social customs and was courageous enough to stand up against threat coming from his own society and from a non- indigenous political authority of his time. 1.02 Life and Times 1.02 Life and Times 1.02 Life and Times 1.02 Life and Times 1.02 Life and Times Fifteen years after the Battle of Plassey (1757), Rammohun was born on 22 May 1772 in Khanakul area of a village called Radhanagar in Hooghly district of Bengal. He belonged to an orthodox Brahmin family and his father Ramakanta Roy was a big landlord under the Maharaja of Burdwan. After completing his school education, he was sent to Patna, then a prominent seat of Islamic learning, where he studied Arabic and Persian. He also studied there the Quran and Islamic theology, and also what could be had through Arabic translations of Euclid and Aristotle. He was impressed by the democratic teachings of the Quran and the development of logic in Arabic thought. Rationality in some Islamic schools of thought as well as the Sufi philosophy impressed him. On his return to Bengal, Rammohun wrote a book wherein he questioned the validity of Hindu idolatry and superstitions. This view angered his father who asked Rammohun to leave the paternal house and deprived him of any legal right to inherit paternal property. Rammohun accordingly left his home as he was not prepared to go against his own religious convictions. After some time of wandering from place to place, Rammohun landed in Varanasi (Benaras), the ancient holy city of the Hindus, where he studied Sanskrit. Here he studied the religious texts of the Hindus, particularly the Upanishads and the Gita. Soon he became well-versed enough to enter into polemic debates with the orthodox Hindu pundits. At the age of twentyfour, he started learning English language.

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After the death of his father in 1803, Rammohun went to Murshidabad and renewed his Arabic studies.

The same year he published a monograph

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Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhiden (a Gift to the Monotheists) in Persian with an Introduction in Arabic. Here he showed the general unity of thought among mankind regarding the existence of one Supreme Being.

Differences of views arise only when people attach different attributes to that Supreme Being. He concluded

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that faith in the unity of Reality and recognition of human values are the cardinal principles of all religions. This point of the fundamental unity of all religions

became in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a leading feature in the preachings of Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore. Between 1804 and 1814 Rammohun was employed in the service of the East India Company. He spent five years (1809-1814) at Rangpur in North Bengal serving the Company as the Sheristadar to the District Collector Mr. John Digby, a covenanted servant of the East India Company. During this period Rammohun learnt English seriously and kept himself acquainted with international political affairs by reading the English journals available in Digby's library. He developed good friendship with Mr. Digby. In 1814 Rammohun left the Company's service and permanently settled in Calcutta, then an important city of political and business interests. From this time till his death in 1833 was the most eventful and fruitful period of Rammohun's life. During this period he was systematically and assiduously propagating his religious views which finally took the shape of 'Brahmaism' as a protestant view of Hinduism. He preached the theme of unity of God, assailed the prevalent Hindu belief in many gods and goddesses and in the elaborate ritualistic worship of their images. He insisted that true Hinduism of the Upanishads consisted in the recognition of the formless Supreme entity or the Brahma, to whom worship should be rendered. This view of Rammohun roused a storm of opposition from the orthodox section of the Hindu community as well as hostile opposition of the Muhammedans and the Christian missionaries. Backed by his courage of conviction, Rammohun refused to yield. He never denied that he was a Hindu. He only wanted to reform Hinduism by remaining within its fold. Rammohun established two socio-religious organizations, first, Atmiyasabha and later Brahmasabha. Through these bodies, he continued his religious debate.

17 In India in 1818-19 the East India Company had no political and administrative opponents. The Mughal empire was definitively in decline, because the last generation Mughal emperors exercised no effective political powers and the dynasty's existence was purely nominal. Rammohun did rightly foresee that it was the Britishers and their Company administrators who would govern the country in the foreseeable future. So he concentrated on reforming the decadent orthodox Hinduism by reasoning out his point of view. Soon he published two weekly journals—

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Sambad Kaumudi (1821) in Bengali and Mirat-ul-Akhbar (1822) in Persian—

as the intellectual vehicle for critically examining the contemporary social, religious and political problems of the Indian society and suggesting new paths for solving those problems. In 1829 he took the brief for Mughal Emperor Akbar II and went to England to submit the Emperor's petition to the British monarch. This job required that the petitioner must have a royal identity in order to enable him to petition the monarch. So the Mughal Emperor formally bestowed the title of 'Raja' on Rammohun. Since then he was popularly known as Raja Rammohun Roy. He stayed in England for three years. During this time, he established intellectual acquaintance with the eminent English philosopher and jurist Jeremy Bentham and the socialist thinker Robert Owen. In 1832 he visited France for a brief period when he came to intellectual contact with some leading French thinkers. Rammohun breathed his last in Bristol city in southern England (Wales) on 27 September 1833. He was, in fact, an ambassador of the Mughal Emperor and for that matter, the first ambassador of a New India to England and the western world. In his intellectual conversations with leading public figures and intellectuals in England and France, Rammohun ably represented the views and aspirations of a New India. He was warmly received by the elites in both the countries. 1.031.031.031.031.03 Inaugurator of Indian Renaissance Inaugurator of Indian Renaissance Inaugurator of Indian Renaissance Inaugurator of Indian Renaissance Inaugurator of Indian Renaissance Rammohun Roy was the inaugurator and leader of Indian Renaissance which started in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. It is true that any intellectual movement can never be the creation of one individual. Such movements are always the end-product of a joint or cooperative movement of a number of people or leaders, whose intense desire for a cultural change and determined resolution for curving a new path of progress bring such

18 movements to fruition. At the same time, it is true that movements like renaissance or cultural regeneration do have a few distinctive persons as leaders whose intellectual prowess and a new vision inspire the whole group and also the mass of the people. Such a critical personality was Rammohun Roy who could clearly diagnose the ills of the decadent social and political system of his contemporary India and confidently showed the path of progress to the Indian people in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Rammohun was a multidimensional genius and active in a number of fields of activity. Rabindranath Tagore quite justifiably described him as "Bharat Pathik" (The Indian Pilgrim). In fact, he was 'Viswa Pathik' (The Universal Pilgrim), a world citizen trying to unite the cultural bindings of humanity. His Persian journal Mirat-ul-Akhbar used to have reasonably wide circulation in India and also good reception in distant Persia (presentday Iran). His thinking was mature and based on reason and logic. He later developed quite wide interest in western science and technology and also in western culture and value system. His deep and sincere studies in Hindu and Islamic religious thought with an open and critical mind enabled him to appreciate India's cultural value system in a dispassionate philosophical manner. In his considered opinion on religio-cultural issues is found his wonderful intellectual capacity of assimilating the eastern and western value systems. This feature of his open mind initiated in him the universalism of a world citizen. Later, while he started to come in contact with the ideas of western science and technology, he had already developed his value judgement in respect of his proposed reforms of the Indian way of life. He had assimilated the essence of both Hindu and Islamic religions and culture, which helped him to adopt a completely non-communal philosophy of life. When he came in contact with the western influences, his philosophy of life became truly modern and universal. He wonderfully assimilated the thought systems of the East and the West. Rammohun found the British rule as a blessing of God for the nineteenth century Indian society. He could identify a number of positive dimensions of western thinking. He was quite clear in his mind that the British can give birth to a logical bent of mind to the Indians. Hence he underlined the urgent need of introducing western education in India, because he was sure that this kind of open and scientific education can liberate the Indian mind from the influence of blind religious doctrines and social prejudices. Not that he had

19 no idea of the exploitative nature of the Company's rule, but he could see the potential benefits of western culture and education in the modernisation of Indian culture and education by creating a logical bent of mind. He saw in this new education the seed of Indian renaissance, which appeared to him to open the path of mental and intellectual liberation of the Indian mindset. This assimilation of eastern and western cultural values in Rammohun has sometimes created difficulties for his critics to do justice to him. Rammohun had the foresight to see that the British rule in India would be beneficial for the people in many respects. The most important of these benefits would be the import of logic in shaping the minds of Indians. Hence he favoured and tried his best to introduce English education system in India. He played some important role in establishing the Hindu College in Calcutta in 1817 (later converted into Presidency College in 1857). The English education system that included teaching of English literature, western science, European cultural heritage, history and modern philosophy, social and medical sciences vastly widened the vision of the new generation of Indian youth. He strongly pleaded for this change in education system, because he believed that this new system would enable the young generation to come in touch with an advanced civilization and usher in the Renaissance in India, and bring in new mental energy. His attitude and vision of a new India was the most instrumental factor in building a new conception of the modern state in India. He welcomed the western education and culture in order to discover anew the reality of Indian life and society. He was very much conscious of the rich treasures in India's own culture and civilization, but he wished to assimilate the good and noble values of Europe into the tradition and culture of ancient and medieval India. On this point, he differed from Dirozio and Macauley. Hence, in order to meet the needs of his contemporary India, he endeavoured for building the Indian state on the western model and untiringly worked for social and political reforms. This was not his long-time solution for India's multifarious problem. It was his immediate prescription, as he believed that the succeeding generations of Indians would take an appropriate decision on a model of modern polity. He could realise the historical importance of the rising middle class in India of his time and visualised a sovereign Indian state in course of time. He had full faith in the English-knowing modern elites of India, who would play a significant role in shaping a free and modern polity in India, This idea of Rammohun was revealed in his various articles and essays written during the last five years of his life.

20 There is an on-going debate among historians, social scientists and indologists on whether the intellectual awakening found in the mid-19th century could properly be called 'Indian Renaissance.' A number of scholars prefer to describe the changes taking place in many aspects of India's society, polity, economy and culture as 'cultural efflorescence' rather than Renaissance. Admittedly, the features of the European Renaissance were not all present in India's case. But what cannot be denied is that from 1820s onwards India was definitely moving towards far-reaching changes which continued till the first decade of the twentieth century. Many talented leaders of public affairs contributed to this process of basic changes in Indian life and culture. And Rammohun was the pioneer in bringing a substantive change in the people's attitude towards life as a whole. 1.04 Liberty and Democracy 1.04 Liberty and Democracy 1.04 Liberty and Democracy 1.04 Liberty and Democracy In his preference for political ideology, Rammohun was always for democracy. On his legal-political thinking the British constitutional system had a good influence. He made a comparative assessment of monarchy, aristocracy and direct democracy, and found all of them unacceptable because of their demerits, especially in a country like India having a fractured social organization in terms of castes and classes. Participation of people in political decision-making can be ensured only in a representative republican democracy. Considering the peculiar socio-cultural and political conditions of India in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, Rammohun realised that a democratic social order could be initiated in India only through religious reforms which would help establish religious harmony among the different sections of the population. He sincerely believed that legal and social reforms in India could be achieved only through harmony and active cooperation between the followers of different religions, especially the Hindus and Muslims. In his political philosophy and scheme of nation-building and state-formation Rammohun heavily depended on intercommunity and interclass understanding and cooperation. This was the key to Rammohun's social and political thinking. He realised that the peasants and farmers in India constituted an important class which would have an important role to play in India's social and political development, because India has been traditionally an agriculture-based

21 country. He submitted more than once his views on ameliorating the conditions of the agricultural class to the British administration and pleaded for social and economic liberation of this exploited class. As the basis of social integration of the Indian people at large, he underlined the importance of social harmony between different communities and classes. In this task he strongly asked for the intervention of the state, because he argued that in an economically underdeveloped and socially fractured society, the state would have to play a key role in the process of socio-economic transformation. He therefore wanted on many issues the intervention of the state in facilitating social and economic change. This kind of social thinking on a modernist tone ultimately paved the way to Rammohun becoming a world citizen, so to say, who was seriously concerned with the values of liberty of the individual, prosperity of the country and advancement of humanity. This consciousness of Rammohun made him to rise above the limitations of local feelings and constraints of time. He stood for a coordinated approach and well-thought-out strategy of building his thought on religion, society, economy and politics. Religious reforms and social reforms were intimately related in his strategy of modernising India. He could successfully feel the pulse of the Indian people in the early nineteenth century, who were not steeply traditional in their social outlook and were generally ready to welcome a new dispensation, with the supporting role of the state power. His love for his country was not strictly confined to any geographical boundaries. Hence he could dream of an international forum for the benefit of humanity. Rammohun never considered religion as a system of rituals only. To him, religion was a part of living, and therefore his thoughts on religion, society and politics were complementary to one another. He never tried to copy the perspective of the European Renaissance in the Indian context, although his acquaintance with the European perspective helped him to expand his own idea of a comprehensive socio-political and cultural change in India. He utilised his proposals for religious reform as an intellectual instrument for achieving social change in India. He was realist enough to appreciate the point that it would be an idle thinking to change social institutions and practices in India by bypassing religious reforms. To him, the issue was not one of Tradition vs. Modernity, it was the problem of Tradition through Modernity. For example, his persistent and heroic efforts to abolish the cruel

22 socio-religious practice of Sati rites in the name of traditional Hindu rites was not a mere programme of social change, he used it to invite intervention of the state power. He realised the meaning and value of the strategy of balancing state power with social power, and was thoroughly conscious that the external change in law by itself would not be able to bring about any fundamental social change. Public awakening would need the prior public consciousness. For the same reason, he helped the cause of establishing western system of education in India. Once a self-conscious, educated elite class is formed, it will organize social movements, which would ultimately lead to social and political reforms. This is the reason why Rammohun was so relevant in his time and his ideas continue to be relevant even today. He knew that the instrument of law-making for bringing about social change would be indispensable, but he refused to consider law by itself as the only instrument of social and political reforms. Rammohun denounced idolatry of the orthodox Hindus. He preached his considered view on the topic to remind his countrymen that the Hindu scriptures recommended idol worship only for those who were not intellectually capable to comprehend the invisible God. But in his denunciation he possibly went too far and forgot that images of God-head are never worshipped either as clay or wood. They are worshipped only with the mind on God as the supreme energy. Humans and their needs and desires are of limitless variety and hence the concept of different images satisfies them. He was a kind of a 'protestant' Hindu having righteous passion about religion and morality. He felt an intense urge for uplifting the level of understanding of his fellow countrymen to that of a 'modern' person. Rammohun had his unique conception of law, custom and morality. He broke from the chains of medieval scholasticism. He was aware of the conflict among the scholars of analytical school and historical school. He realised that the nature of law was to be understood from two different angles. Every piece of legislation is born in a particular historical context, but in order to have effect it must have the support of subsequent generations. This shows that he supported Austin's view that the sovereign is the source of law, but simultaneously he supported Savigny's view that law derives its support from its acceptability the later generations. In analysing the nature of law, Rammohun recognised the importance of customs in legitimising law. He made the difference clear on the definite separation between law and morality.

23 Even though some principles of morality are honoured in law, all moral instructions are not lawful. Rammohun's position was that law must have formal validity even if it does reflect some moral values. He underlined the point that political decisions reflected in law gain validity when it is supported by public opinion. Rammohun's view on this issue again shows the elements of modernity in his political philosophy and his knowledge of jurisprudence. 1.05 Press Freedom and Political Rights 1.05 Press Freedom and Political Rights 1.05 Press Freedom and Political Rights 1.05 Press Freedom and Political Rights 1.05 Press Freedom and Political Rights Rammohun's democratic values and conviction were reflected in his strong defence for press freedom. During the Company's rule in India the first weekly newspaper published was Bengal Gazette in Calcutta in 1780 edited by James Hickey. Rammohun considered the liberty of the press essential for healthy governance. He was of the opinion that the subject people should have full liberty to profess and publish their principles and opinion. Hence, to him, every legislation and administrative decision would be tyrannical and injurious if it tends to coercion of public opinion. Rammohun started in 1821 his weekly Bengali paper Sambad Kaumudi (Moon of Intelligence). He was the heart and soul of the paper, although there was a nominal editor. The views of this paper were quite advanced and liberal. A rival paper Samachar Chandrika (Moonlight of News) began publication in 1822 as the organ of the orthodox section of Calcutta elites. Rammohun started in 1822 the first weekly journal in Persian language Mirat- ul-Akhbar (Mirror of News) to reach the Muslim readers throughout India. Rammohun's high sense of public duty and responsibility was expressed in his statement about this paper. He wrote: "My only object is that I may lay before the public such articles of intelligence as may increase their experience and tend to their social improvement; and to that extent of my abilities I may indicate to the rulers a knowledge of the real situation of their subjects and make the subjects acquainted with the established laws and customs of their rulers, so that the rulers may more readily find an opportunity of granting relief to the people; and the people may be put in possession of the means of obtaining protection and redress from their rulers." [quoted in R. C. Majumdar, The History and Culture of the British People (1981), vol. X]. The administration of the East India Company soon became alarmed at the growth of free press in India. Lord Adam, the acting Governor-General,

24 promulgated on 14 May 1823 an ordinance drastically curtailing the free expression of opinion in the press. Rammohun closed down his *Mirat-ul- Akhbar* as a mark of protest against the Company administration's policy of gagging the free press. His protest marks the beginning of constitutional agitation for political rights. His was a new type of political agitation which became, in course of time, a landmark in the history of India's freedom movement. Rammohun and his five other associates submitted a Memorandum to the Supreme Court of Judicature in March 1823. After asserting unshaken loyalty and unlimited confidence in the British administration, the Memorandum pointed out that execution of the anti-free press ordinance would completely end the process of diffusion of knowledge and consequent mental improvement of the people and prevent the knowledgeable Indians from communicating to their countrymen any knowledge of the good work done by the British administration and the strict and impartial administration of justice introduced. The Ordinance would preclude the Indians from making the administration readily acquainted with the errors and injustice that might be committed by the executive officers. It concluded with the request to the Supreme Court to permit the natives to enjoy whatever civil rights and privileges they had been enjoying under the British rule. The Memorandum being dismissed by the Supreme Court, Rammohun appealed to the King-in- Council in England pointing out that the Ordinance would condemn Indians to perpetual oppression and degradation by the British rulers. The Privy Council dismissed it. Subsequently Governor-General Sir Charles Metcalf rescinded the Press Regulation in 1835. Judged by the modern thinking on press freedom, Rammohun's thinking was modernist in this respect. He believed that a free press was a necessary appendage of representative government. Rammohun's modernist temper is also found in his economic ideas. He had no definite theoretical thinking on the economic role of the state, but he recognised that the state had some role in the economic life of the individual and society. He did not accept economic liberalism and any visionary socialism, but he strongly defended the individual's right to acquire, enjoy and dispose of property. However, he was not a believer in political individualism, because he wanted the state to take appropriate action to protect the economically vulnerable sections of society. He also felt the need of appropriate reforms in land tenure system in order to increase revenue

25 collection. He was against the migration of India's economic resources and capital to foreign lands. Hence he pleaded for foreign mercantile elites to settle in India in order to increase their investment in India. He was also interested in the state's positive role in expansion of modern higher education in India. His basic ideas in political thinking can be summarised as follows: (i) individual's right to property, (ii) equality in the eye of law, (iii) fundamental civil rights of citizens, (iv) appointment in higher civil service through competition, (v) government's respect for public opinion, (vi) some sort of planned thinking of the government for political development of India. 1.061.061.061.061.06 Concluding Remarks Concluding Remarks Concluding Remarks Concluding Remarks Concluding Remarks Rammohun Roy made significant contribution towards development of modernist ideas in India. He was seriously concerned with some aspects of misrule by the East India Company, but was simultaneously enthusiastic about accepting the liberal, scientific and modernist ideas of the European civilisation. He had faith in the good aspects of the British rule in India and simultaneously protested against the illiberal and exploitative actions of the Company officials. He had high regards for the enlightened civil society of Britain and believed that the British rule in India, if kept under the pressure of benevolent public opinion of the Indian society, would be helpful for political and constitutional development of India. Rammohun was the first internationalist of modern India. He was influenced by the ideas of the French Revolution and the American War of Independence. He developed admiration for, and personal friendship with, Bentham. He accepted the constitutional ideas of Blackstone and Montesquieu, and was influenced by the ideas of rule of law and separation of powers, as he believed that these two fundamental doctrines of political philosophy would aid the realization of individual freedom and balanced administration. Like Bentham, Rammohun also did not believe in the theory of Natural Rights of Man. He did not agree with Bentham on the point of difference between law and morality. Moreover, Rammohun was consistent on taking the factor

26 of historical context of development of politics and law in any society. For example, Rammohun pleaded for framing a criminal code for India, but insisted that such a code should be founded as far as possible on those principles common to, and acknowledged by, all the different sects and tribes inhabiting in India. Rammohun developed the habit of reading English newspapers when he worked with John Digby, and became extremely interested in continental politics. While staying in England, he watched with anxiety the final stages of the passage of Reform Bill of 1832 in British Parliament, as it affected the fortune of democracy for mankind. He rejoiced at the victory of the Latin American colonies against Spanish imperialism, and hosted a dinner to celebrate the incident. He saluted the flag of revolutionary France while sailing for England. He felt extremely sorry at the success of the reactionary forces in Naples. He had a vision of an international order as he believed the whole mankind was one great family and welcomed human intercourse throughout the world in order to be benefited by reciprocal advantage through constitutional governments cooperating with one another and settling disputes at some representative international body. It is worth quoting his letter to the French foreign minister in 1831 : "It is now generally admitted that not religion only but unbiased common sense as well as accurate deductions of scientific research lead to the conclusion that all mankind are one great family of which numerous nations and tribes existing are only various branches. Hence enlightened men in all countries must feel a wish to encourage and facilitate human intercourse in every manner by removing as far as possible all impediments to it in order to promote the reciprocal advantages and enjoyment of the whole human race." [English Works, Part IV]. His was a world-view of both religion and politics. He was sympathetic to the aspirations of the colonial people of the world. Rammohun thus possessed a remarkably modern mind. By any standard of assessment Rammohun Roy was an outstanding and remarkable public figure of the early nineteenth-century India, despite some limitations of his social background and circumstances of his time. He has been variously hailed as 'the father of modern India', the 'apostle of a religious revival', 'upholder of synthesis between eastern and western values', 'philosophic modernist', 'bridge between tradition and progress', and 'inaugurator of the modern age'.

27 1.07 Suggested Readings 1.07 Suggested Readings 1.07 Suggested Readings 1.07 Suggested Readings 1.07 Suggested Readings 1.07 Suggested Readings 1. B. N. Dasgupta, The Life and Times of Raja Rammohan Roy (1980). 2. S. L. Ghosh, Raja Rammohan Roy : Path-maker of Modern India (1970). 3. V. C. Joshi (ed), Rammohan Roy and the Process of Modernization in India. 4. Saumyendranath Tagore, Raja Rammohan Roy (1989). 5. Raja Rammohan Roy : His Role in Indian Renaissance (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1975). 6. V. P. Gupta and Mohini Gupta (eds), Raja Rammohan Roy (1998). 7.

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Rammohan to Dayanand. 8. Dilip K. Biswas, Rammohan Samiksha (in Bengali) (1983). 9. S. M. Gangopadhyay, Bangaleer Rashtra Chinta (in Bengali) (1991). 10. S. Chakraborty (ed.), Bharatbarsha : Rashtra Bhavna (in Bengali) (2002). 11. Ashok K. Mukhopadhyay (ed.), Bharatiya Rashtrachinta Parichay (in Bengali), West Bengal State Book Board (2013). Short-answer Questions Short-answer Questions Short-answer Questions Short-answer Questions Short-answer Questions Short-answer Questions 1. Mention five important features of Rammohun's modernist mind. 2. Why is Rammohun called the inaugurator of the modern age in India? 3. Write a short note on the social reforms of Rammohun Roy. 4. What was Rammohun's attitude on political reforms in India? 5. Briefly explain Rammohun's view on democracy. 6. Give a brief account of Rammohun's view on law. Long-answer Questions Long-answer Questions Long-answer Questions Long-answer Questions Long-answer Questions Long-answer Questions 1. Examine Rammohun's contribution to the growth of modernity in India. 2. Why is Rammohun called 'the father of modern India?' Explain fully. 3. Discuss Rammohun's view on religion and religious reform. 4. Explain Rammohun's strategy of reforms in India's social and political system. 5. Examine, with illustrations, Rammohun's views on Tradition and Modernity.

28 Unit-2 : □□□□□ Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay (1838-1894) Structure 2.01 Introduction 2.02 Life and Times 2.03 Religion, Society and Politics 2.04 Nationalism and Nation-building 2.05 Equality and Socialism 2.06 Concluding Remarks 2.07 Suggested Readings and Sample Questions Objectives Objectives Objectives Objectives Objectives This unit aims at : ● placing Bankim Chandra in historical perspective ; ● explaining the position he took on the rational approach to religion and the proper relation expected of religion in respect of society ; ● clarifying the stand of Bankim for making the European idea of nationalism adaptable to India ; and ● underlining the imperatives of social justice as upheld by Bankim.

2.01 Introduction Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay (Chatterjee) (1838-94), the first great novelist of Bengali literature and one of the first two graduates of Calcutta University, was a leading intellectual figure in nineteenth-century Bengal. His name is intimately connected with the growth and development of nationalism in India. He coined the immortal clarion-call of “Bande Mataram” (Oh, Mother, I Salute Thee), which inspired generations of freedom-fighters of India. As the illustrious editor of Bengali monthly

29 journal Bangadarshan, he greatly shaped the minds of the educated Bengalees and inspired the patriots and freedom-fighters in India. One of the leading intellectuals of the nineteenth century, he wrote a large number of Bengali novels, intellectual essays and humorous tracts, and a few critical essays on the concept of socialism and spiritual nationalism. After Raja Rammohun Roy, Bankimchandra’s contribution to the modernization of the Indian mind in the colonial period is widely recognised. Bankimchandra Chatterjee was a multidimensional genius who wrote tirelessly for setting a standard of intellectual activity and showed the path of national development. Despite his limitations deriving from the context of colonial background, Bankim cannot be ignored in any way. His zeal for intellectual and social modernization influenced the thinking pattern of the educated elite class of India. He was influenced by the leading figures of European culture of the nineteenth century as much as the intellectual leaders of ancient Indian culture and ethics. Although widely famous for his creative novels in Bengali literature, his critical mind largely shaped the cultural attainment of Indian intellectuals. Like Vivekananda, Bankim also played a very important role in rousing the educated middle class to the deep feelings of modernity, rationalism and nationalism. Both Bankim and Vivekananda also underlined the ideology of social equality and economic egalitarianism and for that matter, socialism in their own inimitable style and language. Their goal was to help the process of regeneration of the masses for the ideals of freedom, equality and modernity. 2.2 Life and Times Bankimchandra was born on 26 June 1838 at Kanthalpara near Naihati in the district of 24-Parganas in a respected well-to-do Brahmin family. His father Rai Bahadur Yadavchandra Chatterjee was a Deputy Collector in Midnapore district. Bankim had three other brothers, all of whom were Deputy Collector. In terms of income and social prestige, his family belonged to the elite group in mid-nineteenth-century Bengal. Yadavchandra was conservative in his social outlook. Bankim was therefore exposed to the traditional social values common to any well-to-do high-middle class family in Bengal. After initial schooling, Bankim studied in Hooghly Mohsin College, a prestigious government college at Chinsurah. In 1856 he joined Presidency College to study law. He was the first graduate of Calcutta University, which was established in 1857. He immediately got appointment as a Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate and was

30 posted in Jessore district. After a few years, he passed the graduate examination as a law student of Presidency College. Bankim was a brilliant scholar all through his life and had a deep interest in a wide range of subjects like history, literature, politics, economics, philosophy, sociology, mythology and elementary physical sciences. Apart from proficiency in English and Bengali language, he also had working knowledge of Latin, Sanskrit, Arabic and French languages. He had a sharp mind and developed a habit of regular study throughout his life, and, therefore had acquired mastery over a considerable part of eastern and western learning. But, culturally speaking, he had his intellectual mooring in Indian culture and he refused to copy the habits and mentality of the Anglicized "Young Bengal" group. His professional life as a civil servant in the Provincial Service was never smooth and he had to suffer discriminatory treatment from the British rulers, presumably for his independent bent of mind and patriotic attitude. He served in administrative postings under the provincial government of Bengal for long thirty-three years. He was denied promotion in service, to which he was entitled, because of his frequent clashes with the British officers in the field. He often experienced unexpressed grudge and silent hate from his white superiors, but he hardly allowed his cumulated grievance and insult in his service career to come out in the open. Some historians have observed that there was a "cautious Deputy Magistrate" within the spirited patriot as he was, and this fact perhaps in the final analysis proved culturally good for India. Bankimchandra pursued his intellectual and literary interest, parallel to his government service, with sincere zeal. For long thirty years (1865-94), he wrote ceaselessly historical and social-romantic novels, critical academic essays, intellectual discourse on aspects of Western political philosophy, humourous writings based on wit and social consciousness, and tracts on socio-religious and ethical themes. He founded and edited the first serious Bengali monthly journal *Bangadarshan*, first published in 1872, which set a high standard of literary writings and intellectual debates. In his writings, he appeared not only as an eminent litterateur but also as a social critic and political thinker in the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, in his so many roles, Bankimchandra played a constructive role in inaugurating a modernist outlook in thoughts and activities of his countrymen. Let us have a hurried look at Bankimchandra's creative writings before going for a critical assessment of his role as a modernist thinker. His first novel *Rajmohan's Wife* (1864) was written in English. It was not an important creation and since then he wrote his creative pieces in Bengali. His first major romantic novel with a historical

31 background was *Durgeshnandini* (1865). It was followed by *Kapalkundala* (1866), *Mrinalini* (1869), *Visavriksha* (1872), *Indira* (1873), *Chandrasekhar* (1875), *Radharani* (1877), *Rajani* (1877), *Krishnakanter Will* (1878), *Samya* (1879), *Rajsingha* (1881), *Anandamath* (1882), *Devi Chaudhurani* (1884), *Muchiram Gurer Jibancharit* (1884), *Vividha Prabandha vol. I* (1887), *Dharmatattwa : vol. I Anushilan* (1888), *Sitaram* (1886-87), *Krishna Charitra* (1892), *Vividha Prabandha, vol. II* (1892). He used his creative and courageous pen for creating new-Hinduism, reverencing the past glory of India and embracing, at the same time, modern science and the scientific spirit. Bankimchandra died in 1894 at the comparatively early age of 56 years.

2.03 Religion, Society and Politics Because of his family background and the process of his up-bringing in the second half of the nineteenth century in Bengal, all his thinking on social, economic and political issues of the day was basically centred on religion. That was the time when the educated Bangalees and, for that matter, educated and enterprising people from other parts of India, used to be Calcutta-centric in pursuit of their life's fortune. Calcutta was then not only the capital city of India, seat of political power, it was also an important centre of education, culture, trade and commerce. When Bankim grew up first as a student of Hooghly Mohsin College and thereafter of Presidency College, he could feel the rapid changes taking place in national life in the wake of "Young Bengal" movement, Brahma movement in the post-Rammohun period, the anti-British 'Great Uprising' of 1857, and the reactions of the upper-class of the Indian society, the growing influence of Sree Ramakrishna (the saint of Dakshineswar) on the elites, the establishment of the Universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, the beginning of the press media, and the social reforms started by Vidyasagar and the Brahma Samaj. In short, the whole of India, especially Bengal, was experiencing the impact of British rule and the varied responses of the elite classes. It was in this socio- economic and political milieu that Bankim began his intellectual journey. Quite naturally, religion, society and nationalism emerged as the key themes in his writings. In his youth Bankim was initially attracted to the sophistications of western civilisation and its relevance to his contemporary society and politics. But very soon he realized, by dint of his intellectual training and his own experience in the civil service, that the Britishers cannot be the idol of Indian elite, and secondly, the educated India must find its mooring in the country's rich culture and true religion.

32 Bankim's fascination for true Hinduism is quite palpable in his novels and critical writings. But religion was, to him, not exclusively rituals only. The real function of religion is to keep the society on an even keel and guide the people towards enlightened life-style. The metaphysics of Hinduism as propounded in the Upanishads teaches rational thinking and universal love. In his book *Dharmatattwa*, (Discourse on Dharma), Bankim observed that in the eyes of the Hindu 'Sanatana Dharma', the Hindus and the Muslims are all equal. 'Secularism' was not a fashionable buzzword in Bankim's time, but his observations in the mature period of his life and also in his economic writings like *Bangadesher Krishak* (Peasants of Bengal) he pleaded for economic uplift of both Hindu and Muslim landless peasants. The socially and economically downtrodden people should be treated alike by the government. There is hardly any trace of typical 'communalism' in Bankim's thinking in the sense of the term that has been used in politics since the 1930s and especially in very recent time. In fact, Bankim had profound admiration for Upanishadic Hinduism and not for orthodox, ritualistic, priest-dominated, short-sighted and illiberal Hindu religion. He admired Hinduism for its metaphysical strength and human values, its wonderful capacity to adapt itself with changing social and political conditions. At the same time, he was quite aware of the degeneration this great religion had set in. Hence he made a strong plea for regeneration of the civil society in India by reforming the value system of the institution of religion and reorganising the Hindu society. Incidentally, it may be guessed that if and how far Bankim was influenced by Sree Ramakrishna and his gospel, because there is no document supporting Bankim's thought on Hindu religion being influenced by the saint of Dakshineswar. The only data recorded is that Bankim had one brief meeting with the saint. Bankim finally believed that religion and society are inseparable as both are inseparable parts of the process of attaining liberation. He preferred Hinduism because of the high ethical message from the Upanishads and the Gita and its potential strength for reinvigorating a subjugated and decadent society. And this attitude is closely connected with his main theme of nationalism. Bankim, writing at the fag end of the nineteenth century, had enough political-economic data and his personal experience of the British rule in India to come to the conclusion that the great people of India must strive to rebuild themselves as a united and strong nation. He was no politician by profession nor was he a social activist. He was just a brilliant intellectual of his time and a creative litterateur. He developed his political thought as a modernist and had received inspiration from intellectual sources—both Indian and European. His main point was that the society, economy and politics of India in the late 19th century urgently needed a thorough shake-up, and a reformed Hinduism would serve as the

33 best instrument to usher in the necessary changes and invigorate the Indian society. He pointed out that some of its features had become redundant in the context of the introduction of rule of law by the British administration and of a legal system accepting legal equality of all individuals. In his sociological analysis, Bankim made a distinction between 'varna' and 'caste'. The social institution of Varna recognizes diversity whereas the institution of caste stultifies society. As caste goes against the principle of social equality, it must therefore be abolished by law, if necessary. In the republican Constitution of free India caste indeed has been abolished under Article 17. This provision has been included in the Part III on Fundamental Rights of the citizens of India in order to underline the urgency of restructuring the old social structure of India. It is, however, entirely a different point to argue that although caste has been formally abolished, the compulsion of the competitive electoral politics has given a new lease of life to the caste system in the name of social justice in post-independence India. Bankim had, in fact, in his humorous tract *Kamalakanta*, hugely ridiculed the social system of Brahminical design to exploit the lower castes. He argued that by institution of Varna is a mechanism to cope with natural and functional differences among humans. It helps integrate the social structure which is full of diversities and differences, whereas caste gives importance to differences and discrimination on grounds of heredity and tradition. In his *Vividha Prabandha* (Miscellaneous Essays), Bankim commented, "Worshipping thirty-three crores of gods and goddess is not 'Sanatana Dharma', it is an inferior variety of folk religion...Devotion to God, love for humanity and peace in mind—these elements constitute the core of Hindu religion." He personally believed in 'universal religion of man.' There was no place for divisive communal feeling in his social outlook. He made it amply clear in his book *Dharmatattwa* that "to a real Hindu, both Hindus and Muslims, are all equal." To bring the charge of communalism and Hindu fascism against Bankim betrays a motivated conspiracy against the Hindu ethos. Such pseudo-intellectualism endangers the spirit of democratic governance. Rabindranath Tagore in his essay *Kalantar* also observed that the essence of religious feelings lies in recognition of, and respect to, humans qua humans. On the basis of the discipline of human conscience can be built up the ethos of religion which would create healthy society and free cooperation among people. Tagore specifically concluded that the mantra of 'freedom' leads to Dharma and the mantra of slavishness leads to slavery. Thus the two great leaders of the Indian Renaissance came to the same kind of conclusion in regard to religion-society interdependence, which, in turn, shapes the nature of politics.

34 2.04 Nationalism and Nation-building Modernity as an all-comprehensive attitude towards every aspect of human life, individually as well as collectively, was ushered in western Europe by the leaders of the Enlightenment movement in the late seventeenth century and it had its fulfilment through the eighteenth century. Its main feature was to free the human mind from the medieval ideas and superstitions and to adopt and introduce a culture of open mind and sovereignty of Reason as the guide to thought and action, and simultaneously to demand appropriate ideology and reform programmes in economics, sociology and politics. This kind of intellectual movement was initiated in India by Raja Rammohun Roy and it continued to develop by the next generation of intellectuals throughout the nineteenth century. Bankimchandra was an important leader in this intellectual movement. As in West Europe, the idea of nationality or nationhood emerged among the different distinct culture groups. Rising above the regional or professional (class) identity, the people were emotionally veered round the identity of language and culture to consciously claim themselves to form distinctly different social and political groups having their own economic interests. The common sufferings in the past and the common aspirations for the future served as the cementing bond of such groups called by a new name—'Nation'. Such nations demanded the end of political domination by feudal aristocracy and imperialism. Marxism explained the new phenomenon of the emergence of nations in terms of capitalism's need of safeguarding markets. That is to say, in the garb of patriotism, capitalism helped the process of the birth of nationalism. But recent research has proved it to be an inadequate explanation. The idea and ideology of nationalism later gathered strength in the colonial world. Nationalism in India was born out of anti-colonialism and it began to influence the popular mind in the wake of the spread of modern western education and the gradual unfolding of the exploitative character of the colonial political and economic system. The consciousness of the rich culture of India added an additional fuel to the national pride and strong desire for self-rule. Of course, the process of nation-building is a complicated and long historical process in all countries, and India was no exception. Bankim was definitely an initiator and leader of nation-building process in India. In his life-time, Germany and Italy achieved national unification. But Bankim was not sure what good come out of that kind of nation-building to the people concerned

35 or to humanity as a whole. But he could foresee the strength of nationalism as a social and political force. As an important spokesman for modernity in India in the mid-19th century, he therefore advocated strong efforts for nation-building in India. His argument was the social solidarity and politico-economic strength would facilitate modernization and progress in India, especially when the European nation-states have already started competition among themselves for achieving glory and strength of the nation-states. He considered nationalism as the "new religion" which would be helpful in unifying the different regions in India in political unity and controlling the divisive forces like language, religion and castes. On this point, he compromised his modernist outlook and preferred to treat nationalism as a sort of religion so that the different varieties of public morality could be assimilated. He attempted such assimilation in his theory of Anushilan in his book Dharmatattwa and tried to establish Lord Sreekrishna of the Mahabharata epic as a historical figure and a great nation-builder. Here he formulated his doctrine of love and argued that love for one's own country is the highest religious morality. Related with this point, he pleaded for re-constructing the history of India and rejected the accounts of European scholars on Indian history. From the early 1880s onwards Bankim pursued this line of argument and philosophy of nation-building, and beautifully expressed it in literary form in his novel Anandamath (1882), where he appropriately included his highly patriotic song "Bande Mataram" (first published in Bangadarshan a few years earlier). To imagine one's own country as the 'Mother' and paying devoted obeisance to her, however, was not accepted by the Muslims and, for this reason, the 'mantra' of patriotism was not later accepted as India's 'National Song'. Despite the fact that this one particular 'mantra' or battle-cry highly influenced generations of India's national revolutionaries, Bankim's critics point it as a weakness of his modernist outlook.

2.05 Equality and Socialism Bankim's modernity is strongly reflected in his ideas on equality and socialism. To him, equality does not mean mechanical equality of circumstances but equality in terms of rights and equal opportunity. He recognises diversity of circumstances, which is natural and forms the basis of human progress. Hence his concept of equality means equal treatment to persons with similar socio-economic standing. He did not accept heredity as a criterion for different treatment.

36 At the early stage of his intellectual development, Bankim was a full-fledged champion of modernity, heavily influenced by western intellectual trends like positivism of Comte, utilitarianism of Bentham and J. S. Mill, liberalism of Gladstone, socialism of Fourier, Proudhon and Owen, enlightened radicalism of Rousseau and Voltaire. At this time he wrote his tract on Samya (equality). Equality is basically a western concept and a product of the temper of modernity. In the medieval period inequality was accepted by the society as a divine dispensation and inevitable fact. Industrial Revolution and French Revolution sounded the arrival of modernity in Europe in the later half of the eighteenth century. Bankim was heavily influenced by the Age of Reason and developments in science and technology in Europe in the nineteenth century. All these influences induced him to think about equality in a serious way. In the Enlightenment movement and during the Age of Reason, the European intellectuals, for the first time, seriously questioned the acceptability of the ideal of inequality in social, economic and political fields. As an impact of modernity, a section of Indian intellectuals started challenging inequality since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Bankim was in the forefront in challenging inequality as an ideology and a social practice. Bankim was acutely conscious of the rich-poor divide in society and opposed the exploitation of humans by the upper-class people in the Indian social structure and the exploitation of the labouring class in agriculture by the landlords and in industry by the capitalists, mainly on the moral grounds of such exploitation being motivated by the selfishness of the exploiters. His sensibility as a modernist thinker prompted him to conclude that society as a whole suffered from this kind of exploitation. Because of unequal privileges, the rich becomes richer and the poor becomes poorer, the strong becomes stronger and the weak becomes weaker. He was convinced that caste divisions facilitate and perpetuate exploitation in Indian society. Before he wrote his tract on Samya (Equality), he wrote a penetrating analysis of the economic deprivation and social backwardness of Bengal peasants and landless labourers in a long essay 'Bangadesher Krishak' (Peasants of Bengal) in the pages of Bangadarshan in 1872. He held the Permanent Settlement of land tenure system

37 introduced by Lord Wellesley in 1793 as the main culprit responsible for increasing the miseries for the Bengal peasantry. This long essay the product of a modern mind well-informed about economic data and the legal system. His personal administrative experience of witnessing the actual miseries of the peasants in Bengal enriched his understanding of the problem of rural poverty. Bankim's Samya was first published in a booklet form in 1875. He wrote this booklet not only with a modern intellectual's deep concern with a burning socio-economic problem but also with a sort of missionary and idealist zeal to spread awareness about the real facts and data about rampant inequality prevailing under the administration of the British rule in India. His feeling of anger, banter, sorrow, mental pain, and sympathy for the downtrodden has been expressed with the analytical mind of a modernist intellectual. Bankim's Samya has been rhetorically compared with a "dazzling unscathed sword." While analysing the nature of inequality, Bankim raised the issue of unequal distribution of power in society, but he did not go deeper into the question whether inequality is the outcome or the cause of political subjugation. He also stopped short of finding a way out whether through political revolution or through legal-constitutional reforms within the prevailing political system. He hinted very vaguely to the politico-sociological concepts like power, domination, authority and hegemony, which drew the attention of later-day political philosophers and sociologists in the twentieth century. In his analysis, Bankim touched upon three types of inequality viz. economic inequality, caste-based inequality, and gender inequality. While dwelling on economic inequality, he was influenced by the modernist and socialist thinkers of Europe like Fourier, Owen, Comte, Mill, and sometimes just referred to Voltaire Rousseau and Marx. It is not clear whether he was aware of the difference between socialism and communism, but what needs to be underlined is his modernist bent of mind. But he appears to be a socialist when he argues in favour of egalitarian distribution of national wealth. He followed J. S. Mill and the European socialists in accepting the individual's right to inherit the paternal property and preferred a limitation to the right to property inheritance so that the huge surplus over what is needed for maintenance of life of the inheritor may be used for the benefit of society at large, especially for the amelioration of living conditions of the poorer sections of the society. To him, this kind of economic reform would help achieve social justice.

38 He could foresee boldly that this kind of socialist measure would be acceptable in many parts of the world by the coming generations for the sake of social justice. Bankim's egalitarianism and socialism are evident in his non-communal attitude in ensuring the basic needs of the poor, Hindus and Muslims alike. His reference to two names—Rama Kaibartya and Hasim Shekh—was purely symbolic of the two main communities in Bengal. Bankim refused to accept the so-called economic growth achieved under the British rule as indicative of national prosperity unless and until the benefits of economic growth reaches the marginalised people. This was definitely a socialist thinking by any modern criterion. Bankim refers to Paran Mondal as a symbolic name of those marginalised people who are victims of socio-economic repression and inhuman treatment by the feudal lords. He categorically observed that "Bengalee landlord is the enemy of Bengalee peasants", sucking the blood of the landless people. Bankim's limitation and weakness is revealed when he refuses to recommend and campaign for the rejection of the Permanent Settlement introduced by the capitalist colonialists on the grounds that if this land tenure legislation were to be made null and void, the people's confidence in the Raj (colonial government) would be destroyed, leading to political instability. He was perhaps afraid of violent revolution which he did not prefer because of his own class consciousness. Later in his life he withdrew the circulation of his book Samya. In regard to gender equality, Bankim's views were quite modern. He supported Hindu women's right to inherit paternal property, but was silent about this right for the Muslim women. He echoed the western idea of equal rights for males and females. He defended the rights of women to education, free mobility, free choice of profession and acquire full empowerment. But here, again, Bankim's modernity is found to have its limitations. He opposed Vidyasagar's social movement for widow remarriage but considered the practice of permanent widowhood for very young widows as a cruel and inhuman system. He spoke against the practice of one male having a number of legitimate wives in the name of the Hindu Brahminical system of 'Kulinism'. However, what is remarkable is that he pleaded for equality in the eye of law and therefore the same law of marital reforms for both Hindus and Muslims. The point of uniform civil code is logical and modern, but logic has its limitations in actual life and politics. Thus Bankim was simultaneously a modernist in Samya, a religious preceptor in

39 Dharmatattwa and Krishnacharitra, and a free and creative artist in his historical and social novels. 2.06 Concluding Remarks Bankimchandra was a keen intellectual and a propagator of modernism in Bengal and, for that matter, India. His creative mind was scientifically trained and he was hugely influenced by European ideas of Enlightenment and modernity. But there is a streak of contradictions all along in his mind and social consciousness. There is contradiction between his sentimental attraction for traditional values and his interest in modern science and open mind; between his religious belief in idealist philosophy in respects of issues internal to his mind and intellectual dependence on reason in matters external to the mind; between his strong emotional feelings for the glory of own nation and high respect for western science and technological skill. This coexistence of contradictions of values and intellectual inclination made his mind quite complicated. For an example, in his famous essay on Bengal peasantry there is a distinct contradiction between his brilliant data-based analysis of the causes behind the peasantry's socio-economic misery and his timid policy prescription of not making any violent protest against the exploitative actions of the landholders, because he was afraid of social chaos and consequent political instability of the British rule. It is then reasonable to argue that Bankim's own class consciousness as a member of the elite 'Bhadralok' class did not permit him to suggest revolutionary land reforms and abolition of the Zamindari system as the logical remedy to deep evil consequences of an unjust land tenure system. In the beginning he showed his great interest in Rousseau, Saint Simon, Comte, Mill, Owen, but later he himself admitted that he had lost his interest in the writings of these European philosophers and political economists. He stopped re-printing and circulation of his tract Samya arguing that it had no relevance any more (But he never withdrew his essay Biral (cat) which contained his egalitarian ideal in the garb of literary wit and humour) In his Dharmatattwa he became attracted to the theory of well-balanced cultivation of moral values as the real way to social progress and praised the role of the Hindu religious hero Lord Sri Krishna as the ideal nation-builder. It is true that Bankim's thought inspired deep sentimental and patriotic feelings among the educated middle-class Hindus, internalised a critical spirit of enquiry in their minds, and drew their intellectual attention to the creative potentials of modern science and technology. He created a wonderful literary store-house to ignite a sense of human dignity in the minds of his readers, and imparted a strong spirit in the cause

40 of anti-imperialist struggle. But Bankim's genius had limited impact on the evolution of social and political consciousness of the masses, and in shaping the logical frame of mentality of

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the mass of the Indian people. 2.07 Suggested Readings 1. Partha Chattopadhyay, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse. 2.

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Kaviraj, The Unhappy Consciousness: Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and the Formation of Nationalist Discourse in India. 3.

T. Raychoudhuri, Europe Reconsidered: Perceptions of the West in the 19th century Bengal. 4.

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M. K. Halder, Foundations of Nationalism in India : A Study of Bankimchandra Chatterjee. 5.

B. N. Ganguly, Concept of Equality: The Nineteenth Century Indian Debate. 6. Amallesh Tripathy, 'Western Influence on Bankim's Thought' (in Bengali), Desh spl. vol on Literature (1988). 7. S. Islam Chaudhuri, Bankimchandra's Zamindar and Peasant (in Bengali) 8. M. Shaheedullah, 'Socialist Bankimchandra' (in Bengali), Paschimbanga (1995). 9. S. K. Das,

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The Artist in Chains: The Life of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. 10.

B. Chatterjee (ed.), Bankimchandra Chatterjee : Essays in Perspective. Short-answer Questions 1. Briefly indicate the reasons why Bankim is called a multi-dimensional genius. 2. Briefly describe the political context of Bankim's life and times. 3. Briefly analyse the socio-economic context of Bankim's life and times. 4. Mention the leading European thinkers who had an abiding intellectual influence on Bankimchandra's modernist thinking. 5. What are the main points in Bankimchandra's essay on Bengal peasantry? 6. Indicate the probable reason why Bankimchandra stopped publication of his booklet Samya. 7. What is the main contribution of Bankimchandra to the modernist revolution in India? 8. Explain the nature of contradiction in Bankimchandra's view on Modernity and his view on the relevance of Indian traditional value system. Long-answer Questions 1. Discuss Bankimchandra's contribution to the modernist thinking in India. 2. Analyse the political, social and economic environment in which Bankimchandra grew up as an intellectual. 3. Write a critical assessment of Bankimchandra's concept of nationalism. 4. Give your assessment about Bankimchandra as a socialist thinker. 5. Explain the contradictions in Bankimchandra's social consciousness as a modernist thinker.

42 Unit - 3 □ Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) Structure 3.01 Introduction 3.02 Life and Times 3.03 Champion of Western Education 3.04 Religion and Politics 3.05 Advocacy for Democratic Governance 3.06 Concluding Remarks 3.07 Suggested Readings and Sample Questions Objectives Objectives Objectives Objectives Objectives This unit is designed to :

- explain the contemporary social conditions of Muslim Community in India.
- emphasize the ideas Syed Ahmed upheld and propagated to advance the position of Muslims with special emphasis on education.
- bring out the role of religion in politics, as viewed by Syed Ahmed, along with his concerns about the consequence of representative government.

3.01 Introduction Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) is mostly known as "the Father of Muslim Modernism." In order to understand the reasons of this identification of a learned Muslim in the 19th century it would be necessary to understand the social and economic background of the Muslim community in modern India. The predominant position that the Muslims had held in the medieval period depended on Muslim political authority. Once the Muslims lost this authority after the establishment of the British rule under the East India Company in the second half of the 18th century, the conditions of the Muslims began to decline. This was also the time when the

43 subcontinent gradually came in contact with the western civilization and modern science and technology. Responses of the Hindus and the Muslims to the British rule and its impact were different, and the difference greatly affected the development of the two communities. While the Hindus in general welcomed the British rule, the Muslims perceived it as a calamity. The Muslim leaders failed to see the potentiality of the changed situation, and they generally suffered from a sense of cultural isolation. The Hindus quickly began to take advantage of the British connection, their ideas and institutions, while the Muslim elites preferred to live in cultural isolation and refused to learn English and open their community to new ideas of the modernised Europe. The Hindus had, through the ages, adjusted to new social challenges coming from outside. The Muslims, on the other hand, took the ideas and institutions as laid down in the Quran as valid and inflexible. Freedom of thought was not generally allowed in the Muslim community. Notwithstanding this general trend in Muslim social thought of orthodoxy, five different trends can be identified, which had left their mark on the mind and character of the Muslim community in India, viz. (a) orthodox fundamentalist, (b) spiritual humanist, (c) conservative reformist, (d) modern reformist, and (e) secular rationalist. Syed Ahmed Khan was the outstanding leader of the fourth variety viz. the modernist reform movement in north India. He sought to reinterpret Islam in the light of contemporary challenges in the 19th century. He gave a rationalistic interpretation of the holy book, arguing that there need not be any contradiction between the word of God (Quran) and the work of God; that is, Nature. Like Rammohun Roy, Syed Ahmed Khan believed that religious doctrines should be examined with the help of reason and common sense and revaluated in the light of contemporary knowledge and requirements.

3.02 Life and Times Syed Ahmed Khan was born on 17 October 1817 in Delhi in an aristocratic Muslim family, which was attached to the Mughal court. He grew up under the care of his maternal grandfather Khwaja Fariduddin, who was an influential intellectual of his time and had served as the Principal of Calcutta Madrasa in the 1790s. His formal education was on traditional lines, and was neither complete nor comprehensive. But his diligence and perseverance stood him in good stead and later

44 helped him produce creative writings on religion, dialectics, history and education. His mental formation was influenced by the great moderniser and reformer Rammohun Roy. When his father died in 1838, Syed Ahmed had to join the judicial service of the East India Company to earn a livelihood. He was promoted to the post of Sadar Amin (sub-judge) in 1855. Same year he was transferred to Bijnor from where he took part in the 1857 Uprising in his capacity as a civil servant. He emerged from the ordeal as a loyal functionary of the British government in India and a strong Muslim nationalist. The year 1857 incidentally proved to be a watershed in his life. As a civil servant supporting the Britishers in the Uprising, he saved twenty Europeans, who were at Bijnor during that time, risking his own life. For this chivalrous role, Sir John Strachey once remarked that "no man ever gave nobler proof of conspicuous courage than Syed Ahmed Khan" (Quoted in Abdus Subhan, 'Father of Muslim Modernism', The Statesman, 30 March 1998). But the British reprisals after the failed Mutiny moved him so deeply that he once thought of migrating from India. Later he dropped the idea and instead took up the work on building Muslim harmony. A sense of remorse for the people of his own community generated a psychological pressure on him to create an "irrepressable urge to work for the uplift of his own people." After the uprising was repressed, the British administration punished the Muslims more than the Hindus. In Delhi alone, Muslims experienced a pogrom, in which the slightest suspicion of being anti-British brought instant disaster. The revengeful repressions carried out by the British soldiers almost decimated Muslim aristocracy in Delhi, and those who were spared were silenced into submission. The British rulers made it clear that the Muslims must surrender arms and forget their statecraft and past glory. Their future would be chalked by the British authority. Syed Ahmed Khan retired from government service in 1876 and devoted the remaining twenty-two years of his life to the service and uplift of the Muslims in India. He took the task of spreading English education among the Muslims in order to achieve a balance between Islamic and European learning. He considered himself first a Mohamedan and thereafter an Indian. When the Indian National Congress was formed, Sir Syed asked the Indian Muslims to stay away from the INC dominated by the Hindu elites. He wanted the Indian Muslims to realize that the British rule in India was too powerful to be resisted and too useful to be ignored. In 1866 Sir Syed founded the Aligarh Institute Gazette, an organ for educated

45 Muslims. In 1869-70 he visited England, which was the most significant event in his life. In England, St. James Gazette, published from London, hailed Syed Ahmed as "an example of a singular phenomenon of modern time." In 1878 Syed Ahmed was appointed a member of the Public Service Commission by the British government. From 1878 to 1882 he was a member of the Viceroy's Council. When in 1883 the Self-Government Bill was debated in Indian Legislative Council, he expressed satisfaction that India would have an opportunity to be trained in the art of self-government, but he objected to the introduction of the elective element in Indian politics, on the grounds that the Hindus would have more powers than the Muslims in local-self government institutions. Syed Ahmed died on 28 March 1998. Syed Ahmed made a positive assessment of the British colonial rule. He remained loyal to the British Raj. This attitude of Sir Syed, in contrast to the negative attitude of the other sections of the Muslim community, especially the poor peasantry, played an instrumental role in awakening a liberal attitude among the Muslim urban elites and causing the birth of reformed Islam in India. He asserted emphatically the identity of the Indian Muslims and observed: "The Turkish Khalifa's sovereignty does not extend over us (i.e., Indian Muslims). We are residents of India and subjects of the British government." 3.03

Champion of Western Education In promoting Muslim modernism in India, Syed Ahmed stressed two basic points, viz. (i) importance of western liberal education, and (ii) loyalty to the British empire. The essence of Syed Ahmed's modernist attitude was his zeal for a fresh orientation of Islam. Syed Ahmed founded in 1875 a school in Aligarh (UP) for the Muslim students in order to open their minds towards western model of liberal education. He had to face criticisms and organised opposition from the orthodox Muslims against this reform introduced for bringing a fresh intellectual air in the minds of the young Muslim generation. The school soon developed into Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental (MAO) College in 1877. Thanks to his persistent and dedicated efforts to introduce western education for the Muslim community's social advancement and uplift, MAO College was finally up-graded to Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) in 1920. Aligarh in UP had a strong fortress which was captured by the English army from

46 the Marathas in 1803 in course of the Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-05). When Syed Ahmed selected Aligarh as the site for his MAO College, he received generous help from both the British administration as well as a section of the Hindus. When he visited England, Syed Ahmed was impressed by such high-quality educational institutions as Eton school and Oxford University, and Harrow School and Cambridge University in England. These institutions inspired him so much that he decided to establish his own school and MAO College. The main purpose behind this effort was to reform the outlook, understanding, idioms and conduct of the new generation of Muslims through English education so that fresh air of modernity can improve the culture of his qaum. (The Urdu word 'qaum' which he used means people of own community, and it may also refer to the larger society). In this modernist project, Syed Ahmed received generous financial help from the Government and his countrymen. Aligarh Governor Muir helped to procure 75 acres of land and Viceroy Northbrook contributed Rs. 10,000/- from his discretionary fund. Viceroy Lytton laid the foundation-stone of MAO College in 1877. Syed Ahmed was hailed by the Britishers as the leader of "advanced Islam in India". But he was misunderstood by a section of his countrymen as some Hindus suspected his credentials and some Muslims opposed him for his emphasis on western education. Syed Ahmed's basic motivation was the development of scientific attitude of mind in his 'qaum', as he considered it to be the sine qua non of intellectual advancement and social progress. He firmly believed in creating dynamism in his contemporary society, supremacy of Reason in thinking and habits of the people, especially spiritual and social matters, liberty of conscience and freedom of expression and a concept of a nation free from parochial considerations. He propounded a social ethics in which religion was interpreted in terms of the service of mankind. He felt that the blind prejudice of the Muslims is preventing them from emulating western education, science and technology. He was a nationalist who could see immense danger of religious communalism. Few people know that while Syed Ahmed was opposed bitterly by many Muslims for promoting western education, the Hindu community extended help to him in his educational reforms. In a speech at Muzaffarnagar on 7th February 1884, he explicitly acknowledged their help when he said: "I cannot forget the debt of gratitude that I owe to my brother Hindus who, realising the fallen position of their Muslim brethren, have contributed thousands of rupees for the building of MAO College. They have really performed a human act of charity. The walls of the college on which their names are inscribed bear testimony to their kindness and non-communal attitude." (Quoted in Faizan

47 Mustafa, 'Sir Syed and Hindu connection of AMU', *The Statesman*, 17 October, 2009). Syed Ahmed welcomed western education, however, he was not in favour of technical education for the Muslims and higher education for women. He was concerned with the fate of the Muslims as a religiously defined community. This exclusive concern for Muslims as a distinct community led him to reject the Indian National Congress as a national forum of all Indians and to lay the foundation for a consciousness that gradually evolved into 'religious nationalism'. Aligarh MAO college was established for the entire qaum of Indian Muslims, not for any particular Muslim sect. All Muslim students, both Shia and Sunni, were to hold their Namaz prayer collectively. With the help of the British administration, government jobs used to be reserved for the graduates of the MAO College. Later, when MAO College was upgraded to AMU in the early 1920s, some of its graduates like Mahammad Ali and Saukat Ali, Liaquat Ali, Khwaza Nazimuddin became notable leaders of Muslim politics in India. Liaquat Ali and Nazimuddin played significant role in political movements demanding separate 'home land' for the Indian Muslims. In one sense, Syed Ahmed's dream of ushering the spirit of modernism and enlightenment among the Muslim young generation was achieved, but only partially. MAO College eminently fulfilled Syed Ahmed's mission of letting in the light of modernity among the Muslim community through western education. In recognition of this historical role, he was nominated by Viceroy Lytton and his successor Lord Ripon as a member of the Central Legislative Council, where Syed Ahmed played an important role in respect of the Indian Muslims who very much accepted him as a competent, sympathetic and sensitive leader of their community. 3.04 Religion and Politics Syed Ahmed's importance in the modernity movement lies in the fact that he felt the urgency of lighting the torch of western learning in the stagnant and culturally backward Muslim community. He was sensitive to the social and political forces of the times and wanted a fresh reorientation of Islam in India. In 1864 he started a Translation Society in Ghazipur, which was later rechristened as Scientific Society, as a seat of learning. This Society performed very useful work of translating English books into Urdu language on about forty themes of modern western ideas, from religious texts to literary and scientific pieces, in order to introduce

48 the hitherto stagnant minds of the backward Indians, especially the Muslims, to the modernist outlook. One purpose of this project of transmitting the fruits of western knowledge into Urdu language was to popularise the rationalistic and scientific mental outlook of the West for enlightening the minds of the Indians. A more immediate and pragmatically necessary objective was to initiate the Muslim community to English education and higher western culture so that the Muslims could prepare themselves for having employment under the British administration in India. He recognized the importance of social reform and advocated for necessary reforms in his monthly periodical *Tahzibul Akhlag* (*The Social Reformer*). He also started the practice of organizing Mohammedan Educational Conference to create popular enthusiasm for modern education, social reform, and general intellectual and socio-economic progress. He observed in a sorrowful mind about the Indian Muslims that "they are under the influence of false and meaningless prejudices, and do not understand their own welfare. In addition, they are more jealous of each other and more vindictive than the Hindus and suffer more from a sense of false pride. They are also poorer, and for these reasons I fear that they may not be able to do much for themselves." (quoted in V.P. Varma, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, 1980, p. 429). Syed Ahmed himself had a rational approach for diagnosing the cultural and economic backwardness of the Muslim community in India. In his rational analysis, he identified the wrong approach to religion as the root cause of Muslim backwardness. He took a rational approach to the study of the Quran and, for this attempt, he was criticised and squarely blamed by his co-religionists who even called him a heretic. Syed Ahmed, however, proceeded with undaunted courage and his rational conviction that the social and political progress of the Indian Muslims could be achieved by remaining loyal to the British Raj and being trained in western education. He, therefore, pleaded for social reform, liberal and scientific education, and synthesizing the old values with modern education. He gave a liberal interpretation of Quranic injunctions, translated the Bible in Urdu language and showed his unstinted faith in the progressive mission of the British rule in India. The 'Aligarh movement', which he launched with his untiring zeal and efforts, was intended to be a deliberate counterpoise to the Muslim orthodoxy and the policy of political seclusion. His aim was to give a place of pride to modern education and modern Islam. Through his monthly Urdu periodical *The Social Reformer*, he propagated his proposals in plain Urdu language for reforming Islamic theology. The main points of his reform efforts were (i) the system of slavery popular in the Muslim community was un-Islamic and prohibited in the Quran; (ii) polygamy among the Muslims may

49 be permitted if the husband can do equal justice to his wives; (iii) the practice of usury (practice of lending money at unreasonably high rates of interest) is prohibited in the Quran; (iv) Muslims are free in eating the food taken by the non-Muslims and dress up in the fashion of the non-Muslims; (v) Muslims are within their rights to take their independent judgment in matters not mentioned in the Quran, (vi) no unreasonable anecdote, even if mentioned in the Quran, need to be accepted as truth. For these so-called heretical remarks made by him, Syed Ahmed was branded as a heretic and atheist by his co-religionists. But he remained undaunted and went on using his right of free expression as a subject living under the liberal legal system introduced by the British administration and thereby creating dynamism within the Muslim community through the medium of Urdu language which was the language of the ordinary Muslim folk. In his political thinking and activities, Syed Ahmed was a believer in liberal ideology. In his own times, India had no democratic system of government, hence he began preparing the base of a democratic political culture which would aid the functioning of democratic institutions in future. In his analysis, it would be risky to experiment with democratic machinery of governance without creating the basic minimum requirements of popular education on the basis of a modern and scientific outlook on life and a minimum economic equality among the masses. This could be one of the reasons why in 1888 Syed Ahmed advised the Muslims to stay away from the Indian National Congress (INC) formed in 1885 by a small elitist group of Hindus with the indirect political blessings of the Viceroy. That is why, he formed an alternative forum called United Indian Patriotic Association in 1888 with the help of Raja Shiva Prasad of Varanasi and active help from Theodore Beck. He also founded a frankly loyalist organisation called Mohamedan Anglo- Oriental Defence Association in 1893. It is true that the INC's mode of functioning, the nature of its membership and the demands it raised disappointed the eminent cultural leaders of the Hindus like Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Aurobindo Ghosh, Aswini Kumar Datta and others. Maybe from his own angle of vision, Syed Ahmed also had no high hope of the INC's role in the 1890s. He preferred to concentrate on levelling-up of the socio-economic and political status of the Muslims. Perhaps he had a lurking fear that INC, born out of the British administration's indirect support and designed as a 'safety valve' against any possible violent up-rising of the Indian people, would henceforth draw more attention and sympathy of the Government, and in consequence, the Muslims would be neglected. If this possible development had taken place in Indian politics, Syed Ahmed's own

50 long-nurtured project of advancing the Muslim community's interest might be jeopardised. Towards the end of the 19th century, Syed Ahmed endeavoured to make a separation between religion and politics. In a true secular spirit, he wanted the material interests and relations were to be separated from the influence and interference of religion. In the last decade of his career he firmed up his mind to demand that the state should never function under the influence of religion, and the Government should never interfere in personal religion of the people. Such secular policy of the government would be conducive to peace and progress of the society. This vision and political thinking of Sir Syed Ahmed, however, was not followed in course of Indian politics in the twentieth century. Moin Shakir in his well-researched book *Khilafat to Pakistan* (1970) has documented to establish the trend of the growing Islamization of Indian politics from the beginning of the 20th century. It remains debatable whether Syed Ahmed Khan or the next generation of Muslim politicians was responsible for creating the Hindu-Muslim separatism which ultimately proved to be very costly. 3.05 Advocacy for Democratic Governance After the Uprising of 1857 ended and the British Crown took over direct responsibility of governing India from the East India Company, Syed Ahmed wrote his famous book *The Causes of the Indian Revolt* (1858). Originally written in Urdu language, it was translated into English by Colvin and Graham in 1873. As identified by Syed Ahmed, the primary cause of the Revolt was the non-admission of Indians into the processes of law-making. He considered the participation by people in the legislative councils essential. Such participation enables the people to ventilate their grievances and register their protest. In the absence of such participation, the intention of government is not clear to the people and inevitably suspicion about the government's move grows in the mind of the people. In his book Syed Ahmed deplored the absence of effective communication and information feedback between the rulers and the subjects. He lamented that the British rulers controlling the activities of the East India Company did not feel the need of consultation with the Indian people. There was no institutional channel whereby public wishes and views on measures taken in governing the country could be known to the rulers. He pointed out that as the British rulers were foreigners in India, security of government should have been based on their knowledge of the governed and the rights and privileges of the governed should have been carefully

51 observed. He also identified some subsidiary causes of the Indian Revolt, which were rooted in the primary cause. These other factors, according to him, included (i) passing of some definitely objectionable laws and measures, (ii) the government's ignorance of the desires and aspirations of the people, (iii) the government's neglect of basic elements which were required for good governance of India, and (iv) finally, bad management of the army leading to the spread of disaffection among the sepoys. In making this analysis of the watershed incident of the Uprising, he underlined the need of friendship and sympathetic intercourse between the rulers and the ruled. Thus he showed his loyalty to the British ruler and simultaneously advocated for some Indian participation in the scheme of governance. During the patriotic phase of his career Syed Ahmed supported the Government's bill in 1883, (known as Ilbert Bill, so named after the Viceroy's Law Member Sir P. C. Ilbert), which proposed to eliminate the racial discrimination suffered by the Indian judges while trying criminal cases involving Europeans. The liberal nationalists led by Surendranath Banerjea, Kristodas Pal and others supported the Bill in the face of the organised anti-Bill agitation launched by the Anglo-Indian community. At the beginning of 1883 he spoke about the Hindus and Muslims belonging to one qaum (nation) in all matters of everyday life and wished for a union of hearts, mutual sympathy and love. He expressed his eagerness to develop a composite nationality. But his views changed in 1888 and onwards when he saw the Hindu nationalists consolidating politically, he became suspicious of the goals of the Indian National Congress. This change of attitude of the Muslim elite was later explained by M. N. Roy in his book *India in Transition* (1924) : "Those of the Hindus who inaugurated the agitation for representative government and social reforms, were intellectual bourgeoisie, whereas the Aligarh alumni, on whom were showered the good graces of the British government, belonged to the landed aristocracy with social and political tendencies predominantly feudal. Elements so diverse socially could not unite in a national movement." Syed Ahmed did not believe in the efficacy of a representative form of popular government in India in the last decade of the 19th century. Influenced by John Stuart Mill's thinking, Syed Ahmed, at that juncture of history, had a genuine fear of the "tyranny of the majority", and he was afraid that an advanced form representative government would result in marginalising the socio-economic interests of the Muslims. He spoke in this vein not from the angle of the agrarian aristocracy. The basic reason was his dread of the numerically overwhelming size of the Hindu community. As a leading pioneer in the advancement of modern learning in India, he was

52 conscious about the educational backwardness of the majority of his co-religionists. Hence he refused to go the whole hog with the English-educated Hindu elitists in taking any political move against the British rulers. However, his persistent championing of the cause of education on modern lines made him a major figure of enlightenment movement in India in the second half of the nineteenth century. 3.06 Concluding Remarks Syed Ahmed Khan grew up and propagated his modern reformist ideas in an age which saw remarkable growth of scientific knowledge and development of liberal political thought in the West. His main contribution to Indian social and political thought was that he gave a rationalistic interpretation of the Quran, the holy book of the Muslims. He showed that there was no contradiction between the word of God and the work of Nature and that religious doctrines should be examined by using the human faculty of reason and common sense. He had an intelligent understanding of the realities of his contemporary situation. Unlike the conservative reformists, Syed Ahmed Khan did not seek to conciliate Muslim orthodoxy and obscure social practices. He maintained that Islam was not inimical to liberal social thinking. His junior reformist follower in Bengal was Syed Ameer Ali (1847-1928). In fact, Ameer Ali went a step further than his senior colleague. He presented an Islam which is an embodiment of liberal progress and insisted that enlightenment of the Muslim masses must precede reformism in the Muslim community. Hence Ameer Ali suggested to allot financial support to High English and technical education, not to traditional madrasa education. Syed Ahmed Khan, despite his limitations, will be recognised as the pioneer in the advancement of modern learning in the Muslim community. In his life time, he saw the birth of Deoband (in the district of Saharanpur in UP) school established in 1867 as the centre for the study of Islamic theology and jurisprudence. Syed Ahmed Khan struggled throughout his life against the orthodoxy in Islamic thought. He must be given due credit for starting the Aligarh movement against the Deoband orthodoxy. He urged his people to rouse themselves out of the lethargy, sloth, ignorance and degradation in order to receive the benefits of modern education and science. Commenting on Syed Ahmed Khan's modernist attitude, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his convocation address of AMU in 1949 observed: "If Hindus and Muslims of India had understood the spirit of his teaching and followed it, the whole course of

53 recent events would have taken a different turn." Syed Ahmed, no doubt, played a significant role in the process of nation-building in India. In a speech delivered on 27 January 1883, Sir Syed said: "...my Hindu brethren and my Muslim co-religionists breathe the same air, drink the water of the sacred Ganga and the Jamuna, eat the products of the earth which God has given to this country, live and die together...I say with conviction that if we were to disregard for a moment our conception of Godhead, then in all matters of everyday life the Hindus and Muslims really belong to one nation (Qaum)." [quoted in V. P. Varma, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, 1980, p. 430.] But he did not pursue this theme seriously. Substantially he devoted himself to work entirely on behalf of the Muslims. But, to be fair enough, this role of Sir Syed was historically significant, because he seriously worked to free the minds of the Muslims from religious obscurantism and social prejudices, and bring them into the wide and free space of modernity. His lead was taken up later vigorously by a movement for emancipation of intellect by the enlightened section of Muslims in Bengal. 3.07 Suggested Readings 1. V. P. Varma, *Modern Indian Political Thought*. (1980). 2. M. Shakir, 'The Dynamics of Muslim

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Political Thought', in P. Thomas and Kenneth Deutsch (eds.), *Political Thought in Modern India*. 3.

R. M. Gandhi, *Understanding the Muslim Mind*, (1987). 4. Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan and Muslim Modernization*. (1980) 5. G. F. I. Graham, *The Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan*. 6. Muhammad Shan, *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan*. (1969) 7. Hafeez Malik, *Political Profile of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan : A Documentary Record*, (Islamabad, 1982). 8. S. Raichaudhuri, 'Muslim Nationalist Thought: Development and Fruition' (in Bengali), in Asok Kumar Mukhopadhyay (ed.), *Introduction to Indian Political Thought* (in Bengali), West Bengal State Book Board (2013).

54 Short-answer Questions 1. How is Syed Ahmed Khan's role popularly known? 2. Indicate two basic features of Syed Ahmed Khan's political attitude. 3. What was Syed Ahmed Khan's most important institutional contribution in the field of education? 4. Mention the main items in Syed Ahmed Khan's social reform project. 5. What was Syed Ahmed Khan's attitude towards Ilbert Bill (1883)? 6. Briefly discuss Syed Ahmed Khan's attitude towards the British administration in India. Long-answer Questions 1. Examine Syed Ahmed Khan's modernist ideas for social reforms. 2. Explain why Syed Ahmed Khan is called the "Father of Muslim Modernization". 3. Write a critical assessment of Syed Ahmed Khan's outlook on religion and politics. 4. Discuss Syed Ahmed Khan's stand on democracy and governance in the context of his 19th century-experience.

55 Unit - 4 Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) Structure 4.01 Introduction 4.02 Life and Times 4.03 Liberation of Intellect and Individual Rights 4.04 Society and State 4.05 Social Egalitarianism and Social Justice 4.06 Ecological Balance and Environmental Degradation 4.07 Religion of Man 4.08 Concluding Remarks 4.09 Suggested Readings Objectives Objectives Objectives Objectives Objectives Objectives • A comprehensive introduction to the social and political conditions of India on the threshold of modernity ; • A biographical sketch of Rabindranath Tagore ; highlighting the significant moments of his life ; • A critical overview of some ideas and values central to the intellectual outlook of Tagore, essential to the understanding of his social and political discourses ; • An introduction to the poet's urge to make man nature –friendly ; and • An enunciation of the principles underlying Tagore's notion of the 'Religion of Man'. 4.01 Introduction Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) is universally known as the icon of modern India's achievements in intellectual liberalism and synthetic culture. By any

56 consideration, he was a brilliant, multifarious genius and his critical creation has influenced almost all aspects of the modernist temper in India continuously for over fifty years from 1891 to 1941. He has left behind a rich legacy of artistic creations and modernist outlook on life through his rich contribution to all branches of literary and artistic creation of poems, songs, novels, short stories, dramas, and essays on state, society and human civilization. His mystic philosophy of universal love and brotherhood served as the voice of humanity. His life span of eighty years cover forty years in the 19th century and forty years in the 20th century. However, his ideas appeared quite modernist throughout this period, because of his intellectual courage and readiness to imbibe the values of modernity whenever he confronted critical problems of social change and political challenges. He enriched modern India's sensibilities and perceptions towards pressing problems such as disorganised education system, democratic deficit in political system, corruption in public administration, failure in implementing development programmes, inequity and violence in social and political life, economic maldevelopment, communal disharmony, crumbling moral values, neglected and unempowered womanhood, deprivation of marginalised people, injured human rights, environmental degradation, and civilizational crisis. His ideas and experiments were unique, unconventional and sometimes even revolutionary. His mental make-up and logic of understanding were always modernist and completely free from obscurantism, prejudices and vested interests. He accepted the indispensability of science and technology in shaping the individual and social life, and the urgency of achieving a balance between human habitation and ecology. He refused to be an iconoclast and always pleaded for showing due respect for traditional values of Indian culture. In short, Rabindranath a complete example of the Indian Renaissance, an able successor to the tradition of modernity initiated by Rammohun Roy and Iswarchandra Vidyasagar. 4.02 Life and Times Rabindranath was born on 8 May 1861 in Jorasanko area of North Calcutta in an aristocratic and well-to-do family. His father Debendranath Tagore had zamindari estates scattered in East Bengal and North Bengal (now Bangladesh). His grandfather Dwarkanath Tagore, a personal friend of Rammohun Roy, amassed a huge amount of wealth through commercial activities and had good connections with the East India Company. Their family belonged to a socially inferior 'pirali' sect of the Brahmin caste, and Dwarkanath adopted Brahmaism, a religious protestant faith,

57 introduced by Rammohun Roy. Tagores, however, believed in spiritual and metaphysical foundation of the Upanishadic Hinduism, and Rabindranath used to claim his religious identity as a "Hindu-Brahma". He spent his childhood in a big joint family but experienced limited contact with the larger society outside. His initiation in formal education was in three schools – Oriental Seminary, Normal School, Bengal Academy of St. Xavier's School in Calcutta – in quick succession. Everywhere he found himself uncomfortable, and finally his disciplinarian father arranged private tuition at home under some eminent scholars. Here he received good training in liberal education in humanities, fine arts, and basic sciences. In the late 1860s and 1870s there was a rising wave of patriotism in Bengal. As a young and educated boy, Rabindranath participated in some of the local activities for promoting patriotism. His circle of socialization process began widening when he was seventeen years old and he spent some time outside Bengal with his second-elder brother Satyendranath Tagore, the first ICS officer serving the British Raj. In the late 1870s he was given the responsibility as the secretary of Adi Brahma Samaj. Side by side, his literary career began. This was also the time when the Liberal nationalist agitations began protesting against some illiberal measures of the government. The political agitation of the Liberals against the arrogant Anglo-Indian community's opposition to the Ilbert Bill (1883) ultimately led to the birth of Indian National Conference in 1882 and the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885. Rabindranath had no personal involvement in these political developments, because to the members of the Tagore family, patriotism did not mean open political agitation against the Raj. Rather it meant building up self-dependence, awakening the people's mind to modernity. Gradually Rabindranath developed some tangential relation with the INC through his occasional participation in the annual conference of the INC as a singer in its opening session. The year 1890 was a turning point in his life in more than one sense. He read out his paper Mantri Abhishek at a public meeting in Calcutta, wherein he supported the INC demand for representation of Indians on the government's highest law-making body. In August this year he went to England to live with his ICS brother Satyendranath Tagore for a brief period. Here he took little interest in the on-going intellectual movements in England, but he could vaguely feel the arrogance of British imperialist policies. At the end of the year his father sent him to East Bengal to manage their family zamindari estates.

58 Rabindranath intermittently stayed in East Bengal for the next ten years. Here he got his first personal experience of poverty of the 'ryots' when he took keen interest in the problems of rural development and thought of a number of innovative measures like rural bank, co-operative, agricultural credit and so on. Coming back to Calcutta in the early years of the 20th century, Rabindranath enthusiastically took active part in the nationalist political agitations against Viceroy Curzon's administrative reform (1905) of partitioning the Bengal presidency and creating a new province of Eastern Bengal & Assam with its new capital in Dacca. But his participation was confined to composing and singing a large number of emotional patriotic songs and walking occasionally in popular processions for spreading the message of communal harmony. He hailed the main leaders of the movement like Surendranath Banerjea and Aurobindo Ghosh. But soon he withdrew from this political movement when the rising national revolutionaries began indulging in violent activities in the name of patriotism. He expressed his disappointment and disgust when the moderates and the extremists within the INC began openly fighting among themselves. He lost interest in violent in-fighting and armed revolutionary activities, and began expressing his open disapproval through his poems, essays and novels. After the government annulled the partition of Bengal and shifted India's capital from Calcutta to Delhi, the armed revolution was suppressed, a new trend of communal politics began in the wake of Morley-Minto Reforms. The extremists quit the INC. Rabindranath went to England with his family in May 1912. Next year (November 1913) he received the Nobel Prize in Literature for his book of poems Gitanjali (Song Offering). In 1914 he was awarded knighthood by the British Crown. With the beginning of the World War in 1914 Rabindranath could see the ugly and cruel face of aggressive and predatory nationalism in Japan and Europe. While on a lecture tour of Japan and America in 1916, he roundly condemned imperialism and identified nationalism as the cousin-brother of imperialism. His mind was now seeking the higher and more meaningful ideology of internationalism and human unity. In April 1919 the Jalianwala Bag (Punjab) massacre happened when the local representative of the British Raj massacred the unarmed peaceful crowd of women and children who gathered to celebrate a socio-religious holy occasion. As the news of this cruel and inhuman action of the imperialist police came out, the whole of

59 India was deeply shocked but kept mum for the moment. Rabindranath was the first to condemn it publicly by returning his knighthood as a mark of protest and called a public meeting in Calcutta. The political leaders followed his lead. All his earlier illusion about the western civilisation vanished. In 1921 Rabindranath established Viswabharati for experimenting with his ideas of education and planned it as a centre of higher education and research, where eminent educationists of the world would be invited for fruitful exchange of culture and ideas. Very soon he started the sister institution Sriniketan as the centre of technical education and practical training. When Gandhiji launched his non-violent non-cooperation movement in 1920, Rabindranath openly disagreed on the non-cooperation ideology. He found non-cooperation, charkha, burning of foreign clothes and other programmes meaningless. He ridiculed Gandhiji's promise of Swaraj within a year as magical utterance to mislead the people. When Gandhiji abruptly suspended his movement unilaterally on his personal decision on a filmsy ground, Rabindranath, like many other nationalist leaders, criticised Gandhiji's decision as betrayal. Similarly, he condemned the decision of associating the Khilafat movement with freedom movement as an unprincipled marriage of political convenience. Rabindranath visited Italy in 1926 at Mussolini's invitation and he praised the Fascist leadership for huge development activities, but his momentary illusion broke down after meeting Romain Rolland. He could later understand the real nature of Fascism, and he came in the forefront of anti-fascist movement. In 1930 Rabindranath visited Soviet Union and he was impressed by the immense achievements made by the communist government in education, rural development and industrialization programme. But he also noted a sort of suffocation because of the absence of political freedom of the people there. Rabindranath and Gandhiji had great personal regards for each other. But Rabindranath did not hesitate to criticise Gandhiji on issues like absence of freedom within the Congress organization. The poet severely criticised Gandhiji's attitude on Subhas Chandra Bose's election as the Congress President in 1939 and the subsequent politics within the INC. Towards the end of his life, Rabindranath deeply felt for his work still undone, that is, he could not reach the working class and help the marginalised people. In two memorable poems, 'Aikyatan' and 'Ora Kaj Kare', he expressed his own shortcomings in this respect.

60 In his essay 'Crisis of Civilisation' (1941), Rabindranath felt deeply sad to see the moral poverty of the British imperialists in India, but he refused to lose his modernist hope for the ultimate triumph of human values. 4.03 Liberation of Intellect and Individual Rights Rabindranath was brought up in Rammohun Roy's legacy of rationalism and freedom of intellect. In his younger days, he expressed in his poetic brilliance his ecstatic joy of freedom in his famous poem 'Nirjharer Swapnabhanga'. Here he celebrated the awakening of his Inner Life and human sensitivities. Rabindranath himself said that he was born at the confluence of three movements – the 'religious' movement introduced by Rammohun Roy, the 'literary' movement initiated by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, and the 'national' movement started by the Liberals. All these movements left an imprint of the value of freedom in his thinking. Because of his rationalist bent of mind, he opposed the violence involved in the Swadeshi movement (1905-08) and violent activities of the national revolutionaries thereafter. Rabindranath's inner mind seems to have had three salient features. The first and foremost is his love for individual freedom; secondly, social freedom; and thirdly, freedom of spirit. Throughout his life's experience he valued individual freedom as the highest value. In his school life, he revolted against the tyranny of routine life and boring education system. In his youth he revolted against the tyranny of social customs. In his mature life, he vehemently criticised the domination of the caste system over the individual's freedom of choosing from among the alternative political ideologies and competing religious beliefs. His attitude in this respect was positively influenced by the agitation of the Indian Liberals and also by the articulations of liberal leaders William Gladstone and John Bright in England. His revolt against social tyranny is found in his poems like 'Durbhaga Desh'; in novels like 'Chokher Bali', 'Ghare Baire', 'Char Adhyay', and 'Shesher Kabita'; in plays like 'Achalayatan' and 'Tasher Desh'; in a number of immortal short stories, and in some letters collected in 'Chhinnapatrabali'. His freedom of spirit is eminently present in his poems like 'Shivaji', 'Prashna', and in his immortal poetic prayer to the Almighty beginning with the line "

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Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high..." (

Gitanjali), and also in his plays like 'Rakta Karabi.' His mind was free from all kinds of fear, parochialism, and meaningless religious rituals. These characteristic features of his modernist outlook on life would be amply clear if one goes through the whole poem:

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Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high
Where knowledge is free
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments
By narrow domestic walls
Where words come out from the depth of truth
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way
Into the dreary desert sand of dead habits
Where the mind is led forward by Thee
Into ever-widening thought and action
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake." (

Song Offerings, 1913) Rabindranath severely condemned the inhuman and brutal violation of the rights of the individual by the armed police of the State (government) in the wake of the Jalianwala Bag massacre in Punjab in April 1919. In a strongly-worded letter to Viceroy Chelmsford, Tagore protested against monstrous violation of rights of the individual: He wrote: "... The disproportionate severity of the punishments inflicted upon the unfortunate people and the methods of carrying them out, we are convinced, are without parallel in the history of civilised governments...Considering that such treatment has been meted out to a population, disarmed and resourceless, by a power which has the most terribly efficient organization for destruction of human lives, we must strongly assert that it can claim no political expediency, far less moral justification... I,

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for my part, wish to stand, shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to suffer a degradation not fit for human beings."

He admired the western ideals of law and liberty, but expressed his injured sensibility whenever the manhood of the entire population of India had been crushed down to utter helplessness. Again, at the time of police firing on the unarmed political prisoners within the Hijlee jail in Midnapore in September 1931, he raised his voice against the barbarous action of the police. In a public meeting held at Calcutta to voice people's protest against the barbarous and uncivilized action of the government, Rabindranath in his written speech severely criticised the government's defence of the police action and

62 wondered how can the alien government defend itself against the people's complaints in the court of the Almighty. Later in his celebrated poem 'Prashna' (Question), he gave vent to his feelings philosophically by asking the Almighty whether He would show mercy to those who put out the light and poisoned the air. Thus everywhere Rabindranath defended the rights of the individual against the arbitrary and cruel actions of the State. This liberal bent of his mind and his moral courage to protest against the arrogant show of state power underline his commitment to the modernist temper. This same message is found in some of his novels, plays and short stories. In essence, Rabindranath all along had an intense hate for autocracy, violence and terrorism in any form. In his lectures on Nationalism (1916), Rabindranath severely condemned the aggressiveness and mindless barbarism of jingoistic nationalism of Japan and of the imperialist European powers. In his assessment of the role of nationalism as a political force he, however, appears somewhat ambivalent. His modernity is to be found in his logic and reasons in analysing the reality of the soulless and ruthless exploitation of the weak by the power-hungry capitalist class. His modernity lies in his logical arguments and reasonable standard of ethical judgment on the basis of objectivity. He is ethically committed to prefer borderless development of humanity and the ideal of cosmopolitanism and inter-culture dialogue. He was vigorously anti- colonial and believed, at the same time, that the European nations taught the colonial people about reason and enlightenment, value of liberty, civil rights of free speech, conscience and culture. He distinguished between good nationalism and bad nationalism, and he was convinced that the colonial people learnt from the western nation-state about modernist ideology, liberty and equality, industrialization and modern standard of living. In his considered judgment in the final analysis, 'nation' remains an evil force, as it denies the very values which, for him, constitute the core of humanity. The best way to understand Rabindranath's position on the modern concept of the nation is to take his views as a moral critique and not a political theory of nation and nationalism. 4.04 Society and State Rabindranath's thinking about society and state begin with his concept of Atmashakti (inner strength of the Self) of the group or social life of man, which alone

63 can provide desired autonomy to the community. He elaborated his ideas on state and society in his famous essay 'Swadeshi Samaj' (the native community) in 1904. He pointed out the difference between the western idea of 'State' and the Indian idea of 'Society'. In the traditional Indian context, State (King) was concerned with defence, policing and providing justice to the people; all other functions like education, irrigation, social welfare and so on used to be performed by Society. Change of ruler did not affect society. But in the modern age in the western countries the State (government) holds enormous power. Hence Tagore concludes that in the western context State becomes powerful at the expense of Society. He lamented that in India under the British rule the tendency was to copy the West. His suggestion was to organise self-financed native fairs (mela) as the space for intermingling of people in order to get the real feel of the country and the community and exchange of ideas between urban educated people and rural folk. This would ensure social initiatives in various fields of social life outside the control of the State (government). Rabindranath always gave priority to Society over the State. His idea was to empower Society, through suitable social action and institutions, to meet the needs of the people. He was not interested in creating a swadeshi (indigenous) State (administration) to replace a foreign government, rather he preferred to privilege the Society over the State. This thesis of Tagore has been questioned in recent time by Arabinda Poddar in his book Rabindranath : Rajnitik Byaktittwa (Rabindranath : Political Personality, 1982). Poddar noticed a sort of irreconcilable tension in two separate identities of Rabindranath as an anti-imperialist champion of society's autonomous role in governance and himself being a landlord enjoying the benefits of the Permanent Settlement introduced by the British Raj. Perhaps Rabindranath himself also knew that his projected scheme of political autonomy of social institutions was to be achieved by a series of actions. The point is that Rabindranath just wanted to lay primary importance on social and cultural domain and not on the political-administrative apparatus of the State. Society was, to him, more important than the State, although political authority of the sovereign state would be ultimately the deciding factor. As the recent political theory of the post-modernists would have it, the application of power and knowledge at any sphere involves the use of political power. Rabindranath was not essentially a political theorist. By 'state power' he meant the decision-making power of the political parties, as was revealed in his personal

64 experience in India of his time. Even in his own thinking of functioning of society, he accepted the need of a "samajpati" or a strong leader of the society, who would be capable of leading the social enterprise. In his essay Swadeshi Samaj (Society and State) he observed: "If the community is to protect itself, it must take its stand on united strength. The best way would be to invest a strong personality with leadership quality and rally round him as our representative; to submit to his rule would mean no loss of self-respect, for he would be a symbol of freedom itself... If the society is alive and alert, no leader can do any permanent damage... If society recognizes its unity as symbolized in a particular person, it will be undefeatable." Rabindranath himself visualised, on different occasions, leaders like Surendranath Banerjea, Gandhiji and Subhas Chandra Bose as Deshanayak (Leader of the country). Tagore exhibited wonderfully his modernity in social-political ideas in his two famous symbolic plays – Rakta Karabi and Muktaadhara. In both these plays he asserted the people's right to achieve collective welfare of the society through a popular revolt against anti-people institutions and anti-people policy pursued by the all-powerful ruler. And in both cases what is good for the entire community has been successfully articulated as the people are organized by the Leader (hero) of the people. Rabindranath talks about himself in a small article in Bengali titled Rabindranath's Political Ideas (1929), which he wrote in order to display his disapproval of Sachin Sen's views and comments in his book on Political Philosophy of Rabindranath. Rabindranath clarified that no distinct political theory came to his mind at any specific moment or time, and that all his ideas took shape gradually through his life experience. His suggestion was to identify the inherent link scattered in his literary creations and occasional speeches in order to distinguish between the momentary and permanent ideas. Here he explained that he started writing on political themes in the 1880s in the Bengali periodicals Bharati and Sadhana. He never believed in any strategy of political mendicancy and agitational politics of 'protest, prayer and petition', because all these movements in the name of the people had no connection with the people at large. People did not understand their real living conditions by applying their intellect and mind, their service to, and sacrifice for, their own society's real welfare. They heard the word Swaraj (self-rule) from the elite leaders but never cared to develop power, skill and competence of the self (Atmashakti). This point was further clarified in his writings and speeches during the Bengal anti-partition movement (1905-07) when he underlined the urgent need to discover the

65 genius and capability of the folk first and only thereafter participate in political agitations. Without this prior preparation, politics would degenerate into the art of scrambling for power and satisfying one's own selfish goal. Rabindranath himself experimented with his ideas of rural development and social reconstruction, first in his zamindari estate in East-Bengal and thereafter in Santiniketan and Sriniketan projects. All these concrete endeavours were made by using his own family resources, his Nobel Prize money and donations from well-wishers. He never asked for government grants. The reason was his consistent primacy given to Society over the State (government). Moreover, in all his constructive experiments in education and comprehensive social development schemes, Rabindranath applied the modern theories and technological innovations. His approach to rural development and reconstruction speaks a lot about his modernist mind and creative imagination without any preconceived ideas, social prejudices or obscurantist creed. Rabindranath's modernism was never expressed in empty phrases and rhetorical language. Unlike some of his eminent contemporaries, he was guided by logic and not by magic or vague (sometimes diplomatic) inner voice in his thinking and actions. In 1934 there was a severe earthquake in Bihar causing extensive loss of life and property. Gandhiji commented that the earthquake was God's curse in the form of punishment awarded to the people of Bihar for their inhuman social practice of untouchability. Rabindranath's modernist outlook prompted him to issue a forthright criticism of Gandhiji's prejudice and jaundiced anti-modern outlook. To him, earthquake is a natural disaster and there is clear scientific causes of earthquake, which no modern mind can overlook.

4.05 Social Egalitarianism and Social Justice

Rabindranath's idea of egalitarianism was never systematised, as is found in Bankimchandra's well-argued essays 'Samya' and 'Bangadesher Krishak'. Tagore was not a social philosopher in a technical or professional sense, yet he showed his commitment to social egalitarianism in his creative writings. When the Russian revolution occurred in 1917, Tagore did not welcome it as a significant step towards realising the ideology of egalitarianism. While inaugurating the school for labouring class in August 1917, he referred to the increasing inequality among the rich and the poor. In November 1919 in his address in Santiniketan he hinted at the theory of alienation of labour. He staunchly criticised the selfish activities of the rich class and expressed his concern at the growing alienation of the labouring class from the production process. He held the lust for money of the rich responsible for the ruination of the traditional peaceful rural life. Rabindranath was also bitterly disgusted at the social insult meted out to the outcast sections of the Hindu social structure. His famous play Chandalika (1933), which was reproduced as a dance-drama in 1938, shows how deeply he was moved by the inhuman social practice of extreme neglect and marginalization of the lowest caste, who suffered inhuman insult at the hands of the upper caste people. Through his beautiful exposition of the humanist egalitarianism of Ananda, a disciple of Buddha, Tagore underlined the need for achieving the minimum social equality in the caste-ridden society of India. In another play Rather Rashi (Chord of the Chariot), Rabindranath criticised the practice of social discrimination in the name of religion. Here he has shown how the chariot of the Lord did not move an inch so long as the upper caste people only pulled the Chariot's chord, but it began moving only after the out-caste people lent their hands in pulling the Lord's chariot. In his symbolic play Raktakarabi (Red Oleanders), he described the kingdom of the Yakshas where the king rules from behind the curtain and exploits the dehumanised people mercilessly. The lifeless machine of exploitation was ultimately crashed when the working class became conscious of their deprivation and exploitation under the inspiring leadership of their leader Nandini, and even the king's minister finally came out to join hands in crashing the soulless machine of the kingdom. The progressive social consciousness of Rabindranath, however, took shelter ultimately in an idealist and humanist position. He never cared to analyse and identify the real cause of economic inequality and social exploitation. Some change in his thinking on social egalitarianism and economic exploitation is found in his essays Kalantar and Russiar Chithi (Letters from Russia). Rabindranath visited the Soviet Union in Sept. 1930 at the invitation of the Government of the USSR. He was impressed by the education system and the system of production in agriculture and , and he especially praised the system of honouring human labour. He was, however, sceptical about the political milieu there, which did not allow freedom of thought and expression. Towards the fag end of his life his illusion about Europe's achievement in liberating the human spirit was gone. In a letter to Manchester Guardian (28 Feb. 1938), he wrote : "... The future lies in our learning to ally ourselves with those human forces in the world, wherever found, which are seeking to end altogether the exploitation of man by man, and of nation

67 by nation..." But, at the same time, he could never support the use of violence for achieving redistribution of wealth. Ultimately he found a better institutional arrangement through organized cooperatives for promoting egalitarianism and social justice. Any negative strategy like non-cooperation and boycott of foreign goods was not acceptable to him. He also abhorred the strategy of violence adopted by the national revolutionaries. This is abundantly clear in his many essays and in novels like *Ghare Baire* and *Char Adhyay*. When in 1932 the British government announced the Communal Award accepting the system of separate electorate for the depressed classes in India, Tagore supported Gandhiji's stand against the Award and advised his countrymen: "The solution of the communal problem is in our own hands and we should take advantage of the new feeling of resentment that is sweeping the intellectual circles in our country today against irrational communal and class differences, come to an agreement between ourselves and thus remove one of the greatest obstacles in the path of our national self-expression." Rabindranath wanted to secure social justice for all. For this purpose, he followed what may be called his politics of "Atmashakti" to generate the inner spirit of self-dependence for achieving self-improvement. To him, Society receives primacy over the State, social liberation comes prior to political liberation. In his search for social justice, Rabindranath intellectually leaned towards a kind of progressive socialism, although he never accepted any "ism" as an ideology. In the 1890s he first had the personal experience of seeing the miseries of the poor peasants in his family zamindari estate. He could feel the distress of the poor people resulting from discrimination in distribution of wealth and merciless exploitation. He wrote an article on 'Socialism' in the periodical *Sadhana* (Jaisthya 1299 B.S.) discussing the views of British socialist Ernest Belfort Bax. Here he observed that socialism basically aims at replacing the authority of the rich by the authority of the people. His deep anguish at the discrimination suffered by the poor has been reflected in many of his letters collected in his *Chhinnapatrabali*. His short stories *Shasti* (Punishment), *Durasha* (Failed Expectation), *Anadhikar Prabesh* (Unauthorised Entry), *Thakurda* (Grandfather), *Prayaschitta* (Penance), *Mahamaya* and others depict his sensitiveness to human miseries, unhappiness, deprivation and inhuman treatment received by the poor and the powerless from the rich and the powerful, social indignity of the downtrodden and marginalised people. His egalitarianism and concept of socialism took shape from his own personal observation of the unequal social structure of Indian society, and not from any bookish, ideological debates among European social philosophers. Tagore's modernity was in line with the tradition of intellectual modernism of Rammohun and Vidyasagar. His socialistic ideas focussed on economic ruination of the peasantry and the working class, psychological depression of womanhood, and the capitalist exploitation of the downtrodden. He compared the exploiting landlords with "tiger on land and crocodile in water". In a letter to his daughter-in-law Pratima Devi, he reveals his mind to the effect that the zamindari estate should be managed as the trust property and the ryots should have some participation in the management of such properties.

4.06 Ecological Balance and Environmental Degradation

Rabindranath was introduced to learning the basic elements of physical sciences like Physics and Chemistry and also Astronomy in his childhood by his private tutor. There was a small science laboratory in his house at Jorasanko (Calcutta). In his memoirs about childhood, he has referred to his deep interest in preliminary scientific experiments in his family laboratory. His father also grew his son's interest in Astronomy and observation of stars and planets. By nature, he was a nature-lover all through his life and he derived much pleasure in living in the midst of Nature. While planning the landscape and constructing buildings in Santiniketan, Rabindranath took deep interest in achieving and enjoying harmony with Nature. Rabindranath developed close friendship with his contemporary eminent scientist Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose. In his mature years he wrote a small book on science *Viswaparichay* (1937) wherein he collected a large number of scientific data about the universe and discussed scientific concepts with remarkable clarity. Sometime in his European tour, he met world-famous scientist Albert Einstein and exchanged with him ideas about science and functioning of the universe. This openness of mind and eagerness about knowing the mysteries of the universe show how his attitude and mentality was influenced by modernist ideas. Like Gandhiji, Rabindranath was also in love with simple living in the midst of Nature. His social consciousness and literary creativity flourished more in rural, rather than urban, surroundings. In many of his essays, poems and symbolic plays, Rabindranath cursed the mechanical social relations developed in machine-based and technology-dominated civilisation in the industrialised countries. He wished to develop the surroundings and the pattern of life-styles in his Brahmacharya Ashram School in the style of ancient 'Tapoban' life of the Aryans. Out of frustration derived

69 from densely-populated and mechanical way of urban living, Rabindranath once prayed to God to bring back the greenery and forests of the older days and take back the suffocating city life. In the 1920s and 1930s the physical conditions of living in Indian cities began to deteriorate because of industrialization and its accompanying slum life and urban pollution. The sensitive and modern mind of Rabindranath began protesting against reckless destruction of Nature in the name of development. He could diagnose the ills and ugliness of machine-dominated social life. He saw through the ugly nature of urban social living heavily dominated by industries, machines and development projects, and he identified the unrestrained greed for wealth and the uncontrolled passion for grabbing more and more control as the inherent cause of the degradation of social life and loss of mental peace. In his essay on Palliprakti (Nature of Village Life), he observed that human greed for power and pelp is an anti-social instinct which whets the selfish activities of man and destroys the stability of social life. As this passion of greed for money and lust for power increases, it destroys the balance between individual self-interest and social interest. This view has been repeated in his essays on Samabayniti (Principle of Cooperetion) and Kalantar. Rabindranath elaborated his point of socially destructive effects of human greed for money and power in his article published in Viswabharati News Bulletin (1933). In this article titled 'Can Science Be Humanised', he observed : "... the social unrest prevalent today all over the world is owing to the anarchy of spirit in the modern civilisation. What is called progress is the progress in the mechanical contrivances; it is in fact an indefinite extension of our physical limbs and organs which, owing to the enormous material advantage that it brings to us has tempted the modern man away from his inner realm of spiritual value and thus the balance is lost...today our homes have dissolved into the hotels, comunnity life is stifled in the dense and dusty atmosphere of the office, man and woman are afraid of love, people clamour for their rights and for their obligations, and they value comfort more than happiness and spirit of display more than that of beauty." Rabindranath decried the passion for maximising profits and amassing limitless wealth, which leads to arrogant demonstration of crude power to coerce others. This process nurtures the motivation to dominate over men and grab wealth, finally leading to imperialism and violence. He deeply resented the process of concentrating ill-gotten wealth through exploitation of human labour and plunder of natural resources. To him, the unbalanced differential between ruthless capital and helpless

70 labour appeared to be the root cause of societal and ecological degradation. He found the institutional remedy to this depraved situation in organising cooperatives in agriculture, industry and infrastructural development projects, because cooperatives constitute the most democratic and civilised means for fruitfully mobilising human labour and using financial resources. He urged to harness human efforts in forming cooperatives for the purpose of controlling human greed and prevent the worship of power and domination. He was in favour of using science and technology for increasing leisure for man's creative activities and reducing financial poverty, but not for exploiting the masses and destroying Nature. This was the message of his symbolic plays Muktheadhara and Raktakarabi. When the toiling masses are inspired to attain a higher level of living through selfless leadership, the ruling class would be compelled to join hands with the people for achieving really sustainable development of human society. The expression 'sustainable development' means using the ecological system in a judicious manner so that the present generation is benefitted without jeopardising the interest of the next generation. The essence of this concept, coined by Brundtland Commission (1987) and endorsed by the UN Conference on Climate Change and Development at Rio (1992), was clearly foreseen by Rabindranath as early as 1920s- 30s. Rabindranath's openness to modernist outlook on life was no isolated thought. It was inherent in his total social philosophy. His concern for ecological or environmental degradation was an integral part of his vision of higher civilisation. Some of the social festivals introduced by Rabindranath in Santiniketan life, such as Spring Festival, Tree Planting Festival, Monsoon Festival, Festival of Land Cultivation and Winter Festival (Pous Mela), are symbolic of his deep concern for fighting against ecological or environmental degradation caused by mindless and profit- driven development programmes through jaundiced use of science and technology. 4.07 Religion of Man A new dimension of Rabindranath's openness to the Enlightenment tradition of modernity is found in his spiritualism centred around the ideology of humanism. Nurtured in his boyhood days in the rationalistic, intellectual and spiritual surroundings of his family affiliation with the Bramha Samaj, Rabindranath had imbibed a critical attitude against dogmas, superstitions and ritualistic prejudices. Simultaneously, as a

71 romantic poet believing in piety, love, sentiments and enthusiasm for life, he also believed in higher morality which enriches the human mind. Although accepting Reason as a guide to action, he was conscious of the limitation of Reason to fathom the reality of human life in society. He was a humanist poet and prophet of love, fellowship and cooperation among all social beings. He was strongly inclined to cross over the narrow dividing walls between different social and religious groups. His concept of humanity was an organic whole and he pursued the ideal of harmony tenaciously till he breathed his last. Like the Renaissance-humanists, Rabindranath believed in God as a supreme spirit expressing creativity through Man and his external objective reality. He believed that till the beginning of the Age of Reason and modernity, the human spirit had been suppressed by governmental despotism and institutionalised religious dogmas. His own spirit revolted against the tyranny of social customs and deadening slavery perpetrated in the name of religious establishment and disciplined social order. His craving for the freedom of human spirit was directed towards moral illumination. Through his intellectual and literary creativity, Rabindranath worked throughout his life for promoting humanism and its values. For fulfilling this goal, he prayed to Lord of his life (Jiban Devata) whom he glorified in his poetic creations like Sonar Tari (Golden Boat), Chaitali and Manasi. This concept was nothing but deification of the Vedantic idea of Life-principle. Unlike Sri Aurobindo's concept of transcendental divine values, Rabindranath placed stress on empirical human values like love, peace and harmony, and asserted the supremacy of the canon of human conscience. In his Hibbert Lecture delivered at Oxford University in 1930 Rabindranath talked about Religion of Man. The theme was also explained in his essay in Bengali in Manusher Dharma delivered at Calcutta University. In explaining this concept, he observed : "... Truth, which is one with the Universal Being, must essentially be human, otherwise whatever we individuals realize as true can never be called truth – at least, the truth which is described as scientific and can only be reached through the process of logic, in other words, by an organ of thought as human... In the comprehension of truth there is an eternal conflict between the universal human mind and the same mind confined in the individual. The perpetual process of reconciliation is being carried on in our science and philosophy, and in our ethics. In any case, if there be any truth absolutely

72 unrelated to humanity, then, for us, it is absolutely non-existing... My religion is in the reconciliation of the Superpersonal Man, the universal human spirit, in my own individual being." In his poem Jivana Devata, Rabindranath points out that even the Infinite needs loving and cooperative response from the finite human being. From this high altitude of spiritual consciousness, Rabindranath distinguished between Dharma and Sampradaya (community). He defined 'community' feeling as a collective consciousness which, when rooted in Dharma, gives rise to separate communal identity and provokes the followers of the separate identity to consider the other community as enemy. Thus begins 'communalism' which creates a deep psychological cleavage in Indian social life into two separate and mutually inimical communities of Hindus and Muslims. When this psychological cleavage is used as a weapon of power politics, communalism arrives in its full form. Tagore's modernist orientation and his logic of universal humanism was his answer to the political problem of communalism. In a letter to his friend Andrews (30 April 1921) Rabindranath revealed that dabbling in partisan active politics of power was never present in his own nature. In his important social novel Gora, the hero declares that he is neither a Hindu nor a Christian, his religion is religion of man. This confessional assertion of Gora came when he came to know the real background of his birth. Rabindranath's thinking on Dharma (religion) ultimately accepts the Vedantic version of the Brahma, the omnipresent energy, revealing itself in every human being. To him, religion is essentially realization of human self-fulfilment by man. Rabindranath calls this process of worshiping man by man as the essence of religion. This was possible by his modernist interpretation of 'Dharma'. That way Rabindranath can be seen as searching for a Scientific foundation when it comes to accepting anything as a matter of faith Tagore had once written : "I am not a scientist, but my desire to enjoy the essence of science knew no bounds. Constant reading had created a natural, scientific temper in my mind, which prevented me from giving in to blind faith." The many science references made by Tagore in his writings need to be studied and analysed further. 4.08 Concluding Remarks Tagore is the perfect example of a true product of modernist culture. By his versatile genius and well-balanced logical mind, he proved to be the best cultural

73 ambassador of India to the modern West and, along with his contemporary Swami Vivekananda, a capable interpreter of India to the West. He played the role of a seer of humanity and successful poet of universal harmony and spiritual humanism. By all accounts, he was a truly universal man whose dynamic and courageous spirit embodied the essence of modernity mingled with the continuity of the best cultural values of India. His logical temperament easily triumphed over the magic of obscurantist social and religious ideas. Tagore's vast and variegated literary creation bolstered the sagging morale of a despondent generation in India and set an illustrious example of scientific logic mixed with enlightened sympathy for the downtrodden millions of the world.

4.09 Suggested Readings

1. V.P. Verma, *Modern Indian Political Thought* (new ed. 1980).
2. K.P. Ghosh's article in Asok Kumar Mukhopadhyay (ed). *Bharatiya Rashtrachinta Parichay* (in Bengali), West Bengal State Book Board, 2013.
3. T. Pantham and K.L. Deutsch (eds), *Political Thought in Modern India*.
4. *Collected Works of Rabindranath Tagore* (in Bengali) and English translation of some of Tagore's writings.
5. Anisur Rahman, *Social and Ecological Thought of Rabindranath* (in Bengali).
6. Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, *Rabindranath Tagore : An Interpretation*.
7. Abu Sayyid Ayub, *Adhunikata o Rabindranath (Rabindranath and Modernity)*, 1968.
8. Uma Dasgupta, "Rabindranath Tagore and Modernity", in *Tagore and Modernity*, ed. Krishna Sen and Tapati Guha (2006).
9. Kedarnath Mukherjee, *Political Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore*.
10. Arun Kumar Mukhopadhyay, *Rabindranath : Palli Punargathan* (in Bengali), (1996)
11. Asok Sen, *Rajnitir Pathakrame Rabindranath (Rabindranath in the syllabus of Politics)*, Viswabharati, July 2014.

74 Short-answer Questions

1. Mention briefly the political and socio-economic problems of India, which received attention of Rabindranath's modernist mind.
2. What was the nature of Rabindranath's participation in Anti-Partition Movement in Bengal (1905-07)?
3. What was the reaction of the modernist mind of Rabindranath against the Jalianwala Bag massacre (1919)?
4. Mention two major points of Rabindranath's attitude toward nationalism.
5. Summarise briefly Rabindranath's views expressed in his essay on 'Swadeshi Samaj'.
6. Discuss briefly Rabindranath's attitude on the primacy of society over the state.
7. Mention the titles of Rabindranath's literary creations arguing for social egalitarianism.
8. Discuss briefly Rabindranath's disagreements with Gandhiji's views on non-cooperation as a protest movement.

Long-answer Questions

1. Discuss how Rabindranath Tagore accepted the western Modernity in his thought and actions.
2. Examine Rabindranath Tagore's ideas on the State-Society relation.
3. Explain Rabindranath Tagore's intellectual orientation towards liberation of intellect.
4. Examine Rabindranath's views on the theory of individual rights.
5. Discuss Rabindranath Tagore's conception of social justice.
6. Analyse Rabindranath Tagore's attitude towards preservation of Nature and fight against environmental degradation.
7. Explain Rabindranath Tagore's concept of 'Religion of Man' and assess its significance in the evolution of his social philosophy.

75 MODULE - 2 NATIONALISM

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77 Unit-1 : Unit-1 : Unit-1 : Unit-1 : Unit-1 : ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Ba Ba Ba Ba Bankimchandra’s idea of Nationalism nkimchandra’s idea of Nationalism nkimchandra’s idea of Nationalism nkimchandra’s idea of Nationalism nkimchandra’s idea of Nationalism nkimchandra’s idea of Nationalism Structure Structure Structure Structure Structure Structure 1.11.11.11.1 Objectives of study Objectives of study Objectives of study Objectives of study Objectives of study 1.21.21.21.21.2 Bankimchandra’s thoughts on Nationalism expressed in Bankimchandra’s thoughts on Nationalism expressed in Bankimchandra’s thoughts on Nationalism expressed in Bankimchandra’s thoughts on Nationalism expressed in Bankimchandra’s thoughts on Nationalism expressed in Bankimchandra’s thoughts on Nationalism expressed in Bankimchandra’s thoughts on Nationalism expressed in Bankimchandra’s thoughts on Nationalism expressed in Bankimchandra’s thoughts on Nationalism expressed in ‘Bangadarshan’ ‘Bangadarshan’ ‘Bangadarshan’ ‘Bangadarshan’ ‘Bangadarshan’ 1.31.31.31.3 Dharmatattva and Krishnucharitra: The pride of Hindu Tradition Dharmatattva and Krishnucharitra: The pride of Hindu Tradition Dharmatattva and Krishnucharitra: The pride of Hindu Tradition Dharmatattva and Krishnucharitra: The pride of Hindu Tradition Dharmatattva and Krishnucharitra: The pride of Hindu Tradition 1.41.41.41.41.4 Anandamath and Nationalism Anandamath and Nationalism Anandamath and Nationalism Anandamath and Nationalism 1.51.51.51.51.5 Bankim’s nationalism in the eyes of contemporary social scientists Bankim’s nationalism in the eyes of contemporary social scientists Bankim’s nationalism in the eyes of contemporary social scientists Bankim’s nationalism in the eyes of contemporary social scientists 1.61.61.61.61.6 Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Suggested Readings 1.71.71.71.71.7 Sample Questions Sample Questions Sample Questions Sample Questions Sample Questions 1.1 Objectives of Study 1.1 Objectives of Study 1.1 Objectives of Study 1.1 Objectives of Study 1.1 Objectives of Study

● How did the nationalist sentiment develop in Bankim’s thought? ● Analysing the nature of Bankimchandra’s idea on nationalism as expressed in the journal ‘Bangadarshan’. ● How is Bankim’s pride about Hindu tradition expressed in his works and the nature of Hindu Nationalism? ● How can one evaluate Bankim’s thoughts on nationalism? 1.2 Bankimchandra’s thoughts on Nationalism expressed in 1.2 Bankimchandra’s thoughts on Nationalism expressed in 1.2 Bankimchandra’s thoughts on Nationalism expressed in 1.2 Bankimchandra’s thoughts on Nationalism expressed in 1.2 Bankimchandra’s thoughts on Nationalism expressed in ‘Bangadarshan’ ‘Bangadarshan’ ‘Bangadarshan’ ‘Bangadarshan’ ‘Bangadarshan’ The journal Bangadarshan, edited by Bankimchandra ? was first published in the year 1872. The publication established almost a new era, not only in the literary field but also in the political and socio-cultural area of thought. And the main pivot of this change was Bankimchandra’s writings. Lokrahasya, Bigyanrahasya, Samya, Bangadesher Krishak and Kamalakanter Daptar were published between 1872 and 1876. During the same period his various write-

78 ups on literary theory, history, philosophy and politics were published in the collection titled ‘Bibidha Prabandha’. And it was in these essays on history- politics and society, his reflections on nation and nationalism was first expressed explicitly. In the year 1872 his essay titled ‘Bharatkalanka’ was published in Bangadarshan. Here he raised the question, what is the main reason behind India’s captivity? The answer to this, according to the Europeans, was the sarcastic expression “effeminate Hindoos”. But Bankimchandra never accepted this. He cited the example of Marathas and Sikhs, also referred to the certificates of bravery awarded to Indian soldiers by the British. He define this problem of such a long foreign rule in the country in his own way. Two points put forward by him in this regard are especially important. First, Indians lack the urge of independence in them. And secondly, there is a lack of unity within the Hindu community. Thus there is less effort in establishing a Hindu nation. According to Bankimchandra, “not only the modern Hindoos lack faith in independence, it’s most probably common to the Hindoos of all ages.” Referring to the 700 years of foreign rule he said, “It’s not so that the prolonged history of subordination has erased the craving for independence among the Hindoos. Rather according to history, from the very early days the Hindoo community lacked the sense of independence.” Starting from early Hindu Puranas to Nataka, Kavya, Mahakavya—nowhere can one find a reference to the importance of independence. Only in the Pre-British period against the Mughal rule can we find some scattered example that denies this trend. Ranapratap of Mewar, Maratha Shivaji and Ranjit Singh, the brave Sikh, are just a few exceptions. In order to save their kingdom from external enemies and to increase the boundaries of their own territories the Hindu kings have been found to engage themselves in warfare, but the ordinary Hindu subjects were never seen standing by their rulers in hard times. They never created the history of struggle for their land. Bankimchandra wrote, “Over three thousand years the aryan are fighting the aryan nation; aryan nation is fighting against the non aryan nation, Magadha against kanyakubja, Kanyakubja against Delhi, Delhi against Lahore, Hindoo against Pathans, Pathans against Moghals, Moghals against British—everyone fought with the other, and hurt the country in long drawn warfare. But when it came to the context of fighting between just two kings, the ordinary Hindoos never fought for any side.”

79 Thus the urge for independence and keeping control over one's own nation was limited to the king and kinsmen. It was never a concern of the Hindu masses. If a foreigner captures the throne the mob would accept him as the King. It did not disturb their regular routine—this was the case with respect to the Hindu-society. Through his analysis Bankimchandra explained that, it was this lack of consciousness about independence that brought in the black stain on India. For the Hindus always lacked unity and the will to establish their national identity within the greater society. For this one needs to understand two basic things. Firstly, "I am Hindoo, You are Hindoo, Ram is Hindoo, Jadu is Hindoo and there are lakhs of Hindoo. And whatever is good for all these Hindoos, that's good for me too." Thus Bankimchandra was talking about the sense of equity within oneself, in order to establish the feeling of nationalism in the community. Secondly, "There are many communities in the world other than the Hindoos. Whatever is good for them won't necessarily be good for us too. In many instances something positive for them may mean somewhat negative for us. In such cases, where something good for them may mean to be bad for us, there we need to be careful. We can't allow that good to happen to them. If we need to oppress the other communities for this, then we'll do so. This is the second step towards establishing one's own community." In this context another writing of Bankimchandra is also mentionable. It was during the same time period Bankim published an essay titled 'Jaati Baira' in the journal 'Sadharani' (1873). There he wrote, "As long as we don't come at par with the British, till then this sense of enmity of nations will be as strong within us. As long as this enmity is there, there will be the sense of competition within. Till then we will strive to come at par with the British." Thus according to Bankimchandra, apart from feeling of equity in one's own community, within the community, enmity towards other exploiting nationality was also considered important for establishing one's own nation. Moreover, according to him, the urge for independence and the will to establish one's own national identity was unknown terrains to the Hindus. He believed, the British rule helped us to get introduced to those terrains. "The Englishmen had been of very helpful to India. We have got to learn a lot of new things." Thus it was because of the British people that the idea of nationalism received its importance within the Hindu community.

80 The most important point that comes up while discussing Bankimchandra's idea of nation is the lack of sense of nationalism among the Hindus. Whether the king can protect his kingdom or not was the concern of the ruler solely. The general mass was never worried about it, because the rulers also never bothered to care about the will of the people. The kingdom was operated solely on the will of the king and his board of advisors. According to Bankimchandra, if the consent of the general mass doesn't become the basis of the rule of the king then it would never be possible to establish the idea of nationalism within the Hindu society. Just for the sake of establishing the nation Bankim had discussed Hindutva (sense of Hinduism) and traditional Hindu pride in several occasions. In the year 1873 in a journal named 'Shadharani' (November) Bankim wrote, "...the English people are the victor, we the won over. To be respectful towards the won over is not there in human nature. ...we are obedient people, but we are not submissive, we can't be. For we belong to an ancient race. We grow up reading Mahabharata, Ramayana. Our lifestyle follows the verdicts of the great Manu. We pray to our god in the pure and incomparable Sanskrit verses after bathing. As long as we can't forget all these things we can't become meek, that's impossible." 1.3 Dharmatattva and Krishnucharitra: The pride of Hindu 1.3 Dharmatattva and Krishnucharitra: The pride of Hindu 1.3 Dharmatattva and Krishnucharitra: The pride of Hindu 1.3 Dharmatattva and Krishnucharitra: The pride of Hindu Tradition Tradition Tradition Tradition Tradition According to Bankimchandra, this idea of Hindutva and the pride of one's tradition is the basis of our Nationalism. We belong to an ancient race. The British rule might have made our position miserable at present, but we belong to an ancient race, no one can deny the pride of our traditional heritage. In fact, our sense of nationalism has to be established on the basis of that pride, our sense of superiority. Bankim was immensely influenced by the 19th century European thinkers such as Mill, Spencer, Auguste Comte etc. He was much into terms with the various movements of European enlightenment such as, rationalism, liberalism, utilitarianism, positivism etc. Science and technology of 19th century Europe also played a role in the construction of his knowledge system. Through that understanding Bankimchandra set himself into the task of creating a platform where tradition will meet modernity. In that light he wanted to analyse and explain the greatness of the ancient

81 Hindu culture. That's why Bankim once wrote, we don't abide by the guidelines laid by Manu and Jainabalkya only. We will have to rediscover and re-interpret Hinduism in the light of modern scientific rational thoughts. In unequivocal language Bankimchandra protested against all the orthodox beliefs, superstitions and blind-faith practised in Hinduism. In order to reinvent the actual greatness of Hindu thoughts he was keen on taking the help of modern European logical analysis, righteousness, scientific bent of mind and the overall European world of knowledge. In his book called 'Dharmatattva' Bankimchandra had contrived a new definition of Hindu religion and theist philosophy. In the same work he had also drawn a link between this belief in Hinduism and love for one's nation or Nationalism. He believed that the Indian concept of nationalism would be built up on the basis of religion. By this religion Bankim didn't mean to refer to the ritualistic part of Hinduism, rather it was the culture (Anusilan) that he referred to. He was also talking of practising religion, but in a different way. To him religious practice has to be a complete and balanced exercise of humanism. Through such a practice only can a human being achieve completeness, contentment and salvation. Despite of his love and dedication towards the mother land, the ultimate truth to him is religion. His polite diction for the motherland is 'Vande Mataram' (I bow to thee, Mother). According to Bankim, this practice can only establish the pride, prowess and virtue of his motherland. The spirituality and other unearthly behaviour that is generally glorified in traditional Hindu philosophy are all denied by Bankim. He redefined the uprightness and religiousness for the Hindus. He wrote 'Krishna Charitra' almost during the same period of time when he wrote 'Dharmatattva'. It was not the playful Krishna of the Vrindavanas that he worshipped; he was the worshipper of a perfect and complete human being in Krishna. The fighter Krishna, the diplomat Krishna, the legal advisor Krishna, was his ideal. He was the worshipper of the philosophical religious preacher and yet a family person that Krishna represented. Bankim had always worshipped the character of Sri Krishna that has been described in the Gita. There Krishna was the epitome of uprightness and reasoning. The Jyanayoga, Bhaktiyoga and Dharmayoga that the Gita preaches form the basis of Bankimchandra's theory of Anusilan. His understanding of nationalism was intrinsically linked to all these thoughts. He claimed that Hinduism had attained an extremely high level of spirituality. That can actually be the driving force behind our idea of nationalism. Thus according to Bankim, loving one's

82 motherland is the ultimate religion of the earthly human beings. In the project of constructing his own nation and making it powerful enough, he looks forward to the figure of Krishna represented in the Mahabharata. To him Krishna is the ideal representation of ultimate powerful individual. He didn't negate the logical way of analysing situations that the Western world had established by that time. Rather he took in the task of redefining the traditional knowledge bank of India, i.e. the Gita, the Mahabharata and the Puranas in the light of modern understanding. In the course he established the logical character of the national pride and dignity. He never ever imagined the countrymen to suddenly feel the bond by denying the barriers of language- caste-creed-religions. That's why he wanted to bring in the sense of unity by igniting the national pride. For that he took into the project of creating the idea of practising faith in 'dharmatattva' and the imagery of lord Krishna in 'krishna Charitra'. Anandamath and Devi Chowdhurani are his artistic expression of the same line of faith and realization. 1.4 Anandamath and Nationalism 1.4 Anandamath and Nationalism 1.4 Anandamath and Nationalism 1.4 Anandamath and Nationalism Anandamath is a historical novel that has a role in the construction of the idea of nationalism in modern India. In his Anusilan theory Bankim had analysed the philosophy of Love. To him, power plays an important role in the construction of the personality of an individual or a nation. But according to Bankim, love or amiability holds greater importance than that. That is, the ultimate important thing behind the construction of a nation is love or amiability. It is through this sense of attachment within the nation that helps to create the path for the manifestation of oneself. This attachment within the nation gives birth to a selfless love that gradually comes forward to reflect its nature. The attachment between human beings, with the community and with one's nation reflects the selflessness of love. When this attachment grows towards God, then it takes the form of devotion. When it comes to earthly linkages, it can be seen in a different light. When a person's sense of attachment crosses the boundary of love for self, family, neighbours, society and gets manifested in something much above everything (i.e one's own nation), it is then the ultimate devotion. It is this nature of religion that is reflected in the novel Anandamath. In his prelude to Anandamath Bankim wrote, piercing through the silence of the forest came out a human voice "won't my wish

83 ever be fulfilled?" In that sea of darkness, this was repeated thrice. Then there went a reply, "what can you stake?" "I can stake my whole life," was the reply. "Life is nothing great, anyone may stake it," was echoed all over. "What else is there? What else may I give?" "Devotion," was the answer. The devotion that Anandamath discusses is directed towards one's motherland. Bhabananda tells Mahendra, "We are not aware about any other mother—janani matribhumischa swargadapi gariashi. We believe, the motherland is our only mother. We don't have a mother, a father, a brother, a friend— we don't have a wife, a son, a home, a house. We only have the sujala, sufala, malayajasheetala, sashyashyamala—" mother, we worship only her. Bankimchandra's idea of nationalism became very popular among the Hindu Bengali middle class. The noted historian Ashin Dasgupta wrote in one of his essays that, in order to introduce firmness, valour and dedication towards life and work among the middle class Bengali Hindus Bankim wanted to establish his idea of nationalism. It was not the playful Krishna of the nanichor kirtanas or the character of Krishna described in Jayadeva's poems, it was the Krishna of the Gita that he wanted to rediscover. He left aside the mythological (puranic) parts from the history of Sri Krishna, and he never wanted to leave aside science from his method of study. He went into analysing the character of Krishna in the way as a detached historian does. Bengalis learnt to sing and utter 'vande mataram' in this way as described by Bankimchandra. Regular pronunciation of the verses from the Gita also drew this section of people towards self-sacrifice to the gallows. Through this, one kind of national feeling had been established. But idea of nationalism was completely restricted to one class of people. His ideology was shared only by the middle class Bengali Hindus of the 19 th century. There's no doubt about it that the dominance of Hindu, Bengali and middle class sentiments in Bankim's theory on nationalism played as a limitation. In this vast land of India there are many communities like Hindu- Muslim-Buddhist-Christian-Sikhs residing together. This diversity in Indian society was somehow ignored in Bankim's theory; this diversity of religious faiths was later addressed in Rabindranath's writings on nationalism. Bankimchandra's nationalism was more into the search for Hindu sentimentality. His pride in Hinduism and Hindu culture got more importance

84 in his thoughts. In this respect, it won't be wrong to arrive at a conclusion that celebration of Hinduism has been reflected in Bankim's ideology on nationalism. In fact the extremist politics and nationalism that dominated the earlier part of 20 th century was highly influenced by Bankim's preaching. The young revolutionaries of the Anushilan Samiti and Jugantar Dal almost worshipped Bankimchandra's nationalist novels, his Vande Mataram and his essays that arouse nationalist sentiments. Personalities like Swami Vivekananda, Auravinda Ghosh and Bipinchandra Pal also claimed to be influenced by the thought of Bankimchandra. Bankim's Vande Mataram is not just a song, rather it is known to have played a very important historical role in the India's struggle for freedom. Thus despite of a lot of criticism the historical importance of Bankim's thoughts cannot be denied. There was great debate over the song and slogan of Vande Mataram in India's freedom struggle. But yet its tremendous influence cannot be denied. A large section of Indian Muslims have not been able to consider this song as something worth of worship. Moreover the anti-Muslim comments in his novels like Anandamath, Rajsingha etc have been a major and regular point of criticism among the Muslim community. He had been designated as 'communal' by many of such critics. But the detached, objective and rational critics, irrespective of Hindu and Muslim have seen Bankim in a different light. They refused to accept Bankimchandra as communal, but none of them did deny the fact that the ideology of Hindu nationalism was first established by Bankimchandra in India. In fact during the hay period of Vande Mataram-criticism, in 1937, Tagore himself mentioned that this song is actually a reflection of Hindu community's inclination for deity worship. Thus according to him, it was not the fault of the Muslims to criticize this verse of Bankim. Objectively this can be stated that in Vande Mataram there is no worship of deity, it is actually the worship of motherland. And it was no conscious attempt to present this song as a national anthem. Although it had aroused a great national feeling among the masses during the whole freedom struggle. Tagore, therefore, opined that in the first two stanzas of the song there is no instance of inclination for deities so that part can be considered as the national song of India. We must remember that, just after independence when Tagore's Janaganamana Adhinayaka was recognised as the national anthem of the country, the first stanza of Bankim's Vande Mataram was recognized as

85 the second national song. This is to be remembered that before our independence in several national and provincial congress conferences Vande Mataram was popular, both as a song and as a slogan. 1.5 Bankim's nationalism in the eyes of contemporary social 1.5 Bankim's nationalism in the eyes of contemporary social 1.5 Bankim's nationalism in the eyes of contemporary social 1.5 Bankim's nationalism in the eyes of contemporary social scientists scientists scientists scientists scientists Professor Ashin Dasgupta along with most of the Bankim researchers agreed on the idea that Bankimchandra was the first to infuse the nationalistic sentiment among the middle class Bhadrals. Practically, in 19 th century Bengal, the renaissance movement was also limited among the upper-classes and middle class. Majority of the lower-class was not included in this. Prof. Dasgupta has described the nature and role of the middle class during the age of Bankimchandra in much detail. In his words, "In the whole of 19 th century the character and role of the middle class was not identical, it took different shapes. The middle class then took the shape of the professional section of the society. The Bengali middle class had by then no longer identified themselves with their landowning ancestors. They no longer considered themselves part of the big landowning class. Putting aside the British Indian Association, the organization of the zamindar class, they formed a separate group and named it Indian Association. So now the middle class could afford to stand for and comment on matters that might not serve the purpose of the landowning people. This change in the society has been well reflected in the thoughts and writings of Bankimchandra." According to Prof. Dasgupta, "We must remember that this professional middle class was the creation of the British rule. Thus Bankim's social thought doesn't have any element of protest against the imperialist rule. He believed in the idea that the Indian society has gained a lot from the British rule. He was much conscious of the positive qualities of the English nation, as well as other western cultures. As his 'teachers' (Stuart Mill, Spencer, Comte etc.) believed that there is no harm in free trade principles, so he also took for granted the same. The only problematic area was that related to self-respect. Self- dependent Indian nation can only be established by going against the British rule; the Indians have to snatch the control over their fates from British

86 hands. The existence of the professional middle class was somehow dependent on the British rulers. But one has to go against the British rule in order to establish one's national identity. This dichotomy was there in Bankim's thoughts and theory." But irrespective of all these it's also widely accepted that, Bankimchandra's vande mataram established the nationalistic sentiment among a huge section of Indians. With its growing nation-wide acceptance it no longer remained just a song but became the most popular nationalistic slogan. But this popularity was undoubtedly limited among the Indian Hindus. It's also important to mention here another point while discussing Bankimchandra. That is, during the period of nation's struggle for freedom Bankim's vande mataram became popular all over India though in his writing he only mentioned the Bengali middle class over and over again. Professor Ashin Dasgupta wrote, "...the next point of doubt is Bankim's 'nation' itself. He picks and chooses only a single community from among so many communities of India. Thus the other Indian communities remain left out yet again." Bankimchandra's nationalism and ideas on society have been researched by two other noted thinkers of our time, Professor Partha Chatterjee and Professor Sudipta Kabiraj. According to Professor Chatterjee, reading a lot of the western theories on rationalism, liberalism, historicism, positivism along with the 19 th century discoveries in science and technology Bankim became pretty aware of his contemporary world. Bankim didn't question the demand of the universally accepted generalizations of the then contemporary European philosophy and social theories. Bankim did not question the assumptions of the European Indologists that India was in darkness before the arrival of the Europeans, or all Indians are lazy, fearful, good for nothing and feminine by nature. To them, only the people of Occident are enthusiastic, courageous and masculine. It won't be wrong to mention that, Bankim was sort of captivated in this light of thought and knowledge. And that's why, Prof. Chatterjee feels, that Bankimchandra himself never went into a direct criticism of the British rule. Bankim's nationalist discourse was mainly derivative of the western thoughts. The European ideas on free trade, modern science and technology, their structured legal system fascinated Bankimchandra. He drew

87 his inspiration for nationalistic thought from western world of knowledge. But to our mind, this argument of Prof. Chatterjee is a depiction of a part of Bankimchandra's thought. It is not the whole or totality of Bankimchandra. Prof. Kabiraj discovered another facet of Bankim beside his so called pro- Europe image. There are other researchers too who discussed the other shades of Bankim's thought. This other shade of Bankim's thought has been discovered through the study of his works like Kamalakanter Daptar, Kamalakanter Patra and Kamalakanter Jabanbandi. Bankim had strictly criticised the logical structure of colonialism in these works. Prof. Kabiraj describes Kamalakanta as a secret face or secret autobiography of Bankimchandra. Kamalakanta is mainly a satire. The laughter and humour are the only arms of marginalized and deprived section. It is through this weapon of laughter that Bankim criticized European rationalism and the colonial rule in India which was founded on this rationalist discourse. Not only the colonial structure, he also criticized the blind imitation of the British by the newly English educated people, mainly the babu-class. Prof. Ashit Kumar Bhattacharya wrote that, in Kamalakanta's exercise there are mainly two noteworthy aspects. One, the social milieu of the then society, the dominant class and groups—their ideology—the colonial rulers and their ideas and opinions. Bankim had bitter criticism against all this. Secondly, his intense ideational inclinations to get rid of this unbearable social milieu. Prof. Bhattacharya also comments, the desire for betterment was expressed indeed, but in vain. The despair that finally drew Vidyasagar to self-exile or the influence from which the personality cult or Avatarnad came into existence at the time of Keshavachandra, that disappointment itself led Bankimchandra to finally turn aback. The non-believer in scriptures got involved in examining scriptures, but eventually he lost interest in such judgments and dedicated himself to the philosophy of submission to divinity. It is not the Bankim of 'Bangadarshan' in 1870's who is being analyzed. Ashit Kumar Bhattacharya made such comments basing on his analysis of the Bankim of 'Dharmattatva', 'Krishnacharit' and 'Prachar'. On studying this last phase of Bankimchandra's thoughts separately, Bankim can also be linked to Hindu revivalism. But in the context of analysis of nationalism in Bankim's thinking this effort is highly relative and incomplete. It should be

88 remembered, it was just the vague dawn of nationalism. He didn't give up by just introducing some sentiments towards the word called 'Desh' (nation). There was an extreme lack of strength within the indigenous society to uphold the powerful ideology of nationalism. Thus it was very necessary to uplift the sense of strength within oneself by overcoming all the illogicalities, internal disputes, self-deprivation, and lack of confidence. Thus in order to arouse the sense of nationalism within the community, Bankim's took into the project of introspection of the Hindu community. He had a positive approach towards the Muslim community as well. In his writings in 'Krishakkuler Durabastha' there is no difference between Hasim Sheikh and Rama Kaibartya. Actually the divisions such as 'Hindu Nationalism', 'Muslim Nationalism' came into formation in a much later stage. When evaluating the contributions of great men like Bankimchandra, it's better to have a holistic outlook. 1.61.61.61.61.6 Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Ashin Dasgupta: PrabandhaSanghrah, Ananda Publishers (The essay titled 'Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and Nibaran Chakarborty'). Partha Chattopadhyay:

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The Unhappy Consciousness—Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and the Formation of Nationalist Discourse in India, Oxford.		

Asit Kumar Bhattacharya: Banglar Nabayug 0 Bankimchandrer Chintadhara, Granthajagat. 1.71.71.71.71.7 Sample Questions Sample Questions Sample Questions Sample Questions Sample Questions 1.7.1 Analytical Questions 1.7.1 Analytical Questions 1.7.1 Analytical Questions 1.7.1 Analytical Questions 1.7.1 Analytical Questions 1. Analyse the nature of nationalist ideas in the works of Bankimchandra. 2. Should Bankimchandra's idea on nationalism be referred to as Hindu nationalism?

89 1.7.2 Short Questions 1.7.2 Short Questions 1.7.2 Short Questions 1.7.2 Short Questions 1.7.2 Short Questions 1.7.2 Short Questions 1. Analyse Bankim's Anushilan-tattva. 2. Why is Anandamath referred to as a nationalist novel? 1.7.3 Tick the right Answer 1.7.3 Tick the right Answer 1.7.3 Tick the right Answer 1.7.3 Tick the right Answer 1.7.3 Tick the right Answer 1. In the nationalist ideology enmity against other nations is a major component—Bankim recognized it/ didn't recognize. 2. Bankimchandra has been characterized as a Hindu revivalist thinker/ has not been characterized as a Hindu revivalist thinker. 3. The song Vande Mataram is recognized/ not recognized at the national level.

90 Unit-2 Unit-2 Unit-2 Unit-2 Unit-2 □□□□ Rabin Rabin Rabin Rabin Rabindranath Tagore : Nationalism and dranath Tagore : Nationalism and dranath Tagore : Nationalism and dranath Tagore : Nationalism and dranath Tagore : Nationalism and Internati Internati Internati Internati Internationalism onalism onalism onalism onalism Structure Structure Structure Structure 2.12.12.12.1 Objectives of study Objectives of study Objectives of study Objectives of study Objectives of study 2.22.22.22.2 What is Nation and the problem of Nation building in India What is Nation and the problem of Nation building in India What is Nation and the problem of Nation building in India What is Nation and the problem of Nation building in India 2.32.32.32.3 Tagore in the phase of anti-partition movement in Bengal Tagore in the phase of anti-partition movement in Bengal Tagore in the phase of anti-partition movement in Bengal Tagore in the phase of anti-partition movement in Bengal Tagore in the phase of anti-partition movement in Bengal 2.42.42.42.4 Tagore's analysis of the nature of Nationalism Tagore's analysis of the nature of Nationalism Tagore's analysis of the nature of Nationalism Tagore's analysis of the nature of Nationalism 2.52.52.52.5 Tagore in the path of Internationalism Tagore in the path of Internationalism Tagore in the path of Internationalism Tagore in the path of Internationalism 2.62.62.62.6 Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Suggested Readings 2.72.72.72.7 Sample Questions Sample Questions Sample Questions Sample Questions 2.1 Objectives of study 2.1 Objectives of study 2.1 Objectives of study 2.1 Objectives of study 2.1 Objectives of study • How did Tagore analyze the concept of Nation? • What was the nature of Tagore's idea of nationalism, during the anti- partition movement of Bengal in 1903-08? • Description of Tagore's speeches against Nationalism, delivered in Japan and United States of America. • Describing Tagore's idea of Internationalism. 2.2 What is Nation and the problem of Nation building in 2.2 What is Nation and the problem of Nation building in 2.2 What is Nation and the problem of Nation building in 2.2 What is Nation and the problem of Nation building in 2.2 What is Nation and the problem of Nation building in India India India India India During the long period of struggle for Independence, Indian nationalism has been developed slowly from Bankimchandra to our national dignitaries like Surendranath Bandyopadhyay, Bipinchandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and definitely in the thoughts and politics of Mahatma Gandhi, there has been a sharp expression of nationalism. Tagore may not be considered as an associate of this nationalism. Tagore's idea of nationalism is quite different.

91 In the year 1901, under the editorship of Tagore the journal 'Bangadarsan' was re-published in a new form. In this phase of 'Bangadarsan', Tagore had written two essays in the first issue of the journal— 'What is Nation' (Nation Ki) and 'Indian Society' (Bharatbarshiya Samaj). Must be mentioned in reference to it, that the second essay while its publication in 'Bangadarsan 1 was titled as 'Hindutva', the name was changed while it was compiled in the form of book. In these two essays Tagore had raised two very essential questions. In the aforesaid first essay he had written that in traditional India there was no existence of any such thing which could be called as nation. Nation is entirely a western concept. In the second essay he had written that to deal with the foreign imperialism, inception of nationality is essential. But the process of formation of nation must be different. One more thing to be said here is, 'What is Nation' was written by the poet after reading an essay by the French social scientist Renan. 'What is Nation' is actually ideational translation of the concept of nation in Renan's essay. Tagore very clearly mentioned in the article that there was no such thing as Nation in the tradition of India; as such the word Nation cannot be translated in Bengali. The word 'jati' (race) is used but that had created more trouble. The reason is race, caste all these words are also translated as Jati. Tagore wanted to mean race through the word Jati. He wanted to retain 'Nation' in our Bengali language. In the second essay he had written that, in the European heritage nation- state has formed to fulfill the requirement of political unity. The inception of nation there was quite natural, because the base of European civilization was mainly the power of state. But the nature of our civilization is different. In the pre-British India a kind of unity existed in Hinduism too. But that was not political unity. It did not originate through some united political system. That collectivity is not national unity. The unity among the Hindus or the Indians lie in social layers. To the Indians the consciousness for social unity lies in social harmony. Although it is true, in this huge country of India, there are innumerable diversities—in religion, language, race, caste and culture. Even variation lies in the nature of topography of various regions. The unity that lies in this diversity is mainly in the plane of social consciousness. Political cohesiveness never existed in India. There lies the elementary difference between Europe and India. In the article 'Bharatbarshiya Samaj' Tagore

92 wrote— "... In our country society is superior to any other existence. In other countries nation has won through self-defense amidst various struggles— comparatively in our country society has protected itself for a long time in various perilous situations. That we have not diminished and reached the extreme point of downfall, while going through thousands years of revolt, torture and subjugation— is only due to the strength of our ancient society. The society has never lionized happiness to us—in every saying, every words, every relationship—it has highlighted sacredism, religion and guided us to be morally perfect. That society is our highest shelter, so we must concentrate on it." Since the inception of British imperialism in our country, the process of nation building began. But what are the factors of nationality? Generally it is said that racial collectivity, lingual unity, regional and geographical proximity, uniform economic interests, these are the reasons on the basis of which nation develops. In the article 'What is Nation' Tagore has analysed the factors and has furnished that these factors were not always active in the process of development of nation in the various countries of Europe. In accordance to the thinking of French philosopher Renan, Tagore came to the conclusion that the main foundation of nation is spiritual and psychic. To the poet 'Nation is a mental substance.... an animated entity, a substance of the mind and spirit'. The internal nature of nation is made up of two things—the asset of the past memory of the common people, i.e. heritage and secondly, mutual consent for residing together. Establishing nation mainly on the ideational unity, Tagore has not said anything new or novel. Many social scientists have discussed this in a detailed manner. But what is new and significant is that, in the process of making nation in India, Tagore had spoken strongly about the firm existence of social power. He had advised us to avoid the European standards of the state principles of civilization. Naturally Tagore's stress was more on community reconstruction, community consciousness, community feeling, social set-up, i.e social solidarity was more important. In such a process the thoughts on nation-building on political lines have almost no importance.

2.3 Tagore in the Phase of anti-Partition movement of Bengal
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 In the phase of anti-partition movement of Bengal (1903-08), Tagore

93 became involved in direct politics for a short span of time. After the declaration of the partition of Bengal, entire Bengal became very billowy. Tagore joined the meetings and processions along with the leaders like Surendranath Bandyopadhyay, Bipinchandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh, Brahmabandhab Upadhyay and others. The poet awakened the entire Bengali race by writing numerous Swadeshi songs one after another. In the year 1906 when Carlyle circular was published, National Council of Education was set up for educating the Indians, discarding the government directed schools. This was again headed by Tagore. That is, in every sphere of the movement, Tagore had established his relationship. But can we ever say that Tagore had total accordance with the mainstream tune of this agitation? Practically there wasn't. He differed in his outlook from the other national leaders who headed this movement, right from the very beginning. To find out the difference we have to go back and analyze a bit of history. In the magazine 'Indian World' (March-April 1907) a famous Congress moderate leader, Prithwish Chandra Roy, had analyzed the various streams of Swadeshi movement. According to him, this movement was led not only by the extremists and the moderates; there were some other sub-sections. There were moderate leaders like Surendranath Bandyopadhyay, extremist leaders like Aurobindo, Bipinchandra and at the same time the revolutionaries of Anushilan and Jugantar Dal. In addition to them, according to Prithwish Chandra, there were the followers of Tagore., who by disregarding the British rule wanted to go for a self-reliance movement based on the power of one's own self. The main idea behind this Tagorean path was that it is more important to germinate the social strength and not the political. That is the reason why emphasis must be paid to the practice of reconstruction of social fabric. We must keep it in mind that in 1905, when the boycott movement started, Tagore had also advocated for it. But very soon he went against boycott. His anti-boycott statement was revealed not only in his articles and essays, but also it had been manifested in his novel Ghare Baire after wards. Actually there were three different outlooks regarding the objective of the boycott movement. The moderate leader like Surendranath Bandyopadhyay thought that 'boycott was a temporary step, a path to reach the ultimate goal. The main purpose was to attract the attention of British commoners towards the dissatisfaction and complaints of Bengal. If partition of Bengal could be avoided and stopped by this, boycott policy would also come to an end.' That is, to the moderates boycott was a temporary war-tactics. According to

94 the theory of passive resistance, ie, to the extremists like Bipinchandra, Aurobindo and others boycott was a sharp weapon, the way to achieve 'purna swaraj' and hence it was all-comprehensive. In the year 1906-07 the synonym for boycott was—disregarding foreign goods, rejection of foreign courts, abrogation of foreign schools and colleges, abrogation of foreign rule etc. Seeing this all pervading nature of boycott the moderates got scared and the result to it was the division in the Surat Congress. To Tagore, boycott had a different connotation from the very beginning. His views always differed from the moderates and the extremists. His assertion was, '... not out of anger or stubbornness against the British, out of love for the motherland using the industrial products of the country and avoiding some consumer products; there exists a positive attitude. He has focused on this idea in his writings.' [A biographer of Tagore, Prasanta Kumar pal has very rightly written these lines in his Rabijibani -the biography of Tagore (5th Part).] In Tagore's compositions 'Abastha o byabastha 1 or 'Bratadharan', this outlook comes out very clearly. It is amply clear to us that Tagore did not regard the boycott movement from any negative standpoint or he did not like to use it as a mere political instrument. He was for it as a means of unifying the whole nation. But when the boycott movement became the irrational command and political compulsion of the national leaders and began to lose its spontaneity, Tagore went against it. For this command and compulsion the Hindu-Muslim relation was seriously at stake and that made Tagore very much hurt. To him, once again it became clear that there was no alternative to constructive works. Analysing Tagore's deep rooted inclination to the movement during the swadeshi days and the songs of Gitabitan dedicated to the motherland—one can come to the conclusion that Tagore was a great nationalist poet. Initially there is no point of objecting to it. Who else, other than Tagore, had expressed so deeply in his literature and worldly activities, his sincere concern for the motherland. But love for one's own country is something and nationalism is something else. This needs a detailed analysis.

2.4 Tagore's analysis of the nature of Nationalism 2.4 Tagore's analysis of the nature of Nationalism 2.4 Tagore's analysis of the nature of Nationalism 2.4 Tagore's analysis of the nature of Nationalism 2.4 Tagore's analysis of the nature of Nationalism

The poet once wrote in a letter to his friend C.F Andrews, "I

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love India, but my India is an idea and not a geographical expression. Therefore I am not a patriot—

I shall ever seek my compatriots all over the world." If there is torture in the country, if the aliens seize and grab our land—it is our responsibility to protest against all these violence and injustice. But this responsibility should be shouldered not as an Indian, but as a human being. That is, the essence of humanity in the poet provoked him to protest against the disgrace of mankind. His devotion for his motherland would never stand as an obstacle against his love for the people of the entire world. If this is the feeling, then we have to say that Tagore didn't impose any divinity to the geographical boundaries of his own country. Neither did he express any blind devotion to his motherland. He had always been a well-wisher of his own country, being a true philanthropist, he cared for the entire human race. The dishonour of mankind has always hurt him. The poet has never expressed any special sentiment for the Indian people. That is why, in his collection of lectures named 'Nationalism' he said, "I deeply feel for all the races who are being insulted and injured by the ruthless exploitation of the powerful nations belonging to the West and the East. I feel as much for the Negroes brutally lynched in America often for economic reasons, and for the Koreans who are the latest victims of Japanese imperialism, as for any wrong done to the helpless multitude of my own country." According to the political doctrine, nationalism has two foundations, First, genuine attachment and obedience towards the motherland. Second, segregating other races from one's own and to possess a sort of hostile feelings towards them. Tagore writes, "This blind affection and obedience towards one's race or one's own self is nothing short of committing suicide. This strong selfish attraction does never broaden the path of independence of the country." In the year 1921 when Gandhi's non-cooperation movement had made a billowy effect in the country, Tagore had openly opposed against the ideologies of that movement. The main point of this criticism was that the movement had negative effect. The idea of non-cooperation teaches the Indians to stay away from the civilization of the world. Hence all bonds with it must be torn off. Non-cooperation does not stand upon the idea of service and affection towards human being. The principles of this movement will take a person towards darkness and hatred. This must be kept in mind that Tagore revolted against blind nationalism, not only in 1921, a few years before that during the first World War, while travelling in Japan and America the poet had delivered three important lectures. The subject matter of all these three speeches was about the nature of nationalism. These lectures have been compiled in a book titled 'Nationalism'.

96 The thoughts and matter that have been expressed in these articles are as follows—"In small minds, patriotism dissociates itself from the higher ideal of humanity. It becomes the magnification of self, on a stupendous scale—magnifying our vulgarity, cruelty, greed, dethroning God, to put up this bloated self in its place." The poet was against such devotion of motherland which had no humanity and principles. According to him, practice of humanity means that a person should be creative, social and establish himself above all petty selfishness. Hence, cooperation and empathy should be the two principles which should act as the guiding force of a person. The feeling of nationalism actually exists on just a reverse standpoint. The nation has established itself depending on political power—realizing the difference of one's own self from the others. In that sense nation is neither creative, nor the partner of practising wide humanism in the world. Its only principle is to spread incessant power over others. The monument of this power has been built upon the groundwork of selfishness. The power and wealth of one's nation state has to be increased at any cost—that is the exposure of nationalism, and that is its ultimate and extreme foundation. Tagore had written, "... The spirit of national selfishness is the brain disease of a people which shows itself in red eyes and clenched fists in violence of talk and movement, all the while shattering its natural restorative powers." If this is the nature of nationalism, then from the extreme consequences of nationalism, imperialism will come. First World War is such manifestation. This was a revengeful war of one state of Europe against the other, Then the ideology of nationalism cannot give freedom to a nation, as it does not teach a person to think positively about the humanity as a whole, it only broadens the path of statism and power politics. So, this plundering nationalism gives birth to imperialism — militarily and culturally. It does not give rise to an organized and cooperative association, a society conducive to peace. That is why nationalism is a menace to civilization. 2.5 Tagore in the path of Internationalism 2.5 Tagore in the path of Internationalism 2.5 Tagore in the path of Internationalism 2.5 Tagore in the path of Internationalism 2.5 Tagore in the path of Internationalism It is his faith in the creativity of humanity that landed Tagore in the path of internationalism. The Hebert speech in 1930, the title of his presentation was 'The Religion of Man'. Tagore said. "... man misses himself when isolated,

97 he finds his own larger and truer self in his wide human relationship. His multicellular body is born and it dies; his multi-personal humanity is immortal." Man finds his real self when he transcends his selfishness and earthly meanness and reaches very-near to the desire of the universal multitude. In this context the sources of Tagore's internationalism are to be investigated. The very first source of Tagore's internationalism is that the life of a single human being or race would become too painful, if there is no parity between the consciousness of the world and the consciousness of nation. Universality does not mean to bring the existence of one's home at stake. It means to establish friendly connections, relationship of exchanges with the neighbouring countries. Basically, that was the root idea of establishing Visva Bharati. A support to this source can be found in a letter to Pearson by the poet written in 1918. There he wrote, "Our heart is like a fountain. So long as it is driven through the narrow channel of self, it is full of fear and doubt and sorrow, for them it is dark and does not know its end. But when it comes down unto the open, or the bosom of the all, then it glistens in the light and shines in the joy of freedom." The second source is that, the advancement and development of the people or a nation of a particular country is not the proper progress, if the human race of the neighbouring countries is in darkness and is deprived. Then that becomes a shame for the entire world. So, only flourishing one's treasure and spreading one's power does not make a man. The duty of a human being is to be conscientious and attentive towards others. Tagore writes, "... If in the night only my lamp is lit and the rest of the world is dark, the lamp has no real illumination for me." The third source is that, racial hatred and blind nationalism walk side by side, hand in hand. The feeling of racial superiority develops enmity among the neighbouring races. An uncoverable wide gap is created which shuts all the doors of unity. Hence the gateway of exchanging between the east and the west are to be opened widely, a path of friendship must be created. This idea was a foundation of difference in opinion with Gandhiji, in the year 1921. Also here in lies the main cause of establishment of Vishva Bharati. Fourthly, while in the idea of setting up of Vishva Bharati, Tagore had very firmly said that all the races of the world have their own cultural and

98 social heritage. If all the races contribute the best of their culture to the others and accept and practise the best of others, then the civilization of the world will reach the summit. Through this interpersonal relationship of exchanging ideas and opinions, a firm and strong international society will be formed. From the ancient time, within the Indian society this co-existence and a tune of desire for unity have been heard. The idea of 'Unity in Diversity' is very prominent in Tagore's concept of society. It is the duty of the countrymen to pave the way of this tradition and to make an improved variety of freedom or independence. 2.6 Suggested Readings 2.6 Suggested Readings 2.6 Suggested Readings 2.6 Suggested Readings 2.6 Suggested Readings A few articles by Tagore 1) Swadeshi Samaj, 2) Nation ki, 3) Bharatbarshiyō Samaj, 4) Abastha O Byabastha, 5) Rabindranather Rashtranaitik Mat, 6) Nationalism (booklet) Sachin Sen: The political thought of Tagore, General printer & publishers Limited. Calcutta-1947. Sudhir Chakravarty (edited): Rabindranath: Bakpati Biswamana (Two essays from the first and second volume—Anuradha Ray: 'Rabindranather Swadesh'. Abhra Ghosh: "Nation noy, samajik samanajyasya chai"), Institute of Development Studies, Kolkata, 2011. 2.7 Sample Questions 2.7 Sample Questions 2.7 Sample Questions 2.7 Sample Questions 2.7.12.7.12.7.12.7.1 Long Descriptive type questions Long Descriptive type questions Long Descriptive type questions Long Descriptive type questions Long Descriptive type questions 1. 'Nation is an animated entity, a mental substance' - Analyse the ideas of Tagore's concept of Nation. 2. Explain the nature of Tagorean Nationalism during the anti-partition movement of Bengal. 3. Give a write up on how Tagore has criticized the principle of Nation in his book 'Nationalism'. 4. Analyze Tagore's idea of Internationalism.

99 2.7.22.7.22.7.22.7.22.7.2 Short Questions Short Questions Short Questions Short Questions Short Questions 1. 'Europe has a political civilization, whereas India's civilization is social.' Describe the significance of it according to Tagore. 2. 'Nationalism is a menace to civilization.'—Give a short description of this Tagorean view. 2.7.3 Objective type Questions : Tick the right answer 2.7.3 Objective type Questions : Tick the right answer 2.7.3 Objective type Questions : Tick the right answer 2.7.3 Objective type Questions : Tick the right answer 1. 'Nation is an alien idea'—this was Tagore's idea/ this was not Tagore's idea. 2. Vishva Bharati is a reflection of Tagore's nationalism/ internationalism.

100 Unit-3 Unit-3 Unit-3 Unit-3 Unit-3 □ □ □ □ □ Mahatma Gandhi : Nationalism and Mahatma Gandhi : Nationalism and Mahatma Gandhi : Nationalism and Mahatma Gandhi : Nationalism and Internationalism Internationalism Internationalism Internationalism Internationalism Structure Structure Structure Structure Structure 3.13.13.13.1 Objectives of study Objectives of study Objectives of study Objectives of study Objectives of study 3.23.23.23.2 The basis of Gandhi's Political Philosophy The basis of Gandhi's Political Philosophy The basis of Gandhi's Political Philosophy The basis of Gandhi's Political Philosophy The basis of Gandhi's Political Philosophy 3.33.33.33.3 Unity in Diversity Unity in Diversity Unity in Diversity Unity in Diversity Unity in Diversity 3.43.43.43.4 Mass base in Gandhi's movement Mass base in Gandhi's movement Mass base in Gandhi's movement Mass base in Gandhi's movement Mass base in Gandhi's movement 3.53.53.53.5 Gandhi's Economic Thought Gandhi's Economic Thought Gandhi's Economic Thought Gandhi's Economic Thought Gandhi's Economic Thought 3.63.63.63.6 Gandhi and Nation state Gandhi and Nation state Gandhi and Nation state Gandhi and Nation state Gandhi and Nation state 3.73.73.73.7 Difference of opinion between Gandhi and Tagore Difference of opinion between Gandhi and Tagore Difference of opinion between Gandhi and Tagore Difference of opinion between Gandhi and Tagore Difference of opinion between Gandhi and Tagore 3.83.83.83.8 Gandhi's Idea of Internationalism Gandhi's Idea of Internationalism Gandhi's Idea of Internationalism Gandhi's Idea of Internationalism Gandhi's Idea of Internationalism 3.93.93.93.9 Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Suggested Readings 3.103.103.103.10 Sample Questions Sample Questions Sample Questions Sample Questions Sample Questions 3.1 Objectives of Study 3.1 Objectives of Study 3.1 Objectives of Study 3.1 Objectives of Study 3.1 Objectives of Study 1. Analyzing the basic foundations of Gandhiji's nationalist political philosophy. 2. To explain that the mass base of India's political movement has been initiated first by Gandhi. 3. Discussing the importance of Gandhi's economic thoughts as the basis of his idea of nationalism. 4. Analyzing the debate between Gandhi and Tagore on their ideas of nationalism. 5. Discussing Gandhi's idea of Internationalism.

101 3.2 The basis of Gandhi's Political 3.2 The basis of Gandhi's Political 3.2 The basis of Gandhi's Political 3.2 The basis of Gandhi's Political 3.2 The basis of Gandhi's Political PPPPPhilosophy hilosophy hilosophy hilosophy hilosophy Gandhiji is most widely known as the 'Father of Nation'. Thus the importance of Gandhi as a nationalist thinker and politician is unparalleled. Gandhi's nationalistic thoughts started developing during his stay in South Africa. Gandhi himself has clearly mentioned this in his autobiography: "...God laid the foundations of my life in South Africa and sowed the seed of the fight for national self-respect." In South Africa the Indians were harassed due to the extremely racist policy of their government. In the year 1893 Gandhi went to South Africa as an assistant lawyer to fight a dewani case of a businessman based in Porbandar. There he had to face lots of harassment by the 'white' government. The extreme exploitation of the Indian coolies in South Africa also drew Gandhi towards protest. He organized the Indians there and started a protest movement against the government. Soon he became a popular leader. Gandhi's movement against the white government of the British also reached a specific height from the very beginning. He didn't accept the already practised form of protest; rather he introduced a new form of protest—Aahimsa Satyagraha. We are to remember that it was in the early 20 th century that the nationalist struggle started in India with the extremist leaders like Tilak-Aurabinda-Bipinchandra Pal. It was through them the devices of passive resistance got introduced in Indian politics. Boycott, strike and civil disobedience were the instruments of such movement. Gandhi too used these weapons during his Satyagraha movement but his mood and aims and philosophy were completely different. According to Gandhi, Passive resistance and Satyagraha are not identical. Passive resistance is a political device while Satyagraha is an ethical movement. Satyagraha can be achieved only by staying loyal to truth and by being non-violent. By not fearing self sacrifice and exhaustion one has to fight it through non-violence, the speciality of Satyagraha is to win over the enemy without causing any physical harm to him. In that sense Satyagraha is the movement of the physically strong, self sacrificing people and courageous men. Passive resistance is the weapon of the comparatively weaker section; it's merely a negative political device. Gandhi introduced Satyagraha during his stay in South Africa and started experimenting it successfully. Later on his return to India in 1915, he had worked on the developments of this movement till 1948.

102 It is clear from the philosophy of non-violent Satyagraha that Gandhi had mixed up religion with his politics. Religion here does not mean rituals or sastras or faith towards Hinduism-Islam or Christianity; to Gandhi religion is loyalty and commitment to truth. According to him, "Truth is God" rather than "God is Truth." Thus, it's the responsibility of every human being to practise morality and acquire truth. In this respect Gandhi's politics and nationalist movement is ethical and religious too. Just as the famous historian Arnold Toynbee rightly mentioned, "Gandhi had spiritualized politics." 3.3 Unity in Diversity 3.3 Unity in Diversity 3.3 Unity in Diversity 3.3 Unity in Diversity 3.3 Unity in Diversity There was another exclusive contribution of Gandhi in the history of India's nationalist struggle. India is a land of diversity with respect to a lot of things, such as caste-creed-religion-language-culture. The responsibility of the leaders was to draw a line of unity within this diversity. But since the end of nineteenth century to the first two decades of the twentieth century the nationalist movement led by National Congress was mainly Hindu centric. Many historians have marked this phase in history as the period of Hindu Nationalism in India. Not only Hindu Nationalism, it was rather defined as the nationalist movement of the new born English educated middle class and the upper class. The working class was never seen to participate in the movements. In the Gandhi-era of the freedom movement, since 1915 to the time of independence, Gandhi introduced a lot of new things for the sake of building up the nation. Firstly, the movement shouldn't remain Hindu centric. The movement should be built by bringing people from various sections of the society together. Irrespective of the fact, whether they are Hindu-Muslim- Sikh or Jains, there should be mutual respect for each others' religious belief In order to construct a greater nation, he identified the importance of the feeling of unity among the Indians. Not only religion, Gandhi concentrated on eradicating caste consciousness from among the people of India. He tried to convince people in practising tolerance towards each other. Anti- untouchable movement and mandir movement were parts of his political project. Gandhi believed, it is impossible to form a real anti-British movement without eradicating the existing differences and evils within the community. It is by exploiting these built-in pores of our society the British imperialist power gradually increased their evil exploitative rule. Tagore once said that the Satan enters the society through such pore. Gandhi wanted to eradicate

103 this. Thus it was no Hindu or Muslim nationalism, our target should be the construction of a pan-Indian nationalism. Hindu-Muslim-Sikhs-Christians have their respective religious faith. No one should face any opposition from others. In performing religious activities everyone is free. But religions have no role in the construction of the nationalism. The Indianness is the only important component in that construct. Despite of personally being a very strong Hindu, Gandhi's idea of nationalism was thus secular and caste-free. In this respect Gandhi's idea and project of nationalism was completely unlike that of the robust Hindu nationalist Savarkar or the anti-Hindu Dalit leader Ambedkar. Gandhi's historical differences with Savarkar's idea of Hindutva and his differences with Ambedkar's support for different Dalit rights are still relevant. 3.4 Mass base in Gandhi's movement 3.4 Mass base in Gandhi's movement 3.4 Mass base in Gandhi's movement 3.4 Mass base in Gandhi's movement 3.4 Mass base in Gandhi's movement The important task of turning a political movement into a movement of the masses, in the Indian context, was first done by Gandhi. Before him the anti-British movement was completely limited to the educated upper and middle classes. It was Gandhi, who first initiated the interests of the general masses with the movement. And thus it was Gandhi's leadership that broadened the boundary of the freedom movement. With the help of farmers' movements and trade union movements Gandhi extended the horizon of the consciousness of the masses. In the due course the freedom struggle started gaining the mass support. It was due to his leadership and vision that there was an initiation of democratization of projects and plans in the National Congress. The boundary created by the politically educated upper class was broken and it started spreading among the people of lower classes. Thus the Congress achieved a mass basis as a result of Gandhi's leadership. Another important aspect of his leadership is that, in none of his movement did Gandhi concentrate on the interest of any specific class or community. He gave equal importance to all the classes and communities of the society. This is referred to as the multi-class-community-movement of the Indians. In this respect it can be said that Gandhi is trying to thread all the Indians together, irrespective of their caste, class or religion. In a way, he is working for the evocation of a pan-Indian sentiment. This bringing out the lower class from political circles of the then contemporary elites and establishing a mass-political or mass- nationalistic movement made him the 'father of the nation 1 and this title is absolutely justified. Buddhadev Bhattacharya, a renowned Gandhi-researcher,

104 has used Lenin's expression to describe Gandhi. He marks Gandhi as the initiator of 'serious politics' in India. Lenin had mentioned in one of his articles that, where there is mass — not in thousands, but more than thousands, in lakhs — only there exists 'serious politics'. To the ordinary masses the initiator of mass-nationalism was 'Gandhi Maharaj'. His above the knee charka woven dhoti and chadar established Gandhi as a representative of the ordinary 'illiterate' Indians. His conversations in simplistic Hindi vernacular and his plain and simple lifestyle brought Gandhi very close to the ordinary Indians. In fact the idioms and symbols that Gandhi used in his politics made him more trustworthy to the masses. In his essay 'Satyer Ahban'(The call of Truth) Tagore wrote, "...Mahatma Gandhi arrives at the doorstep of crores of poor Indians—in their familiar attire, and conversed with them in their own language. This is a real thing; there are no bookish instances in this. And that's why, the name Mahatma, that he has been referred to as is his real name." Its mention worthy that, in 1921 during the non-cooperation movement Tagore presented this essay as a speech in a mass gathering and voiced his opinion against the movement. He couldn't accept this extremely nationalist movement, but never failed to appreciate Gandhi as the actual initiator of mass-movement.

3.5 Gandhi's Economic Thoughts 3.5 Gandhi's Economic Thoughts 3.5 Gandhi's Economic Thoughts 3.5 Gandhi's Economic Thoughts

Gandhi had no doubt about the fact that the British empire in India has completely ruined the production system and our social structure. Starting from Dadabhai Naoroji and Rameshchandra Dutta and almost all the nationalist leaders have analysed how the minimal economic strength of our country is being exploited by the foreign businessmen for their own interest (Drain Theory). Wealth of the nation is being used to nurture British imperialism. In order to compete with the foreign capital a very little attempt of accumulating national indigenous capital was initiated during the period of Swadeshi movement of Bengal in 1903-08. At that time Gandhi was in South Africa. In his book titled Hindswaraj in 1909, Gandhi mentioned the importance of strengthening national economy in Swadeshi movement. But Gandhi differed with the nationalist leaders in his idea about developing the national wealth against foreign wealth. He was against the power of big machines. He was not only a critic of the economic system of the west, but 105 was also against the basis of western production system, such as heavy machines and industrialization. Rather he preferred the traditional charka for production. He laid stress on agricultural products with the use of simple machines and technology, and also wanted to utilize the labour of the greater human society in the country. Agriculture, agro-based industry or agricultural industry these were the areas of development that Gandhi worked for. In a way Gandhi was against industrial capital and heavy industrialization. These thoughts expressed in Hindiswaraj were followed by him throughout his life. But this is the idealist ideological facet of Gandhi. There is also a practical realist face of the same person. From the 1920's Gandhi somehow accepted the importance of limited development of large industries. Moreover, he also accepted the necessity of state initiated industrialization. As evidence to this some of his writings published in the journal 'Young India', edited by Gandhi himself, can be cited. On 3 November 1921 Gandhi wrote, "I will even support the use of the most complicated machine if that helps India to get rid of poverty and joblessness." On 20 November of 1925 Gandhi wrote again, "Ideally I am against all sort of machines....but machines will be there." Finally on 15 April of 1926 he accepted, "use of machineries is relevant, as everyone is privileged by it." During the 1930-40s Gandhi also accepted the importance of certain heavy industries. Such industries must be kept under government's control was also his opinion. But such records can never be considered as a proof that matured Gandhi had made any rethinking for restructuring his understanding of the economic system. Rather from a comment published in a 1921 edition of 'Young India' Gandhi's thought process can be marked. He wrote, "Our mills cannot produce enough to meet our needs." According to him, mills, factories and industries can never be enough to provide employment to the uncountable population of India. That deficiency can only be met by the charka. It's the decentralized production system that Gandhi's movement always advocated for. The philosophy of 'Hind-Swaraj' claims to be understood from such a point of view. The importance of such a basic swadeshi stance on economy as a foundation to the political nationalism can never be easily ignored.

106 3.6 Gandhi and Nation-state 3.6 Gandhi and Nation-state 3.6 Gandhi and Nation-state 3.6 Gandhi and Nation-state 3.6 Gandhi and Nation-state

The history of modern nationalism and the idea of nation-state are almost entwined. With respect to the diffusion of the ideology of nationalism in the various countries of Europe and America, the nation-state was born. The most unavoidable companion of modern civilization is the modern state machinery. The importance of ideas like impersonality, bureaucracy, rule of law was immense. Was this state-centricism in human life ever been recognized in Gandhi's philosophy? The two aspects of Gandhi's views on state are there before us as an answer to this question. Idealist Gandhi considered the state to be an enemy of truth. Prof. Nirmal Kumar Basu while discussing Gandhism wrote that Gandhi said, "

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The state represents violence in a concentrated and organized form. The individual has soul, but

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the state is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence.”

From this statement some of the aspects of Gandhi's view about state becomes clear. One, state is an impersonal institution so its medium of violence is not always visible. State executes violence in the form of law and regulations, but this doesn't happen all the time, state takes the refuge of violence in case of urgency. Secondly, the entity of a person is revealed through his sense of freedom. State murders the lively entity of the human being with the help of its unscrupulous bureaucracy. Thirdly, the organized inhuman savage force of the state fights against the sensitivity, sensibility and intelligence of an individual. For all these reasons state is an enemy of humanity and not at all a necessary pre-condition for life. In that case, was Gandhi a believer of the anti-state anarchy? History doesn't really say so. Rather all through his political career he struggled for establishing free independent state, parliamentary democracy, ramrajya in India. That he completely disapproved the idea of nation-state—this statement is historically untrue. Gandhi actually disliked the concept of all powerful domination of the nation state. Immoral and uncontrollable power of the state machinery was never appreciated by him. The state that claims that the only unavoidable institution for the well being of the citizens is a state and it's the best as far as morality is concerned—Gandhi considered such a state to be useless. Gandhi appreciated a state that is keen on protecting the rights of an individual. He preferred where state is the ultimate protector of law and security and where law is created on the basis of mass approval. A good state is that which is protective towards good-governance. In Gandhian philosophy the importance of gram-swaraj (autonomous rule of the villages) was more than that of the all engulfing nation-state. The basic idea behind gram-swaraj was to have a rural society independent on itself. Using their knowledge and skills the gram (rural) societies will develop their independent panchayat level governing bodies. Basing on that gradually the block-zilla-state-central level governance will develop. That will be the ideal democratic governmental structure. That is according to Gandhi, the Ramrajya. Where state is not an all powerful body, rather it's the protector of the democratic rights of individuals and indigenous communities. This can be considered as the crux of Gandhi's idea of decentralized state system. It's obvious that Gandhi's idea differed a lot from the 20 th century concept of nation-state. 3.7 The difference of opinion between Gandhi and Tagore 3.7 The difference of opinion between Gandhi and Tagore 3.7 The difference of opinion between Gandhi and Tagore 3.7 The difference of opinion between Gandhi and Tagore 3.7 The difference of opinion between Gandhi and Tagore Gandhi can never be considered to be a mean minded nationalist in the trajectory of nationalism in India. Gandhi wrote in 'Young India' in 1921, "Patriotism for me is the same as humanity" or in 1929 he was writing, "Through the realization of freedom of India, I hope to realize and carry on the mission of brotherhood of men" etc. Romain Rolland in his diary on India correctly wrote, Gandhi is a nationalist, but he is greater, rather greatest nationalist. And he might be considered the ideal before the criminal nationalists of Europe. Thus according to Rolland, Gandhi was nationalist but noblest nationalist and he may be the great ideal before the vulgar and criminal nationalist aspirations of European world. That is, Rolland argued that Gandhi was a nationalist but mean mindedness couldn't dominate him. Nationalism is destined to be all engulfing and that instinctually turns into imperialism. On the contrary creative and self-revealing nationalism is a great virtue and that nationalism is not a hurdle in the path of internationalism. It is through healthy nationalism that the path for internationalism is carved. Gandhi himself also mentioned the same thing, "It is impossible for one to be an internationalist without being a nationalist. Internationalism is only

108 possible when nationalism becomes a fact i.e. when peoples belonging to different countries have organized themselves and are able to act as one man.” With respect to the ideology of global humanism this act of believing in oneness is never possible if there is no self-mdependence. Gandhi wrote in ‘Young India’, “Cooperation presupposes free nations worthy of cooperation.” The non-cooperation of 1921 movement under Gandhi’s leadership was intensely nationalist in nature. He even had strife with Tagore regarding this movement. At that time the poet was preaching the ideology of Visva Bharati in the western part of the world. He was propagating that knowledge from all over the world has to be accumulated within one nest. Viswa Bharati will be the source to seek friendship-brotherhood-peace through universal knowledge. It was just during this time that Gandhi declared non-cooperation against the British rule, for the freedom of India. The movement didn’t remain limited to the administrative and political levels. In a mass meeting on the 24 th of March of 1921 as an answer to a question regarding English education Gandhi said, “Tilak and Rammohan would have been greater men if they had not had the contagion of English learning... Rammohan and Tilak (leave aside my case) were so many pygmies who have no hold upon the people compared with Chaitanya, Sankar, Kabir and Nanak. Rammohan and Tilak were pygmies before these saints.” This comment from Gandhi—calling Rammohan a pygmy had shaken Rabindranath Tagore. There was a furious reaction within him. It was because Tagore believed that despite of being the founder for English education and a pioneer of modernism in India, it was Rammohan who paved the way for relating Indian religion and culture with the new waves of modern times. Despite of welcoming the western knowledge system he did not distance himself from the eastern cultural arena. Rather he broadened the pavement where these two could meet. On 8 th March of 1921 the poet is saying to Jagadananda Roy, a teacher in Santiniketan that, “Nationalism is a geographical devil. The world is shaking with the ill deeds of such an evil. From the last few days I am trying to eradicate it. It is when you take the name of God, does the evil run away. ... In our Visva Bharati we are building a mandir for such a God... The family man who makes the scope for the sky from above the world, the light to enter his home, it is he who loves his home the most. The last day when I read in the newspaper that

109 Mahatma Gandhi had asked the women of our country to stop studying English, it was then that I realized that construction of a wall has already been started in our country. That is, the attempt to create a prison out of one’s own home is being considered as a path to freedom, these days. We are negating all the light from all over the world to worship the darkness in our homes. We are forgetting that, those nations which want to stay miserable in them by abandoning other nations are no less unacceptable to God than all those great nations who want to become greater by hurting others.” Later this letter was published in a journal named ‘Prabasi’, which brought in a major controversy. Besides the journals and magazines of India, the foreign journals too thoroughly criticized this anti-nationalist point of view of Tagore. During this same time similar anti-nationalist thoughts were expressed by the poet in his letters to friend C.F. Andrews. In these letters there was also a message of caution from Tagore, so that the students of Santiniketan did not get aroused to participate in the non-cooperation movement. Even Gandhi couldn’t stay quiet against such a comment from the poet. In 1 st June 1921 edition of ‘Young India’ Gandhi’s reaction was expressed in two independent articles. The articles were titled as ‘English Learning’ and ‘The Poet’s Anxiety’. In the first essay Gandhi’s message was, “The poet does not know perhaps that English is today studied because of its commercial and so-called political value. Our boys think, and rightly in the present circumstances, that without English they cannot get Government service. Girls are taught English as a passport to marriage. I know several instances of women wanting to learn English so that they may be able to talk to Englishmen in English. I know husbands who are sorry that their wives cannot talk to them and their friends in English. I know families in which English is being made the mother tongue. Hundreds of youths believe that without the knowledge of English freedom for India is practically impossible. The canker has so eaten into society that, in many cases, the only meaning of Education is knowledge of English.” Women learn English to get eligible husbands and men learn it to get jobs—despite of this statement being partially true, it rather became a source of huge controversy to call the importance of English education in India

110 being limited to just that much. Along with the poet a large section of people opined that, in Gandhi’s thought another important aspect of English education was neglected—the language had a huge role to play in the cultural revival of India during 19 th and 20 th century. Although Gandhi, in his respondent essay had written, “I

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hope I am as great a believer in free air as the great poet. I do not want my house to be walled in

on all sides and my windows to be stuffed." During the non-cooperation movement Gandhi also mentioned to Tagore that, "My religion has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself." He said, "Isolated independence is not the goal of the world states. It is voluntary independence." Gandhi himself believed that nationalism, as an ideology is not complete in itself. It gains completeness in internationalism. Like Tagore he also criticized the mean minded, selfish, and exclusive ideology of the nationalism of the western world. He disliked the politics of denying other peoples independence. Gandhi claimed that, the nature of Indian nationalism is different. According to him, it is not selfish and all exclusive in nature. In his words, "

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there is no limit to extending our service to our neighbours across state-made frontiers." 3.8

Gandhi's idea on Internationalism 3.8 Gandhi's idea on Internationalism 3.8 Gandhi's idea on Internationalism 3.8 Gandhi's idea on Internationalism 3.8 Gandhi's idea on Internationalism In Gandhian philosophy the relation between humanism and non-violence is inseparable. Gandhi's desired ideal is to spread humanism in the international arena through the ideology of non-violence. The basic thought behind his politics is to eradicate war and establish friendship and harmony. But Gandhi's opinion on war and peace was not one dimensional. It would be unfair to say that, Gandhi's theory on non-violence and war was something very extreme. In several turns in life, while fighting several issues, on various international platform the variations in his thoughts on war and non-violence been reflected in various forms. In his autobiography (

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An Autobiography or The story of My Experiments with Truth)

he wrote, "It is quiet clear to me 111 that participation in war could never be consistent with Ahimsa. But it is not always given to be equally clear about ones duty. A votary of truth is often obliged to grope in the dark." That is, according to Gandhi pacifism is not an extreme ideology. When it comes to the question of peace and anti-war movement, or may be following the belief of non-violence one has to keep the practical political situation in mind. Pacifism is not an unconditional ideology, if required even the advocate of non-violence might need to take refuge in violence. During the First World War Gandhi was not seen to be abandoning war completely. Rather there was some sort of doubtfulness noticed in his thinking. In his words: "When two nations are fighting, the duty of a votary of ahimsa is to stop the war. He who is not equal to that duty, he who has no power of resisting war, he who has not qualified to stop war, yet whole-heartedly tried to free himself, his nation and the world from war." It can be well understood from this ambivalence that Gandhi's ideology on peace was rather conditional in nature. It was not just establishing peace at any cost. During 1904-05 when Russia under the directions of the imperialist Tzar attacked Japan unduly, Gandhi had given full support to the counter attack of Japan in a newspaper named 'Indian opinion'. He has always differentiated between just war and unjust war. Once Gandhi addressed the protestors of war by saying, "It is open to a war resister to judge between two combatants and wish success to the one who has justice on his side." It is basing his faith on this that he supported the republicans of Spain fighting the Franco's or appreciated the struggle of the Chinese troupe against Japanese invasion. During the phase of World War II he did support the Polish unhesitatingly as they went ahead to combat the German attack. He always considered the fight of the war resisters justified, even if that was an armed one. During World War II Gandhi overtly criticized the Germans, or rather Hitler and his Nazi soldiers' slaughtering of the Jews. In the Harijan magazine Gandhi said, "My sympathies are all with the Jews" because "the German persecution of the Jews seems to have no parallel in history." Despite of being anti-violence and war resistant he believed in the concept of just war and thus he wrote, "If there could be a justifiable war in the name and for

112 humanity, a war against Germany, to prevent the wanton prosecution of a whole race would be completely justified." In 1945 when United States of America dropped nuclear bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki of Japan, all the peace lovers from around the world did contempt this heinous act. Gandhi was deeply hurt, he said, "War knows no law except that of might." From the very beginning of our Independence there were endless problems at the India-Pakistan borders. The most important problem happened to be the Kashmir issue. When the Indian government sent armed forces to protect Kashmir, Gandhi also supported the war tactics of the government. Though the critics of Gandhi became very vocal during this time, but Gandhi didn't hesitate to allow the action of the armed forces in this issue. In cases of international problems and disputes, Gandhi always suggested the path of non-violence. But when in need of establishing justice, he didn't totally abandon the methods of violence. It had been very clearly revealed in many cases. It was because the line between just war and unjust war has always been an important part of Gandhian philosophy. It won't be right to mark him as an extreme advocate of peace. His thoughts on internationalism have to be counted as a complimentary to national interests. 3.9 Suggested Readings 3.9 Suggested Readings 3.9 Suggested Readings 3.9 Suggested Readings 3.9 Suggested Readings 1. Dr.

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Buddhadev Bhattacharya: Evolution of the Political Philosophy of Gandhi, Calcutta Book House, 1969. 2.

Nirmal Kumar Basu: Studies in Gandhism, Indian Associated Publishing, 1962. 3. Shibajipratim Basu: The Poet and the Mahatma, Engagement with Nationalism and Internationalism, Progressive Publishers, 2009. 3.10 Sample Questions 3.10 Sample Questions 3.10 Sample Questions 3.10 Sample Questions 3.10.1 Analytical Questions 3.10.1 Analytical Questions 3.10.1 Analytical Questions 3.10.1 Analytical Questions 3.10.1 Analytical Questions 1. Analyse the various foundations of the Gandhian philosophy of nationalism.

113 2. Analyse Gandhi's economic thought as reflected in his ideology of nationalism. 3. Describe the nature of debate between Gandhi and Tagore on the idea of nationalism. 4. Write a note on Gandhi's thought on internationalism. 3.10.2 Short Questions 3.10.2 Short Questions 3.10.2 Short Questions 3.10.2 Short Questions 3.10.2 Short Questions 1. Describe the importance of non-violent satyagraha in Gandhian philosophy. 2. Is Gandhi an anarchist philosopher? 3. Describe Gandhi's thoughts on economic decentralization. 3.10.3 Objective Questions (Tick the right answer) 3.10.3 Objective Questions (Tick the right answer) 3.10.3 Objective Questions (Tick the right answer) 3.10.3 Objective Questions (Tick the right answer) 1. Unhesitatingly Gandhi was a supporter of nation-state/ not a supporter of nation-state. 2. In Gandhian thoughts large industrialisation is necessary for the development of India/ not necessary for the development of India.

114 Unit-4 Unit-4 Unit-4 Unit-4 Unit-4 □□□□□ S S S S Subhas Chandra's Ideas on Nationalism ubhas Chandra's Ideas on Nationalism ubhas Chandra's Ideas on Nationalism ubhas Chandra's Ideas on Nationalism ubhas Chandra's Ideas on Nationalism and Internationalism and Internationalism and Internationalism and Internationalism and Internationalism Structure Structure Structure Structure Structure 4.14.14.14.1 Objectives of Study Objectives of Study Objectives of Study Objectives of Study Objectives of Study 4.24.24.24.2 Nationalism in Subhaschandra's Thinking Nationalism in Subhaschandra's Thinking Nationalism in Subhaschandra's Thinking Nationalism in Subhaschandra's Thinking 4.34.34.34.3 The Nature of Subhaschandra's Nationalist Ideology The Nature of Subhaschandra's Nationalist Ideology The Nature of Subhaschandra's Nationalist Ideology The Nature of Subhaschandra's Nationalist Ideology 4.44.44.44.4 Subhas's Views on Internationalism Subhas's Views on Internationalism Subhas's Views on Internationalism Subhas's Views on Internationalism Subhas's Views on Internationalism 4.54.54.54.5 Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Suggested Readings Suggested Readings 4.64.64.64.6 Sample Questions Sample Questions Sample Questions Sample Questions Sample Questions 4.1 Objectives of Study 4.1 Objectives of Study 4.1 Objectives of Study 4.1 Objectives of Study 4.1 Objectives of Study * How Subhaschandra became a nationalist, an analysis. * Description of the various aspects of Subhaschandra's nationalist thoughts. * Analysis of Subhaschandra's views on Internationalism. 4.2 Nationalism in Subhaschandra's thinking 4.2 Nationalism in Subhaschandra's thinking 4.2 Nationalism in Subhaschandra's thinking 4.2 Nationalism in Subhaschandra's thinking In the year 1927 Subhaschandra had said, "If any 'ism' has to be accepted whole heartedly in a unfree country, it is nationalism." On coming across this statement of Subhaschandra, it would definitely come to the mind of the students of political science, that the ideology of nationalism has been framed in various parts of the world in different ways and in accordance to the different time-space and person. The process of framing of the ideology of nationalism in the European countries is not the same as in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In many unfree countries like India, nationalism had evolved as the sharp reaction to foreign imperialism. In the colonial society the movement for nationalism had started not only as a sharp weapon against imperialism but also as an idea of self-development according to the 115 culture, heritage and history of the country. Hence, on the one hand it reflects enmity against the torture of the foreign ruler; on the other hand nationalism flourishes and develops itself with the idea of economic, social and cultural progress of the same nation. Along with that, there definitely exists the idea of political freedom and a dream for constructing a free nation. Netaji had not only noticed both these trends of nationalist movement, but had very acutely tried to construct the ideology of nationalism. His name surpasses all others in the history of anti-imperialistic movement. While explaining the intense love for his motherland Gandhiji had once said that, Subhash is a 'patriot of patriots'. 'Starting from his student life till the formation of 'Azad Hind Fauz movement', his valour, courage, sacrifice and patriotism would ever remain as a golden mark in the history of India's struggle for Independence. Although he went to Europe and had passed the ICS Examination, yet he did not accept the government service. He came back to India and sprang into the freedom movement under the leadership of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan. He considered his own country as his motherland. His source of inspiration was Bankimchandra's and Vivekananda's love for motherland. Tagore's poems and songs were also the stimulating force. In the year 1914 when Subhas was seventeen years old—a college student—taking a few friends with him Subhash visited Santiniketan. They were too excited anticipating that they would hear some stimulating words from Tagore— the poet of 'Balaka'. But that was mere an imagination; they could never guess what the poet would say. During the inauguration of 'Sriniketan Silpabhavan' in Kolkata in 1938, Subhas in his speech had said, "When we went to the poet we had no idea on which subject the poet would speak. Initially we could not understand why the poet was talking of so dull a matter like village reconstruction and all that to the emotional young men of Bengal. Truly speaking, we did not get any inspiration from it. But as days went by, I could realise that practically whatever he had said then, how precious they were!" Actually, Tagore's way of perceiving politics, patriotism and nationalism totally differed from those of the then contemporary leaders of India. This became very clear from Netaji's description of Tagore's view. To Tagore philosophy of social reconstruction is more important than political agitational

116 activities. To him the central idea of politics is the gradual empowerment of an individual and nation. The struggle to acquire state power by violently agitating the British rule, was not so vital to the poet. But to Subhashchandra the importance of political movement for independence was first and foremost. Though reconstruction of society and nation was important to him, he thought that this development is not possible until and unless the state or political power is acquired. This latter view may be considered as the strongest and the principal trend of our nationalist movement. The first most significant step of Subhashchandra's political career is the participation in the non-cooperation movement led by Gandhiji in the year 1921. We must remember that on 16 th of July, 1921 he came back to India after rejecting the lucrative offer of ICS job. After arriving at Bombay port Subhash directly went to Gandhi and tried to understand the agenda of the non-cooperation movement. But he did not get any clear idea from the discussion with Gandhi. Rather, according to Gandhi's suggestion he went to meet Chittaranjan Das, the leader of Bengal and under his leadership he actively took part in the non-cooperation movement. During this period Subhash became acquainted to nationalist revolutionaries and noticed their activities. In the year 1922 he was also invited to join the fourth congress of Communist International to be held in Moscow. But the British government did not give him permission to join it. However, in 1922 after the ChowriChowra incident, when Gandhi withdrew the non-cooperation movement, like most of the leaders of the country Subhas had stubbornly criticised the stand of Gandhi. As a reaction to this incident, in the year 1923 C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru formed the Swarajya Dal within the Congress. Subhas had joined this movement as an assistant to Chittranjan Das and very rapidly he reached the level of national leadership. 1928 is a very significant year in the political career of Subhash. He gave leadership in the movement against the Simon Commission; established 'Independence for India League' with the support of Jawaharlal Nehru and also became its joint secretary. In the Calcutta Session of the National Congress very successfully Subhas carried on the duty of 'General -Officer- Commanding' of the volunteer group. Also in the same year he became the leader of the young society of Bengal. In this Assembly of Congress Subhas opposed Gandhi's proposal of dominion status. He

117 proposed for complete freedom, which was ultimately rejected. In the year 1933, when Gandhi declared to withhold the movement of civil disobedience, Subhas strongly opposed it from the city of Vienna. He demanded for radical change in the policies of the Congress and also proposed for new leadership. In 1934, within the Congress a new platform came up as 'Congress Socialist Party'. Under the leadership of Acharya Narendra Deb the following young leaders like Jayprakash Narayan, Minu Masani, N. G Gore, Nambudripad were the initiators of this platform. The philosophy of nationalism and socialism, were their ideology. In order to fight against the rightist leadership of National Congress Subhas had accepted the importance of this socialistic platform and had supported it from outside. At the end of the year 1937, in accordance with Gandhi's wish, Subhas was proposed as the president of National Congress. In 1938 he was elected as the president. In this year in the Haripura session of Congress Subhas delivered his presidential speech and had said that, "National Congress must be developed into the largest anti-imperialist platform and taking the due advantage of international politics a great national agitation must be developed." In the Haripura conference Subhash expressed his idea of economic development of the country through his organised economic planning. Under his leadership National Planning Commission was founded and Subhas's thoughts and activities frightened Gandhi and the rightist leaders of the Congress. In 1939 in Tripura Congress Subhas was elected president for the second time. But as the followers of Gandhi did not at all cooperate with him Subhas had to resign from the post. He was expelled from National Congress for three years. In 1939 Subhash formed Forward Block and in the programme of this party there was the reflection of the unified philosophy of socialism and nationalism. In 1940, under the leadership of Subhas the movement of anti-Hallwell monument began. Subhas became imprisoned once again for this strong nationalist fervour. Behind the bars Subhas started hunger strike and the government decided for his confinement at home. And this was the time when his historical absconding took place. In the chaotic international situation during the Second World war Subhas established a 'Free India Centre' at Berlin in order to build up violent rebellion against the British rule. In 1942 Subhas approached the German dictator, Hitler in order

118 to get help for his war against the British rule. Hitler at that point of time was unable to reciprocate. Gandhi's Quit India or August Movement started just after this. From Azad Hind Radio Station Subhas gave his support to this movement and declared a total scheme of his movement. Not receiving any help from Germany Subhas then approached Tojo, the then Prime minister of Japan and with his aid he declared war against British India. On 21st of October, 1943 Subhas framed temporary Azad Hind government. This Azad Hind regiment proclaimed war against the British and American imperialism. Azad Hind government received diplomatic recognition from the countries like Japan, Germany, Italy, Nanking, Philippines, Thailand and Burma. Gradually Azad Hind regiment with its chieftain Subhas reached Andaman and Nicobar Islands with the help of Japan. In January 1944 the head office of Azad Hind government was shifted to Rangoon (Burma). But by the end of this year the trend of war went in favour of the Allies and the United States of America dropped atom bomb in two cities of Japan in August 1945. Japan was forced to surrender. The Azad Hind regiment had to retreat. On 18th of August, 1945 Subhas set off for Tokyo. But a few days later there was an announcement in the Tokyo Radio that Subhas had expired in an air crash. But controversy over this death news started immediately which still persists.

4.3 The nature of Subhas

4.3 The nature of Subhas CCCCChandra's nationalist ideology handra's nationalist ideology handra's nationalist ideology handra's nationalist ideology handra's nationalist ideology handra's nationalist ideology From the very beginning of his political career Subhas was extremely nationalist. The armed national struggle was always preferred by him than the non-violent programmes of Gandhiji. Directly and indirectly he was connected with the secret revolutionaries. His Azad Hind movement is no less than a war. There are various aspects of Subhas's uncompromising nationalistic opposition against the imperialist exploitation. Sometimes his movement accepts Gandhi's programme and follows the nationalist movement of Congress. Sometimes he calls for an open combat. Both of these reactions are the result of his strong national feeling. Parallely, Subhas's nationalism has an economic aspect. This trend can be named as constructive nationalism. From his very student life Subhas had an observation and analytical study on

119 how the imperialists used to continuously economically suppress the colonial countries of Asia and Africa. He was acquainted with the studies and methods of analysis of Naoroji, Ranade and Ramesh Chandra Dutta. On the other hand, as a student of Cambridge University, he had keen interest on the nature of the world economy. After joining the National Congress Subhas had shouldered the responsibility of various constructive programmes. Actually, even before joining Congress Subhas believed that the struggle for freedom should not be restricted only to political fields. Various constructive programmes must be made for our self-development or we need to know our motherland or we should be active for the making of our own nation. In 1921, before the non-cooperation movement started, he had written a letter to Chitranjan Das. There he wrote. Congress must divide its members into various units who should be given the charge of spreading education in the society. Mass awareness programmes, social service and various other experimental projects must be made forthwith. Subhas himself wanted to take the responsibility of a few such projects. He had written to C.R. Das, "You might say that Congress is now busy in destroying the existing order. Hence without completing destruction process constructive works cannot begin. But what I feel, now onwards along with demolition, creative process must begin. If we want to formulate any policy against any existing problem of the nation, it requires a thorough study and careful research. Hence we must begin the research right from this moment. If Congress is able to prepare a complete programme, then the day when we will achieve our freedom we will not have to hesitate for any policy." In Subhas's book Taruner Swapna (Youth's Dream) we get many such descriptions and ideas of constructive policy. During the decades of 1920's and 30's through various speeches Subhas had tried to inspire the members of Congress for the economic development of the country. In the Haripura Congress session, 1938 the major part of Subhas's presidential speech was devoted to the constructive nationalism, in his speech here Subhas had emphasised on the necessity of development of Indian economy through organised economic planning under the leadership of Congress. He had also set up a Planning Committee. In the process of the formation of the committee and for the rapid industrialisation in the country, he got immense help from Jawaharlal Nehru; and scientist Meghnad Saha had also given a great support to him. In 1939 after the formation of Forward

120 Block, the task and the duties which Subhas had set also contained the matters of economic development. According to Subhas, India is a unified multi-dimensional state. Enormous diversities are there in the country in the field of religion, language, race and regional culture. To develop nationalism therefore a feeling of unity should have been inculcated among all these diversities. Subhas considered National Congress as a major instrument for developing such unity. It is very difficult to establish unity in this country where caste and religion and other divisive forces are quite active. But to Subhas the most important challenge was an entreatment for unity for building up our nation. Making religious sentiments his weapon Veer Savarkar got involved in a nationalist movement. Or by rallying the Dalits, who are oppressed by the Varna Hindus, Ambedkar organised a socio-political movement in our country. Subhas's dream travelled totally in a different route from all these. He wanted a composite nationalist culture where there would be no disagreement among the religion, language, regionalism, race and community. Where there would develop a feeling of Indianness. Subhas's main objective was not to entertain communalism among Hindus and the Muslims; he wanted to create absolute unity and amity among them. After leaving the country when he built up India Legion in Germany or later forming Azad Hind Fauz in East Asia Subhas was very cautious that religious communalism does not get any impetus. Throughout his political life Subhas's main concern was to declare war against communalism. He had repeatedly pleaded to Gandhi and other national leaders to leave the country unified. As the Commander of Azad Hind Fauz and Azad Hind government Subhash had tried to strengthen the mental state of the Indian soldiers. For this he had prepared a nationalist slogan in Urdu—'Ittefaq (unity) Ittemad (faith), Quarbani (self-sacrifice).' This is quite clear that staying above communal politics and culture Subhas tried to create an undivided India. 4.4 Subhas's Internationalism 4.4 Subhas's Internationalism 4.4 Subhas's Internationalism 4.4 Subhas's Internationalism Arrogance and strong national sentiment is not true nationalism. This was Subhas's idea. His earnest desire was to reach to internationalism through

121 smooth and forbearing nationalism. In the year 1943 while in abroad he was busy in constructing a new form of movement for independence. At that time he was invited to a greater East Asia Conference. A part of the speech that he delivered there is as follows: "True internationalism does not deny nationalism; rather true internationalism is innate in the healthy nationalism. False internationalism stands on refusing the essence of various nations, it must be noticed that, in this matter European philosophers like Romain Rolland, Laski, Zimmerman and eminent Indian personalities like Vivekananda, Aurobindo and others thought that, the road to internationalism lies through nationalism." Of course nationalism must discard arrogant national sentiment and it must be balanced and able to accept others' opinion. In his speech in the conference of East Asia Subhaschandra had agreed to the proposal of constructing 'Pan-Asian Federation'. Subhas had also focussed in his speech that, universalism is a spontaneous element in ancient Indian philosophy and cultural heritage. Hindu civilisation teaches acceptance, it is against rejection. Ancient Buddhism had widely opened its arms from India towards China and Japan. Buddha's teaching of peace and 'moksha' had spread throughout Asia. In the middle age when the Muslims came from West Asia, they too were accepted by India. But India's international relationship with West Asia was not true, because internationalism does not destroy or suppress the free rights and aspirations of other nations. Practically, the main characteristic of internationalism is not to underestimate nationalism, but to construct international society through mutual exchanges. In the last phase of the Second World War the allied forces thought of forming the United Nations. There was an indirect support to this endeavour in Subhas's speech. Following is an extract from his talk: "Today we have developed the faith that if we can form a body in the pattern of United Nations for the East Asian countries, then only it would be possible for us to construct an international organisation for the nations." Subhash had also added in his speech that during the formation of Pan-Asian Federation we must be very cautious that it does not take the form of Vienna Congress of the First World War, which had turned out to be a centre for the notorious people. If true amicable relationships develop among the various countries of

122 Asia and a sense of integrity flourishes among the colonial countries of Asia and Africa, then the path to counter the Anglo-Americans will be smoother. In a talk addressed to students at Tokyo Imperial University in 1944 Subhash had said, "Internationalism is a much needed ideology and we can develop an international federation on the basis of liberty, justice and mutual reciprocity. Constructing an international federation out of the blue is difficult and making it successful is almost impossible. The process of foundation of a local association is the only way which can ultimately and gradually lead to an international league." There was another important dimension in Subhas's concept of internationalism. In the course of nationalist struggle he preached of the importance of international propagation. As the President of Haripura Congress in 1938, Subhash had said, to uphold India's image in the right way in the international world, National Congress must appoint the dependable representatives in Europe, America, Asia, Africa and in different countries of Latin America. An extract from his speech is as follows: "...we had been underestimating central and south America till date. But they are over enthusiastic about India. Such cultural associations which are working in the fields of international culture and Indian industrialists who are involved in international economy can help the Congress in advancing India's international relationship. Apart from this it would be a duty of the Indians to participate in all international assemblies and conferences. As a consequence of joining these conferences the publicity that India would achieve is essential and beneficial." Subhas had stated that the establishment of this international relationship is not for any conspiracy against the British government. This relation is essential for the publicity of India's great cultural and social heritage. He firmly believed that establishment of proper international relationship would help India to authenticate in the international society, its demand for freedom. He had also thought of utilising the complicated international situation of 1942 in India's struggle for freedom. During the World war, taking aid from Japan and Germany to counter the British government was one of his political techniques. Similarly his intended target was to fight against British imperialism by manipulating the Union of States of Soviet Russia using the

123 innate inconsistencies in the relation of Anglo-American imperialism with the USSR. Having made fraternity with Germany and Japan Subhas had to bear the criticism that he was attracted towards Fascism and Nazism. But this evaluation had no rational ground. On 24 March, 1936 Subhash had written a letter to Dr. Feldar, the Director of German Academy for Foreign Relations. Here he writes, "I do not believe in overpowering of one race of people by the other...that German nationalism is influenced by racism and selfishness, hurts me immensely." The mind-set expressed in this letter shows that Subhash had never supported the perverted and aggressive nationalism of Hitler and Mussolini. The nationalism he desired was not an instrument to hurt others. It was an amiable sustaining power for the relation with other nations. Nationalism should be practised this way. 4.5 Suggested Readings 4.5 Suggested Readings 4.5 Suggested Readings 4.5 Suggested Readings 4.5 Suggested Readings 1) Subhas Chandra Bose, Nirbachita Bhashan Sangraha, Lokmata Prakashani, 1996. 2) Subhas Chandra Bose, Taruner Swapna, Ananda Publisher, 1990 edition. 3) Ashok Kumar Mukhopadhyay (ed.), Bharatiya Rashtrachinta Parichay, Paschimanga Rajya Pustak Parshad, 2013. 4.6 Sample Questions 4.6 Sample Questions 4.6 Sample Questions 4.6 Sample Questions 4.6.1 Analytical questions 4.6.1 Analytical questions 4.6.1 Analytical questions 4.6.1 Analytical questions 1. Analyse the important aspects of Subhas Chandra Bose's nationalistic thoughts and works. 2. Analyse the nature of Subhas Chandra's Internationalism.

124 4.6.2 Short Questions 4.6.2 Short Questions 4.6.2 Short Questions 4.6.2 Short Questions 4.6.2 Short Questions 1. What according to Subhas Chandra was the concept of constructive swadeshi? 2. Describe the nature of Subhas Chandra's Azad Hind Movement. 4.6.2 Objective Questions (Tick the right answer) 4.6.2 Objective Questions (Tick the right answer) 4.6.2 Objective Questions (Tick the right answer) 4.6.2 Objective Questions (Tick the right answer) 1. Like Gandhi Subhashchandra was non-violent/not non-violent. 2. Subhashchandra was/was not the member of Congress Socialist Party. My Iratitude to Sm. Sarmistha Ghatak and Sm. Suchandra Ghatak for English translation.

125 MODULE - 3 SOCIALISM

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127 Unit-1 □ Swami Vivekananda's Ideas on Socialism Structure 1.0 Introduction 1.1 Brief Life history and philosophy of life 1.2 Is Vivekananda India's first socialist? 1.3 Marx and Vivekananda 1.4 Nature of Vivekananda's socialism 1.5 Summary 1.6 Sample Questions 1.7 Suggested Readings Objectives In this unit the following issues will be highlighted:-

- Brief life sketch of Vivekananda and his surrounding environment
- Introduction to the analysis of the debate on whether Vivekananda is India's first socialist
- Similarities and differences between Marx and Vivekananda on socialism
- Introduction to the analysis of the nature of Vivekananda's proposed socialism

1.0 Introduction : Swami Vivekananda was a pioneering figure and leader of spiritual nationalism in Bengal and in India and also a major source of inspiration for revolutionary movements. His workaholic life was dedicated to taking care of the human beings across class and caste. Moreover he Championed the main tenets of India's civilization and culture before the western world and by instilling courage in the minds of colonized Indian people had strengthened them to fight for freedom. By arguing in favour of worshipping the deities known for strength and power, he helped in reviving the lost valour of Indian people. He had no direct links with the grammar and text of Indian politics but those who were associated with the revolutionary movements in Bengal were highly influenced by Vivekananda. Vivekananda was never a philosopher in the strict mainstream sense of the term but his dedication towards the idea of equality was unequivocal. He believed in socialism but only for its practical merit he supported this system. He had never seen socialist system as the only sign of unmet benefit. His ideological stand was never biased towards socialism. In his entire life, Vivekananda gave importance to the goal of life and not to ideology. He has not taken any rigid stand regarding socialism but still some scholars regard him as the first socialist thinker and practitioner of India. Before answering the question whether he was the first socialist of India, it is necessary to find answer to another question that is whether Vivekananda was a theorist? He can very well be seen as a thinker but he never created any structure of thought and ideas. In this context it can be said that may be his ideas and theories were not novel or his own but he was a sensitive, reflective and thinking person and publicly disclosed his views on different political, social and other issues. One can draw a comprehensive picture of Vivekananda's realm of thinking or world of ideas from a wide range of his speeches and complete works. Vivekananda was never a political person but definitely he was aware of politics. Even if he had no fundamental theory or thought to offer, Vivekananda's inclusion in the evolution of the history of India's political thinking is indispensable.

1.1 Brief History and Philosophy of Vivekananda's Life Vivekananda was born on 12 th January 1863 and at that time the name given to him by his family was Narendranath Dutta. After coming in touch with Sri Ramakrishna at Dakshineswar in the month of November 1881, Narendranath's life changed drastically. Ramakrishna inspired him to take care of living beings by equating them as the incarnation of Lord Shiva. Before this meeting with Ramakrishna, Narendranath graduated from Scottish Church College in Philosophy but even after several attempts failed to get a job. His father Bishwanath Dutta was a renowned Attorney but after his death financial crisis engulfed Narendranath's family. Inspired by Ramakrishna, he devoted himself to spiritual meditation. After the death of Sri Ramakrishna, Narendranath along with other followers of Ramakrishna, established Sri Ramakrishnamath at a place called Baranagar. In 1887 along with ten of Ramkrishna's disciples, he also undertook Sanyas and at first Narendranath came to be known as Vividishananda and later as Vivekananda. In the face of several odds, Vivekananda undertook a journey of the entire country in foot. On 11 th September, 1893 he

129 participated in the religious conference at Chicago and the participants at the Conference were spellbound by his speech and his stress on integrity of all religions made him the best speaker of the Conference. Since then Vivekananda came to be popularly known as Swamiji and he went across several cities of United States to spread the teachings of Vedanta. In the month of August 1895 he went to Europe and after completing his campaigns in London and Paris he again returned to United States of America. Again in April, 1896 he went to London. Due to his oratoric skills, India's image got escalated in Europe and America. Renowned political leader Bipin Chandra Pal wrote in a letter that under the influence of Vivekananda many in England had started to view the world differently. From London Swamiji started his return journey and on 15 th January 1890, he reached Colombo. The spectacular success and popularity of Vivekananda in West helped the colonized fearful people of India to shrug off their inferiority complex and instilled in them new spirit of courage, manliness and confidence. The stir that Vivekananda's speeches created in the West helped to develop India's prestige. On 2 nd May 1897 he formally established Ramakrishna Mission and on 9 th December 1898 Ramkrishnamath was established at Belur. On 4 th July 1902 Swamiji died. As a pioneer figure of Indian renaissance the contribution of Vivekananda cannot be denied. He gave a true definition of patriotism by saying "Be a patriot – the group of people of the same land has done so many things for us in the past, love that land from your heart." He also said that – "if there is any country in this world that can be qualified as a land of virtue (punnobhoomi)...if there is any country where spiritualism and inner-strength has developed to the fullest, it can be said without doubt that country is our motherland – this India(Bharatbarsha)." The main principles of Vivekananda's philosophy of life were to spread education among the masses, to raise the awareness of the female, spread of self-dependence, exchanges with foreign countries without sacrificing independence and uniqueness and most importantly spiritual revolution. From his experience based on his wisdom, Vivekananda argued that before developing India politically and socially, India has to be developed spiritually. For Indians, it is religion first and then other things. At the same time however Vivekananda denied any overarching role of religion. He said "at first food has to be ensured for the people and then religion". While spreading the message of caring for the downtrodden Vivekananda lashed out against the hierarchical Brahminical order that the priests legitimized. And through this gesture one can find the socialist and egalitarian image of Vivekananda.

130 Vivekananda avoided explicit contacts with the political world but his influence over the members of revolutionary society was paramount. In a meeting with Hemchandra Ghosh, an important revolutionary figure of Bengal Volunteers Association at Dhaka, Vivekananda told the following words – "Colonized country has no religion. Religion for people like you is to bring freedom to the country. By taking recourse to any means and strategy this task has to be achieved." He said towards the fellow countrymen that 'do not forget that by birth you are all destined to sacrifice your lives for the motherland'. He inspired his fellow countrymen with courage by urging that in Vrindaban(the birth place of Lord Krishna) worship of Krishna should be replaced by worship of deities of power. Though Vivekananda gave importance to social revolution over political revolution, the question of political freedom of the country was always present in Vivekananda's thinking. 1.2 Is Vivekananda India's first Socialist? Vivekananda spoke in favour of socialism. He had unflinching faith toward the idea of equality. Many Marxist scholars argue that Vivekananda was the first thinker of socialism in India because before him no Indian thinker talked about socialism as candidly as he did. Moreover Vivekananda also predicted the emergence of the Dalits or the shudra's. In 1896 Swamiji told to Sister Christine that "The next upheaval that is to usher in another era will come from Russia or from China. The world is still in the third epoch under the domination of the vaishya. The fourth epoch will be under that of the shudra." Vivekananda's youngest brother Bhupendranath Dutta told that Swamiji had well before predicted about the world-changing ten days upheaval of Petrogard of 1917.

Bhupendranath writes – "in so early time, a labour or socialist government anywhere in the West, had been a pious wish only. But with prophetic instinct, he visualized the establishment of the proletarian state of the future. It was he who was the first person in the world to envisage a government of the toiling masses and prophesied about the proletarian culture of the future." It can be known from the interview of the well known revolutionary Hemchandra Ghosh that in 1901 Vivekananda predicted about the future exploitation free society at Dhaka in the following words – "Yes, there will be a resurgence of the shudra's across the world. You all cannot see that right now, but I've acquired that insight by the blessings of God and through years of meditation and observation. I can see the future image of the society in a shadowy form. You all take my words for granted

131 that the powerful emergence of the shudra's will first happen in Russia and then in China. In India it will happen later and India will also play an important role in world Vivekananda was never a thinker of socialism but before him nobody talked about the emergence of the politics." Vivekananda was never a thinker of socialism but before him nobody in India talked about the emergence of the rule of the downtrodden or the shudra-raj. Vivekananda clearly mentioned about the powerful future role of the shudra's. In that direction of social revolution, socialism, Anarchism and Nihilism are the vanguard concepts. For this reason only Bhupendranath Dutta said that Vivekananda was a 'patriot-prophet'. 1.3 Marx and Vivekananda It is not known whether Vivekananda was exposed to the writings of Marx as in none of his writings and speeches, one can find reference to Marx. Well known scholar Rabindrakumar Dasgupta believes that Vivekananda must have been scquzined with the writings of Marx because in 1893 the labour party campaigned about the socialist ideas throughout America. During the Chicago Religious Conference there were labour Summits and after few months such Summits also took place in Europe and Vivekananda must have been aware of these developments. But Rabindrakumar Dasgupta argues that if Vivekananda had been influenced by Marx then somehow he would record that indebtedness. In Vivekananda's writings reference to socialism has appeared often. In August, 1900 he met Prince Kropotkin at Paris and he had intention to go to Russia as well. It had to be admitted that at the time when Vivekananda talked about the revolution of the downtrodden, even Plekahnov or Lenin had not thought about it. Marx predicted that the first proletarian revolution will be successful in West Europe where trade union movements were strong. But in this respect the prediction of Vivekananda came true and not of Marx. Renowned intellectual Ribakov correctly argues that "Isn't it a miracle that he had the roaring of the coming social and political events of the twentieth century in the slow and serene life of nineteenth century and had foreseen that revolution would come from Russia." Even if Vivekananda repeatedly talked about the emancipation of the oppressed and the exploited but his thinking was always not at par with that of Marx. He abandoned the violent bloody path of class struggle. Moreover while Marx saw the working class as the true revolutionary class, Vivekananda gave that position to the youths of the society. Vivekananda saw economics not as the only power but a fundamental one in Marx's theory of economic determinism. For Vivekananda, economic demand is 132 not a natural demand of human mind but it is a social act. In place of one-dimensional analysis of Marx, Vivekananda used multidimensional approach to analyse the direction of society. For Marx, religion was the opium of the poor. Vivekananda in a similar way criticized oppressive and sectarian approach of religious leaders and mostly in Marx's words equated religion with intellectual opium eating. But he viewed religious element as a centerpiece of national life. In this respect, one scholar comments – "The difference between Marx and Vivekananda with respect to religion was fundamental. While Swamiji made a clear watertight compartment between true religion and priest craft, Marx has made a mess of the two." Vivekananda realized well that spiritualism is the life-blood of Indian civilization. He denounced the priest class by saying that 'Priest craft in its nature is cruel and heartless. Religion goes down when priest craft arises.' Vivekananda has not held religion responsible for the poor condition of the people. He argues that 'Religion teaches you that all living beings in this world are an expression and extension of one's own soul. The poor condition of the society is due to the failure to implement this teaching in practice. The absence of sympathy is the absence of heart...The present condition of the society is to be rectified not by abolishing the society... the meaning of Hinduism is to follow education and to mix this with the ideal sympathetic approach of Buddhism which is the natural culmination of Hindu religion.' It is for this reason that he was against superstition and don't-touchism. The theory of alienation of Marx was also not like that of Vivekananda. According to Marx, the capitalist system de-humanizes the human self and thereby the workers get alienated from the production system. According to Vivekananda, the oppressed people get alienated from their own self in the sense of spiritual alienation rather than that of material alienation. Vivekananda had no doubt about the presence of good qualities inherent in all human beings. He said that 'Each soul is potentially divine.' When human beings gets alienated from this 'divineness', it had to be awakened once again and for that Vivekananda's message was 'Teach everyone has real nature, call upon the sleeping soul and see how it awakes'. To attach divinity with human nature was unthinkable for Marx. 1.4 The Nature of Vivekananda's idea of Socialism Vedanta was the ultimate source of all teachings for Vivekananda. According to Rabindranath Dasgupta, Vivekananda's socialism was Vedantic socialism the basis of which was high spiritualism. He gave priority to the idea of equality. He said that the

133 members of elite class born Hindu families who supported caste system were 'rolling crematory'. In his opinion, the members of new India will emerge with the plough of the farm lands, from the hut of farmers, fishermen and the shanty dens of the outcastes, from the fair price local shops, from industries, from market places and from mountains, jungles and bushes. All of the members of these places had suffered unending oppression for centuries. Their silence also reflected their patience. In the midst of their troublesome life they acquired tremendous life-strength. According to Vivekananda they can transform the world by getting some energy through half a meal per day. They can live a life of hundreds in one life and their sweet behavior is unmatched in the entire universe. Vivekananda was in high praises for the idea of equality and said 'everyone should proudly declare that he is an Indian and all Indians are his brother including all illiterate, poverty-ridden and the untouchables'. Vivekananda's socialist thought was based on this idea of universal humanism. He equated the poor condition of the shudra's with that of animals carrying weights. He criticized time and again the inhuman behavior of the high class high caste Hindus towards the peripheral untouchables of the society. In order to encourage the toiling working masses of India, Vivekananda said that their forefathers may have written on philosophy, novels, may have erected temples and their acts have been highly praised but those on who's labour and valour the development of humanity takes place must be given due recognition. One may attain the stature of a hero after doing some heroic acts and in the face of encouragement of ten thousand people even the least courageous can sacrifice his life easily. But the one who does the least important but most needy things of the society silently, responsibly, unselfishly and without any dream for recognition – he is truly praiseworthy- and he is the member of the most neglected section of the country – the oppressed toiling working masses. Vivekananda salutes their contribution. Vivekananda was well aware of the natural collision of interest of capital and labor. He believed in the domination of the kingdom of the dalit's or the 'shudra-raj'. He said 'Each upper class must dig its own grave.' He also used the Sanskrit equivalent of the term proletariat but his socialism was not like the Marxian variety. He never praised socialism as a unqualified blessing for human society. In his words, 'I am a socialist not because I think it is a perfect system but because half a loaf is better than no bread'. In explaining that in socialism the life of the individual gets diluted into that of a lifeless machine, Vivekananda said "All these things are done by people guided like lifeless machines. There is no mental activity; no unfoldment of the heart,

134 no vibration of life, there is no strong stimulation of the will, no stag of inventive genins." Vivekananda was in favour of such a political system which will be based on the ideas of equality and individual freedom. On 23 rd December 1898 he wrote in a letter that socialism sacrifices individual at the cost of the society. On 2 nd February 1900 in a speech in America, Vivekananda said 'You are tying today what you call Socialism! Good things will come, but in the long run, you will be blight upon the race. Freedom is the watchword. I would rather be doing evil freely, than is doing well under bondage. The Indian people are intensely Socialist. But beyond that there is a wealth of individualism'. From these statements one can understand the difference between the Vedantic Socialism of Vivekananda and the Materialist Socialism of Marx. At a fundamental level the difference was that Indian civilization was based on the valuable insights of the soul which was not at par with the materialist understanding of Marx. Vivekananda said, 'Deluge the country with spiritual ideas'. He said that the only path towards freedom for the oppressed people is through the spread of mass education. In his words – 'Educate and raise the masses and thus alone a nation is possible.' He told to Hemchandra Ghosh that Dont 'Touch-ism is the sin of sins that has to go.' There is no one as untouchable in this world. Everyone is justice seeker. Vivekananda's message was the message of character building of human beings. He said – Man making is the mission of my life. He viewed womenfolk as the reflection of ultimate strength and motherhood and without women education he opined unequivocally that all other education will be meaningless. He was in favour of all round development and total freedom of the individual self. That socialism can never be successful by curbing individual autonomy and freedom – was the message of Vivekananda and the farsightedness and correctness of the thinking was proved by the breakdown of communism in the 1990s in East Europe. 1.5 Summary The socialist society that Vivekananda envisaged was not based on any conservative or rigid ideological position. He was a thinking person and his awareness about historical events was strong. But he had never presented his idea of socialism behind the façade of any particular mainstream theories. He championed the cause of people's power by instilling self-confidence and courage among the poor, oppressed and the downtrodden. He was aware of the fact that general freedom for the masses can never be achieved only by transfer of power among the members of elite class of society

135 and unless and until power is taken over by the people at large. Even if there were some similarities in the ideas and approach of Vivekananda with Marx, he never accepted Marxian method of analysis. Vivekananda's idea was pluralist not monistic. The kind of socialist system he envisioned for India was centered upon the freedom of the soul. He said freedom is the song of the soul. Swamiji wanted to realize social revolution through the spread of mass education where women education was considered as the most important element. The centerpiece of his idea of socialism was the idea of equality. He became utterly critical and vocal publicly against any form of social and economic inequality in the society. His socialism was based on humanism and equality. The way his prediction about the foundation of Communism in Russia became correct, in the same way his views on the negative effects of socialism proved itself during the course of historical evolution of society in the midst of the disaster that communism suffered in East Europe. 1.6 Sample Questions a) Analyse the ways in which Vivekananda was a Socialist! b) Does Vivekananda's idea of socialism similar to that of Marx? Give reasons for your answer. c) Does Vivekananda uphold socialist system as the best possible system? Analyse descriptively. d) Can Vivekananda be seen as the first socialist thinker of India? Analyse with reasons. 1.7 Suggested Readings Bhupendra Nath Dutt, Swami Vivekananda: Patriot-Prophet Hiren Mukherjee, Vivekananda and India's Freedom R. K. Dasgupta, Swami Vivekananda and Vedantic Socialism

136 Unit-2 □ Manabendranth Roy–Nationalism, Marxism, New Humanism Structure 1.0 Introduction 1.1 Life, Activities, Thought 1.2 Manbendranath on Marxism 1.3 The transformation to New Humanism 1.4 Analysis and Criticism 1.5 Summary 1.6 Sample Questions 1.7 Suggested Readings Objectives In this unit the following issues will be highlighted:- ● Brief outline of the life and works of Manabendranath Roy ● The transformation of Manabenranath from Nationalist to Marxist ● The change of Manabendranath's approach to Marxism ● The emergence of New Humanism in the last phase of the evolution of thinking of Manbendranath Roy. 1.0 Introduction Manbendranath Roy was one of those thinkers in twentieth century India who had some fundamental ideas. His life sailed through many ups and downs and other unnatural odds. It is very difficult to strictly confine the ideas and philosophy of Manbendranath Roy into any particular structure as he never took a rigid position based on one central ideology. His thinking changed with the changing circumstances and naturally in this context a pertinent question is that whether his thinking is a negation of the thinking of his predecessors? In his early life he was influenced by 137 revolutionary nationalism. Later he was highly attracted by Marxism and came to be known as an important Marxist theorist and organization-builder. In the last sage of his life he searched for a new path which was against the mainstream Marxist and leftist thinking. In the name of humanism he tried to introduce an alternative indigenous political philosophy which though was highly idealist never disregarded the process of changes in society. This new humanism never totally discarded Marxism although the exuberance of Manebendranath Roy about Marxism was down in his later life. His new humanism was a reflection of nationalist sentiments and Marxist scheme of social awareness combined together. While his supporters believe that the philosophy of new humanism is the correct alternative of Marxism, staunch classical leftists disregard him and his theory as something against the Marxist thinking. The key question is whether through his New Humanism, Manebendranath Roy tried to oppose Marxism or through this philosophy he tried to understand Marxism in a new perspective? Had he opposed the most discussed and practiced ideas of Marxism? In other words, was he really anti-Marxist? 1.1 Life, Activities, Thought Manebendranath Roy's real name was Narendranath Bhattacharya. He was born on 21 st March 1887. After the Bengal uprising of 1905, he established close contacts with revolutionary movements in Bengal and got associated with revolutionary activities like political dacoity and for that he had to be sent into jail several times. Manabendranath was also there in the planning of a revolutionary uprising against the British colonial empire in India under the leadership of Jatindranth Mukhopadhyay (Bagha Jatin) aided by the Germans in the period of 1911-13. In 1915 in the war of Buri Balam after the self-sacrifice of Jatindranath, Manebendranath took it upon himself to finish the unfinished task of Jatindranath all by himself and to bring arms and amenities from Germany he started preparing to go to Berlin through East Asia and United States of America. In his stay period away from India in the States, Manabendranath discarded his nationalist self and during his stay at San Francisco in 1916 he changed his family name and came to be known as Manabendranath Roy. In 1917 shortly after his arrival in Mexico the historical October revolution took place in Russia. Manabendranath got entangled in the progressive democratic movement in Mexico and soon got elected as the general secretary of the socialist party of Mexico in 1918. In 1919

138 under the leadership of Lenin Comintern was established in Moscow with the goal to speed up the process of revolutionary movement to achieve socialism by establishing communist parties in all countries of the world. In 1920 Manabendranath took up his journey for Europe and centering Berlin he came to be known with many influential communist party leaders of Germany and Holland. In 1920 as a representative of Mexican communist party he participated in the second Congress of the Comintern and here the historical meeting between Lenin and Manabendranath took place and along with the main version of Lenin's thesis on the colonial question, as a supplementary thesis Manabendranath Roy's thesis was also included. This was the starting point of his transition from revolutionary nationalist to Marxism. With the gradual development of his stature in the Comintern there arose difference of opinion resulting in his shedding of ties with the Comintern in 1929. Manabendranath of the 1920s who was a staunch supporter of revolutionary method to defeat colonialism and was certain about the development of socialist revolution under the leadership of the working class, now started to think about the progressive aspect of nationalism. In 1930 Manabendranath returned to India and after a long period of imprisonment was released in 1936. In this period even though the policies and programmes of the Indian National Congress did not square up with the desires of Manabendranath, nevertheless he accepted the role and importance of the organization. But the compromising attitude of the leadership of Indian National Congress frustrated him. In 1939 he established League of Radical Congressmen which was an effort to link up nationalism with socialism, revolution, etc for an integrated movement. In the context of World War II, Manabendranath changed his earlier approach and he introduced an alternative idea of Radical Humanism. In 1948 he launched Independent India Weekly which came to be known as Humanist from 1949 onwards. Till his death in 1954 Manabendranath was engrossed in explaining, analyzing and campaigning of Radical Humanism. One can decipher four distinct phases in the evolution of the political thinking of Manabendranath – militant nationalism, Marxism, revolutionary nationalism, new humanism. Manabendranath has never reverted back to the ideology with which he started his political career. But his respect for Bagha Jatin was uncompromising. In an article published on 27/2/1949 in Independent India, Roy wrote "the story of Balasore jungle is indeed theatrical. The play was organized by an organized actor and the grandeur of the epic play was displayed but the main attraction of this play should have been the character, personality and the totality of the actor himself and

139 not only the accuracy of his target, his successful defense of himself or even his talent to face a majority of opponents with few bullets." 1.2 Manabendranath on Marxism During the period between 1920s and early 1930s Manabendranath was a well known and acclaimed Marxist theoretician of the Comintern. He analysed the colonial question and the Indian nationalism from the perspective of Marxism. In 1920 as a complimentary to Lenin's thesis on colonialism, the main argument of Manabendranath's thesis was that anti-imperialist movement cannot be successful if it is kept under the control of the leading struggle for national freedom or nationalism. Nationalist struggle may be an associated movement to begin anti-imperialist movement but if the main aim is the freedom of countries from imperialist powers and to establish a society free from oppression under the leadership of the working class, and alone nationalism cannot lead this movement into success. According to him, nationalism is associated with idea of the dominance of bourgeoisie class and hence the proponents of the idea of nationalism will never be interested in true social revolution. In order to establish their class rule, the bourgeoisie class campaign for nationalism which though a positive act apparently becomes negative in the last analysis. From a class approach, the alternative to nationalism is the socialist revolution under the leadership of the working class. Lenin was not in agreement with Roy's thesis because for Lenin, Roy failed to understand that the working class was not well organized and powerful in the underdeveloped countries and also the influence of the idea of nationalism on the people of these countries was unquestionable. In these countries anti-materialist movements bypassing or ignoring bourgeoisie nationalism was unthinkable. During this period Manabendranath remarked that the movement of Indian National Congress led by Gandhi was reactionary. To him Gandhism came as a sign of idealist traditional folklore structural pattern. In the 1930s Manabendranath became highly critical of the ultra-left position of the Comintern. He realized that even if plagued with serious limitations, nationalism should not be branded as reactionary. The ultra-leftist position of the Comintern from an ultra-negative approach viewed leaders like Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose as stooge of British imperialism which was absolutely unacceptable to Manabendranath Roy. He could not justify the mechanical criticism of the bourgeoisie nationalism by the Comintern. By shrugging off his earlier negative approach to the Indian National Congress, he talked about bringing it out of the traditional myopic vision of nationalism

140 and linking it up with the ideology of revolutionary socialism. In 1939 when at the Tripuri Congress Subash Chandra was forced to resign in the face of antagonistic attitude of the rightists present there, Manabendranth urged him to take up the challenge posed by Gandhi and form the Working Committee according his own choice. Later Manabendranath was also associated with the Left Consolidation Committee organized by Subhas Chandra. Although this organization aimed to unite all left forces of the country, it did not live long. Even with Manabendranth, Subhash Chandra had terrible disagreement and a life-long detachment. In the Comintern phase, the hard-core Marxist stand of Manabendranath took place in the midst of decline of world capitalists and a slow but gradual explosion of the desire for the rise of socialism in various countries. Manabendranath never wrote any fundamental thesis on Marxism, he was interested in analyzing the practical aspect of Marxism. Though it was true that by taking India as an industrialized country and giving importance to the presence of the working class and talking of direct socialist revolution under the leadership of the working class ignoring the question of agricultural revolution, Manabendranth gave an image of utopian thinking but nevertheless it cannot be denied that he was the first Indian Marxist to oppose the mechanical application of Marxism to understand any event or any country independently of time and place. This was the reason why he was expelled from the Comintern as a 'rightist reformist'. According to one scholar 'the indifference to humanism and dictate of party that plagued the Soviet Communism which was transformed from a war for the welfare of the people to a war for coming to power, pained Manabendranath. This mechanical idea of communism affected the life- philosophy, self-questions and the desire to find the right path to bring welfare to the people. In his words, 'I'm trying to find ways of freedom since I was 14 years old'. Manabendranath could not find in the mechanical analysis and practice of communism the possibility of achieving this very desire and dream for freedom nurtured from childhood.

1.3 Transformation to New Humanism

The description of the radical form of humanism as the New Humanism by Manabendranath to offer an alternative philosophy was based on the ideational pillars of rationalism, individualism and human emancipation. The model followed in Soviet Union to achieve socialism was based on coercion, defence of traditionalism, anti- humanist and against rationalism. While being critical of the mainstream understanding

141 of Marxism, Manabendranath was beyond doubt about the caring humanism present in a different reading of Marxism that attracted him. Shibnarayan Roy very correctly said that when in 1945 Manabendranath Roy published the paper 'The Marxian Way' in association with Sudhindranath Dutta Roy's main argument was that as Marxism is a method so it had to be connected with the new horizons of knowledge and discovery and Radical Humanism is the extended image of Marxism in order to develop new potential in man. Thus Manabendranath's criticism and opposition was against the mechanical, ultra-simplified, one-country directed thesis of Marxism. He could not find any reflection of the rationalism present in the early writings of Marx in the Soviet model of socialism. In the name of Party discipline, the free thinking, power of analysis, and emancipation of man, was eclipsed and jeopardised in Soviet Union. Roy could not accept this vulgarized form of socialism in the name of humanism. From his own experience, Roy understood that not economic cordiality but an alternative scientific and rational society can be revolutionary only when it is based on the awareness, rationality and a promising attitude. The main criterion for the establishment of a revolutionary society is the presence of rationality at the level of the soul/spirituality. Roy talked about a new value system at the level of spirituality and renaissance at the level of consciousness and attitude while talking about the prime concern of New Humanism. Manabendranath developed his idea of New Humanism on the basis of the central elements of Marxist approach of universalism. Roy found no contradiction between emotion and rationality, consciousness and scientific attitude. For him these apparently self-contradictory ideas smoothens the path of human emancipation. He never acknowledged any antagonism between romanticism and reason. The kind of mental revolution that Roy talked about was attached with the idea of cultural revolution which was complimentary to the economic programme for the socialist revolution in the Marxist schema. Thus there was no contradiction between a pure form of Marxism and New Humanism. Manabendranath had not seen the history of New Humanism through the prism of dialectical process. Cultural and religious elements are not determined by the economic structure or the substructure. He accepted Marx's criticism of religion but he did not accept Marx's theory of surplus value. He also rejected the concept of class struggle because he opined that the rule of the proletariat will be seen with some reflection of divinity and thereby individualism will be sacrificed at the altar of class or group. By accepting the significance of the idea of Historical Materialism of Marx, he wrote a letter to Ruth Fisher on 23/10/1949 stating "We cannot entirely turn our back on

142 the ideals which took us to so many adventures during a quarter of a century. We cannot disown a spiritual kinship with the communists notwithstanding all their stupidities and misdeeds. Was Marx a fool or a malicious liar when he exposed the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie society and the unreality of freedom in the Parliament democracy? Would it be reasonable to cast doubt on the socialist theories and discard the ideal of social emancipation of the exploited masses because Stalin has betrayed them?" Samaren Roy correctly said New Humanism wanted to reinstate the humanist element of Marxism. He was always looking for freedom of thought. He never discarded Marxism, he discarded only the anti-democratic formulations of Stalin. His New Humanism was not entirely unaffected by Marxism as his idea of value-system was not based on any idealist or spiritual norms. To Roy, values and norms do not have any universal character; it depends on the surrounding context and situation. He was firmly placed in materialist logic. According to one critic, Manabendranath's entire philosophy is a scathing criticism of the way in which in the name of the collective consciousness of the downtrodden the communists are taking away individual freedom. His criticism of Marxism was from the point of view of the idea of individual freedom but he never accepted blind criticism of the entire philosophy of Marxism. 1.4 Analysis and Criticism The entire political career of Manabendranath Roy evolved through several ups and down. Sudipta Kabiraj remarked about him as 'Remarkable failure in the history of Indian national movement' and for this Kabiraj found his Eurocentrism as the prime cause. Many scholars criticize him for being a confused directionless politician but he never deviated from some basic beliefs and values like materialism, normative philosophy, rationality, free thinking and humanism. The frequent changes in his political position and political thinking made him an inconsistent personality but seen from a different perspective this flexibility in thinking is also a reflection of pragmatism. His frequent change of political position can never be seen as an example of opportunism. In his own Memoirs, Manabendranath wrote, "In course of time, experience taught me tolerance and modesty". There can be no doubt about the originality of his thinking but his attempt to link movements based on New Humanism with the humanist philosophy of Marxism did not attract the public at large. The distance that was created between Manabendranath and his countrymen for his prolonged stay at Europe could not be bridged even after his return. He never had a permanent mass face before his countrymen. Manabendranath's western education and culture made him a distant person rather than a close one to his countrymen. The

143 failure to bridge this distance was the prime reason why New Humanism even if filled with potentialities was limited only to the realm of thinking that could not be transformed into practice. Renowned scholar Samaren Roy says that Manabendranath was not attracted to Marxism or socialism during his stay in India. The main reason for this was that Indian philosophy had no element reflecting the eagerness to change the world. While describing Manabendranath's approach to Marxism, Samaren Roy writes, "Roy's approach to Marxism was neither political nor economic. It was philosophical. Roy was in agreement with Antonio Gramsci that the philosophical aspect of Marxism needed to be revised so that it could offer something to the idealistically inclined." Pointing toward a massive inconsistency Manabendranath told that even the recognition of the voting rights of all the adults could not guarantee economic equality of all. If that could have been guaranteed it could be seen as an important progress on the bourgeois democratic revolution. In this context the analysis of Samaren Roy is worth mentioning – "Till 1946, Red Napoleonism meant to Roy a liberalizing development recalling Napoleon carrying the gains of the French Revolution to the countries he conquered. But Roy did not want the Russian revolution to be carried by force to Europe." During July 1946 Manabendranath wrote some pamphlets under the title 'If I Were Stalin' whose main argument was that communism should be regarded as a liberal humanist force in Europe. By criticizing communism in his philosophy of New Humanism, Manabendranath said that 'the philosophy of society or programme and planning for social reconstruction that does not recognize the supremacy and sovereignty of the individual, ignores the individuality and the idea of emancipation of the individual-self as meaningless and hollow, that philosophy or planning cannot be seen as truly progressive or revolutionary.' He also said that even if democracy remains absent in the economic sphere, political democracy is possible. But if there is no political democracy then economic democracy cannot be attained. By anticipating the dark days ahead through his insight, Manabendranath said that 'Once in power, totalitarianism does not want to be dethroned. Under the Victorian Empire when culture, industrialization and trade started to get managed in a planned manner, in the name of increasing work opportunity, efficiency and collective consciousness with the promise of quick development, individual freedom was curtailed. Thus the promise of a higher form of democracy through socialism also becomes impossible. The promise on which totalitarianism is founded becomes unattainable because of totalitarian system itself.' These comments of Manabendranath were in the aftermath of his experience with Stalin's

144 implementation of raw totalitarianism. Even Rabindranath Tagore in his 'letters from Russia' also indicated the dangerous implications of totalitarianism in Russia. In the New Humanist philosophy of Manabendranath the main point discussed was the ways in which social emancipation of the individual is made possible from the clutches of the oppressed and fraud class. He gave importance not to the kings and elites but to common aware individual in the making of new history. It is written in the Communist Manifesto that – 'The class and class antagonistic bourgeoisie society will be replaced by an organization autonomous development of each will be determined by the autonomous development of all'. Manabendranath was not in agreement with this position and he held that communist society is not a true revolutionary or progressive society because it reflects contradictions- as to provide freedom by taking away freedom is meaningless, in the same away by sacrificing individual at the altar of class and society and then to make arrangements for their freedom is equally meaningless. According to Manabendranath the production system and planning that is determined not by the profit motive in the market but by the demands and needs of the people can be made possible through democracy and securing individual autonomy. Here one can find similarity between Rabindranath's idea of cooperative based economy and Manabendranath's idea.

1.5 - Summary Manabendranath Roy was a colourful character whose political thinking has changed time and again in the light of changing circumstances. In the early phase of his life he was nationalist, the he became Marxist theoretician, thereafter he became engrossed in modified version of nationalist thought and in the last phase of his life he became a proponent of New Humanism. Manabendranath was a highly intellectual and talented political thinker but his theory was not well received or influenced the public at large because he failed to make connections with his fellow countrymen because of his prolonged stay in Europe and his Eurocentrism. Nevertheless one has to accept that the elements of being a fundamental political thinker were present in full scale in Manabendranath. When Manabendranath use Transformed from nationalist to a Marxist and then again to a New Humanist, in this entire journey he never got detached from the fundamentals of Marxism. Manabendranth and his fundamental theory of society never was in clash with the fundamentals of Marxism, only he did not find the path in which socialism was practiced under Stalin in Soviet Russia as the true path for human emancipation. He wanted to establish Marxism in the true ideal of humanism.

145 Manabendranath wanted to profess New Humanism as an alternative model of philosophy of state that was based on a mixture of rationalism, scientific attitude, materialism and romanticism.

1.6 – Sample Questions

1. Analyse the ways in which Manabendranath got transformed from nationalism to Marxism.
2. Did Manabendranath's New Humanism develop by discarding Marxism?
3. What were the reasons for the difference of opinion between Comintern and Manabendranath?

1.7 Suggested Readings Gauripada Bhattacharya, Evolution of the Political Philosophy of M.N. Roy Sibnarayan Roy (ed.), M.N. Roy: Philosopher Revolutionary Sibnarayn Roy (ed.) Selected Works of M.N. Roy Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharya, Social and Political Ideas of M.N. Roy Sibnarayn Roy (ed.), For a Revolution from Below: An M.N. Roy Commemorative Volume.

146 Unit-3 □ Socialist Thought of Jawaharlal Nehru Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Brief Life-history
- 1.2 Nehru's ideas on democracy and socialism
- 1.3 Nehru as the proponent of planned economy
- 1.4 Nehru on Marxism
- 1.5 The changing dimensions of Nehru's socialist ideas
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 Sample Questions
- 1.8 Suggested Readings

Objectives In this unit Jawaharlal Nehru's socialist thinking is presented in the flowing structured manner:-

- a) Life and Works of Jawaharlal Nehru
- b) Early influence of Marxist socialism on Jawaharlal Nehru
- c) Jawaharlal's views on democracy and socialism
- d) Transformation of Jawaharlal from Marxian Socialism to Mixed Economy

1.0 Introduction After independence the ideological basis of the state formation of India was based on the political ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru. He was the symbol of modern outlook of independent India. This outlook developed in him during his days of leading the anti- imperialist freedom struggle for independence. The ideas that germinated during the days of freedom struggle were developed later on but Nehru also altered his ideas and principles to suit the changing period. This flexibility was present in him throughout and as such he can be seen as a follower of pragmatism. He played an important role in India's freedom struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Even if he had

147 difference of opinion on many issues with Gandhi he did not have the courage to revolt which was shown by Subhas Chandra. However as the leader and Prime Minister of independent India did he totally rejected the ideas of Gandhi. Not only he reject Gandhism but he also underwent internal transformation as the very Marxism on which his socialist ideas germinated was treated by him as irrelevant. There is a striking difference to be noticed between pre and post independence Nehru. One can find traces of his political thinking in his autobiography titled- An Autobiography and in his two books- The Discovery of India and Glimpses of World History. Moreover in his numerous speeches, letters and articles one can find reflection of his thinking. In the critic circle there has been a lot of discussion about the extent to which revolutionary achievements were attained by the person who once along with Subhas Chandra appeared as the leader of the forum for leftist struggle within the Congress. Whether till the end he was able to work together with Subhas Chandra is also a matter of serious debate. Thus it is not only necessary to analyse the political thinking of Nehru - the architect of modern India but it is also important to have a reappraisal of his role.

1.1 Brief Life-history Nehru was the son of an affluent Kashmiri Hindu Brahmin family whose father was a barrister –Pandit Motilal Nehru. He was born on 4 th November, 1889 at Allahabad. A major part of his student life was spent in England. In the tender age of fifteen his father sent him to Harrow for further education. After finishing his schooling from there, Jawaharlal joined Cambridge University to study Science. After passing Bar at Law in 1910 he returned to India. After spending some years as a lawyer of Allahabad High Court he joined the freedom struggle. He was elected as a member of All India Congress Committee in 1918. Jawaharlal’s political career started to gain momentum from the period of Non-Cooperation Movement of 1920-21. In 1929 in the Lahore session of Indian National Congress he was elected as the party President. Before that in 1927 session at Madras he along with Subhas Chandra raised the issue of ‘total independence’. During 1926-27, Nehru went to Europe and in February 1929 at Brussels he actively participated in the Congress against Colonization, Oppression and Imperialism. He was impressed and influenced by the united stand of socialist and Third World nationalist forces at the Congress. From this point of view Nehru started to be influenced by Marxism. In the Lucknow and Faizpur session of Indian National Congress in 1936 and 1936, his socialist tendencies were reflected well enough through his Presidential addresses. In 1938 when Subhas Chandra Bose

148 became the President of Indian National Congress he formed the National Planning Committee and made Nehru the Chairman of the Committee. Nehru was an enthusiastic supporter of national economic planning. Later on as the Prime Minister of independent India he made efforts to realize the Five year plans. At this time Nehru took up the path of mixed economy and he followed neither the path of Marx nor Gandhi. As a leader of non-alignment/bloc-neutral politics Nehru sought for alternate paths. Without entangling independent India either into the capitalist bloc led by the United States or the socialist bloc led by the former Soviet Union, Nehru adopted a policy of equi-distance. However during the 1962 Sino-Indian war, the United States explicitly and the Soviet Union implicitly supported the cause of India. The defeat of India in this war devastated Nehru mentally. Nehru realized that in order to retard India’s growing importance in world politics China attacked India in order to dampen India’s image worldwide. This particular motive of China was not successful and the voluntary reflection of sympathy across the world for India proved this point. After few years of the Sino-Indian war Nehru died on 27 th May 1964.

1.2 Nehru’s ideas about Democracy and Socialism During the years of freedom struggle Nehru was an ardent follower of leftist ideas within the Congress and he continued that approach when he was made President for three terms of Congress and in each of these terms he talked about India’s progress in the path of socialism from the chair of the President of the Congress party. At the same time however it is a fact that to achieve socialism he dared to stride in any form of revolutionary or radical path. In the 1936 Lucknow Congress session Nehru praised socialism and advocated the linking of workers and peasant organizations with the Congress to form a united anti-imperialist front. However in this particular session resolution for achieving socialism as a goal was not passed and the other resolutions were passed before the end of the Presidential address but Nehru did not resign in order to uphold the unity of Congress party. He said, "I

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see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and subjection of the Indian people except 'through socialism

which' is a vital creed which I hold with both my head and heart." Finally however the rightist faction of the Congress party prevailed in the Lucknow session and on 20 th April 1936 industrialised Ghanashyamdas Birla wrote to Purushottamdas Thakurdas that "on the one hand the speech of Jawaharlalji was thrown as a junk paper in the dustbin as the resolutions passed were totally against the main principles of his speech. He could have fractured the party by resigning but

149 he from doing that. Jawaharlalji is just like English democrats who take defeat in a sporting spirit. He is eager to raise his own ideology but realizing that the situation is not in favour he did not pressurize for its attainment." Nehru had an utter disgust for Fascism. In 1935 through a note Nehru said that there are two alternatives before the world- communism and Fascism and he is totally in favour of the first. On this issue there was difference of opinion between Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. On 28 th March Subhas Chandra wrote to Nehru – "It is no use championing lost causes all the time and condemning countries like Germany and Italy and giving a certificate of good conduct to Britain." On 19 th March 1935 Jawaharlal wrote in his personal diary that 'Subhas seems to be writing a great deal of nonsense. He can only think of himself in terms of being a Mussolini.' Nehru viewed fascism as the destructive image of imperialism and he never met with Mussolini. His clear policy was not to have any relation with the fascists or in other words No truck with Fascism.

1.3 Nehru as the proponent of Planned Economy

Since the Faizpur session of the Indian National Congress Nehru campaigned for planned economy and during the Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha on 14 th to 17 th August a specialist committee was appointed to form to draft plan for all India industrial development. There is a debate among scholars whether Nehru or Subhas Chandra is the first architect of national planning in India. Under the Presidentship of Subhas Chandra of the National Congress in 1938 the National Planning Committee was formed and Nehru was made the Chairman of the Committee. It is true that Nehru conceived of national planning much earlier than Subhas Chandra but it is also a fact that National Planning Committee was formed during the tenure of Subhas Chandra's Presidentship of Indian National Congress and he gave legitimacy of the Congress party to the idea of national planning even realizing that it may lead to opposition from Gandhi. In his book, *Discovery of India*, Nehru talked about National Planning Committee in detail but did not mention a word about the contribution of Subhas Chandra in this regard. Nehru had many differences of opinion with Subhas Chandra but on the question of national planning both strode the same path. Jawaharlal was doubtful of becoming the chairman of the Committee as he knew that the leadership of Congress party viewed such committee's as 'unwanted interference'. Ultimately Nehru decided to take up the post and for this even Rabindranath was elated. On 28 th November Anil Kumar Chanda, secretary of Rabindranath communicated to Nehru that Rabindranath was impressed by the ideas of Dr. Saha on scientific development planning. Rabindranath also expected a lot

150 from this Committee. Rabindranath saw two persons with modern outlook in the Congress party – Jawaharlal and Subhas Chandra. In place of traditional outdated cottage industry based approach, Jawaharlal and Subhas Chandra brought modern and scientific approach. 1.4 Nehru on Marxism During the pre-independence period Jawaharlal had much faith on Marxist theory. On 18 th June 1938 he wrote to Basanta Kumar Mallick – “I accept generally speaking the Marxist analysis of history though & think in relation to India, it does not lay sufficient stress on certain features of our past. That does not however falsify our analysis to any marked degree. I also accept the general communist goal of a classless society.” In his autobiography Jawaharlal wrote – “I dislike dogmatism and Karl Marx’s writings as revealed scriptures and the regimentation and heresy hunts which seem to be a feature of modern Communism. But still I incline more towards a Communist philosophy.” Moreover on 17 th January he wrote to Lord Lothian – ‘Marx’s interpretation of history is the only one which does explain history to some extent and gives it meaning.’ From these writings it is clearly established that even if he had some doubts on certain issues of Marxism, in general Nehru accepted the Marxist worldview. On 5 th June 1936 Nehru in a Press release told that he preferred to use the word socialism in place of communism. He realized that Communism was not suited for India. Nehru presented himself both as a socialist and an individualist. On 28 th March 1939 Subhas Chandra in a letter to Nehru insinuated at this contradiction – “How a Socialist can be an individualist beats me”. Subhas Chandra also said that without the organizational structure of a party no country in this world could realize socialism and so Nehru as the president of Congress party could have been more successful if he had a party organization rallying behind him like Gandhi. On 3 rd April 1939 Jawaharlal in his reply to Subhas Chandra wrote ‘I am intellectually a Socialist and by temperament and training, an individualist’. Nehru saw no tension between socialism and individualism. Nehru did not possess any blind faith on Marxism but he had no doubt about the correctness of Marxist theory in general. So he wrote in his autobiography that – ‘Marx may be wrong in some of his statements. But he seems to me to have possessed quite an extraordinary degree of insight into social phenomena. This method applied

151 to past history as well as current events, helps us in understanding them far more than any other methods or approach.’ In his book, Glimpses of World History, Nehru regarded Das Capital as scientific essay and wrote - “ Marx has dealt with the development of history and economics dispassionately and scientifically avoiding all vagueness and idealism.” The Well known writer John Gimther correctly said that ‘Nehru’s general approach was Marxist’. Renowned intellectual Hirendranath Mukhopadhyay also talked about Nehru’s general approach towards Marxism. 1.5 The changing dimensions of Nehru’s socialist ideas Though Nehru in his early political life accepted the general usefulness of Marxism, in his later political life he had drastic changes in his thinking. On 28 th February 1952 he went to the extent of saying that ‘I think Marxism is out of date’. In this context one comment of Jawaharlal is important to note – ‘Marx was a great man and everybody could profit by his name, but am I to be told that what he said about England a 100 or 150 years ago is to be applied to India or any other country?’ It becomes clear from his that he was not rigid in his earlier position on the relevance and usefulness of Marxism. In the post independence period with Nehru as the Prime Minister a kind of state capitalism emerged. The first fifteen years after independence witnessed 9% to 10% of Gross Domestic Product coming from private sector. In 1965 from a survey done by Prasanta Mahalanabis it was known that twenty business organizations had a controlling influence over national economy. In 1948 the amount of foreign investment was 2,176 million rupees and in 1946 it was raised to 6,185 million rupees. In this period Jayprakash Narayan sarcastically commented on Nehru by saying that – ‘You want to go to socialism but you want the capitalists to help you’. Sarbapalli Gopal also said ‘Socialism lost its ideological edge for Nehru’. In 1957 the Tata Electrical Company donated a sum of 3, 00,000 rupees to the Congress party fund. During the election of 1962 Tata and Brila Company together donated one million rupees to the election fund of the Congress party. Cement Company also donated five lakh rupees. From these facts it becomes clear that Congress had not taken any socialist programme. In 1965 in a sarcastic comment

152 Birla told that he had full faith on the socialist policies of the Congress fully knowing that Congress will never adopt any revolutionary socialist programmes. 1.8 Summary In the political thinking of Nehru one can find high influence of internationalism. In his early life he was attracted to Marxist idea of socialism and in his autobiography he recorded his faith on the Marxist philosophy though he did not accept Marxism in its entirety. At the same time he also said that 'The success or failure of the Russian social experiments do not directly affect the validity of the Marxian theory'. While writing his book, Glimpses of World History, Nehru had similar ideas. However in his book, Discovery of India, Nehru slightly belittles his obsession with internationalism. Jawaharlal was close to Rabindranath so far his international and universal outlook is concerned but Rabindranath at the last instance hailed Subhas Chandra as the hero of the nation as Rabindranath understood that for a colonized country, internationalism is nothing but a luxury to be thought about. At the end of his life Nehru also had this realization. Subhas Chandra had serious difference of opinion with Nehru on the question of communism and fascism and Subhas accused Nehru of criticising countries like Germany and Italy while certifying imperialist countries like Britain. This criticism was not well founded as Nehru himself wrote in his autobiography – 'Indeed I have always wondered at and admired the astonishing knack of the British people of making their moral standards correspond with their material interests and of seeing virtue in everything that advances their imperialist designs. Mussolini and Hitler are condemned by them in perfect good faith and with righteous indignation for their attacks on liberty and democracy and in equal good faith similar attacks and deprivation of liberty in India seem to them as necessary and the highest moral reasons are advanced to show that true disinterested behavior on their part demands them.' There is a drastic change on Jawaharlal's socialist ideas in the post independence period. He advocated mixed economy in India which was just the other name for state capitalism. The influence of capitalists like Birla on the Congress party started growing and ideologically Nehru started to drift away from the path of socialism. Even while hailing socialism Nehru failed to take up any revolutionary programme to actualize socialism in India. Moreover being a representative of the left faction within Congress, Nehru had to concede defeat time and again to the rightists faction 153 in the debates on policy matters within the party. The dominating influence of Gandhi in his political career became illustrative. But he had not taken post independence India in the direction that Gandhi visualized. At this point his earlier fascination with Marxism also ebbed down and at some point he rejected Marx. It is important to mention that Nehru was an atheist and in his autobiography he wrote that he did not want to take recourse to the world of religion and spiritualism but the same Nehru in order to understand his turbulent life was influenced by some kind of other worldly spiritualism. This may be one of the possible reasons for Nehru's disenchantment with Marxism. Thus the history of post independence period is the history of the transformation of Marxist Nehru. 1.6 Sample Questions 1) Analyse the socialist ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru 2) Was Jawaharlal Nehru influenced by Marx? 3) Did Jawaharlal Nehru drift away from his socialist position in the post independence period? Discuss with suitable reasons. 1.7 Suggested Readings B.R. Nanda, Jawaharlal Nehru: The Rebel Statesman Hiren Mukherjee, The Gentle Colossus Michael Brecher, Nehru: A Political Biography Jawaharlal Nehru, An Autobiography Jawaharlal Nehru, The Discovery of India Jawaharlal Nehru, Glimpses of World History Jawaharlal Nehru, A Bunch of Old Letters

154 Unit - 4 □ Jayprakash Narayan – Marxism, Gandhism, Socialism Structure 1.0 Introduction 1.1 Brief Life-history 1.2 Jayprakash on Marxism 1.3 Jayprakash on Democratic Socialism 1.4 The change of perspective in Jayprakash –transformation to Gandhism 1.5 Analysis and Evaluation 1.6 Summary 1.7 Sample Questions 1.8 Suggested Readings Objectives In this unit the structure of socialist ideas of Loknayak Jayprakash Narayan has been phased out in the following sections – a) Brief history of the life and activities of Jayprakash Narayan b) The early phase of Jayprakash's obsession with Marxism and opposition to Gandhism c) Transformation of Jayprakash from Marxism to Gandhism d) Jayprakash's firm self-involvement in democracy 1.0 Introduction In the history of political thinking of modern India the name of Jayprakash Narayan is worth remembering. He was on the one hand a political theorist and on the other a political activist. He had some fundamental thinking in the context of India on the concept of state, power, social change and reconstruction, without being a trained philosopher or political scientist. Sacrificing his opportunity to study abroad,

155 Jayprakash Narayan decided to join India's freedom struggle. Since then he was associated with politics in India till death. During the last stage of his life he voluntarily joined the sarvodaya movement based on the ideas of Gandhi and propagated the ideas of 'total revolution' and 'party-less democracy'. In his political life one can see many shifts and changes. To the critics even now Jayprakash is seen as a negative symbol. Some scholars have described him as a 'soul with shifting tendencies', others have seen him as a confused person and to some he was full of contradictions. Even for some scholars he was a symbol of fascism. However Jayprakash was inclined to the ideas of freedom, peace, brotherhood and equality throughout his life. His one and only goal was freedom of the people. To one scholar there was an unflinching democratic tendency in Jayprakash. He treated the citizens of the entire country as a part of his family and believed that they had the right to criticize him for all his ideologies, beliefs and activities. Though he immersed himself in public service throughout his life he was not interested in taking any government job or office but he helped the government servants while they faced problems. Dr. Rammonohar Lohia described him as a 'limitless personality'. In a discussion Jayprakash said that democracy has remained for the citizens and it has not yet been transformed into the rule by the citizens themselves.

1.1 Brief Life-history Jayprakash

Jayprakash was born on 11th October 1902. As a student he was very meritorious. He went through the Hindi version of Bankimchandra's novels in his youth. In his student life he joined the non-cooperation movement of Gandhi though this particular political involvement was short lived for him. However his distaste for foreign rule started from that time only. After that for higher education Jayprakash went to the United States. Spending seven years at the States Jayprakash returned to India in 1929. While staying at America he came to be attracted to the ideas of egalitarianism through a Polish Jew named Abram Landy. He was also introduced to Das Capital and other texts of Marx. He also got influenced by the writings and discussions of Manabendranath Roy on Indian politics and economics. Under the influence of Marxism, Jayprakash realized that unless poverty and inequality were eradicated from society freedom in reality will not be achieved and for that what is required is a social revolution. After coming to India in 1929 Jayprakash however joined the Congress party and not the communist party. The negative approach of the communist party to the Indian National Congress also did not have support from him.

156 Experience of Jayprakash within the Congress party was not satisfactory. Even if he was not attracted to Soviet brand of socialism, he had deep faith in Marxism. Gandhi's politics of class compromise failed to appeal to Jayprakash and thus in 1934 along with Acharya Narendra Dev, Meher Ali, Rammonohar Lohia, Achyut Patyabardhan and others, he formed the Congress Socialist party. They had amongst themselves ideological differences and many joined this party as members of Communist party. Immediately after independence Jayprakash changed his political position. At that time he came under the influence of Democratic Socialism in place of Marxism. At that time in 1948 Socialist Party was formed whose first President was Narendra Dev and Jayprakash was the Secretary. After the first general election in 1952 Socialist party and J.B. Kripalani's K.M.P got merged to form the Praja Socialist party (P.S.P). After Gandhi's assassination in 1948 it dawned on Jayprakash that elimination of poverty and attainment of freedom is impossible by using state power. Alternatively by creating social eagerness through a change of heart a permanent social revolution is made possible. He also joined in the Bhudan movement of Vinobha Bhave. He announced the promise to form Sarvodaya Society. In 1957 he shed all ties with party politics. But he was well aware about the contemporary political happenings. In 1976 Indira Gandhi declared emergency and the Janata Party was formed under the leadership of Jayprakash and it came to power by defeating Indira Gandhi in the 1977 election. However this Janata government also failed to achieve the 'total revolution' idea of Jayprakash. On 4th October 1979 Jayprakash died and in the next year Janta party lost power to the Congress at the centre.

1.2 Jayprakash on Marxism

While staying at the United States of America, Jayprakash experienced the crisis of capitalist economy in the context of the Great Depression of 1930. At that time the development of the Russian economy made him doubtless about the supremacy of Marxism. He saw the reason for the Russian success in the scientific truth of Marxism. Jayprakash accepted the fact that Marxism developed around the idea of historical materialism. To him socio-economic reconstruction was the major issue than socialism or individual freedom. Even if the stateless society is the ultimate goal, Jayprakash accepted the Marxist logic that to establish socialism the usurpation and use of state power is necessary and he also accepted the necessity of Proletarian dictatorship. He made no fundamental contribution to the Marxist perspective of Jayprakash. He accepted the main principles of Marxism without much argument. Jayprakash gave

157 a coherent shape to his Marxist ideas in the 1936 published pamphlet called *Why Socialism*. However by abandoning the path of blood-shedding revolution and violence he propagated revolution a peaceful and rational manner. 1.3 Jayprakash on Democratic Socialism Marxist Jayprakash was against the policy of the Comintern from 1930s itself to colonized country like India but his faith on the Soviet model of socialism and the fundamentals of Marxism was intact. However from the first half of the 1940s he started changing his attitude towards Soviet Russia. The curtailment of democratic rights, the coercive silencing of the opposition party the all-engulfing power of the state and such other features of the Soviet model made Jayprakash critical of the model. In this context he started raising questions against the fundamental tenets of Marxism and its mainstream understanding and analysis. In this phase beside economic equality, Jayprakash started to pin his faith on political freedom, change in democratic ways, and social enterprise in place of state enterprise. *My Practice of Socialism*(1946), *The Transition of Socialism*(1947), *The Ideological problems of Socialism*(1948) are some of the books that highlight the changing direction of the political thought of Jayprakash. 1.4 The change of perspective in Jayprakash –transformation to Gandhism In his 1946 published article in *Janata* paper title *My Picture of Socialism*, Jayprakash accepted Marxism as a scientific attitude and declared himself a Marxist. At the same time however he clarified that as there was no place for ultimate truth in science, similarly Marxism cannot be taken as a symbol of any ultimate truth. The major contribution of Marx, according to Jayprakash, is that he has provided for the coming generation a particular scientific method to analyse history and society correctly. Marxism is not an endless truth but a method to understand society in different times. If Marxism is regarded as science then there is no place for dogma. In Marxism there are many half-truths which need to be corrected in the light of new information. Jayprakash got so scared about the experience of the socialist model of Soviet Russia that he rejected any presence of a universal model of socialism. In his article titled *Transition to Socialism* he said that the path to transformation to socialism cannot be the same in all countries. The prevailing situation in a particular country 158 will determine the method and the form of revolution. It is not possible to mechanically follow the strategies of a successful revolution of one country into another. Once upon a time Jayprakash was a staunch critique of Gandhism. Gandhism was to him not revolutionary but reformist. Jayprakash ridiculed Gandhi's idea of Ram Rajya. Gandhi's idea of trusteeship was confusing to Jayprakash. Gandhi's proposal for withdrawal of all heavy industries and machine did not get support from Jayprakash. In an overall analysis Gandhism appeared to him as a dangerous theory. However with his disenchantment with Marxism he slowly and gradually transformed his position and came close to Gandhism. In the post independence he found in Gandhi an image of a fundamental socialist. Though Jayprakash never took a rigid position on the distinction between violence and non-violence, he ultimately drifted towards peaceful method. He also said that, "

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The method of violent revolution might conceivably lead to a socialist democracy but in

the only country

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where it has been tried, it has led to a bureaucratic state, in which democracy does not exist. I should like to take a lesson from history."

At this point he doubted the usefulness of the path followed by Vinoba Bhave and was forced to return to the path of peaceful mass resistance. Jayprakash took the idea of individual morality very seriously from Gandhian philosophy. In a Conference Jayprakash said that in Gandhism the question of value and morality has not been highlighted to a large extent. From this it can be deduced that a socialist movement is nothing but a politics for socio-economic structural change. One cannot find a reflection in the socialist movement of the idea that a change in the value system of the individual will make socialism a success. This is the reason why despite having a grand ideology there are so many instances of corruption in communist countries. In Soviet Russia one can find the development of state capitalism. When Jayprakash shifted from socialism to sarvodaya he never took traditional socialism as the path to be followed. In order to eradicate poverty, eliminate oppression, realize happiness and progress of human beings, socialists give importance to material growth. According to Jayprakash, it is true that in an underdeveloped country like India material development and growth is important but when it is seen as the sole goal then competition, violence, tension become inevitable and peace gets hampered. The only way of agitation is to have control over the use of consumerist products through self-control and inter-personal cooperation and implementation of socialist

159 principles. By taking recourse to the path of Sarvodaya and Gandhism in general Jayprakash had a life-long detachment with Marxism. The answer to the question why human beings should be altruist cannot be found in idealism but had to be found in spiritualism and consciousness. Jayprakash wanted to place sarvodaya system on the basis of party-less democracy. As against the Western democratic model of party based parliamentary democracy Jayprakash propagated the idea of party-less democracy as to him political parties divide communities. Through the sarvodaya system of decentralized political model where the importance of the political parties will decrease, Jayprakash wanted to establish communitarian democracy. The base of the political structure in this sarvodaya was the Gram Sabha whereas the implementing authority of this model was the Gram Panchayat. In the subsequent stages the Gram Panchayats will form the Gram Samiti's and the Panchayat Samiti's of a district will unite to form a Zilla Parishad which will in turn form the state assembly and ultimately the state assemblies will unite to form the national assembly/ parliament. The main aim of sarvodaya economy is not to produce for profit motive but for the welfare of the people and the society. The basis of economy is cooperation and not competition, oppression and antagonism. From his experience and insight Jayprakash realized that by keeping intact the features of Western economy and by only changing the ownership to the hands of the state in the name of socialism will not eliminate the fundamental errors of modern economy. He was for the abolition of market economy and said that the production system will be such that the individuals will not be a slave to the machines but they will themselves control the machines. He also talked about protecting the dignity of labour and labourers. According to him due to over-specialization of the production system the labourers get alienated. The one who is alienated from the happiness of creation in the modern production system in turn enjoys in the diversity present in the presence of both agriculture and industry in all the villages of the sarvodaya society. From the above analysis, it is proved that at this point there was a death of Marxist Jayprakash and the rebirth of Gandhian Jayprakash. The idea of party-less democracy that he talked was a total negation of the Marxist model of socialism. Moreover he declared jihad against the mechanical model of Soviet socialism and its over-dependence on principles. At this point one can find a similarity between Rabindranath and Jayprakash, because in his Letters from Russia, Rabindranath criticized the repressive policies in the national life of Russia. During this time Jayprakash got totally transformed into Gandhism.

160 1.5 Analysis and Evaluation There has been so many shifts in the political career of Jayprakash that many scholars see him as a symbol of contradictions. However the truth is that he was an open minded person and no single ideology or position came to him as the ultimate truth. At one point of time he had so much faith on Marxism that he considered all Marxists as a thinking person. By getting entangled in the dream of socialist movement by Manabandranath Roy and his followers and communists, Jayprakash opened the door of his Congress Socialist Party to them but they were much concerned about strategy than principle and ideology. For this inclusion made by Jayprakash, leaders of C.S.P like Achhyut Pattabardhan resigned from the working committee. In South India the C.S.P organization was given to be lead by communist leaders like EMS Namboodripad and Ram Murty with the result that when communists were expelled from C.S. P in 1940 then the C.S.P organization in South India faltered without any leaders. For this Jayprakash indulged in self-criticism and seek forgiveness from the part members. When Gandhi was deserted by leaders known to be close to him like Nehru and Sardar Patel, Jayprakash immersed himself in the preaching of Gandhi. In 1950 the Conference of C.S.P was held at Tamil Nadu and Jayprakash in his address as the Secretary said that socialism did not arise from the texts of Marx. It is there in the soil of India and unknowingly it is there in the blood of all Indians. Indian democratic socialism should be understood not in the light of European mentality but in the history and revolutionary evolution of India. Socialism is not merely anti- capitalism or state-centrality. Nationalisation of industries and collectivization of land though are important elements of socialist economy but are not the only elements. In socialism there will be no oppression of individuals by individuals, no concern for security, there should be fair and equal distribution of resources, services and opportunities. Communism also talks in a similar manner but in reality it gets transformed to party dictatorship and thereby creates conditions antithetical to socialism itself. Socialism desires to build a human social life based on certain values which cannot be bypassed for any theory, any party programme or for gaining any small benefit. Thus socialism is not a mere theoretical appendage; it is a new culture and civilization. These arguments of Jayprakash also got reflected in the new thesis of the Praja Socialist Party. From these it can be deduced without any doubt that there were no alterations in the fundamental political belief, values and dream of Jayprakash. He showed courage and absolutist attitude towards his values but his path of activity and ideology was marked by relativism. This cannot be termed as opportunism. With

161 regard to value system Jayprakash was entirely rigid while with regard to ideology and the path of action he was entirely flexible. This may be seen as an example of pragmatism or realism. Before the departure of Subhas Chandra from India, Jayprakash wrote a letter to him in 1940, reflecting his desire and plan to start an alternative an autonomous movement outside the Congress party. He wrote that though Congress is seen as mass organization its leaders had no mass connection. In his words – “the peasant, labour and left national movements have been isolated. In these circumstances it will be a great folly to look at the Congress for mass revolutionary action.” He also wrote that – “The task of destroying what would remain of imperialism and of carrying forward the democratic revolution revolves on the workers, peasants and lower middle classes.” Dreaming of a coming agricultural revolution he said that unlike China there may not be enough strength of the peasants to dismantle the Zamindar-raj but the context of such a struggle must be created by preparing the peasants for revolution. By giving importance to the role of Peasant organization he said that preparing for revolution does not mean that the task of proletarian revolution will be halted. Rather workers movements will run parallel. Jayprakash at this time could not repose faith on the Congress party. He said that – “The Congress no longer remains an instrument for revolutionary action and therefore we must prepare an independent basis for such action.” Subhas Chandra did not pay any heed to this call of Jayprakash for the simple reason that by that time he was determined to leave the country. It is a matter of conjecture of what would have happen if Subhas Chandra had responded to the call of Jayprakash for struggling against the British imperialism without leaving the country, but it is clear from the above mentioned letter that at this time Jayprakash was influenced by the idea of Marxist model of revolution and he had tremendous difficulty visualizing Gandhi leading the Congress as a mass organization. In the post independence period when Jayprakash talked about total revolution he did not regard Marxism as a doctrine of truth any longer and repeatedly talked about the emancipation of tortured and oppressed people. On 23 rd August 1975, Jayprakash wrote in his prison diary that “The question is even larger. It is how to bring about a systemic change in society that is how to bring about what I have called a total revolution, revolution in every sphere and aspect of society.” He continued to write that even after twenty five years of independence there has been no fundamental socio-economic restructuring in India. In his words – “Zamindari is abolished, land reforms acts have been passed, untouchability has been legally prohibited and so on. But the village in most parts of India is still in the grip of the higher castes and even

162 the bigger and medium land owners. The small and the marginal landowners, the landless, the backward classes and the Harijans form the majority in most villages in most states. Yet their position continues to be miserable." Jayprakash wrote that there have been nationalization of some industries, insurances and banks and some government industries have been established. But it had led to smooth the path for state capitalism and large scale corruption. On 15 th September in his diary, Jayprakash wrote – "All politics, all education, all privileges are confined to the tiny layer of the society at the top, not necessarily all capitalists, but all privileged, the public sector, leaving out agriculture is perhaps the larger part of the industrial economy." On 7 th October while talking about the necessity of an economic revolution Jayprakash said – "It means revolution in the economic structure of society and its economic institutions, as also their new revolutionary forms. The Economic revolution implies both change and new orientation." From these quotations it is clear that even after drifting away from the path of Marxism, the necessity of economic revolution and its positive implication was always present in the thinking of Jayprakash.

1.6 Summary In the colourful political career of Jayprakash Narayan one can find frequent changes of position. At first he was a hard-core Marxist, then with his disenchantment with Communism he shifted to Gandhism and centering on Gandhism he became the proponent of Democratic Socialism. Throughout his life Jayprakash was an ardent believer in individual freedom and democracy. He was never enslaved by any ideology and he never took any ideology as the epitome of supreme truth. He prioritized certain values in his life and realized that communism was not a help but a hindrance in the actualization of those values. For this reason Jayprakash drifted away from Marxism and took recourse to Gandhism and searched for the ultimate path for human emancipation. At one time he may have had ridiculed Gandhism but in his later life he took help of that very Gandhism to stride the path of value based socialism which was not a prototype of any western model. Such a visualization of Jayprakash Narayan was consistent with the civilization, culture and history of India.

1.7 Sample Questions a) Discuss briefly the way in which Jayprakash viewed Marxism during his early political phase.

163 b) Discuss in details the way in which Jayprakash got transformed from Marxsim to Gandhism. c) Was Jayprakash a proponent of democratic socialism? Give reasons for your answer. 1.8 Suggested Readings Ajit Bhattacharya, Jayprakash Narayan: A Political Biography Nitish Dasgupta, The Social and Political Theory of Jayprakash Narayan Bimal Prasad(ed.) A Revolutionary's Quest: Selected Writings of Jayprakash Narayan Bimal Prasad, Gandhi, Nehru and JP: Studies in Leadership Sandip Das(ed.), Who Was This Man?: Jayprakash Narayan – A Centenary Volume

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165 MODULE - 4 MOVEMENTS

166

167 Unit-1 Swadeshi Movement Structure 4.1 Introduction 4.2 Nationalists' Confrontation with Curzon 4.3 Boycott and Swadeshi Movement 4.4 Concluding Observations 4.5 Suggested Readings 4.6 Sample Questions 1.01 Introduction : The Swadeshi movement of 1905-07 brought to the forefront split between two tendencies within the Indian national movement and within the structure of the Indian National Congress Party-known as the moderates and the extremists.

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In contrast with the moderate's policy of reconciliation and compromise with imperialism, the (extremists) demanded time bound programmes and policy harming the British interests in India. This new school of thought represented an alternative idea challenging the moderates compromising policies of conciliation with imperialism. Disillusioned with the

policy of mendicancy followed by

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the moderates, the extremists believed in selfreliance and sought to achieve "Swaraj" through direct action.

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The extremists articulated their opposition both to the moderates and the British government. Moreover the extremists also felt the need of being economically self-reliant to fight the British state that gained in strength by exploiting India's economic responses. Swadeshi was not only an economic design but also a political slogan on which Indian was sought to be made strong by being self-reliant.

The Extremists

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ruled out the possibility of negotiations with the Mullen for verbal concession.

This attitude of the extremists enhanced major confrontation with the British government. 1.02 The Nationalist Confrontation with Curzon The next confrontation between Lord Curzon the then viceroy and the nationalist intelligentsia, came through three successive measures: (a) Changes in the Calcutta Corporation in 1899; (b) the Universities Act of 1904, and (c) the Partition of Bengal in 1905. The first reduced the number of elected Indian members, and was a move directly connected with the interests of the Calcutta European business community, which had often complained about delays in the grant of licenses on other favours. The second measure trumpeted by Lord Curzon as a move to raise the standard of education all round. The Act cut down the number of elected senate members and transferred the power of decision making to government officials. Educated Indian opposed this act, on grounds of the Act's undemocratic and restrictive nature. The intention of the British govt. was to curb the student militancy and to strengthen the British defenses against the raging national tide. Curzon's most unpopular measure—the partition of Bengal according to Sumit Sarkar, "has also aroused the most controversy among historians with a complicity tending to emphasize administrative convenience as its Prime motive against contemporary and latter nationalist changes of deliberate 'divide and rule.'" (-1983-106), Between December 1903 and the formal announcement of 19th July 1905, a transfer plan was formed into a full-scale partition by Fraser, Risley and Curzon. 1.03 Boycott and Swadeshi Movement The plan of partition of Bengal was announced by the government on 19th July 1905 even though the Indians and particularly the people of Bengal had expressed their resentment against it. The government decided to create a new province consisting of Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahi divisions of Bengal, the district of Malda, the state of Tripura and Assam. The province was called 'East Bengal and Assam with its capital at Dacca. The people of Bengal opposed the partition of Bengal strongly and it gave rise to what has been called the anti-partition of Bengal movement. This gave birth to Swadeshi and Boycott Movements. The Boycott movement was first suggested as a protest against the partition of Bengal by the Sanjivani, a Bengali weekly on July 13, 1905 and was adopted at a public meeting at Beraghat. A grand meeting in the town hall at Calcutta on 7th August 1905, resolved that the use of Swadeshi goods and boycott of foreign goods should be adhered to by the people till the partition of Bengal was annulled. A four-fold programme of boycott was pursued It included the following: (a) Boycott of English Cloth, Salt, sugar etc. (b) Boycott of English language. (c) Resigning from honorary offices under the government and from seats in the legislative councils and (d) Social boycott of persons purchasing foreign goods.

169 The government was no silent spectator to these happenings on the one hand, it moved diplomatically and attempted to divide the people of Bengal particularly the Hindus and the Muslims. It extended out all possible support and assurances to the Muslims. Lord Curzon won over Nawab Salimullah and the Muslim league was established by him with the active support of the British in 1906. Meetings were forcibly dispersed, singing of Vande Mataram was banned, newspapers were suppressed, the picketers were lathi-changed, Gorkha Soldiers were deployed at sensitive places and all sorts of threats and intimidations were meted out to sympathizers of the movement. Yet the movement continued unabated upto 1907. S.N. Banerjee toured all over India to gain the sympathy of Indians in other provinces for the movement. But the movement was over by the middle of 1908. It failed to achieve its object because the partition of Bengal could not be annulled before 1911. There were several causes of the failure of the movement. The one primary cause was the un-human repressive policy of the government. The anti Partition Movement was spontaneous and no prior efforts were made to organize it. The Congress was split up at Surat in 1907 and the extremists who were the supporters of the Swadeshi, Boycott and the national education were turned out of it. Besides, the extremists lost their leadership as well at that time and therefore, the Swadeshi Movement lost their driving force. The most effective part of the Movement was the boycott of foreign goods which adversely affected the import of foreign goods. Besides, it gave encouragement to Indian industries, many textile Mills, soaps and match factories, handloom and weaving factories and national banks were opened during the course of movement. The Bengal National College and The Bengal Technical Institute were established during this time. The ideas of Swadeshi and boycott pursued during the movement brought into prominence the great value of passive resistance. The movement which grew during the Anti-partition of Bengal Movement brought about several consequences which affected the national movement in a positive way. 1.04 Concluding Observation. The History of boycott and Swadeshi in Bengal vividly illustrate the limits of an intelligentsia movement with broadly bourgeois aspirations but without a yet real bourgeois support. The general sentiment of leading merchant's class in Calcutta was "that it is much easier to make money by an agency in imported goods than by investment in individual enterprise." (Sankar-1983-117) The Swadeshi mood in general was closely associated with attempts to combine

170 politics with religious revivalism, which was repeatedly used as a morale-booster for activists and a principal instrument of mass contact. The Swadeshi mood did bring about significant revive in handloom, silk weaving and some other traditional artisan crafts a point emphasized by two official industrial, Surveys in 1908. But it must be admitted Swadeshi could never seriously threaten the British Strong hold over the crucial sectors of Bengal economy. The Swadeshi and Boycott movement which grew during the antipartition of Bengal movement brought about several useful consequences which affected the national movement in a positive way. It however closed on chapter of Indian Independence Movement but certainly laid down a firm foundation for future. 1.05 Suggested Readings 1. Sumit Sankar- Modern India-1885-1947-MACMILLAN INDIA PVT.LTD-1984, Delhi. 2. A. R. Desai-SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF INDIAN NATIONALISTS- POPULAR PRAKASHANA-Bombay-1976. 3. L.Prasad-Indian National Movement-L.N. AGARWAL, Agra, 1993. 1.06 Sample Questions 1. Write an essay on the Swadeshi Movement. Mention its limitation. (18) 2. Write an essay on Boycott and Partition of Bengal. (18) 3. Examine the difference between the moderates and the Extremists in respect of their aims and methods. (12) 4. Write short notes: (a) Boycott, (b) Curzon and the nationalist; (c) Limitations of Swadeshi Movement, (d) Emergence of Boycott.

171 Unit-2(A) □ Peasant Movements Structure 2(A).1 Introduction 2(A).2 Peasant Movement 2(A).3 Conclusion 2(A).4 Suggested Readings 2(A).5 Sample Questions 2(A).01 Introduction : The Predominantly organism climates of Indian Socio-economic structure

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ensured that the country would experience a number of formidable Peasant Movements in both pre-independence times. Such movements were caused primarily by way of protest against the exploitative policies rooted in the inequitable (agrarian) relations reflected in different forms over various phases in history. Initially, the peasant movements appeared to be localised in India.

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However, with the consolidation of the revivalist movement in the country and the growing predominance of communist element in the leadership of the Peasant Movement the character and intensity of peasant

movement underneath subtle transformation and slowly acinined national acquired. 2(A).02 Peasant Movement The Indian peasants were the worst sufferers under the British rule. It has been rightly said that worst result of the British rule in India was extreme poverty of the Indian people and among them the worst sufferers were the Indian peasants. Indebtedness, fragmentation of holdings increase in the no of agricultural labour etc were the problems which concerned the peasants directly. Besides the Govt. the landlords intermediaries the local Banias & Patwaris exploited them to the maximum. The peasants well scattered over a vast area, were poor, lacked mobility and being culturally backward depended more on their fate than their self-efforts. Their sufferings however forced them to rebel against the Govt. landlords or the Banias many times. Mostly their uprisings were violent as they were not organized were suppressed by violence. In 1870 the Bengal tenants refused to pay the revenue 172 obstructed their eviction from their lands and fought against the Govt. officers. They were suppressed. The only result of their uprising was the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885. In 1875 the peasants in Maharashtra attacked the houses Sahykar's (money-leaders) burnt the document killed many Sahukars at several places. But the so called deccan riots were suppressed. However the Deccan Agriculturalists Relief Act was passed in 1879. In the last decade of 19th century the peasants revolted in Punjab at many places. The Govt. passed the Punjab Alienation Act to cease the situation. In 1917-18 the Peasants at Champaran in Bihar sought the support of Gandhi against their masters the indigo planters. They were provided some relief, Gandhi also organized the satyagraha movement of peasants in Khaira against the collection of Land revenue which they could not pay due to the failure of crops. It gained some success. Thus prior to 1918 the peasants fought at many places against the injustice done to them but as their efforts were not organized they could get only meagre concession from their exploiters. The Indian National Congress also paid only scanty attention to the welfare of the peasants. N.G. Ranga the leader of the peasants even criticized Gandhi's agitation in Champaran which according to him failed to solve the main problems of the peasants viz. the excessive rents and exorbitant debts. It was only after 1918 that the Indian peasants developed political consciousness participated in the national movement & gradually formed their own organizations when in 1919 the Indian National Congress launched the non-cooperative Movement it gave the slogan of nonpayment of land revenue. Many peasants therefore felt that the struggle for Swaraj meant struggle against the heavy land revenue and they cooperated with the non-cooperation movement. It was their participation in an organized movement. The struggle of the peasants however continued even outside the fold of the Congress during this period. The Peasants struggled against their landlords in Guntur district and at many places in Karnataka and Delhi. The Moplah rebellion in 1922 was largely a revolt of Muslim peasants against their landlords, the Namboodri Brahmins of Malabar. But all these movements were suppressed. The process of the formation of independent Peasants organization started after the Non-cooperation movement. Some peasants organizations were formed in Andhra in 1923. Kisan Sabhas were started in some parts of Punjab, Bengal, Bihar in 1926-27. The Andhra Provincial Ryots Association was started in 1921. In 1928 the representatives of Bihar and U.P. Kisan Sabhas also presented a memorandum consisting of their demands to the All parties Conference presided over by Motilal Nehru. But these organizations were not very much effective. Most of them accepted the leadership of the nationalist leaders of the INC and put up resistance to the Govt. Under them Kisan movements of Bardoli district in Gujrat were led by Sardar Vallabh Bhai

173 Patel and Mahatma Gandhi respectively. Other moments of the peasants in UP, Gujrat etc. will also led and inspired by the INC. The peasants also participated in large nos in the Civil Disabedience Movement led by Gandhi though he had not included a single specific demand of the Kisans in his clean print demand put before the Govt. However after the Civil Disobedience Movement quite a large section among the peasantry realized that the Congress would not fight for their specific grievances because capitalists and big landlords were more influential in it. It pointed out to them the necessity of having independent organizations of their own. The Communists, the Congress socialists and even the left Nationalists like Jawaharlal Nehru emphasized the need of forming such associations. It gave momentum to independent kisan movements in the 30's of the 20th Century. It resulted in the formation of Bihar Kisan Sabha in 1927 the provincial Kisan Sabha in U.P. in 1935 the Madras presidency Ryots Association in 1935, the Madras Presidency Agricultures Association in 1937 to train the Kisans in organizational works. Some peasants organizations took their birth on communal basis also. Sir Abdur Rahim organized the Praja Party with a view to mustering the Muslim peasants in Bengal. Many kisan Sabhas gradually sprang in all other parts of the country as well. In some cases the Govt. yielded to their pressure resulting in the passing of a few laws like debt Relief Act in U.P. in 1934, the money Lenders Act in 1939. Yet there was no All India organization of the peasants prior to 1935. The 1st all India Congress of peasants met at Lucknow in 1935 and it founded the first all India organization of the peasants named the All-India Kisan Congress. The All India Kisan Congress Carried on Urdu educative propaganda work among the Indian peasant and attempted to harmonize their efforts It also sought collective affiliation to the Indian National Congress but was refused It however provided a united platform for the Indian peasants to express their grievances and put up point demands.

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The all India Kishan Sabha was formed in 1936 reflecting the new spirit of unity among left, nationalists, socialist and communists on one hand and according on independent shape to the Peasant Movement vis-à-vis the national movement on the other. As a result the peasant Movement instead of getting engrossed into localised issues and demands now evolved a pan-Indian perspective by putting forth general demands such as abolition of zamindari, distribution of surplus land amongst landless formers and so on thus with the formation of the All India Kisan Sabha the peasant movement in the country received a new

tempetus. The Peasants in general supported the INC in its struggle for independence. Therefore when in 1937 the Congress ministries were formed in most of the provinces they expected that something would be done for their welfare. But they felt disappointed as was the 174 case with the Indian labour class. The Congress governments did not do much except passing a few legislative measures which failed to touch the root causes of the troubles of the Indian peasants. The peasants protested against the indifference of the Govt. to their interests. The Govt. then banned their meetings arrested their leaders and used police force against them. Thus the fate of the Indian peasants did not improve much by the time India was granted independence. But certainly they were better organized by that time.

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During the last phase of the national movement in India led to the growing revolutionary fervor among the peasants. They no longer seemed to be imbued with the Gandhian ideals of non-violence and satyagraha and were prepared to start decisive struggles against the colonial administration as well as native vested interests in the country. Resultantly several significant peasant movements were evidenced during the period of 1946. The most notable of which appeared to be the Tebhaga & Telangana movements. Presumably these movements were in fact the demonstration of the increase desperation among the peasants to get rid of the exploitative land revenue and taxation systems with the anticipated arrival of independence of the country in the near future. For instance the Tebhaga movement was apparently the most formidable affront to the prevailing permanent system of land revenue in Bengal with slogans like 'Tebhaga Chai' (want two-third of crops) manifesting the urge of the peasants for a two-third share in the total land produce among others. The Telegana movement was a movement against absentee landlordism and exploitative land revenue system under the patronage of the Nizam of Hyderabad with peasants demanding vesting of land to the tillers and confiscation and redistribution of excess land to the landless farmers.

For instance the early peasant revolts such as Moplah rebellion of 1920s in Kerala Wahabi resurrection of 1930s in Bengal were portrayed by some scholars as some sort of communal clashes.

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It was a struggle between Muslim tenants Hindu landlords. Peasants revolted against the exploitation and oppression when their economic condition deteriorated in 3 forms: deterioration of economic condition due to price rise, structural changes which caused an increase in exploitation of peasants and rising aspirations of peasants to improve their condition. 2(

A).03 Conclusion :

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In conclusion, it suggests that the onset of numerous peasants movements in India has been instigated by a distinct set of issues taking prominence

of a particular period of time, though the basic contacts

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of all such basis remained enmeshed in the structure and functioning of the agraria system

indifferent regions.

175 2(A).04 Suggested Readings 1. A. R. Desai-Social Background and of Indian nationalism-Popular Prakashan – Bombay-1976. 2. R. K. Mukherjee-The Indian working Class-Popuar Prakashan-Bombay-1952 3. Uday Mehta-Pesant Movements in Indian in A. R. Desai (ed.) peasants struggle in Indian-Oxford University Press-New Delhi-1979. 2(A).05 Sample Questions: 1. Describe the evolution of Indian Present Movements in Pre-independence Period (18) 2. Analyse Whether Indian Presant movement acquired and national character. (18) 3. Analyse the nature of peasants Movements in pre-independence India. (12) 4. Write short notes: (7) (a) All India Kishan sabha. 176 Unit-2(B) □ Tribal Movements Structure 2(B).1 Introduction 2(B).2 Typology of Tribal Movement 2(B).3 Phases of Tribal Movement 2(B).4 Conclusion 2(B).5 Suggested Readings 2(B).6 Sample Questions 2(B).01 Introduction India is a vast country populated with a large number of indigenous people, who inhabit the mountainous and forest lands of our country. These ethnic groups, with their

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distinct culture and identity in terms of rituals, values, social structure, dialects lifestyles, festivals, and celebrations

are the tribal communities of India, who have faced unjust and exploitative interferences from traditionally settled non-tribal populations of the country, especially at the time of the British rule. There have been popular movements against perceived non-tribal interference both during pre-independence, and post-independence times. 2(B).02 Typology of Tribal Movements: Tribal

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movements launched by the people to protest against undue interference in or infringement of their basic rights both by official and non-official agents

may be classified under the heads of

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ethnic movements, agrarian movements and political movements. The tribal movement in the nature of ethnic movements, usually tended to be resistance movements aimed at opposing the subtle and at times secretive efforts on the part of the non-tribals, both British as well as native people to penetrate into the preserved ethnic domains of the life of the Tribals. For instance, when the tribal people felt certain perceptible threat to the basic components of their ethnic identity such as rituals, values, social structures, life-styles, dialects, they put up

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stiff resistance. Such types of tribal movements were dominant in the early phase of the establishment of British rule in India. 177 Movements in the nature of agrarian movements

were those against the

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exploitative policies of colonial rulers and strong arm tactics of the unscrupulous elements like zamindars,

money lenders, who

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tended to destroy their means of livelihood and put financial burdens on them. The movements launched by Birsha Munda and Tana Bhagat were in the nature of agrarian movements. Finally, tribal movements arising out political causes drew their inspiration from the anti-colonial struggle being launched in the country,

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presumably due to the nationalist perspectives of their leaders who

wanted to get

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their problems redressed through the nationalist movement. After independence, tribal movements in the political mould vied for political autonomy for their people and in some cases separate political identities for themselves.

Observing the participants, issues, organization and leadership of various tribal movements, it becomes obvious

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that these movements did not clearly visualize the basic character of their struggle and became a comprehensive movement seeking to find solution to most, if not all, of the problems of the people.

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Most of the tribal movements carried within themselves the elements of all the other typologies, given some degree of commonality in the socio-cultural and politico-economic life of these people. 2(B).03 Phases of Tribal Movements: Tribal movements have a history of more than two centuries in India. Such a long span of tribal movements has been divided various phases by scholars. Suresh Kumar Singh

has given three distinct phases in pre-independence times. Corresponding to

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the expansion and consolidation of British rule in India, The first phase of tribal movements cover the period 1795-1860,

though some scholars go back even further to 1768. This was the time when the British empire was expanding rapidly. Not only were they annexing native states, but extending their administrative structure to areas where the people had enjoyed full autonomy for hundreds of years. Most tribal movements of this period came to

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conjunction with non-tribal people, given the common enmity of the two against British colonialism.

The movements of this phase is a reflection of the anger of a whole region ranging from what is now Orissa, Jharkhand, Chhattishgarh and Bengal,

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rather than a group of people. The Chhotanagpou plateau became the hub of such movements during the 1820s, owing to the common grudge of all people against the designs of the British rulers. 178 During the second phase (1860-1920), tribal

movement began against economic exploitation of the British. The Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis in 1856 opened the flood gates for the zamindars and money-lenders to appear, and seize land and wealth of the tribals like the Santhals. A forest Regulation Act passed in 1865 empowered the British to cut down forests, exploit forest resources, and prevent the tribals from using forest products as they has been wont for countless years.

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Tribal movements of these times developed an unconventional blend of socio-religious reform on the one hand and political resistance on the other. This was the time when tribal movements started taking messianic overtones with the emergence of a number of pioneers who were regarded as Gods out to save them from the brutalities of aliens. The insurrections of Munda-Oraon Sardar and Birsha Munda, Tana Bhagat are reflective of the major trends in the tribal movements of this period. The final phase of pre-independence tribal movements (1921-1947) appeared to be imbued by the basic ideas and ethos of the national movement of India. Most of these movements were political in nature and reflected the vision of their leaders on fundamental issues affecting the people. Hence, while most of the tribal movements became valuable associates of the national movement, few of them also tended to take separatist overtones in the course of time. For instance, while in Central Provinces, tribal leaders like Ganjan Korke became a formidable force during the Civil Disobedience Movement, certain parts of the Chhotanagpur plateau became a theatre for separatist movement amongst the tribals. 2(B).04 Conclusion:

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In conclusion, it may be said that the trajectory of various tribal movements in India had been varying owing to the distinctness of the basic issues involved in each movement.

Complex issues were involved in these tribal movements, ranging from

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erosion of ethnic identities and socio-cultural distinctiveness of the tribals to economic exploitation, and disappearance of traditional economic rights on forests and

land. The final products of all these motivations were the formidable insurrections against colonial and native exploiters. 2(B).05 Suggested Readings 1. L. P. Mathur-The Resistance movements of Tribals of India-Himangshu Publishers-Udaipur-1988. 2. Suresh

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Kumar Singh-Tribal Society in India: An Anthro-po-historical perspective- Monalisa-New Delhi-1985 179 3.

Ghanshyam Shah-Social Movements in India-A Review of Literature – Suge-New Delhi-1990. 26.06 Sample Questions: 1. Discuss the Tribal Movements in India before Independence. (18). 2. Explain the nature of Tribal movements in pre-independent India. (18) 3. Describe the different stages of Tribal movements in pre-independent India. (12) 4. Short Notes : (a) Santhal Movements; (b) Tribal Movements arising out of political movements; (c) Tribal movements in the 1921-47 period.

180 Unit - 3 Trade Union (Working Class) Movement Structure 3.01 Introduction 3.02 Trade Union Movement 3.03 Conclusion 3.04 Suggested Readings 3.05 Sample Questions 3.01 Introduction

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Trade Union Movements in India apparently began with the establishment of a number of factories in the port cities of the country during the second half of the 18th century. Initially the workers working in such factories were unorganised and therefore not in a position to raise their voices against the intolerable working conditions and highly inadequate wages paid to them.

Some spondaic movements come into existence where main argument was the intervention of the colonial administration to improve working conditions in

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the factories. The genesis of the Trade Union Movements may be traced back to the spondaic strikes evidenced in certain railways and textile establishments during 2nd half of the 19th century. 3.02

Trade Union Movement Even against the wishes of the British Government industries grew in India. First in the field were the British financiers and industrialists themselves who found India a secure place for investing their surplus capital. But gradually the Indians also entered the field. Cotton textile and Sugar were the first industries which were set up by the Indians. From 1880 onwards modern industries developed steadily in India. The Swadeshi Movement also helped in the growth of Indian industries. The First World War gave further impetus to industrial development in India. The efforts of the British industries were diverted towards the production of war materials. The Indian industrial class took advantage of it accelerated the pace of production of those goods which will in demand and captured a part of the Indian market. Thus industrial progress in India took place much against the wishes of the British Govt. prior to Independence in 1947.

181 The Development of industries was bound to create the working of labour class and its movement in India. The Indian working class grew in proportion to the industrial development in India. It primarily constituted the pauperized peasants and ruined artisans who were left with no other means of livelihood Initially the Indian working class suffered heavily. In industries, plantations factories, the workers were paid very low wages worked under hazarders and insanitary conditions and practically were treated as serfs. The industrialists were not prepared to look after their welfare and a few laws passed by the foreign Govt. like Indian Ports Act of 1931, the Factories Act of 1934 etc proved inadequate. Therefore the working class movement was bound to emerge in India. But its process started late. The Indian working class was illiterate and culturally backward. Therefore it developed national and class consciousness much later than the intelligentsia and the bourgersie. Yet from 1918 onwards we find a steady growth in the working class movement in India. Prior to 1918 the only organized protest of the Indian workers was the general strike of the Bombay textile workers in 1908 when B.G. Tilak was sentenced to imprisonment. But it was a protest in sympathy with a national leader and therefore cannot be grouped with class movements. After the war however certain circumstances helped in the growth of a genuine class movement and organization. The economic depression after the war the democratic movements of several European countries the Russian revolution of 1917 and the general dissatisfaction prevailing in the country were primarily responsible for it. The year 1918 to 1920 were marked with the outbreak of a series of strikes throughout the country in a number of industrial centres including Bombay, Calcutta, Madras. All these strikes were held with a view to gaining economic advantages to the workers. Besides the workers participated in the demonstrations processions against the passing of the Rowlatt Act. It was beginning of the participation of the workers in the national movement of the country. It was during this period that attempts were made to form different workers Unions in different industries. Very soon a large number of workers or Trade Union were formed at different industrial centres like Bombay and Madras. These efforts culminated in the founding of an all India organization of the workers the All India Trade Union in 1920. It was the result of the efforts of the leaders like N.M. Joshi, Lala Lajpat Raj. The All India Trade Union fixed up coordination of the activities of all organizations of the workers and advance the interest of Indian labour in economic, social and political matters as its goal. The leadership of A.I.T.U. Congress remained in the hands of liberal leaders like N.M. Joshi for a decade. In course of time nationalist leaders like C. R. Das, V. V. Giri also associated themselves with its functioning.

182 From 1922 onwards socialist and communist ideas started to emerge. A left wing emerged within the All India Congress which had been leading the national movement. That wing was represented by leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose. A left wing leadership developed within the Trade Union Movement also. The Communists believe in class struggle. The socialists did not believe in class struggle but were definitely conscious of organizing workers and Peasants parties with a view to serving their economic interests. They were certainly more interested in saving the workers and the peasants from economic exploitation as compared to liberal national leaders. The Socialist and Communist groups therefore organized several workers and peasants parties. Some parties among them organized the workers on the principle of class struggle and thus strengthened the workers' movement. The movement of these parties gradually increased their influence in A.I.T.U. Congress and finally captured its leadership. This left wing within the A.I.T.U. Congress gradually grew aggressive which resulted in its split in 1929. Mr. Joshi had to leave the Congress. He formed a separate organization of the workers called the Indian Trade Union Federation. A further split in the A.I.T.U. Congress took place in 1931 but the two factions joined hands with each other in 1935. The Indian Trade Union federation also decided to join hands with A.I.T.U. Congress which strengthened it further. The All India Trade Union Congress now came forward with an extensive and bold programme. Its declared objectives now included the establishment of a socialist state in India socialization and nationalization of the means of production, securing of better economic, and social conditions protections of liberties like freedom of speech and even resorting to strikes for the working class, participation in the national struggle from the point of view of workers and abolition of privileges based on caste, creed, race or religion. This party of workers succeeded in doing some useful work for them though its membership did not increase much. It was again only after 1927 than the Indian working class began to constitute itself as an independent economic and political force. Workers went on strikes many times including the Bombay textile workers. The workers also participated in the boycott of Simon Commission, in Civil Disobedience Movement and other agitations organized by the Congress. Mostly they did not exclude themselves from the mainstream of the national movement but certainly retained their independent party flags and class programmes. However the communist Party of India organized itself into a separate entity of its own. The activities of the workers particularly those of the communist group disturbed the Govt. It therefore took measures to suppress them. The Trade Disputes Act restricted the rights of the workers to strike while the public safety Bill passed in 1929 gave power to the Government to deposit undesirable persons even outside India.

183 The Government also arrested a number of labour leaders belonging to the left Wing and framed up a case against them known as the Meerut Conspiracy case. The success of the All India Congress in the elections of 1937 raised the hopes of the working class. They had been cooperating with the national movement with expectations of benefits to them. But the Congress Ministries mostly belied their hopes. More than the workers the Congress was in the grip of capitalists which resulted in the Bombay Trade Disputes Act police firing on the strikers in Bombay banning of labour meetings and imprisoning of labour leaders-all against the interests of the working class. The workers movement however did not die out. After 1938 the no of Trade Unions increased in India. The All India trade Union also increased its membership. Yet it can be said that prior to the achievement of independence in 1947 the labour movement in India was far from its goal. 3.03 Conclusion :

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In the final analysis it may be (argued) that Trade Union Movements in India did not appear to be a formidable social movements ostensibly due to the fact that the country did not have a big industrial base which would have facilitated the rise of massive working force in the country. Further the scattered industrial base in parts of the country, presumably also did not allow for the rise of coordinated and consented efforts on

the part of the leader of the Trade Unions to organize

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any all India strike in order to attract the attention of the Government. No attempt were taken by the leaders of the international movement to integrate the demands of the workers in the charter of issues to be focussed by the Congress party. Hence

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the Trade Union movements remained a sort of (marginalised) and (fragmeated) Social Movement in the pre-indegence times leaving only limited utility for and getting very negligible support from the

mainstrom nationalist movement. 3.04 Suggested Readings 1 U.B. Kaunik-Indian Trade Unions. -A survey-Bombay-Monakatalas. 2 R. K. Mukherjee-The working class-

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Bombay-Popular Prakashan. 3 A. R. Desai-Social Background of Indian national movement-Bombay popular Prakashan. 184 3.05

Sample Questions: 1. Briefly point out the genesis of the Trade Union Movement in Pre British India. (18) 2. Write on essay on the Indian working class movement since 1935. (18) 3. Trace out the trade Union Movement in India from the revolution of A.I.T.U.C. to I.N.T.U.C. (12) 4. Write Short Notes : (a) A.I.T.U.C., (b) I.N.T.U.C., (c) Public Safety Bill 1929; (d) Indian Trade Union Federation. (e) Working mass movements during 1918-1920.

185 Unit - 4 The Dalit Movement in India Structure 4.01 Introduction 4.02 Typologies and Issues 4.03 Organisation and Leadership 4.04 Conclusion 4.05 Suggested Reading 4.05 Sample Questions 4.01 Introduction The basis

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of traditional Hindu Society was the fourfold Varna System, whose distortions gave birth to the

immobile and cruel institution of caste. '

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Dalits' or the so-called untouchables constituted the lowest section of the

caste structure. Dalits one of the so called "avarnos" menning

93% MATCHING BLOCK 64/89

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the ones whose social reckoning lied outside Varna System. Such branding of these people eventually led to a sinister belief among the so-called upper castes people that any kind of interaction with

the Dalits would eatail impurity for them. So,

95% MATCHING BLOCK 65/89

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despite constituting substantive section of the society, Dalits were subjected to such

in human

85% MATCHING BLOCK 66/89

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treatment by offer sections of the society that they had no other means to

88% MATCHING BLOCK 67/89

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than to start some sort of social movement to meliorate their conditions in

India Society. Initially,

67% MATCHING BLOCK 69/89

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Dalit movements secured to be the issue of untouchability. The stinger of being untouchable was so unberable for the people that thereir initial

movements

94% MATCHING BLOCK 70/89

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hovered around the issue of abolition of untouchability and the provision of full fledged participation of these people in all social and religious institutions and processions of the country. Thus the entry test of social emancipation of Dalits come to be reflected in the form of temple entry movements launched in various parts of the country.

85% MATCHING BLOCK 71/89

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The galaxy of illustrious and seerless saints like Rammohan, Chaitannya, Kabir, Tukaram and other coming in the wake of the Bhakti movement, provided a well reasoned critique of the existing inhuman practices being followed under the caste system.

Though, Raja Rammohan Roay and His Brahmo Samaj and Dayananda Saraswati and his Aryo Samaj attacked the feeling casteism and untouchability among certain sections

86% MATCHING BLOCK 72/89

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of the society; the pioneering anti-Brahman and anti- untouchability movement during 1870s happens to begin in the form of "Satya swadhak Samaj" under the 186 leadership of Jotiba Phule. Jotiba Phule in his early life was subjected to various types of humiliation born out of Brahmanical arrogance which infused a sense of revolt and reform within him. Jotiba found no other method of Securing dignified and respectful place for the members of lower caste and untouchables within the rubric of Hindu Social order than to begin a social reform movement for the same. Jotiba was very critical of the leaders of the Congress for their

negligent attitude towards untouchables and lower castes. Jatiba and Satyashadak Samaj acted as the catalyst of anti-untouchability movement in Maharashtra by

100% MATCHING BLOCK 73/89

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opening up of schools and orphanages for the women and children belonging to all castes.

In latter days

94% MATCHING BLOCK 74/89

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the dominant sections of other backward castes coming to dominate the activities of the Satyashadhak Samaj. Another significant anti untouchability movement was launched by the untouchable caste of "Ezhava" in 1903. Under the leadership of Sri Narayan guru with the setting up of Sree Narayan Dharma Paripalana yogam.

95% MATCHING BLOCK 75/89

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In under to provide for a feeling of apparent equality with caste Hindus,

the S.N.D.P.

96% MATCHING BLOCK 76/89

W

built number of temples in Kerala and declared them open to people of all castes.

Moreover, S.N.D.P. aimed at sanskritising the customs and rituals of the Ezhava Commiunity. A

88% MATCHING BLOCK 77/89

W

comprehensive and intense anti untouchability movements started by Dalits in different parts of

Indian in 1920's decade. In Tamil Nadu –

100% MATCHING BLOCK 78/89

W

prominent movement in this context happens to be the Nadar Mahajan

Sangram.

70% MATCHING BLOCK 79/89

W

Having attained sort of economic influence, this community combined on the path of social alteration of its status by way of Sanskritising it's norms and rituals.

Anoher

70% MATCHING BLOCK 80/89

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remarkable Dalit Movement in Tamil Nadu during 1920s was led by Ramyaswami Periyar or Nrikar. Known as "self-respect" movement periyar's major concern

was

74% MATCHING BLOCK 81/89

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not confined only to sanskritise rituals, rather he was of the firm opinion that the plight of the untouchables could not be ameliorated within the feame work of what he called "Brahmanical Hinduism"

under

86% MATCHING BLOCK 82/89

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the banner of "Justice Party" he launched number of vigorous untouchable movements that not only claimed a higher social –

political-economic

92% MATCHING BLOCK 83/89

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recognition to the untouchables, but also some saint of reverse adverse treatment to the hitherto dominant upper caste communities.

The "ADI-DHARMA" movement in Punjab vie far a distinct set of patterns of treatment was the untouchables

90% MATCHING BLOCK 84/89

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which may led to the amelioration of their socio-religious and political conditions in the society.

Latter this movement became part of the scheduled castes federation of Ambedkar. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, drawing his descent from the untouchable caste of Mahar in Mahar in Maharashtra, began the mahar movement with the aim of eroducting untouchability from Maharashtra and this movement attained join degree of success. The 1930s decade from the Dalit Movements throwing acceptance of Ambedkar as their leader. His famous statement addressing the Dalits, "you have mothing to lose,

187 except your religion" inspired the Dalits of Maharashtra. Further, he was demanding for seperate electorate for Dalits. But his demand was opposed by M.K. Gandhi. Latter in 1942, Ambadkar

71% MATCHING BLOCK 85/89

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set up the Sehednled caste federations as a pan Indian party to fight for the coause of Dalit emercipation through the means of agitational and electoral politics. The

scheduled castes (SCs) are known as Harijans, i.e. children of God—a term coined by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933. The harijan nomenclature is considered pejorative by some leaders of the castes they prefer to be called Dalit i.e. the oppressed occupying the lowest rank in the Hindu caste system, they are called avarna, those whose place is outside the chaturvarna system. They are also known as perial, panchama, atishudra antyaja or namashudra in different parts of the country. Their touch and sometimes even their shadows and voices are believed to pollute caste-hindus. Legally, they are no longer untouchables, though in practice many of them still bear that stigma. On the whole, the studies on the Dalit or the socio-political conditions are many but there are only a few systematic empirically sound studies on their movements. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Mahar by caste was an all India leader, while bargaining with the British and the caste-hindus he represented all the Dalits of the country.

4.02 Typologies and Issues The main issues around which most of the dalit movements have been centred in the colonial and post colonial periods are confined to the problem of untouchability. They are predominantly anti untouchability movements. The other issues are the same as these related to agricultural labourers. Ghanshyam Shah classified them into- (a) Reformatory and (b) Alternative Movements. The former tries to reform the caste system to solve the problem of untouchability. Alternative movements are related with socio-economic-political causes. In the context of Dalit identity and ideology, Shah has recently classified dalit movements into-

1. Movements within cultural consensus.
2. Competing ideology and non-Hindu identity.
3. Buddhist dalits and
4. Counter ideology and dalit identity.

The first three are based around religious ideologies whereas the last is based on class. Patnagar and Omvedt classify the dalit movement into (i) caste based and (ii) class based movements. The neo-Vedantic movements and non-Brahmin movements played on

80%

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important 188 catalytic role in developing anti-caste or anti-Hinduism dalit movements in some parts of the country. A major anti-untouchability movement

was launched by Dr. Ambedkar in the 1920s in Maharashtra. This has continued in different forms till today. Though the movement is primarily rooted in Maharashtra, it spread to different parts of the country and acquired an all-India character. Dr. Ambedkar emerged as the leader of the untouchables of the country. Ambedkar saw the possibility of advancement for the untouchables through the use of political means to achieve social and economic equality with the highest classes in modern society. Ambedkar formed the Scheduled Castes Federation (SCF) in 1954, to fight elections and look after the interests of the SCS. Those interests were confined to reservations of jobs and political positions. The dalits demanded a separate electorate in the 1930s which led to a conflict between Ambedkar and Gandhi. Gandhi did not think that the problem of untouchability was a political issue. In the early 1930s, Ambedkar concluded that the only way of improving the status of the untouchables was to renounce the Hindu religion. In the early 1950s he found that Buddhism was appropriate as an alternative religion for the untouchables. He preferred Buddhism primarily because it was “an indigenous Indian religion of equality, a religion which was anti-caste and anti-Brahman.”

The Dalits of Maharashtra launched the Dalit Panther Movement in the early 1970s. Initially it was confined to the urban areas of Maharashtra, now it spread to Gujarat, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and other states. However, Sharmila Rege complains that the Dalit Panther Movement ignored the issue of oppression of Dalit Women (1998). The Panthers condemn and discard the dominant culture and attempt to build an alternative socio-cultural identity for the oppressed classes. The Dalit Panthers organized demonstrations against injustices to the SCS. In order to serve their interests the established dominant political parties hijacked the culturally vibrant dalit movement. At a number of places in Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala, Bihar, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh, Harijan agricultural labourers participated in the land grab movements of the late 1960s, they also launched struggles demanding higher wages. In fact, harijan agricultural labourers and sharecroppers launched struggles even during the British period. Assertion free dalit identity has almost become a central issue of dalit movements. This involves local-level collective action against discrimination and atrocities. Dalit, though very poor enthusiastically contribute to installing Ambedkar statues in their neighbourhood.

189 4.03 Organisation and Leadership Ambedkar formed the Independent Labour party and scheduled castes federalism, and there are a number of scheduled caste organization at regional levels. But there is no study focusing on the organizational set up and leadership and their efforts aimed at mobilizing the Scheduled Castes. The most important leader of the Dalit Movement in India was Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Ambedkar planned his programme to bring the untouchable from a state of 'dehumanization' and 'slavery' into one of equality through the use of modern methods based on education and the exercise of legal and political rights Besides Ambedkar, there were quite a few all India harijan political leaders, but so far no study has been available focusing on their role in mobilizing the Dalits. There was social and economic stratification among the scheduled castes. The leadership of their political movements has come from those jatis of the dalit who had improved their economic conditions. The main participants in the contemporary Dalit Panther movement in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh come from the urban, educated middle class. Different jatis have been more active in different dalit movements. The Jatavs or Chamars of Uttar Pradesh, the vankars of Gujarat, the Malas of Andhra Pradesh etc. Are in the forefront of the dalit movements in their respective regions. Gail omuedt observes that the post Ambedkar Dalit Movement was ironically only that in the end-a movement of Dalits, challenging some of the deepest aspects of oppression and exploitation but failing to show the way to transformation. 4.04 Conclusion: The Dalit Movement in India has a history of 100 years.

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The rise of Dalit movements in India was symptomatic of the growing urge for social emancipation among the sections of people who remained oppressed from centuries. Initially

Dalits wanted though their movements to public religious and livelihood places and sources. In the 20th century in addition to political and economic rights Dalit movements started nevering around the issues of

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reservation in the public service jobs and political position, under the leadership of B.R. Ambedkar. On the era of independence Dalit Movements in the country were accommodate with the broad spectrum of the notional movement. 190 4.05

Suggested Readings 1. L. P. Mathur,-The Resistance movements of Tribals of India-Himangshu Publishers- Udaipur-1988. 2. A. Ri Desai-Social Background of Indian Nationalism-Popular Prakashan-Bombay- 1976. 3. Ghanshyam Shah – Social Movements in India – Saya-New Delhi-1990. 4.

83% MATCHING BLOCK 89/89

W

M.S.A. Rao – Social Movements in India – Volume-I, Monahar – New Delhi-1979. 4.05

Sample Questions: 1. Discuss the Dalit Movements in India. (18) 2. Explain the courses and nature of Dalit Movements. (18) 3. Discuss the issues and typologies of Dalit Movements. (18) 4. Describe the typologies of Dalit Movements. (12) 5. Explain the political rationale of Dalit Movement. (12) 6. Describe the organisational leadership pattern of Dalit Movements. (12) 7. Write short notes – (7) (a) Satyashadhak Movement; (b) Jotiba Phule; (c) Nadar Mahajan Sangram; (d) B. R. Ambedkar; (e) Gandhi-Ambedkar rift.

191 Notes

192 Notes

Hit and source - focused comparison, Side by Side

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1/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	92% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form</p> <p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>		<p>All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or utilised any form</p>		
2/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	60% MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS
<p>into the modern era of world-wide cooperation of humanity. Rammohun heralded a new era of social and religious reforms, persuading his fellowmen to</p> <p>SA PSC_1026.pdf (D164969506)</p>				
3/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	73% MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
<p>and to revive the true spirit of enlightened Hinduism as taught in the Vedas and the Upanishads.</p> <p>SA PSC_1026.pdf (D164969506)</p>				
4/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	90% MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
<p>After the death of his father in 1803, Rammohun went to Murshidabad and renewed his Arabic studies.</p> <p>SA PSC_1026.pdf (D164969506)</p>				
5/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	70% MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS
<p>Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhiden (a Gift to the Monotheists) in Persian with an Introduction in Arabic. Here he showed the general unity of thought among mankind regarding the existence of one Supreme Being.</p> <p>SA PSC_1026.pdf (D164969506)</p>				

6/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	76% MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS
<p>that faith in the unity of Reality and recognition of human values are the cardinal principles of all religions. This point of the fundamental unity of all religions</p> <p>SA PSC_1026.pdf (D164969506)</p>				
7/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>B. B. Majumdar, History of Indian Social and Political Ideas :</p> <p>SA Social and political ideas of some representative thinkers of Bengal in the era of ... etc.pdf (D34487727)</p>				
8/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	9 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	9 WORDS
<p>Sambad Kaumudi (1821) in Bengali and Mirat-ul-Akhbar (1822) in Persian—</p> <p>SA Vasantkumar Kadlimatti.docx (D78758324)</p>				
9/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	96% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>Kaviraj, The Unhappy Consciousness: Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and the Formation of Nationalist Discourse in India. 3.</p> <p>Kaviraj, Sudipta. 1995. The Unhappy Consciousness: Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and the Formation of Nationalist Discourse in India.</p> <p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
10/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	52% MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS
<p>the mass of the Indian people. 2.07 Suggested Readings 1. Partha Chattopadhyay, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse. 2.</p> <p>SA VM.doc (D24838314)</p>				
11/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	75% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>Political Thought', in P. Thomas and Kenneth Deutsch (eds.), Political Thought in Modern India. 3.</p> <p>Political Thought', in Thomas Pantham and Kenneth L. Deutsch (eds), Political Thought in Modern India.</p> <p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				

12/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high..." (</p> <p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
13/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	88% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>M. K. Halder, Foundations of Nationalism in India : A Study of Bankimchandra Chatterjee. 5.</p> <p>SA Thesis_Laki Molla.docx (D160067371)</p>				
14/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	80 WORDS	98% MATCHING TEXT	80 WORDS
<p>Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high Where knowledge is free Where the world has not been broken up into fragments By narrow domestic walls Where words come out from the depth of truth Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way Into the dreary desert sand of dead habits Where the mind is led forward by Thee Into ever-widening thought and action Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake." (</p>		<p>Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high; Where knowledge is free; Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls; Where words come out from the depth of truth; Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection; Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action... Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake. (</p> <p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>		
15/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS
<p>The Artist in Chains: The Life of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. 10.</p> <p>SA Thesis for plagiarism.doc (D55651757)</p>				
16/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	69% MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS
<p>for my part, wish to stand, shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to suffer a degradation not fit for human beings."</p> <p>SA final thesis (9).pdf (D20848761)</p>				

17/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	9 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	9 WORDS
Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse, Oxford.				
SA Thesis for plagiarism.doc (D55651757)				
18/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
The Unhappy Consciousness—Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and the Formation of Nationalist Discourse in India, Oxford.				
SA Thesis_Laki Molla.docx (D160067371)				
19/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
love India, but my India is an idea and not a geographical expression. Therefore I am not a patriot—				
SA 8 Chapter 2.docx (D42060313)				
20/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	86% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
The state represents violence in a concentrated and organized form. The individual has soul, but				
SA Unit 1-5 (1).pdf (D129193984)				
21/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	90% MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS
the state is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence."				
SA Unit 1-5 (1).pdf (D129193984)				
22/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS
An Autobiography or The story of My Experiments with Truth)		An Autobiography or the Story of My Experiments with Truth.		
W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0				

23/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	93% MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS
<p>hope I am as great a believer in free air as the great poet. I do not want my house to be walled in</p> <p>W https://www.drishtias.com/images/pdf/IGNOU%20Social%20and%20Political%20Thoughts.pdf</p>		<p>hope I an1 as great a believer in free air as the great poet. I do not want my house to be walled in 011</p>		
24/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	92% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>The method of violent revolution might conceivably lead to a socialist democracy but in</p> <p>W https://www.drishtias.com/images/pdf/IGNOU%20Social%20and%20Political%20Thoughts.pdf</p>		<p>The method of violent revolution and dictatorship might conceivably lead to a socialist democracy; but in</p>		
25/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	83% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>there is no limit to extending our service to our neighbours across state-made frontiers." 3.8</p> <p>W https://www.drishtias.com/images/pdf/IGNOU%20Social%20and%20Political%20Thoughts.pdf</p>		<p>There is", he says, "No limit to extending our services to our neighbours across state-made frontiers.</p>		
26/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	61% MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS
<p>where it has been tried, it has led to a bureaucratic state, in which democracy does not exist. I should like to take a lesson from history."</p> <p>W https://www.drishtias.com/images/pdf/IGNOU%20Social%20and%20Political%20Thoughts.pdf</p>		<p>where it has been tried (i.e. the Soviet Union), it had led to something different, i.e. to a bureaucratic slate in which delnocracy does not exist. I slzould like to take a lesson from history".</p>		
27/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS
<p>Buddhadev Bhattacharya: Evolution of the Political Philosophy of Gandhi, Calcutta Book House, 1969. 2.</p> <p>SA acc-28.pdf (D15989350)</p>				

28/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	44 WORDS	85% MATCHING TEXT	44 WORDS
<p>In contrast with the moderatest a policy of reconciliation and compromise with imperialism, the (extremists) demanded time bound programmes and policy harming the British interests in India. This new school of thought represented an alternative idea challenging the moderates compromising policies of conciliation with imperialism. Disillusioned with the</p>		<p>In contrast with the Moderates who pursued a policy of reconciliation and compromise with imperialism, the Extremists demanded time-bound programmes and policies harming the British interests in India. This new school of thought represented an alternative voice challenging the ' Moderates' compromising policies of conciliation with imperialism. Disillusioned with the</p>		
<p>W https://www.drishtiiias.com/images/pdf/IGNOU%20Social%20and%20Political%20Thoughts.pdf</p>				
29/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	97% MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS
<p>see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and subjection of the Indian people except 'through socialism</p>				
<p>SA Abhishek Sharma(19-BMU-6296)Pol Sci & Pub Ad.docx (D156211815)</p>				
30/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	76% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>the moderates, the externists believed in selfreliance and sought to achieve "Swaraj" through direct action.</p>		<p>the Moderates, the Extremists believed in self-reliance and sought to achieve swaraj through direct action.</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
31/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	59 WORDS	89% MATCHING TEXT	59 WORDS
<p>The extremists articulated their opposition both to the moderates and the British government. Moreover the extremists also felt the need of being economically self-reliant to fight the British state that gained in strength by exploiting India's economic responcees. Swadeshi was not only an economic design but also a political slogan on which Indian was sought to be made strong by being self reliant.</p>		<p>the Extremists articulated their opposition both to the Moderates and the British government. At another level, the Extremists also felt the need of being economically self-reliant to fight the British state that gained in strength by exploiting India's economic resources. Swadeshi was not merely an economic design but also a political slogan on which India was sought to be made strong by being self-reliant.</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
32/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	87% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>ruled out the possibility of negotiations with the Mullen for verbal concession.</p>		<p>ruled out the possibility of negotiations with the ruler for verbal concession.</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				

33/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	51 WORDS	87% MATCHING TEXT	51 WORDS
	<p>ensured that the country would experience a number of formidable Peasant Movements in both predonpost independence times. Such movements wire carsed primarily by way of Pnotest against the exploitative policies rooted in the inequitable (agrarian) relations reflected in different forms over various phases in history. Initially, the peasant movements appeared to be localised in India.</p>		<p>ensured that the country would experience a number of formidable peasant movements in both pre- and post-independence times. Such movements were caused primarily by way of protest against the exploitative policies rooted in the inequitable agrarian relations reflected in different forms over various phases in history. Initially, the peasant movements appeared to be localised in India,</p>	
	<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>			
34/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	74% MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS
	<p>However, with the consolidation of the revivalist movement in the country and the growing predominasec of communist element in the leadership of the Peasant Movement the character and intensity of peasant</p>		<p>However, with the strengthening of the national movement in the country and the growing predominance of communist elements in the leadership of the peasant movements, the character and intensity of the peasant</p>	
	<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>			
35/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	92 WORDS	84% MATCHING TEXT	92 WORDS
	<p>The all India Kishan Sabha was formed in 1936 reflecting the new spirit of unity among left, nationalists, socialist and communists on one hand and according on independent shape to the Peasant Movement vis-à-vis the national movement on the other. As a result the peasant Movement instead of getting engrossed into localised issues and demands now evolved a pan-Indian perspective by putting forth general demands such as abolition of zamindari, distribution of surplus land amongst landless formers and so on thus with the formation of the All India Kisan Sabha the peasant movement in the country received a new</p>		<p>the All India Kisan Sabha was formed in 1936, reflecting 'the new spirit of unity among Left-nationalists, Socialists and Communists' (Sarkar 1989: 339), on the one hand, and according an independent shape to the peasant movement vis-à-vis the national movement, on the other. As a result, the peasant movement, instead of getting engrossed into localised issues and demands, now evolved a pan-Indian perspective by putting forth general demands such as reduction in land revenue, minimum wages to agrarian labourers, abolition of zamindari, ownership of land to the tillers, distribution of surplus land amongst the landless farmers, and so on. Importantly, thus, with the formation of the All India Kisan Sabha, the peasant movement in the country received a new</p>	
	<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>			

36/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	192 WORDS	93% MATCHING TEXT	192 WORDS
	<p>During the last phase of the national movement in India led to the growing revolutionary fervor among the peasants. They no longer seemed to be imbued with the Gandhian ideals of non-violence and satyagraha and were prepared to start decisive struggles against the colonial administration as well as native vested interests in the country Resultantly several significant peasant movements were evidenced during the period of 1946. The most notable of which appeared to be the Tebhaga & Telangana movements. Presumably these movements were in fact the demonstration of the increase desperation among the peasants to get rid of the exploitative land revenue and taxation systems with the anticipated arrival of independence of the country in the near future. For instance the Tebhaga movement was apparently the most formidable affront to the prevailing permanent system of land revenue in Bengal with slogans like 'Tebhaga Chai' (want two-third of crops) manifesting the urge of the peasants for a two-third share in the total land produce among others. The Telegana movement was a movement against absentee landlordism and exploitative land revenue system under the patronage of the Nizam of Hyderabad with peasants demanding vesting of land to the tillers and confiscation and redistribution of excess land to the landless farmers.</p>		<p>during the last phase of the national movement in India led to the growing revolutionary fervour amongst the peasants. They no longer seemed to be imbued with the Gandhian ideals of non-violence and satyagraha, and were prepared to start decisive struggles against the colonial administration as well as the native vested interests in the country. Resultantly, several significant peasant movements were evidenced during the period of 1946, the most notable of which appeared to be the Tebhaga and the Telengana movements. Presumably, these movements were, in fact, the demonstration of the increasing desperation amongst the peasants to get rid of the exploitative land revenue and taxation systems with the anticipated arrival of independence of the country in the near future. For instance, the Tebhaga movement was apparently the most formidable affront to the prevailing permanent system of land revenue in Bengal with slogans like 'Tebhaga Chai' (want two-third of crops), manifesting the urge of the peasants for a two-third share in the total land 348 Modern Indian Political Thought produce, among others (Bandopadhyay 1998: 300). Similarly, the Telengana movement was predominantly a movement against absentee landlordism and exploitative land revenue system under the patronage of the Nizam of Hyderabad, with peasants demanding vesting of land to the tillers, and the confiscation and redistribution of excess land to the landless farmers (</p>	
W	https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0			

37/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	47 WORDS	75% MATCHING TEXT	47 WORDS
	<p>It was a struggle between Muslim tenants Hindu landlords. Peasants revolted against the exploitation and oppression when their economic condition deteriorated in 3 forms: deterioration of economic condition due to price rise, structural changes which caused an increase in exploitation of peasants and rising aspirations of peasants to improve their condition. 2{</p>		<p>it was a struggle between the Muslim tenants and the Hindu landlords (Panikkar 1979: 621). Hence, it is argued that the peasants revolted against the exploitation and oppression when their economic conditions deteriorated in primarily three forms: deterioration of their economic condition due to price rise, famine, and so on; structural changes which caused an increase in the exploitation of peasants, consequently deteriorating their condition; and rising aspirations of peasants to improve their condition (</p>	
W	https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0			

38/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	72% MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS
<p>In conclusion, it suggests that the onset of numerous peasants movements in India has been instigated by a distinct set of issues taking prominence</p>		<p>In conclusion, thus, it appears that the onset of numerous peasant movements in India has been instigated by a distinct set of issues taking prominence</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
39/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	80% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>of all such basis remained enmeshed in the structure and functioning of the agroria system</p>		<p>of all such issues remained enmeshed in the structure and functioning of the agrarian system</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
40/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>distinct culture and identity in terms of rituals, values, social structure, dialects lifestyles, festivals, and celebrations</p>		<p>distinct culture and identity in terms of rituals, values, social structure, dialects, lifestyles, festivals and celebrations,</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
41/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	91% MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS
<p>movements launched by the people to protest against undue interference in or infringement of their basic rights both by official and non-official agents</p>		<p>movements launched by the people to protest against undue interference in or infringement of their basic rights by both official and non-official agents.</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
42/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	82 WORDS	94% MATCHING TEXT	82 WORDS
<p>ethnic movements, agrarian movements and political movements. The tribal movement in the nature of ethnic movements, usually tended to be resistance movements aimed at opposing the subtle and at times secretive efforts on the part of the non-tribals, both British as well as native people to penetrate into the preserved ethnic domains of the life of the Tribals. For instance, when the tribal people felt certain perceptible threat to the basic components of their ethnic identity such as rituals, values, social structures, life-styles, dialects, they put up</p>		<p>ethnic movements, agrarian movements and political movements. The tribal movements in the nature of ethnic movements usually tended to be resistance movements aimed at opposing the subtle and, at times, secretive efforts on the part of the non-tribals, both British as well as the native people to penetrate in the preserved ethnic domains of the life of the tribals. For instance, when the tribal people felt certain perceptible threat to the basic components of their ethnic identity such as rituals, values, social structures, life styles, dialects, and so on, they put up</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				

43/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	76% MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS
<p>stiff resistance. Such types of tribal movements were dominant in the early phase of the establishment of British rule in India. 177 Movements in the nature of agrarian movements</p>		<p>stiff resistance. Such type of tribal movements was dominant in the early phase of the establishment of British rule in India. A number of movements also up in the nature of agrarian movements</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
44/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	96% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>exploitative policies of colonial rulers and strong arm tactics of the unscrupulous elements like zamindars,</p>		<p>exploitative policies of the colonial rulers and strong arm tactics of the unscrupulous elements like zamindars,</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
45/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	45 WORDS	59% MATCHING TEXT	45 WORDS
<p>tended to destroy their means of livelihood and put financial burdens on them. The movements launched by Birsha Munda and Tana Bhagat were in the nature of agrarian movements. Finally, tribal movements arising out political causes drew their inspiration from the anti-colonial struggle being launched in the country,</p>		<p>tended to destroy their means of livelihood but also put unbearable financial burden on them. The movements launched by Birsa Munda, Tana Bhagat, and so on, were in the nature of such movements. Finally, the score of tribal movements arising in the nature of political movements apparently drew their inspiration from the ethos of the broad anti-colonial struggle being launched in the country.</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
46/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS
<p>presumably due to the nationalist perspectives of their leaders who</p>		<p>presumably due to the nationalist perspectives of their leaders who</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
47/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	75% MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS
<p>their problems redressed through the nationalist movement. After independence, tribal movements in the political mould vied for political autonomy for their people and in some cases separate political identities for themselves.</p>		<p>their problems redressed through the mechanism of national movement. However, in post-independence times, tribal movements in the political mould vied for political autonomy for their people and in some cases sought separate political identity for themselves.</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				

48/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	32 WORDS	92% MATCHING TEXT	32 WORDS
<p>that these movements did not clearly visualize the basic character of their struggle and became a comprehensive movement seeking to find solution to most, if not all, of the problems of the people.</p>		<p>that these movements did not clearly visualise the basic character of their struggle and became a kind of comprehensive movement seeking to find solution to most, if not all, of the problems of the people.</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
49/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	58 WORDS	86% MATCHING TEXT	58 WORDS
<p>Most of the tribal movements carried within themselves the elements of all the other typologies, given some degree of commonality in the socio-cultural and politico-economic life of these people. 2(B).03 Phases of Tribal Movements: Tribal movements have a history of more than two centuries in India. Such a long span of tribal movements has been divided various phases by scholars. Suresh Kumar Singh</p>		<p>most of the tribal movements carried within themselves the elements of all the other typologies, given some degree of commonality in the socio-cultural and politico-economic life of these people. Socio-economic Dimensions of the Nationalist Movement 327 Phases of Tribal Movements Tribal movements have had a chequered history of more than two centuries in India. Such a long span of tribal movements has been divided into various phases by scholars, of which the formulations of Suresh Kumar Singh (1985: 101–22)</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
50/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	91% MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS
<p>the expansion and consolidation of British rule in India, The first phase of tribal movements cover the period 1795-1860,</p>		<p>the expansion and consolidation of British rule in India, the first phase of tribal movements covers the period</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
51/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	83% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>conjunction with non-tribal people, given the common enmity of the two against British colonialism.</p>		<p>conjunction with the non-tribal peoples also, given the common enmity of the two against British colonialism.</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				

52/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	38 WORDS	85% MATCHING TEXT	38 WORDS
	rather than a group of people. The Chhotanagpur plateau became the hub of such movements during the 1820s, owing to the common grudge of all people against the designs of the British rulers. 178 During the second phase (1860-1920), tribal		rather than just a group of people. For instance, the Chhotanagpur plateau became the hub of such movements during the 1820s, owing to the common grudge of all the people against the sinister designs of British rulers. During the second phase (1860–1920), tribal	
	<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>			

53/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	175 WORDS	92% MATCHING TEXT	175 WORDS
	Tribal movements of these times developed an unconventional blend of socio-religious reform on the one hand and political resistance on the other. This was the time when tribal movements started taking messianic overtones with the emergence of a number of pioneers who were regarded as Gods out to save them from the brutalities of aliens. The insurrections of Munda-Oraon Sardar and Birsha Munda, Tana Bhagat are reflective of the major trends in the tribal movements of this period. The final phase of pre-independence tribal movements (1921-1947) appeared to be imbued by the basic ideas and ethos of the national movement of India. Most of these movements were political in nature and reflected the vision of their leaders on fundamental issues affecting the people. Hence, while most of the tribal movements became valuable associates of the national movement, few of them also tended to take separatist overtones in the course of time. For instance, while in Central Provinces, tribal leaders like Ganjan Korku became a formidable force during the Civil Disobedience Movement, certain parts of the Chhotanagpur plateau became a theatre for separatist movement amongst the tribals. 2(B).04 Conclusion:		tribal movements of these times developed an unconventional blend of socio-religious reform on the one hand, and the political resistance, on the other. This was also the time when tribal movements started taking messianic overtones with the emergence of a number of pioneers who were regarded as Gods out to save them from the brutalities of the aliens. ¹⁶ The insurrections in the form of Munda–Oraon Sardar movement and the ones led by Birsa Munda, Tana Bhagat, and so on, are reflective of the major trends in the tribal movements of this period of time. The final phase of pre-independence tribal movements (1921–47) appeared to be imbued by the basic ideas and ethos of the national movement India. Most of these movements were political in nature and reflected the vision of their leaders on fundamental issues affecting the people. Hence, while most of the tribal movements became valuable associates of the national movement, few of them also tended to take separatist overtones in the course of time. For instance, while in Central Provinces, tribal leaders— like Ganjan Korku— became a formidable force during the Civil Disobedience Movement (Sarkar 1989: 298), certain parts of the Chhotanagpur plateau became a theatre for separatist movement amongst the tribals. In conclusion,	
	<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>			

54/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS
	In conclusion, it may be said that the trajectory of various tribal movements in India had been varying owing to the distinctness of the basic issues involved in each movement.		In conclusion, it may be said that the trajectory of various tribal movements in India had been varying owing to the distinctness of the basic issues involved in each movement.	
	<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>			

55/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	76% MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS
<p>Kumar Singh-Tribal Society in India: An Anthropo-historical perspective- Monalisa-New Delhi-1985 179 3.</p>		<p>Kumar Suresh. 1985. Tribal Society in India: An Anthropo-historical Perspective. New Delhi:</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
56/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	58 WORDS	94% MATCHING TEXT	58 WORDS
<p>Trade Union Movements in India apparently began with the establishment of a number of factories in the port cities of the country during the second half of the 18th century. Initially the workers working in such factories were unorganised and therefore not in a position to raise their voices against the intolerable working conditions and highly inadequate wages paid to them.</p>		<p>Trade union movements in India apparently began with the establishment of a number of factories in the port cities of the country during the second half of the eighteenth century. Initially, the workers working in such factories were unorganised and, therefore, 342 Modern Indian Political Thought not in a position to raise their voices against the intolerable working conditions and highly inadequate wages paid to them.</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
57/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	79% MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS
<p>the factories. The genesis of the Trade Union Movements may be traced back to the spondaic strikes evidenced in certain railways and textile establishments during 2nd half of the 19th century. 3.02</p>		<p>the people. The genesis of the trade union movements may be traced back to the sporadic strikes evidenced in certain railways and textile establishments during the second half of the nineteenth century.</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
58/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	72 WORDS	90% MATCHING TEXT	72 WORDS
<p>In the final analysis it may be (argued) that Trade Union Movements in India did not appear to be a formidable social movements ostensibly due to the act that the country did not have a big industrial base which would have facilitated the rise of massive working force in the country. Further the scattered industrial base in parts of the country, presumably also did not allow for the rise of coordinated and consented efforts on</p>		<p>In the final analysis, it may be argued that trade union movements in India did not appear to be a formidable social movement ostensibly due to the fact that the country did not have a big industrial base which would have facilitated the rise of a massive working force in the country. Besides, the scattered industrial base in various parts of the country, presumably also did not allow for the rise of coordinated and concerted efforts on</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				

59/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	43 WORDS	65% MATCHING TEXT	43 WORDS
<p>any all India strike in order to attract the attention of the Government. No attempt were taken by the leaders of the international movement to integrate the demands of the workers in the charter of issues to be focussed by the Congress party. Hence</p>		<p>any all-India strike or bandh in order to attract the attention of the government and the leaders of the national movement to integrate the demands of the workers in the charter of issues to be focussed on by the Congress party. Hence,</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
60/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	73% MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS
<p>the Trade Union movements remained a sort of (marginalised) and (fragmeated) Social Movement in the pre-indegence times leaving only limited utility for and getting very negligible support from the</p>		<p>the trade union movements remained a sort of marginalised and fragmented social movement Socio-economic Dimensions of the Nationalist Movement 345 in the pre-independence times having only limited utility for and getting very negligible support from the</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
61/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	82% MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS
<p>erosion of ethnic identities and socio-cultural distinctiveness of the tribals to economic exploitation, and disappearance of traditional economic rights on forests and</p>		<p>erosion of ethnic identities and socio- cultural distinctness of the tribals to those of economic exploitation and disappearance of traditional economic rights of the people on forests and</p>		
<p>W http://aryacollegeludhiana.in/E_BOOK/political_science/Modern_Indian_Political_Thought.pdf</p>				
62/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	83% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>of traditional Hindu Society was the fourfold Varna System, whose distortions gave birth to the</p>		<p>of the traditional Hindu society based on the fourfold varna system, whose distortions gave birth to the</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
63/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS
<p>Dalits' or the so-called untouchables constituted the lowest section of the</p>		<p>Dalits or the so-called 'untouchables' constituted the lowest section of the</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				

64/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	93% MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS
<p>the ones whose social reckoning lied outside Varna System. Such branding of these people eventually led to a sinister belief among the so-called upper castes people that any kind of interaction with</p>		<p>the ones whose social reckoning lied outside the varna system. Such branding of these people eventually led to a sinister belief amongst the so-called upper castes people that any kind of interaction with</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
65/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	95% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>despite constituting substantive section of the society, Dalits were subjected to such</p>		<p>despite constituting a substantive section of the society, Dalits were subjected to such</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
66/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	85% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>treatment by offer sections of the society that they had no other means to</p>		<p>treatment by other sections of the society that they had no other means than to</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
67/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	88% MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS
<p>than to start some sort of social movement to meliorate their conditions in</p>		<p>than to start some sort of social movement to ameliorate their conditions in</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
68/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	66% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>Bombay-Popular Prakashan. 3 A. R. Desai-Social Background of Indian national movement-Bombay popular Prakashan. 184 3.05</p>		<p>Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1993. 9. Desai, A.R., Social Background of Indian Nationalism, Bombay, Popular Prakashan,1996. 10.</p>		
<p>W https://zombiedoc.com/part-i-ma.html</p>				

69/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	67% MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS
	Dalit movements secured to be the issue of untouchability. The stinger of being untouchable was so unberable for the people that thereir initial		Dalit movements seemed to be the issue of untouchability. In other words, the stigma of being untouchable was so unbearable for the people that their initial	
	W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0			
70/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	53 WORDS	94% MATCHING TEXT	53 WORDS
	hovered around the issue of abolition of untouchability and the provision of full fledged participation of these people in all social and religious institutions and processions of the country. Thus the entry test of social emancipation of Dalits come to be reflected in the form of temple entry movements launched in various parts of the country.		hovered around the issue of abolition of untouchability and the provision of full-fledged participation of these people in all social and religious institutions and processions of the country. Thus, the real test of social emancipation of Dalits came to be reflected in the form of temple entry movements launched in various parts of the country.	
	W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0			
71/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	35 WORDS	85% MATCHING TEXT	35 WORDS
	The galaxy of illustrious and seerless saints like Rammohan, Chaitannya, Kabir, Tukaram and other coming in the wake of the Bhakti movement, provided a well reasoned critique of the existing inhuman practices being followed under the caste system.		the galaxy of illustrious and secular saints like Ramanand, Chaitanya, Kabir, Tukaram and other coming in the wake of the Bhakti movement, provided a well-reasoned critique of the existing inhuman practices being followed under the garb of caste system.	
	W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0			

72/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	102 WORDS	86% MATCHING TEXT	102 WORDS
	<p>of the society; the pioneering anti-Brahman and anti-untouchability movement during 1870s happens to begin in the form of "Satya swadhak Samaj" under the 186 leadership of Jotiba Phule. Jotiba Phule in his early life was subjected to various types of humiliation born out of Brahmanical arrogance which infused a sense of revolt and reform within him. Jotiba found no other method of Securing dignified and respectful place for the members of lower caste and untouchables within the rubric of Hindu Social order than to begin a social reform movement for the same. Jotiba was very critical of the leaders of the Congress for their</p>		<p>of the country.' The pioneering anti-Brahman and anti-untouchability movement during the 1870s happens to begin in the form of the Satyashodhak Samaj under the leadership Jotiba Phule. from the Mali caste himself, Jotiba, in his early life, was subjected to various types of humiliations born out of Brahmanical arrogance which infused a sense of revolt and reform within him. Consequently, he found no other method of securing a dignified and respectful place for the members of lower castes and untouchables within the rubric of the Hindu social order than to begin a social reform movement for the same. Jotiba was very critical of the leaders of the Congress for their</p>	
	W	https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0		
73/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
	<p>opening up of schools and orphanages for the women and children belonging to all castes.</p>		<p>opening up of schools and orphanages for the women and children belonging to all castes.</p>	
	W	https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0		
74/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	45 WORDS	94% MATCHING TEXT	45 WORDS
	<p>the dominant sections of other backward castes coming to dominate the activities of the Satyashadhak Samaj. Another significant anti untouchability movement was launched by the untouchable caste of "Ezhava" in 1903. Under the leadership of Sri Narayan guru with the setting up of Sree Narayan Dharma Paripalana yogam.</p>		<p>the dominant sections of other backward castes coming to dominate the organisation and activities of the Satyashodhak Samaj. Another significant anti-untouchability movement was launched by the untouchable caste of Ezhava in 1903 under the leadership of Sri Narayan Guru with the setting up of Sree Narayan Dharama Paripalana Yogam (</p>	
	W	https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0		
75/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	95% MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS
	<p>In under to provide for a feeling of apparent equality with caste Hindus,</p>		<p>in order to provide for a feeling of apparent equality with caste Hindus,</p>	
	W	https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0		

76/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	96% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>built number of temples in Kerala and declared them open to people of all castes.</p>		<p>built a number of temples in Kerala and declared them open to people of all castes.</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
77/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	88% MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS
<p>comprehensive and intense anti untouchability movements started by Dalits in different parts of</p>		<p>comprehensive and intense anti-untouchability movements started by Dalits in various parts of</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
78/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS
<p>prominent movement in this context happens to be the Nadar Mahajan</p>		<p>prominent movement in this context happens to be the Nadar Mahajan</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
79/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	70% MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS
<p>Having attained sort of economic influence, this community combined on the path of social alteration of its status by way of Sanskritising it's norms and rituals.</p>		<p>Having attained a sort of economic affluence, this community embarked on the path of social alleviation of its status by way of sanskritising its norms and rituals.</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
80/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	70% MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS
<p>remarkable Dalit Movement in Tamil Nadu during 1920s was led by Ramyaswami Periyar or Nrikar. Known as "self-respect" movement periyar's major concern</p>		<p>remarkable Dalit movement in Tamil Nadu during the 1920s was led by Ramaswamy Naikar or Periyar. Branding it as 'Self-Respect Movement,' Periyar's major concern</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				

81/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	33 WORDS	74% MATCHING TEXT	33 WORDS
<p>not confined only to sanskritise rituals, rather he was of the firm opinion that the plight of the untouchables could not be ameliorated within the feame work of what he called "Brahmanical Hinduism"</p>		<p>not remain confined only to sankritising the rituals and norms of the Rather, he was of the firm opinion that the plight of the untouchables could not be ameliorated within the framework of what he called as 'Brahmanical Hinduism'.</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
82/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	86% MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS
<p>the banner of "Justice Party" he launched number of vigorous untouchable movements that not only claimed a higher social –</p>		<p>the banner the Justice Party, he launched a number of vigorous antiuntouchability movements that not only claimed a higher social,</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
83/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	92% MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS
<p>recognition to the untouchables, but also some saint of reverse adverse treatment to the hitherto dominant upper caste communities.</p>		<p>recognition to the untouchables, but also some sort of reverse adverse treatment to the hitherto dominant upper caste communities.</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
84/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	90% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>which may led to the amelioration of their socio-religious and political conditions in the society.</p>		<p>which may lead to the amelioration of their socio-religious and political conditions in the society.</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
85/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	71% MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS
<p>set up the Sehednled caste federations as a pan Indian party to fight for the coause of Dalit emercipation through the means of agitational and electoral politics. The</p>		<p>set up the Scheduled Castes Federation in 1942 as a pan-Indian party to fight for the cause of Dalit emancipation through the means of agitational and electoral politics. The</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				

86/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	80% MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS
<p>important 188 catalytic role in developing anti-caste or anti-Hinduism dalit movements in some parts of the country. A major anti-untouchability movement</p>		<p>important catalytic role in developing anti-caste or anti-Hinduism Dalit movements in some parts of the country.' The pioneering anti-Brahman and anti-untouchability movement</p>		
<p>W http://aryacollegeludhiana.in/E_BOOK/political_science/Modern_Indian_Political_Thought.pdf</p>				
87/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	79% MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS
<p>The rise of Dalit movements in India was symptomatic of the growing urge for social emancipation among the sections of people who remained oppressed from centuries. Initially</p>		<p>the rise of Dalit movements in the country was symptomatic of the growing urge for social emancipation amongst the sections of people who remained oppressed for centuries. Evolving initially</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
88/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	37 WORDS	51% MATCHING TEXT	37 WORDS
<p>reservation in the public service jobs and political position, under the leadership of B.R. Ambedkar. On the era of independence Dalit Movements in the country were accommodate with the broad spectrum of the notional movement. 190 4.05</p>		<p>reservation in the government jobs and political positions within the fold of general constituencies. Thus, on the eve of independence, Dalit movements in the country were, by and large, accommodated within the broad spectrum of the national movement,</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				
89/89	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	83% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>M.S.A. Rao – Social Movements in India – Volume-I, Monahar – New Delhi-1979. 4.05</p>		<p>M.S.A. Rao (ed.), Social Movements in India, Volume I. New Delhi:</p>		
<p>W https://vdoc.pub/documents/modern-indian-political-thought-text-and-context-7cvvq8eu8et0</p>				

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Instead of being guided by any presumption about ability level, it would perhaps stand to reason if receptivity of a learner is judged in the course of the learning process. That would be entirely in keeping with the objectives of open education which does not believe in artificial differentiation.

Keeping this in view, study materials of the Post Graduate level in different subjects are being prepared on the basis of a well laid-out syllabus. The course structure combines the best elements in the approved syllabi of Central and State Universities in respective subjects. It has been so designed as to be upgradable with the addition of new information as well as results of fresh thinking and analysis.

The accepted methodology of distance education has been followed in the preparation of these study materials. Co-operation in every form of experienced scholars is indispensable for a work of this kind.

We, therefore, owe an enormous debt of gratitude to everyone whose tireless efforts went into the writing, editing and devising of

a proper lay-out of the materials. Practically speaking, their role amounts to an involvement in invisible teaching. For, whoever makes use of these study materials would virtually derive the benefit of learning under their collective care without each being seen by the other.

The more a learner would seriously pursue these study materials the easier it will be for him or her to reach out to larger horizons of a subject. Care has also been taken to make the language lucid and presentation attractive so that may be rated as quality self-learning materials. If anything remains still obscure or difficult to follow, arrangements are there to come to terms with them through the counselling sessions regularly available at the network of study centres set up by the University. Needless to add, a great part of these efforts is still experimental—in fact, pioneering in certain areas.

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Professor (Dr.) Subha Sankar Sarkar Vice-Chancellor

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POST GRADUATE POLITICAL SCIENCE (PGPS) (New syllabus (w.e.f. July, 2015) Paper - V Comparative Politics

Advisory Board Professor Mohit Bhattacharya Professor Radharaman Chakrabarti Professor Krityapriya Ghosh Subject Committee

Netaji Subhas Open University Module-I : Module-II : Politics in the East and the West : Comparative Assessment Post Graduate Political Science (PGPS) Paper—V Comparative Politics

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Post-Graduate Political Science (PGPS) PAPER - VI PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION Module - I : The Quest for a Science of

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9 Unit 1 □□□□ PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION : THE CLASSICAL PERSPECTIVE Structure 1.0 Objectives 1.1 Introduction 1.2

Evolution of the subject field 1.3 The basic parameters of the classical approach 1.4 The shortcomings of the classical

approach 1.5 Summary 1.6 Sample questions 1.7 Select bibliography 1.0 Objectives On reading

this unit we shall be able to understand - • The course of evolution of Public Administration in historical context • The

nature of classical Public Administration • The limitations of the classical perspective • The context of the emerging

challenges 1.1 Introduction Public administration is both an activity

area and a theoretical field of study. As a theoretical field of study, it is a rather young field that has grown up

predominantly in a western setting. Public administration is most commonly seen as government administration with a

specific focus on the public bureaucracy. Though in a wider sense it encompasses any administration that has a

considerable impact on the public, it is in the first sense that public administration is commonly perceived. Public

Administration is today taught in many universities across the world and extensive research is being undertaken from

different angles aiming at enriching the

10 field. Over the years its scope has immensely widened and it has moved from simplistic forms to high levels of academic sophistication. The basic concerns of public administration as a field of study include (a) structures of public organizations (b) administrative processes (c) bureaucratic behaviour (d) organization -environment interactions. Public Administration comprises several major areas of specialization, namely [i] administrative or organization theory, [ii] public personnel administration [iii] public financial administration [iv] comparative public administration and [v] public policy. The classical approach to public administration, derived from Weber, Wilson, Taylor, Fayol and his associates, dominated a large part of the 20 th century. The Classical theorists were mainly concerned with developing universal principles of organizations. The focus was on the formal organizational structures. The central assumptions of classical public administration were [1] politics administration dichotomy [2] a single centre and source of power in all governments [3] hierarchical ordering and maximizing organizational efficiency. 1.2 Evolution of the subject field The Mahabharata in its Shanti Parva and Anushasana Parva provides a discourse of statecraft, government and administration. Two thousand years prior to Machiavelli, Vishnu Gupta, better known as Chanakya or Kautilya wrote the Arthashastra wherein the art of government and administration, the duties of kings, ministers and officers, as also techniques of diplomacy were elaborately dealt with. In Europe, by 1800 public administration had made a place for itself . French, German and British scholars were found to be engaging with the field. However, in course of time, the USA emerged as the single most important source of literature

in the field

of Public Administration. In a formal sense, the emergence of Public Administration as an academic discipline is traced back to the

year 1887. Woodrow Wilson wrote a 26-page article titled "The Study of Administration" that was published in Political Science Quarterly in the June 1887 issue. It was a landmark. In the article, Wilson called for the making of a distinction between Political Science and Public Administration, thus setting the tone for the development of a separate field of study for Public Administration. Wilson, in his article argued that, 'it is getting to be harder to run a constitution than to frame one.' He felt, 'there should be a science of administration which shall seek

11 to straighten the paths of government, to make its business less unbusinesslike, to strengthen and purify its organization, and to crown its duties with dutifulness.' It may be noted in this context that Wilson's article was written against the backdrop of the campaign for civil service reforms in the USA. The Spoils system was deep- rooted in the USA and reached a peak during the Civil War period. When President Garfield was assassinated by a disgruntled jobseeker Congress set forth to enact the Pendleton Act in 1883 making way for changes in the personnel system to base it on merit. Wilson was an important crusader of the Act which was part of a wider movement of civil service reforms. Wilson came to be recognized as the father of the discipline of public administration. For quite some time Wilson's notion of politics -administration dichotomy dominated the field of administrative thinking. The notion of dichotomy provided the logic for presenting public administration as a separate field of study, distinct from Political Science. Till 1926 this was the dominant perspective. In 1900 Frank J. Goodnow's

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Politics and Administration reiterated and further developed the Wilsonian theme of dichotomy, arguing that politics and administration are two distinct functions of government. Politics 'has to do with policies or expressions of the state will', while administration 'has to do with the execution of these policies.'

The institutional locations of these functions were also differentiated. The location of politics was identified with the legislature and the higher echelons of government where major policy decisions are taken. On the other hand, the location of administration was identified as the executive arm of the government - the bureaucracy. 1926 saw the publication of Leonard D.White's Introduction to the Study of Public Administration. It was the first comprehensive textbook on the subject. It rested on the premise of politics administration dichotomy. Needless to say, the dichotomy approach did strengthen, to an extent at least, the case for the separate study of public administration and contributed to its popularity. However, over time, the shortcomings of such an approach too were to become evident, leading ultimately to the demand for its abandonment. It may be noted that in the course

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of evolution of Public Administration, there emerged the tendency to reinforce the notion of politics-administration dichotomy and to evolve a value free 'science of management'.

During this period the 'public'

12 aspect of public administration was de-emphasised and emphasis was placed almost exclusively on efficiency. Questions of 'values' and 'politics' were considered redundant. Administrative practitioners and business schools joined hands to emphasise a mechanistic perspective of management. Streamlining organizations, ensuring efficiency of operations and enhancing productivity were the focus. Developing principles of management, applicable to private and public organizations, were concentrated upon. The writings of Frederick Winslow Taylor and Henri Fayol, amongst others, were important. 1.3 The Basic Parameters of the Classical Approach Frederick W.Taylor [1856-1915] made an important contribution to the development of the classical perspective of Public Administration

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with his Time and Motion studies and careful analysis of the role of managers and workers.

In the later part of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth century he initiated the scientific management movement. His focus was on the lowest, i.e, workshop level of the organization. He emphasized the following : 1. The separation of planning and execution 2. The concept of functional foremanship 3. Time and motion study 4. Differential piece-rate system of payment.

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Taylor's principles of management emphasized tight control of work processes and careful planning by managers.

His techniques and managerial practices were adopted widely in the United States and throughout the world in the early 20th century. Taylor's Principles of Scientific Management, published in 1911, was translated into German, and "Taylorism" became popular with German engineers before and after World War 1. During the first half of the twentieth century a group of writers focusing on the formal organization structure and basic management process developed what came to be known as

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the classical theory of management or the administrative management theory.

Prominent exponents of the Classical Theory of Management were Henri Fayol, Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick. 13 Henri Fayol [1841- 1925] , in his paper titled General and Industrial Administration that was published in 1916, defined the primary functions of administration as-- 1. To plan 2. To organize both men and material 3. To command or tell subordinates what to do 4. To coordinate 5. To control. He divided the activities of an organization into six groups, namely, technical, commercial, financial, security, accounting and administrative. For the guidance of practicing administrators, Fayol propounded fourteen principles. They were-- 1.

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Division of work 2. Authority 3. Discipline 4. Unity of command 5. Unity of direction 6. Subordination of individual interest to general interest 7. Remuneration of personnel 8. Centralization 9. Scalar chain 10. Order 11. Equity 12. Stability of tenure 13.

Initiative 14. Espirit de corps Fayol's ideas were further developed by Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick. In 1937 Luther H.Gulick and Lyndall Urwick's Papers on the Science of Administration, came as a landmark. They used the term POSDCORB to promote certain

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principles of administration, namely, Planning, Organisation, Staffing, Directing, Coordinating, Reporting and Budgeting. 14 During the 1920

s and 1930s several other efforts were also made to develop universal

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principles of administration. This phase saw the publication of W.F. Willoughby's Principles of Public Administration in 1927.

Among other creative works along these lines were those of Mary Parker Follett [Creative Experience, 1924], and James D. Mooney and Alan C. Reiley [Principles of Organisation, 1939]. In a discussion of the classical approach the name of Max Weber [1864-1920] too needs to be referred to. His bureaucratic model is usually placed in the category of classical administrative thought. Weber is related to the classical approach mainly in two senses. First, he took up the same position as the other classical authors regarding the appropriate relationship between the politician and the administrator. For him, the bureaucrat should be neutral vis- a- vis the political masters. This was a position similar to the dichotomy perspective of the other classical thinkers. Secondly, his ideal type bureaucracy formulation bears a close resemblance to the kind of organization widely prescribed in the classical approach where universal principles of organizations were sought to be developed. It is however pertinent to note in this context that, although historically Weber was a contemporary of the scientific management movement and the earlier writers on classical administrative thought, few, if any of the authors of the classical approach had read Weber during their days as his writings were not well known in the United States till after the Second World War when major portions of Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft became available in English. 1.4 Shortcomings of the Classical Approach In the early years of development of Public Administration, the

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classical perspective was thought to be the best for organizing the public sector work and was undoubtedly popular for quite some time. The traditional model of public administration was regarded as the most successful theory of public sector management, although it did not have a single, coherent intellectual foundation. Its

theoretical basis was derived from W. Wilson and F.W.Taylor in the United States, and Max Weber in Germany. Following the Second World War, traditional Public Administration came in for a variety of challenges. The new unfolding scenario created the conditions for the emergence of newer lines of thinking. Against this backdrop, new trends of thought began to emerge in the field of Public Administration. Herbert Simon, Dwight Waldo and Paul Appleby contributed significantly towards setting the tone of the post- World War II changes in Public Administration.

15 After

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World War II, the basis of the classical approach was questioned, both in theory and in practice. Among the most powerful

critics was

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Herbert Simon. His work represented a radical departure from the classical approach to public administration. The classical approaches of Weber and Taylor have been referred to as the public administrative "orthodoxy", but when a series of challenges to the classical approach to public administration appeared in the 1940s' "heterodoxy replaced orthodoxy", to quote Dwight Waldo. Different theoretical approaches and practical experiences started to influence administrative organizations.

Herbert Simon's Administrative Behaviour was published in 1947. He strongly critiqued what he called the 'proverbs' of traditional Public Administration. Rather than focusing on the formal organizational structure, he felt Public Administration should focus on the functioning of the individuals working therein and on their inter- relationships. Dwight Waldo in The Administrative State pointed out that in reality it is not possible to maintain a divide between politics and administration. He spoke of Administrative Politics. Paul Appleby in his work Morality and Administration in Democratic Government raised the issue of administrative ethics. The weaknesses of the classical approach being identified were many. The classical theorists had a rather narrow and rigid perspective of administration. They were essentially engrossed with the formal organizational structure. They viewed the organization as a closed system, unaffected by external environmental factors. The individual was seen as being motivated exclusively by economic incentives. Other motivational factors were hardly taken note of. In course of time, the Classical theorists came to be criticized on a number of grounds - 1. The principles were neither empirically valid, nor universally applicable. 2. It neglected the human element in the organization, treating the human beings as passive instruments. 3. There was, allegedly, a pro-managerial bias, with an over-emphasis on the formal structures of the organization rather than on the informal aspects of organizational dynamics. 4. There was a neglect of the study of actual and informal behavioural patterns in the formal organizational structures. 5. It treated the organization as a closed system, uninfluenced by the environment.

16 1.5 Summary The emergence of Public Administration as a separate field of study is traced back to Woodrow Wilson's article published in Political Science Quarterly in June 1887. Though writings on administration precede the article, the call for a distinction between administration and politics along with the appeal for separate focused study of administration gives Wilson's article its special credit. The classical perspective of public administration was developed primarily by Wilson, Taylor, Fayol, Weber, and their followers. It was marked by an emphasis on dichotomy between administration and politics and a desire to find generalized principles of administration that would be applicable to all forms of organizations alike. In the classical approach attention was rather narrowly focused on the formal organizational structures, rather than on the intricacies of organizational functioning and interaction with the environment. 1.6 Sample questions A. Answer the following questions elaborately : 1.

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Discuss the evolution of Public Administration as a field of study. 2.

What were the limitations of the classical perspective of Public Administration? 3. Who were the main proponents of dichotomy between politics and administration and what were their arguments? B. Answer the following questions briefly : 1. What were the contributions of Wilson to the field of Public Administration? 2. What 'principles' does POSDCORB stand for? 3. What was the Pendleton Act dealing with? C. Give single sentence answer to the following questions : 1. When was the Pendleton Act passed? 2. When was Wilson's article "The Study of Administration" published? 3. Who was the author of the first comprehensive textbook on Public Administration?

17 1.7 Select Bibliography Waldo, Dwight, ed.(1953). Ideas and Issues in Public Administration, McGraw -Hill, New York. Goodnow, Frank J. (1900). Politics and Administration : A Study in Government, Macmillan. Maheshwari , Shriram ,(2003). Administrative Theory : An Introduction, Macmillan India, Delhi. Bhattacharya, Mohit (2008). New Horizons of Public Administration, Jawahar Publishers & Distributors, Delhi. Self, Peter, (1979). Administrative Theories and Politics: An Enquiry into the Structure and Process of Modern Government, Allen and Unwin, London.

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Unit 2 □□□□□ COMPARATIVE AND DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION Structure 2.0 Objectives 2.1 Introduction 2.2 Emergence

of Comparative Public Administration 2.3 Nature of Comparative Public Administration 2.4 Constraints of Comparative Public Administration 2.5

Basics of Development Administration 2.6 Purpose of Development Administration 2.7 Weaknesses of Development Administration 2.8 Summary 2.9 Sample questions 2.10 Select bibliography 2.0 Objectives On reading this unit we shall be able to understand - • The circumstances under which Comparative Public Administration and Development Administration emerged • The importance of Comparative Public Administration • The nature of Comparative Public Administration • The basic tenets of Development Administration • The purpose of Development Administration • The limitations of Development Administration 2.1 Introduction Both development and comparative components have constituted the twin fields of Public Administration theoretically and practically. Their development as fields of

19 study proliferated since World War II and reached a peak during the 1960s. The emergence of Comparative Public Administration and Development Administration took place against the backdrop of the liquidation of colonialism, emergence of new states and growing interest in the administration of developing countries. 2.2 Emergence of Comparative Public Administration Several factors facilitated the emergence of the field. First, the behavioural revolution in Political Science was influencing the field of Public Administration. Second, the weaknesses of the traditional approach were becoming all too evident and it was seen to be static and partial. The Second World War saw the emergence of a number of newly independent states in Asia and Africa and in order to study these states new approaches and methodologies were deemed necessary. Finally, the stimulation for the growth of Comparative Public Administration came with the availability of funds from the USA and the UN. Under the auspices of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) and American Political Science Association (APSA) a critical mass of scholars assembled around 1963 in the form of the Comparative Administrative Group (CAG). Initially the CAG was funded by Ford Foundation. Till 1970 it was headed by Fred Riggs. While the founding fathers of Public Administration like

Leonard White had felt that cultural factors did not make much difference in administrative settings and universal principles were possible, proponents of Comparative Public Administration differed. They wished to develop cross-cultural public administration. Their aim was to create a genuinely comparative theory of Public Administration. With the setting up of the Comparative Administrative Group (CAG) under Fred Riggs' leadership and the Ford Foundation's sponsorship, a big boost came for the study of Comparative Administration. The sponsorship of Ford Foundation came to an end in 1971. 2.3 Nature of Comparative Public Administration Comparative Public Administration sought to study public administration in different ecological backgrounds or cross cultural contexts to formulate theoretical models based on the study of administrative structures and behaviour of different administrative systems in different countries having different ideologies and social systems.

20 Ferrel Heady identified five motivating concerns of Comparative Public Administration, namely, The search for theory The urge for practical application The incidental contribution of the broader field of comparative politics The interest of researchers trained in the tradition of administrative law

The comparative analysis of ongoing problem of public administration. Comparative Public Administration was considered particularly important in the context of the emergence of the diverse and numerous newly independent states following the colonial phase. Writers like

Robert Dahl and Dwight Waldo asserted that cultural factors could make public administration in one state different from that in another.

It was felt that comparative studies could better help in understanding the differences and similarities in the application of the principles of public administration in different contexts. Certain features of Comparative Public Administration are worth noting. First, it is characterized by a large variety of approaches with no dominant or commonly accepted approach in sight as yet. Secondly, as noted by Riggs, Comparative Public Administration reveals three trends -[i] a shift from the normative (ideal or 'should be') to the empirical (what it 'is') approach; [ii] even within the empirical approach, emphasis has shifted from ideographic (individual country studies) to nomothetic (generic and pattern seeking) studies, and (iii) a shift in focus from nonecological to ecological approaches. Thirdly, we may note that the field has been dominated by US scholars. Finally, Comparative Public Administration lays emphasis on theory building and development administration. Comparative research undoubtedly has its advantages. These may be identified as follows: 1. Helps in the development of indigenous models of administrative systems 2. Facilitates the improving of the administrative system by drawing lessons from different experiences of different states 3. Helps in the understanding and analyses of administrative problems of underdeveloped areas. 4. Helps in narrowing the gap between theory and practice 5. Widens the scope of public administration.

21 Two main models have dominated the scene of Comparative Public Administration. One, is the bureaucratic model developed by Max Weber, that is generally considered to be associated with the developed capitalist world. The other is the prismatic sala model developed by Fred Riggs. Apart from these are Talcott Parson's Structural-functional model, John T.Dorsey's Equilibrium Theory, Paul Meyer, Brian Chapman and F.M.Marx's models based on personnel systems., etc. The models other than those of Weber and Riggs however have not been very successful. 2.4 Constraints of Comparative Public Administration The efforts towards developing Comparative Public Administration suffered from several limiting factors. Namely, 1. The high costs of such programmes which were beyond the capacity of any group or organization 2. The difficulties of language 3. Political interference 4. The programmes were value loaded, with the underlying assumption of the superiority of the western, developed countries. 5. Lack of well defined, research methodology. There have been several other issues that have hampered the development of Comparative Public Administration, including: the major differences between Western countries and developing countries; the lack of curriculum on this subfield in Public Administration Programmes; and the lack of success in developing theoretical models which can be scientifically tested. Despite its importance, Comparative and Development Administration experienced a major decline in both academic and funding supports in the 1970s. However, a resurgence of interest in both subfields of Public Administration has emerged since the 1980s and the number of major scholarly works in these areas is impressively increasing. 2.5 Basics of Development Administration

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During the 1960s and 1970s, the idea of Development Administration evolved

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as an extension or an applied part of Comparative Public Administration.

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22 was especially due to the CAG's

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keen interest in exploring administrative problems in developing nations and the agenda set by its funding agency (the Ford Foundation) to improve administration for economic development in these countries.

Fred W. Riggs was the prime mover of CAG's interest in the field of development administration. After the end of the second world war and the liberation of Afro Asian states from colonial rule, the new states faced immense problems of development that they had to cope with in the course of a short span of time. Shattered economies, widespread poverty, numerous social problems, high levels of illiteracy, malnutrition and ill-health, lack of shelter for teeming millions together with political instability made the tasks of the ruling elites extremely difficult. The legitimacy of their rule was frequently in question and precarious. Most of these states were agriculture based with very limited industrial development . They lacked the resources for industrial production that was so necessary for moving ahead. As these states felt the urgency of having to tackle these problems within a short span of time, it was realized that only the state was capable of taking on the arduous tasks. Private organizations would not have the capacity, resources , infrastructure or interest in handling these problems of such magnitude. According to Fred Riggs ["The Context of

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Development Administration", in F.W.Riggs ed., Frontiers of Development Administration, 1971], "

Development Administration refers to organized efforts to carry out programmes or projects thought by those who are involved to serve development objectives " Development goals were viewed mainly as relating to nation building and socio-economic development. George Gant defined Development Administration as, "that aspect of public administration in which the focus of attention is on organizing and administering public agencies in such a way as to stimulate and facilitate defining programmes of social and economic progress. It involves the adaptation and the application of management skills directly to the development process."

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According to Edward W. Weidner, " development administration is concerned with maximizing innovation for development."

The content of Development Administration could be summed up in the following manner: It has been a sense of distinctiveness of administration for development programmes, policies and plans in those conditions 23 (traditional, transitional or newly independent and less developed political systems) in which there are unusually extensive needs (which could coincide with urgently expressed demands of political elites, modernizing ideologies, and exercises in mobilization), precisely where there are peculiarly few resources and exceptionally severe obstacles to meeting the needs. The peculiarity of Development Administration was to be found in the rather inconvenient combination of extensive needs, low capabilities and severe obstacles. On the one hand, there was the search for change via administrative means and on the other a suspicion, dissatisfaction, distrust of the administration - at times leading to specifically an anti-administrative position. 2.6 Purpose of Development Administration The purpose of Development Administration was to make change both attractive and possible. As the developing countries struggled to cross the threshold of social and economic modernity, changes of an unprecedented scale and tempo became necessary. Such massive changes required in the developing countries were inconceivable without heavy governmental intervention. Development Administration was essentially an action oriented and goal oriented administrative system geared to achieve definite programmatic targets. The bureaucracy was to act as the instrument of nation-building, to transform inputs into development outputs. It was the bureaucracy alone that had the resources, willingness and ideological commitment to take on this gigantic task. The main concern of Development Administration was the management of development. This called for, formulation of specific goals for promoting development, and developing programmes and mechanisms for their achievement. Rather than mechanical efficiency, it was important to have a participative, responsive and accountable management. The management was expected to mobilize the people for active support and participation, it was to respond to popular needs and demands and remain accountable to the people. According to George Gant, [Development Administration: Concepts, Goals, Methods, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1979] '

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development administration is characterized by its purposes, its loyalties and its attitudes'. The purposes of Development Administration

are to stimulate and facilitate defined programmes of social and economic progress. In terms of loyalties, the bureaucracy has to be accountable to the people and not to vested interests, kings or empires. So far as attitudes go, development administration calls for positive, 24 persuasive and innovative stances from the bureaucracy. The traditional norms of administration have to be replaced by flexibility and adaptability to changing needs and situations. In Development Administration the bureaucracy should function more as an agent of change than an instrument of stability. It should have the capacity to predict and understand the directions and tempo of major changes in its environment; it should be able to plan for necessary changes and adapt itself to the changes planned by the political system as well as innovate on its own. Development Administration calls for flexibility in operations, client-oriented philosophy and a pragmatic approach on the part of administration. It encourages open decision making, dissent and discussion along with a focus on human values of service, especially to the weaker sections of society. It encompasses

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the organization of new agencies such as planning organizations and development corporations; the reorientation of existing agencies; delegation of administrative powers to development agencies and the creation of a cadre of administrators capable of

providing leadership in programmes of social and economic improvement. Development Administration movement was distinctly different from traditional Public Administration movement. Both in terms of theory and practice it emerged at a later date. The differences between traditional Public Administration and Development Administration are partly structural and partly behavioural. 2.7 Weaknesses of Development Administration There have been several criticisms leveled against Development Administration. Some of the important lines of criticism are as follows: 1. The distinction between Development and non-Development Administration is extremely artificial. Conceptually, Development Administration tends to disrupt the homogeneity of Public Administration as a discipline. 2. Development Administration tends to give the bureaucracy a much bigger role than what it can actually fulfill effectively. 3. Development Administration is a cover-up for the basic inegalitarian nature of the developing states. So long as the societal power structure remains static Development Administration would serve the ideological purpose of concealing the real character of the state.

25 4. Critics have also pointed out that western states had an interest in promoting development administration, as in the guise of providing assistance to the newly independent developing states for their developmental activism the former would find an entry point to regulate the politics and economies of those states; in a round-about way thus trying to regain at least a part of the control that they had lost with the dismantling of colonialism. 5. Development Administration could not achieve much in developing countries and it became a fashion to designate old administrative structures as development administration. The same personnel and apparatus were used for development administration resulting in failure. 2.8 Summary Following World War II, with the liquidation of colonialism and the emergence of new states, objective conditions became ripe for scholarly interest in the 'administration' of developing countries. Against such a backdrop, Comparative Public Administration and Development Administration emerged as new intellectual endeavours. In promoting this exercise in its initial years, the CAG played the primary role. While Comparative Public Administration sought to study public administration in different ecological backgrounds or cross cultural contexts, the main concern of Development Administration was the management of development. 2.9 Sample questions A. Answer the following questions elaborately : 1. Discuss the factors leading to the emergence of the fields of Comparative Public Administration and Development Administration. 2. Examine the contributions of Fred Riggs to the study of Comparative Public Administration. 3. Attempt an assessment of Development Administration. B. Answer the following questions briefly : 1. What do you understand by Development Administration ? 2. What was the contribution of the CAG to the field of Comparative Public Administration? 26 3. What sort of role does Development Administration seek to give the bureaucracy? C. Give single sentence answer to the following questions : 1. When was the Comparative Administrative Group set up ? 2. Who developed the Prismatic Sala model? 3. Who sponsored the CAG in the initial years? 2.10 Select Bibliography Riggs, Fred (1964). Administration in Developing Countries, Houghton Mifflin, Boston. Heady, Ferrel and Sybil L.Stokes (ed.), (1962). Papers in Comparative Public Administration, University of Michigan. Otenyo, Eric E. and Nancy S. Lind (Edited), (2006). Comparative Public Administration: The Essential Readings, Research in Public Policy Analysis and Management, Volume 15. Gant, George F., (1979). Development Administration: Concepts, Goals, Methods, The University of Wisconsin

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Press. Bhattacharya, Mohit (2008). New Horizons of Public Administration, Jawahar Publishers & Distributors, Delhi. 27 Unit 3 NEW PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

AND NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT Structure 3.0 Objectives 3.1 Introduction 3.2 Developments leading to New Public Administration (NPA) 3.3 The Perspective

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of New Public Administration 3.4 Evolution of New Public Management (NPM) 3.5 Features of New Public Management 3.6 A Critique of New Public Management 3.7

Summary 3.8 Sample questions 3.9 Select Bibliography 3.0 Objectives On reading this unit we shall be able to understand - • The context of

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the development of New Public Administration • The basic principles of New Public Administration • Importance of the Minnowbrook Conferences • Circumstances leading to the emergence of New Public Management • The differences between traditional Public Administration and New Public Management • Weaknesses

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of New Public Management 3.1 Introduction The New Public Administration movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s challenged the status quo in public administration

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criticized the "old" public administration for its lack of an explicit ideological framework.

It emerged against the backdrop of widespread social discontent in the USA and the Vietnam War.

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The 28 basic principles of the New Public Administration were participation, decentralization and representative bureaucracy.

New Public Management came into prominence since the 1980s against the backdrop of global political, economic and technological changes associated with globalisation. Its major thrust was on the one hand to divest the government of many of its responsibilities by privatizing functions performed by the state, and on the other hand focusing on modernizing internal management practices based on performance measurement. 3.2 Developments Leading to New Public Administration (NPA) New Public Administration emerged closely on the heels of the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal. In the USA, the 1960s was a period of positive government marked by rapid suburbanization, construction of schools and hospitals, etc. However, by the mid-sixties the USA was fraught with intense social upheavals. Rioting in cities and restlessness on university campuses. The war in Vietnam was taking its toll. The impact of the Vietnam War on American was manifold. On the one hand, American casualties were impacting domestic public opinion in the USA, on the other the war was stirring the collective consciousness of the Americans. The Watergate Scandal served the purpose of jerking public administration out of the stupor of value neutrality. Intense debates hit the campuses and scholars, particularly in the field of social sciences, could hardly maintain a distance. Some of the best younger scholars in the field of Public Administration in the USA pioneered the New Public Administration Movement since the late 1960s. Their writings were frequently moralistic in outlook, and confrontational in goal. They believed that administrators could never escape central value issues and hence they hid behind the mask of neutrality. To the scholars of New Public Administration social science could never be value free. New Public Administration emphasized the humanistic concerns of public administration and thus argued for decentralisation, delegation, social equity and similar social values. Several important developments gave birth to

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New Public Administration. These were - i] The Honey Report on Higher Education for Public Service, 1967. John C.Honey of Syracuse University undertook an evaluation

study of Public Administration as a discipline in US Universities in 1966. The Report that came to be known as the Honey Report, was submitted in 1967. In it, four

29 problems were identified. Namely, that of inadequate resources, institutional weakness, uncertainty and confusion about the status of the discipline and a glaring gap between theory and practice. ii]

Conference on the Theory and Practice of Public Administration. It was organized by the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences in Philadelphia in December 1967. The purpose was

to discuss "The Theory and Practice of Public Administration:

Scope, Objectives and Methods".

iii] The first Minnowbrook Conference of 1968. The scholars gathered under the patronage of Dwight Waldo and challenged the 'givens' of orthodox public administration and political science. The Conference led to the publication of two volumes. These were

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Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence edited by Dwight Waldo

in 1971 and Toward a New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective edited in 1971 by Frank Marini. 3.3 The Perspective of New Public Administration New Public Administration was committed to normative concerns and sought to rescue public administration from its ongoing technical and technocratic emphasis. The Minnowbrook Conference of 1968 debated four major issues - relevance, values, equity and change. It openly rejected the value-neutral position of behavioural political science and management oriented public administration, upholding a basically normative concern in administrative analysis. The motto of New Public Administration was to work for social change to serve the cause of social equity. As such, it

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attacked the status quo and the powerful interests entrenched in permanent institutions.

New Public Administration demanded the primacy of Politics over Administration. There appeared to be an ideological conviction that in the USA 'the bureaucratic instruments of power utilized by the political establishments and studied with academic detachment by the intellectual establishments are among the most oppressive institutions of American society.' Some of the Minnowbrook I themes that shaped the future agenda of public administration in the USA were as follows - 1. There was a definite shift from a study of administrative practices to a concern for policy issues. 2. To the two goals of classical public administration, namely efficiency and economy, was added the third one of social equity. Concern for social equity provided the rationale or justification for policy positions.

30 3. One important indicator for judging the effectiveness of public administration was the degree of participation of citizens. 4. New Public Administration did not swear by abstract rationality and the concept of hierarchy. These were seen to have limited practical utility in the processes of administration. 5. Pluralism was considered useful for explaining the exercise of public power but could not be considered a standard against which public administration is measured. It may be noted that two subsequent Minnowbrook Conferences were held at intervals of twenty years. That is, the Second Minnowbrook Conference was held in 1988 and the third in 2008. The major concern of the second

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Minnowbrook Conference was on correcting the imbalance between public needs and the resources devoted for their amelioration.

The third conference held at Syracuse University, focused on the future of public administration, public management and public service around the world. 3.4 Evolution of New Public Management (NPM) By the 1980s Public Administration had begun to face serious challenges. In the wake of mounting financial slowdown, the state was coming under increasing pressure to curtail expenses and seek out new ways of delivering public services. The starting point was that

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the traditional bureaucratic structures that ushered in the industrialized economies of the 20th century

and may have been appropriate for that era had

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reached a point of diminishing returns. The large size and rigid structures of the traditional system were too cumbersome for the new era of instant communication and an economy in which economic value was based on information and its manipulation rather than

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industrial production. Production is still important, of course, but it is increasingly based on information systems.

Against such a backdrop,

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a new managerial approach in the public sector emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s. It was named New Public Management. It lay emphasis on the economy, efficiency and effectiveness of government organizations, instruments and programs, and higher quality service delivery. This new model of public sector management emerged in the most advanced countries, as well as in many developing ones.

A whole array of methods and techniques Since the 1980s, employed to reform public administration was given the broad label

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of New Public Management [NPM]. 31 The term New Public Management was used by Chistopher Hood in 1991

and variously labeled by other scholars as managerialism [Pollitt, 1990], market based approach to public administration [Lan and Rosenbloom, 1992], entrepreneurial or reinventing government [Osborne and Gaebler, 1992] and post-bureaucratic paradigm [Barzaley, 1993]. It has been used to denote a new (or renewed) stress on the importance of management and 'production engineering' in public service delivery, often linked to doctrines of economic rationalism. Like feminism or environmentalism, New Public Management is both a social movement and a subject of academic study. New Public Management hinged

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on the Public Choice Theory and managerialism, reposing its faith in the primacy of the market and in private sector management.

It institutionalized the old ideology of liberalism, now under the name of neo- liberalism, upholding the notion that 'that government is the best which rules the least', thus supporting the unqualified superiority of the market over the state. In 1992

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David Osborne and Ted Gaebler in their book Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector

introduced the concept of

entrepreneurial government. The authors made out a strong case for transforming the bureaucratic government into an enterprising government that responds to citizens' needs in a market oriented manner.

They considered bureaucracies as redundant in the present age, asserting that 'they simply do not function well in the rapidly changing information-rich, knowledge-intensive society and economy of the 1990s'. They felt that in an entrepreneurial role governments should - ¾ steer the ship rather than row it ¾ empower communities, rather than simply deliver services ¾ encourage competition, rather than monopoly ¾ be mission-driven, rather than rule driven ¾ fund outcomes, rather than inputs ¾ meet the needs of the customers, rather than those of the bureaucracy ¾ concentrate on earning resources, not just on spending ¾ invest in prevention of problems, rather than on cure ¾ decentralise authority ¾ solve problems by making use of the market place, rather than by creating public programmes. Vincent Ostrom asserted that bureaucracy is chronically incapable of organizing public goods and services. 32 New Public Management is sometimes (understandably) confused with

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the 'New Public Administration' movement in the USA of the late 1960s and early 1970s .

But though there may have been some common features, the central themes of the two movements were very different. The main thrust of the New Public Administration movement was to bring academic public administration into line with a radical egalitarian agenda that was influential in US university campuses at that time. By contrast, the emphasis of the New Public Management movement a decade or so later was firmly managerial in the sense that it stressed the difference management could and should make to the quality and efficiency of public services. Its focus on public service production, functions and operational issues contrasted with the focus on public accountability, 'model employer' public service values, 'due process,' and what happens inside public organizations in conventional public administration. 3.5 Features of New Public Management New Public Management techniques are drawn mainly from the private sector. The reforms have been generated by a combination of economic, technological, social and political factors. While traditional Public Administration had its base in Political Science, New Public Management based its premises on economics. There was clearly a

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clash of values between traditional Public Administration and New Public Management. The

former upheld values such as fairness, ethics, public interest, justice and accountability. The latter gave importance to autonomy, flexibility, reward for good performance, risk taking and efficiency. New Public Management sought to introduce practices from the private sector into the field of public organizations, reform state institutions, and bring in a new administrative culture and managerial strategies. NPM presented a political theory of the state in which the state had to be reduced and considered as a simple organization. It should give minimum social assistance and be sensitive to client needs as in the private sector. Politics was sought to be removed as an obstacle to good management. NPM focused on :

- Restructuring the government operations along market lines
- reversing the government's growth in terms of size, expenditure and activities
-

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distinguishing strategic formulation from implementation • emphasizing performance evaluation and quality improvement 33 • stressing upon

effectively providing services and value for money to the customers. The main features of New Public Management may thus be identified as: i] focus on management, performance appraisal and efficiency ii] disaggregation of public bureaucracies into agencies which deal with each other

on 'user-pays' basis iii] cost -cutting to make Public Administration less costly iv] promoting a style of management that emphasizes inter alia output targets, limited term contracts, monetary incentives and freedom to manage. NPM presented a blend of broad based administrative doctrines, values and concerns. It's differences from the conventional political administration was evident on a number of points. For example, i] in traditional public administration the government was seen as the exclusive provider of public services; in NPM the providers of public services included a network of stakeholders comprising of government, market, civil society, etc. ii] in traditional public administration anonymity and secrecy in operations as emphasized; NPM was people-oriented, responsive and accountable iii] while in traditional public administration the emphasis was on structures, rules and processes; in NPM it lay on performances and outcomes iv] traditional public administration emphasized public private distinction; NPM rested on public private partnership. v] the hierarchic model of traditional public administration was discarded in NPM in favour of a flexible model.

3.6 Critique of New Public Management It needs to be remembered that the motivations for the market-oriented reforms of New Public Management were political as well as economic. It is important for us to understand why particular reforms such as those represented in the New Public Management arise at particular points of time in the economic and political life of the state. Critics of public-sector managerialism stress the virtues of traditional Weberian 34 bureaucracy for rule-of-law or public accountability, or see managerialism as a diverting governments' attention from hard policy choices. Some critics of New Public Management doctrines see them as too heavily based on business-school and private-sector management perspectives. Critics have argued that the pursuit of business administration norms tend to make public administrative less responsive to the needs and expectations of the citizens. It is further argued that the space that a modern state occupies is so vital, extensive and diverse that it cannot be covered by the market. Hence it is neither safe nor desirable to devalue the state and argue for it's rolling back along with allowing private sector players in all areas. New Public Management tends to eulogise private management, accepting its negative features rather uncritically. Another line of criticism leveled against New Public Management is that it distances the

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political executive from the implementation aspects of public administration as political executives lose control over the implementation of their policies as a result of managerial reforms.

New Public Management tends to ignore the positive attributes of public administration that have been the distinguishing marks of the latter. It undermines public administrations concern for the citizen, its social ethos and moorings in constitutional values. Further, it is argued that what suits one country may not be the best for another. Thus, what is applicable to the USA may not be suitable for developing countries like India.

3.7 Summary The journey

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from New Public Administration to New Public Management has been a long journey in the history of Public Administration.

It has been marked by Public Administration's attempts to cope with the changing demands of the political and economic scenario. The new approach to public management, i.e., New Public Management or NPM, is oriented to results, focusing on clients, outputs and outcomes. It emphasises management by objectives and performance management, the use of market and market-type mechanisms. Looking at its nature and the criticisms leveled against it, it would perhaps not be wrong to say that while much can be learnt from the private sector, an element of caution needs to be maintained. The importance and uniqueness of the public sector should not be lost.

35 3.8 Sample questions A. Answer the following questions elaborately : i) What were the circumstances under which New Public Administration emerged? ii] Discuss

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the concept of New Public Management iii] What are the basic tenets of New Public Management?

B. Answer the following questions briefly : i) Distinguish between the basic principles of the New Public Administration and New Public Management. ii) What was the significance of Minnowbrook 1 Conference? iii) What are the shortcomings of New Public Management? C. Give single sentence answer to the following questions : i) With whose name is the Honey Report on Higher Education for Public Service associated ? ii) When was the Minnowbrook 1 Conference held? iii) Who edited Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence ? 3.9 Select Bibliography Otenyo , Eric Edwin, Nancy S. Lind ed.,(2006). Comparative

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36 Unit 4 RECENT ADVANCES IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION : ECOLOGY AND FEMINISM Structure 4.0 Objectives 4.1 Introduction 4.2 Ecological approach in Public Administration 4.3 Feminism and Public Administration 4.4 Summary 4.5 Sample questions 4.6 Select bibliography 4.0 Objectives On reading this unit we shall be able to understand -

- The basic premises of the ecological approach
- The contributions of John Gaus and Fred W. Riggs to the development of the ecological perspective
- The feminist critique of traditional public administration
- The lines of developing a feminist perspective of public administration

4.1 Introduction From its very early days, the field of Public Administration has been a changing field marked by a search for identity. In its search for identity, Public Administration has gone through different phases reflecting newer attempts at conceptualisation and understanding. Attempts to comprehend its links with the surrounding milieu have brought forth the ecological approach, while gender concerns in relation to the field have led to the emergence of the feminist perspective. Both contribute to the widening of the scope of Public Administration, demanding the breaking of the traditional boundaries of the field.

37 4.2 Ecological Approach in Public Administration Ecology deals with all interrelationships of living organisms and their environment. The term ecology was coined in 1866 by the German biologist Ernst Haeckel from two ancient Greek words 'oikos' and 'logos'; the first denotes housing or dwelling, the second means science. In modern biology, it is used to denote the inter-relationship between living organisms, plants and animals and their environment. Today the term has been extended to refer to a complex of sciences dealing with the interactions between man and nature. The ecological approach in Public Administration was first elaborated by John Gaus in *Reflections of Public Administration* published in 1945. He spoke of relating government functions to the environment. Gaus used seven factors for explaining the process of public administration: people, place, physical technology, social technology, wishes and ideas, catastrophe, and personality.

- Changes in distribution of people over different places has effects on policy (people moving to cities or to farms)
- Physical technology has impacted policy for an increase in paved roads
- social technology - the invention of the corporation
- wishes and ideas - being influenced by information or values/thoughts that lead to a particular action
- catastrophe - the effects of a catastrophe are relatively short lived in many cases because after the first response often the older forces flood back and cancel out most of the first reaction (catastrophe i.e.- night club burned killing service men, legislation was passed for fire inspection)
- personality - which is left to one's own interpretation.

According to the proponents of the ecological approach, Public Administration is affected by economic, political, social conditions and the overall environment of a country. The main idea is that bureaucracies and other institutions can best be understood if the surrounding conditions, influences and forces that shape them are identified and explored. In the words of Gaus, the ecological approach 'builds ...quite literally from the ground up; from the elements of a place - soils, climate, location' The approach assumes that administrative behaviour is moulded by administrative culture which in turn is an outgrowth of the interactions and traits of the administrative system with the social system as a whole. It asserts that the administrative system does not act as an independent variable; rather, it acts under the influence of the various subsystems that surround it.

38 Fred W. Riggs [1917-2008] was one of the foremost exponents of the ecological approach. He emphasised the fact that in order to understand a particular administrative system one should have a strong understanding of the environment in which it operates. In developing his ecological model, Riggs drew heavily on the structural- functional approach that had gained prominence in Political Science. He developed different models. From the model of the agraria-transitia- industria he moved on to develop the model of fused-prismatic-diffracted societies. In his models he emphasised an open system perspective, showing the interaction of the administrative system with the wider social system.

The formulation of the prismatic model was primarily based upon the extent to which a social administrative system undergoes functional differentiation. The model

was considered appropriate

for studying three societal types: highly developed Western industrial societies and traditional agrarian societies, as well as developing societies.

It may be noted that for nearly three decades (until the early 1980s), a massive volume of literature (books, journals, reports, etc) had been produced by public administration scholars and policy experts to articulate and prescribe the nature, scope, objectives, structures, institutions, problems, and remedies of development administration. While much of such literature tended to be normative in terms of prescribing the ideal universal tenets of development administration, Riggs was critical. He was opposed to such relatively non-ecological framework, and highlighted its inappropriateness and potential dysfunctional outcomes. He devoted much of his work to configuring an ecological approach in order to explain the actual features of administration (development administration) in developing nations shaped by their own societal contexts, and to articulating some models of such administration with a new vocabulary constructed specifically to explain the unique administrative situation in these countries. Ecological public administration could not only provide a solid basis for research, but could also explain and predict public administrative behaviour as well. A powerful tool for uncovering "ailments" within public administrative systems,

the ecological approach could, in fact, help to correct them. In recent times, public administration in most developing countries has gone through drastic reforms based on the market-driven principles and models (e.g. NPM, Best Practices, Good Governance) which are essentially non-ecological. These contemporary administrative models highlight the importance of narrow empirical data, performance indicators, and results or outcomes and claim universal applicability in different parts of the world without much concern for ecological or contextual diversity. It may be noted that, during the recent decades, too many drastic and

39 intensive reforms in public sector management have been adopted in too many countries, which need to be compared, critically understood, and systematically generalized to make some theoretical sense. Moreover, the contemporary market-driven reform models have largely been based on a universalist approach, which has been embraced in many developing nations often under the influence of international agencies, although such models may not be appropriate for these countries with weak private capital and entrepreneurship, less developed market forces and alarming levels of poverty requiring subsidized basic services. Further, in line with the common imitative nature of administrative reforms adopted in the past, many regimes in developing countries have recently introduced pro-market models originating and borrowed from the experience of developed nations. Riggs was always opposed to such out-of-context, imitative reforms and emphasized the importance of building the nationally or domestically suitable models of public administration in these countries based on their own contexts and needs (Riggs, 2001). Finally, unlike advanced industrial nations where the major domains of society (e.g. politics, economy, business, religion and administration) are relatively autonomous or mutually exclusive, these domains are deeply interconnected in developing societies, which requires a multi-dimensional approach and an interdisciplinary perspective practiced and underscored by Riggs. According to Riggs, 'at a time when the international climate of an increasingly tumultuous world has become fraught with growing tensions, and when simultaneously we have become increasingly conscious of the 'limits of growth', the precariousness of our energy future, the population explosion, the undermining of agricultural lands and forests, and the growing threat to the ocean's resources - and many more such problems - we have to consider more carefully than ever before the ecological interdependency of all these variables. It is no longer possible simply to think about how administrative performance can be improved by taking the 'managerial' or 'in-house' approach suggested by any conventional 'outlining' of the problem. [Fred W. Riggs, "The Ecology and Context of Public Administration: A Comparative Perspective" *Public Administration Review*, March-April 1980, p. 115]. In contemporary times, as the growing concern for the environment and sustainability gain ground, the need for serious attention to ecological concerns acquire a new meaning in public administration. Increasingly, the links between public administration, public policy and environmental concerns come to be appreciated. As Carl D. Ekstrom notes in *PA Times* (June 19, 2013), 'For both equity and economy reasons, we need to continue to chart a path forward in creating greater sustainability awareness in the field of public administration. Such actions include the necessity of making the concept of sustainability increasingly a part of the public debate. In addition, there is a need within the field to broaden an awareness of the profound connection between the use of natural resources and public policy.'

4.3 Feminism and Public Administration

There are many disciplines where feminist concerns have found a place and are sought to be addressed however imperfectly that may be; but Public Administration is yet to recognize such concern areas. Currently, there is no defining body of feminist theory in the field of Public Administration and, little attention has been given to developing a feminist theoretical framework for Public Administration. Scholars, by and large, tend to view theories of Public Administration and feminism as unrelated; it implies that women's issues have little bearing on the field. There are feminist scholars and practitioners who claim Public Administration as their discipline, and undertake scholarly work on issues related to women. A few scholars in the field have written and conducted research focusing on issues related to women, for example, the glass ceiling, pay equity, hiring and promoting women faculty members, and, more recently, emotional labour. Public Administration is still largely a male bastion. Though in recent times, particularly since the last couple of decades of the twentieth century, feminist scholars have started knocking at its doors. Gender research is emerging as one of the several narratives seeking to shape knowledge with Public Administration. Pioneering work has been done by Kathy Ferguson and Camilla Stivers. In 1984, Kathy Ferguson produced *The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy*. Therein she argued that 'women have developed a different voice, a submerged discourse' that can be used to build

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a non-bureaucratic collective life where bureaucratic discourse would be replaced

with a feminist discourse centred on individual human development and community needs. There may be several reasons for omitting the acknowledgement of feminist ideas and perspectives in Public Administration: 1) Male theorists and practitioners of public administration might not be aware that a feminist perspective exists; or 2) they might be aware but decide not to mention it due to the negative connotations that are still associated with feminism (e.g. radicalism, irrationality, emotionality); 3) To this day, leadership is commonly associated with the qualities of toughness, assertiveness, and aggressiveness (particularly in times of crisis) all of which are undisputedly regarded as masculine virtues. It is pointed out that, in regard to career advancement in the public sector, women were never able to catch up with men. While at the ground level most public servants are female, at the top level women are scarce. Moreover, women, who enter the highest echelons in public administration, face a different work environment than men. Because of their female status, women are closely watched as to how they behave, dress, talk, and make decisions. They face criticism if they appear as too masculine (e.g. Hilary Clinton), and also if they are deemed too feminine (which is commonly associated with being weak). Camilla Stivers is probably the most recognized contributor to contemporary feminism in Public Administration. A distinguished Professor of Public

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Administration, in her book *Gender Images in Public Administration: Legitimacy and the Administrative State*,

first published in 1993, she applied a gender lens to the field of public administration, looking at issues of status, power, leadership, legitimacy and change. The author explored the extent of women's historical progress as public employees, their status in federal, state, and local governments, the peculiar nature of the organizational reality they experience, and women's place in society at large as it is shaped by government. In the book, she argued that the modern government with its emphasis on social services, the use of the positive state to counter deep seated problems, and the notion that government can be an instrument of reform, had its roots in women's organizations. She asserted that, 'like other public sector activities public administration is structurally male despite its apparent gender neutrality' [p. 5]; she noted that feminist theory 'has offered new theories of power, virtue, of the nature of organization, of leadership and professionalism ... yet few, if any of these ideas have made their way into conversations in public administration.' [p. 3]. Hutchinson and Mann [Hutchison, Janet R., and Hollie S. Mann. 2004, *Feminist Praxis: Administering for a Multicultural, Multigendered Public*. *Administrative Theory and Praxis*, 26 (1) : 79-95.] argue for the use of multicultural feminism in public administration. According to them, a feminist re-visioning of public administration preferably through a multicultural, multigendered lens is urgently called for. There could be several strategies to achieve a feminist Public Administration. One is already familiar to Public Administration. It necessitates that women be given access to and encouraged to join the world of work, politics and knowledge production. This is the "affirmative action" step that moves us toward the liberal feminist goal of participatory equality and is a consistent theme in the scholarly

42 contributions of women to Public Administration journals. Early liberal feminists proposed that this strategy alone would be enough to effect change, but it soon became clear that simply adding women to the pre-existing structure would never be enough. Another strategy addressed is certainly more revolutionary and more relevant to laying the groundwork for a feminist theory of public administration. It urges a re-examination of the fundamental theories, mechanisms of analysis and primary values that have given shape to epistemological techniques and existing assumptions generally, and in public administration in particular. It calls for a fundamental shift in human knowledge that results from "seeing" through the feminist lens. This shift necessitates the recognition that we truly are living in a "man's world". The feminist perspective on leadership in public administration reflects certain values of the New Public Management approach (NPM). NPM, which became popular during the early 1990s, also emphasizes key concepts, such as "employee empowerment," "decentralization in decision making," and "networking and collaboration." However, to describe the feminist theory approach to public administration as the antecedent to NPM might be overstated; still, it seems that NPM borrowed some ideas from feminist theory, yet failed to give credit. In her 1990 essay "Toward a Feminist Perspective in Public Administration Theory," the author Camilla Stivers noted that feminist ideas seem important to an appreciation of administrative governance that is "less hierarchical and more interactive". Instead of viewing power as a "mode of domination," the feminist perspective emphasizes the "enabling capacity" of power. Stivers argued that engaging in collaboration with others, instead of following a tight chain of command in a centralized controlled system, is a more appropriate way to address the more and more complex challenges in the world. In her opinion, cooperation, teamwork and participation, allowing a diverse perspective on complex subject matters "becomes protection against bureaucratic pathology rather than [being] a source of inefficiency". According to Burnier, Burnier, DeLysa [2005. 'Bringing Gender into View' Administrative Theory and Praxis 27(2): 394-400], research in Public Administration written from a liberal feminist point of view would address "various equality questions including the numerical representation of women in public bureaucracies; women's underrepresentation in specific government professions and agencies; sexual harassment in the public workplace; the need to create family friendly public workplaces; and the presence of a 'glass ceiling' ". Examining gender dilemmas in public administration does not imply the view that other factors such as race and class are less important. Gender is tied to race and class; gender's importance is not a solo source of domination, but as a lens that enables one to see things that other lenses miss. Moreover, Feminism should not be viewed as separate and apart from the Public Administration discipline. Rather, it should be seen as a perspective that could determine the future of Public Administration itself.

4.4 Summary

The ecological approach speaks of relating government functions to the environment. Major contributions have been made in the field by John Gaus and Fred Riggs. As public administration in most developing countries has gone through drastic reforms based on the market-driven principles and models (e.g. NPM, Best Practices, Good Governance) which are essentially non-ecological, the ecological perspective presents an important point of departure. As the parameters of Public Administration have been widening in several directions, developing a feminist angle is being argued for. Traditionally Public Administration has largely remained a male bastion. In recent times however feminist scholars have intervened and gender research is gaining importance. Major contributions have been made by Kathy Ferguson and Camilla Stivers.

4.5 Sample questions

A. Answer the following questions elaborately :

1. What do we understand by the ecological approach to Public Administration?
2. Examine the contributions of John M. Gaus to the understanding of the importance of ecology in Public Administration.
3. Would you agree with Camilla Stivers that feminist ideas are important to an appreciation of administrative governance?

B. Answer the following questions briefly :

1. Identify three probable reasons that may have led to the omitting of feminist ideas and perspectives in Public Administration.
2. Explain Fred W. Riggs' contribution to the development of the ecological approach in Public Administration.
3. Outline the feminist critique of Public Administration.

44 C. Give single sentence answer to the following questions :

1. When was John Gaus's book Reflections of Public Administration first published?
2. How many factors did Gaus use for explaining the process of public administration?
3. Who authored the book The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy?

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45 PAPER-VI MODULE-2 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION : Administrative Theories

46

47 Unit 1 HUMAN RELATIONS APPROACH ELTON MAYO AND CHESTER BARNARD, MARY PARKER FOLLET

Structure 1.1 Objectives 1.2 Introduction to Human Relation Approach 1.3 Origin of Human Relations Approach 1.4

Conceptual Framework of Human Relations Approach 1.4.1 Elton Mayo 1.4.2 Chester Barnard 1.4.3 Mary Parker Follet 1.5

Conclusion 1.6 Summary 1.7 References 1.8 Sample Questions 1.9 Select Readings 1.1 Objectives Here our objective is to acquaint the students with diverse issues involved in managing organizations operating in multiple cultures and competitive environment. This course aims at providing the knowledge related to managerial aspects of human relations in an organization.

After studying this unit, students should be able to: • describe the concept of

Human Relations Approach, • define the scope of Human Relations Approach, • describe the history of Human Relations

Approach, • explain the limitations of Human Relations Approach.

48 1.2 Introduction to Human Relations Approach A Shift away From traditional management trend was witnessed in the early 1920s; classical management theorists, such as Frederick Taylor, Henry Gantt, and Frank and Lillian Gilbreth, spent their time researching how a specific job should be done, what steps should be taken by an employee to complete the work, and the amount of time to be spent by a worker to complete a task using different methods. They then used this information to determine the most effective way of completing a task. From 1900 to 1930 Taylor's concept of Scientific Management dominated. His approach focused on maximising workers' output. Classical theorists of management focused on the science of creating specialized work processes and workforce skills to complete production tasks efficiently. However, their excessive emphasis on workers' efficiency and output was criticised as an attempt to dehumanise the workers and thus an attempt to ignore psychological needs of them. Neither the management, nor the workers were happy with the approach. Critics began to scrutinize classical management theory for its potentially harmful effects on workers. Many believed that placing too much emphasis on standardisation of jobs and workers had not created the 'mental revolution' that Taylor and his associates had expected, but rather had inadvertently created an attitude among managers at the time that employees were nothing more than an appendage to a machine. Critics argued that machines and processes could be standardised but it was unrealistic to expect that standardisation among emotional attributes. So, as Taylor and other classical management theorists continued their work on standardisation, others started to conduct research on the worker's behaviour, and thus, the neoclassical theory of management was born, to which human relations approach was indebted. Classical Approach focussed on crude job output; contrarily Human Relations Approach, dealt with the human aspects of organizations. It was also referred to as the neoclassical school because it was initially a reaction to the shortcomings of the classical approaches to management. The 'Human Relations Movement' received its impetus from a series of famous experiments called the Hawthorne Studies which were conducted from 1924 to 1933

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at the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company in

Cicero, Illinois. The neglect of human aspect and over-emphasis on machines, materials and abstract functions led to the development of this approach. Prof. Elton Mayo is considered as the father of the Human Relations Approach.

Understanding workers' response and

49 interpersonal relations were considered essential in the development of this approach. The Human Relations Approach focussed on the following six propositions: 9 A focus on people, rather than only on machines or economics is necessary; 9 people exist in an organizational environment rather than an organized social context; 9 a key activity in human relations is motivating people; 9 motivation should be directed towards team work which requires both the co-ordination and cooperation of individuals involved; 9 human relations, through team work, seeks to fulfill both individual and organizational objectives simultaneously; 9 both individuals and organizations desire for efficiency, that is, they try to achieve maximum results with minimum inputs The Human Relations Approach emphasises on the individual and focuses on inter-personal approach. It studies the individual, his needs and behaviour. Its main concepts are motivation and job satisfaction. 1.3 The Origin of Human Relations Approach The neoclassical theory encompassed approaches and theories that focus on the human side of an organisation. The neoclassical theory was an attempt to incorporate the behavioral sciences into management thought. There are two main sources of neoclassical theory: the human relations movement and the behavioral movement. The human relations movement arose from the work of several sociologists and social physiologists who concerned themselves with how people relate and interact within a group. The behavioral movement came from various psychologists who focused on the individual behavior of employees. These movements were dominated by sociologists and psychologists. A team of Harvard University researchers were asked to study the activities and output of the workers in Western Electric's Hawthorne plant in Cicero, Illinois. Their study was came to be known as 'Hawthorne Effect'. The team continued their work from 1924 to 1932, with a sample of over 20,000 Western Electric employees. Thus the human relations movement was a direct result of Elton Mayo, William Dickson and Fritz J. Roethlisberger's Hawthorne studies, which were designed to find ways to increase worker productivity at Western Electric's Hawthorne Works factory.

50 Harvard researchers observed that economic rewards could not totally explain workers' output; social pressure could restrict their output. Hawthorne Studies revealed that social factors, such as employee relationships, would have an important impact on the workers which the managers would require to consider. It was believed that any manager who failed to account for the social needs of his employees could expect to deal with resistance and lower performance. Employees needed to find some intrinsic value in their jobs, which they certainly were not getting from the job that was highly standardised. Previously employees were placed into rigid job roles, where they used to complete one specific task throughout the day with little or no interaction with coworkers. Human relations thinkers conceived that employees must frequently share tasks, information, and knowledge with one another. The belief was that once employees were placed into this alternative structure, their needs for socialisation would be fulfilled, and thus they would be more productive. They based their studies on the assessment of working conditions related to things such as lighting levels, leisure periods, and the length of working hours. Those participating in the experiments were watched closely by the researchers. During the experiment, productivity levels of those participating in the experiment increased but not directly due to the conditions that Mayo and Roethlisberger were imposing on them. This led them to probe further and they observed that human relations can better enhance job satisfaction.

1.4 Conceptual Framework of Human Relations Approach

Elton Mayo and his associates conducted studies in the Hawthorne Works of Western Electric Company in USA between 1924 and 1932. The study covered more than 20,000 workers. By these studies, the researchers discovered many areas of the application of human relations approach.

The researchers' general conclusion was that non-logical behaviour or sentiments among workers must be considered along with economic and other logical factors that influence the work group. This approach was advocated by them because of the following reasons: (1) Employees in any organisation get satisfaction not by economic incentives but by the satisfaction of many other social and psychological wants, feelings, desires and so on. (2) The business organisation itself is a social system or at least part of it. (3) In an organisation, it is ultimately cooperative attitude and not the mere command which yields results.

(4) Management must aim at developing social and leadership skills in addition to technical skills. (5) In an organisation, morale and productivity go hand in hand. The approach was instrumental in effecting a new image of man and his work place environment. After these studies, it was widely accepted that an organisation is not merely a formal arrangement of men and functions; it is a social system and the human factor is the most important element within it. More emphasis was placed on inter personal relations, leadership skills, human motivation etc. The approach stressed the importance of individual as well as the group relationship. The theory emphasised the role of psychology and sociology in the understanding of individual as well as group behaviour in an organisation. Relevance of the human values in an organization was highlighted. It was derived that there was no correlation between physical variables and productivity. Any change, however insignificant, seemed to raise production. Another experiment in the bank wiring room showed that individual payment schemes were influenced by group relationships. It also showed that groups established their own rules and levels of output. The Hawthorne studies highlighted the significance of the group in organisation. Hawthorne studies showed that an organisation is a social system with compilation of group relationships and group attitudes. The social groups were called informal organisations with a focus on the contrast with the formal organisations. Harvard researchers concluded that supportive managers helped boosting up of productivity. Proponents of Human Relations school stated that if the goals of organisation are in tune with the group norms and harmony, the organisation can expect higher productivity. But the critics argued that it was not the supportive managers, but the fear of job loss during the Great Depression and managerial discipline were responsible for higher rate of productivity.

1.4.1 George Elton Mayo (1880-1949)

George Elton Mayo was an Australian born psychologist, industrial researcher and organisational theorist. In the early 1930s the theorist Elton Mayo and his associates carried on a study

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at the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company in

Chicago. Mayo based his assumptions on research undertaken with workers. Initially, two groups were selected, and the impact of variation in lighting on their productivity was measured. It was found that any change in lighting - even making it worse - improved productivity; so the initial conclusion was that change in working conditions led to the improvements. Additional changes were then made

52 to working conditions to see what other types of modifications could improve output. In all cases productivity went up. His work resulted in the Hawthorne theory. He suggested that boredom and repetitiveness of tasks led to reduced motivation. He believed that motivation could be improved through making employees feel important, giving them a degree of freedom to make choices and acknowledging their social needs. Mayo suggested that motivation at work was promoted by such factors as: • greater communication • good teamwork • showing interest in others • involving others in decision making • ensuring the wellbeing of others • ensuring that work is interesting and non-repetitive. Mayo's work helped to lay the foundation for the human relations movement. He emphasised that alongside the formal organisation of an industrial workplace there exists an informal organisational structure as well. Mayo recognised the inadequacies of existing scientific management approaches to industrial organisations, and underlined the importance of relationships among people who work for such organisations. His ideas on group relations were advanced

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in his 1933 book--The Human Problems of an Industrialized Civilization,

which was based partly on his Hawthorne research. His finding was that the individual workers cannot be treated in isolation, but must be seen as members of a group. Some basic findings of Hawthorne research are as follows: The study found that monetary incentives and good working conditions were less important to the individual than the need to belong to a group. Informal or unofficial groups formed within the workplace were found having a strong influence on the behaviour of those workers in a group. It was observed that managers' response to the 'social needs' of the workers would motivate them to cooperate with the management rather than work against it. Elton Mayo identified the significance of recognising the 'human factor' in organisations. Mayo said that workers needed to be recognised as having social needs and interests; they should no longer be regarded as the economically motivated 53 automations as envisaged by Taylorism. Mayo's study evidenced that productivity also increased within the control group. The workers felt that they were part of the organisation and that what they were doing was of interest and importance to the researchers. It was this which caused the increase in productivity. This came to be known as the notion of the 'Hawthorne Effect', a staple part not just of organisation theory but of social science as a whole. The other study was conducted in the bank wiring room. Here, a small group of male workers were engaged in producing electrical components. It emerged that the workers were not solely motivated by economic considerations and moreover, that the 'informal side of the organisation' was as important as, or may be even more important than, the formal side (i.e. the rules and official hierarchy). The study discovered the importance of human factor and a new era was introduced in which workers' needs were acknowledged and met. Thus the theory was designed to cater for workers' leisure time and to provide an environment conducive to good living. It was the new 'science' of psychology that led to the emergence of human relations theory. The desire to ascertain the effect of lighting levels on productivity was informed by the idea that management was about the control of physical variables. Taylor had identified the need for systematic soldiering of the workforce. The human relations theory began to take on a very different aspect. In one way, it was a response to the limitations of scientific management as a means of organisational control. The difference between scientific management and human relations theory was a 'tactical' one, which was primarily brought forth by Mayo. But Elton Mayo conceptualised workers' resistance as a psychological maladjustment rather than a rational response to conditions of employment. Mayo even suggested that membership of a trade union was a sign of mental illness. In fact, in this respect, some have observed that Taylor's writings showed much more empathy with workers' experiences than those of Mayo.

1.4.2 Chester Barnard(1886-1961) Chester Irving Barnard (November 7, 1886 - June 7, 1961) was an American business executive, public administrator and the author of pioneering work in management theory and organizational studies. His landmark 1938 book--The Functions of the Executive, set out a theory of organisation and of the functions of executives in organisations. Application of the fundamental principles that Barnard outlined inspired changes

54 to the area of strategic management. The analysis focused specifically on two main areas: the movement from a static to a dynamic model and the role of the environment. Chester Barnard believed that formal organisations are made up of informal groups. These informal groups evolved to become the informal organisation. The group's beliefs and values would help establishing the organisational culture and determining to a large extent, formal acceptance of authority. Acceptance Theory to Authority Management theorist Chester Barnard believed organisations would require being both effective and efficient. Effective meant attaining organisational goals in a timely way. Efficient, in his opinion, was to be understood as the degree to which the organisation would be able to satisfy the motives of its employees. Barnard believed that the organisational goals would be accomplished and authority would be accepted when workers would feel satisfied that their individual needs were being met. This is known as the acceptance theory of authority. Thus according to Barnard, an organisation would be efficient to the degree of its ability is to satisfy the motives of the individuals. He further said that cooperation among the members of an organisation would depend on its ability to satisfy the motives of its members; an efficient organization, able to achieve its explicit goals, would sustain for long. So in Barnard's words being effective is not merely being able to accomplish stated goals. Thus Barnard's meaning of organisational efficiency differed substantially from the conventional meaning of the word. Barnard was concerned with the functional relationships among individuals in organisations. He, in his classic 1938 book - The Functions of the Executive distinguished between "effective" and "efficient" actions: "When a specific desired end is attained we shall say that the action is "effective." When the unsought consequences of the action are more important than the attainment of the desired end and are dissatisfactory, effective action, we shall say, is "inefficient." When the unsought consequences are unimportant or trivial, the action is "efficient." (Barnard, Chester 1. 1938,19). Acceptance theory of authority states that a manager's authority rests on workers' acceptance of his right to give orders and to expect compliance. Workers have to believe that the manager can legitimately give orders and there is a legitimate expectation that the orders will be carried out. There are a few reasons for this expectation: 3/4 Workers will be rewarded for compliance 55 3/4 There will have repercussions for non-compliance 3/4 Workers respect the manager for his experience Informal and Formal Organisations Organisations are made up of groups of individual workers. Naturally, these individual workers form informal social groups that become the informal organisation. The informal organisation exists within a larger formal organisation. Formal organisations operate under a set of rules and policies designed to carry out the organisational purpose, like meeting financial and production goals. There is a hierarchical arrangement in formal set up; in such set up a formal management- employee relationship dictated by hierarchy exists. Work flows from top-management to workers through hierarchical channels. Barnard looked at organisations as systems of cooperation of human activity, and noted that they are typically short-lived. The only organisation that can claim a long tenn sustenance is the Roman Catholic Church. According to Barnard, organisations are not long-lived because they lack two vital qualities: effectiveness and efficiency. Barnard summarized the functions of the executive as follows: 9 Establishing and maintaining a system of communication; 9 Securing essential services from other members; 9 Formulating organisational purposes and objectives. Barnard formulated two important theories: one of authority and the other of incentives and he saw both in the context of a communication system grounded in seven essential rules: 1. The channels of communication should be definite; 2. Everyone should know about the channels of communication; 3. Everyone should have access to the formal channels of communication; 4. Lines of communication should be as short and as direct as possible; 5. Competence of persons serving as communication centers should be adequate; 6. The line of communication should not be interrupted when the organisation is functioning; 7. Every communication should be authenticated. In Barnard's view, authoritative communications can become successful, if (a) communication is easily understandable;

56 (b) if it is not inconsistent with the purpose of the organisation; (c) if it is compatible with his personal interest as a whole; and (d) he is able mentally and physically to comply with it. Therefore, what makes a communication authoritative rests with the subordinate rather than with his superior. He seemed to argue that managers should obtain authority by treating subordinates with respect and competence. Chapter XI of the above mentioned book dealt with "The Economy of Incentives". According to Barnard, "in all sorts of organisations the affording of adequate incentives becomes the most definitely emphasised task in their existence" (Barnard, Chester I., 1938, 139). Specific inducements range from "material inducements" to "ideal benefactions" (e.g., "pride of workmanship"), while "general incentives" include "personal comfort in social relations" (Barnard, Chester I., 1938, 142-149). Allegation has been raised that Barnard's definition of "efficiency", as it is in Chapter II is confusing (Callender, Guy, 2009, 13, 194). The definition of "formal organization" can be characterised as "completely inadequate." Barnard's ideas about authority fails to acknowledge the reality that it is sometimes the job of corporate leaders to use power to control, repress, and dictate the terms of the actions of their subordinates. Barnard did not write in any detail about the relationship between an organisation and the customers of that organisation. Barnard did not consider how an executive of a corporation interacts with the board of directors or stockholders. There is no significant mention of the executive's role in providing guidance to the staff. Barnard's perspective had affinities to that of Mary Parker Follett.

1.4.3 Mary Parker Follett (1868 -1933)

Mary Parker Follett (3 September 1868 - 18 December 1933) was an American social worker and management consultant, who had huge contribution in the fields of organisational theory and organisational behavior. She was opposed to the Classical theorists' lack of attention to the relationship factors and to the basic human needs of the workers. She pioneered participatory decision making and decentralisation in the work place. Her ideas on negotiation, power, and employee participation were very much inspiring in the development of the fields of organisational studies, alternative dispute resolution and the Human Relations Movement. Her view highlighted individual and group needs. Mary Parker Follett pioneered the understanding of lateral communications within hierarchical organisations, the importance of informal processes within organisations, and the idea of the "authority of expertise".

57 Follett's Concept of Power She recognized the holistic nature of community and advanced the idea of "reciprocal relationships" in understanding the dynamic aspects of the individual in relationship to others. Follett advocated the principle of what she termed "integration," or non-coercive power-sharing based on the use of her concept of "power with" rather than "power over." Follett developed the circular theory of power. She recognised the holistic nature of community and advanced the idea of "reciprocal relationships" in understanding the dynamic aspects of the individual in relationship to others. In her *Creative Experience* (1924) she wrote: Power begins ... with the organization of reflex arcs. Then these are organized into a system Then the organization of these systems comprises the organism- more power. On the level of personality I gain more and more control over myself as I unite various tendencies. In social relations power is a centripetal self.- developing. Power is the legitimate, the inevitable, outcome of the life-process. We can always test the validity of power by asking whether it is integral to the process of outside the process." (Follett, 1924, 193)

Follett distinguished between "power-over" and "power-with" (coercive vs. co- active power). She suggested that organisations function on the principle of "power- with" rather than "power-over." For her, "power-with is what democracy should mean in politics or industry" (Follett 1924, 187). She advocated the principle of integration and "power sharing." Her ideas on negotiation, conflict resolution, power, and employee participation were influential in the development of organisational studies. Mary Parker Follett came forth with the principle of 'Conflict resolution through Integration' (i.e., identifying and meeting each party's underlying and often compatible need, culminating in a win-win situation, as opposed to attempting to meet the frequently-incompatible expressed desire of each). Follett's Derivation about New Democracy Follett also contributed greatly to the 'win-win' philosophy, coining the term in her work with groups. Her approach to conflict was to embrace it as a mechanism of diversity and an opportunity to develop integrated solutions rather than simply compromising. She was also a pioneer in the establishment of community centers. Follett encouraged people to participate in group and community activities and to be active citizens. She believed that through community activities people learn about democracy. In *The New State* she wrote, "No one can give us democracy, we

58 must learn democracy." Furthermore, the training for the new democracy must be from the cradle - through nursery, school and play, and on and on through every activity of our life. Citizenship is not to be learned in good government classes or current events courses or lessons in civics. It is to be acquired only through those modes of living and acting which shall teach us how to grow the social consciousness. This should be the object of all day school education, of all night school education, of all our supervised recreation, of all our family life, of our club life, of our civic life. (Follett, 1918, 363) Group organisation, she argued, not only helps society in general, but also helps individuals to improve their lives. Groups provide enhanced power in society to voice individual opinion and improve the quality of life of group members. She suggested that through direct interaction with each other in a group for achieving their common goals, the members could fulfill themselves through the process of the organisation's development. Mary Parker Follett conceived in her leadership theory that genuine power is not "coercive" ("power over") but "coactive" ("power with"). True leaders, according to Follett's theory, "create group power, rather than expressing personal power." Principles of Coordination

Mary P. Follett's four main principles of coordination are as follows :

1. Principle of Early Stage According to this principle, coordination must start at an early stage in the management process. It must start during the planning stage, so that best plans can be made and these plans can be implemented and all the related management functions can be performed successfully. Thus by initiating proper coordination the organisation will achieve all its objectives easily and quickly.
2. Principle of Continuity According to this principle, the process of coordination must begin when the organisation starts, and it must continue throughout the life of the organisation. Thus coordination must be a continuous process, not a one-time activity. Coordination must be done continuously during planning, organising, directing and controlling.
3. Principle of Direct Contact According to this principle, all managers must have a direct contact with

59 their subordinates. This will result in good reciprocal relations between the manager and their subordinates. Direct contact helps to avoid misunderstandings, misinterpretations and disputes between managers and subordinates. It enables the managers to coordinate all the different activities of their subordinates effectively and efficiently.

4. Principle of Reciprocal Relations The decisions and actions of one person or department will affect all other persons and departments in the organisation. The decisions and actions of all the people involved in an organisation and departments of the organisation are inter-related. Therefore, before taking any decision or action all managers must first find out the effect of that decision or action on other persons and departments in the organisation. This is called the 'Principle of Reciprocal Relations'. Co-ordination will be successful only if this principle is followed properly. After Mary Parker Follett, modern management experts have added four more principles of coordination. These are as follows:-
5. Principle of Effective Communication Co-ordination will be successful only in the presence of an effective communication. Good communication must be present between all departments, within employees themselves and even between managers and their subordinates. All communication barriers and gaps must be avoided and fixed to ensure effective coordination.
6. Principle of Mutual Respect Coordination will be successful only if a situation of mutual respect exists throughout the organisation. All managers working at different layers must respect each other. Similarly, all employees must show a friendly attitude and should respect each other during interactions. There must also exist a feeling of fraternity among managers and employees. Without mutual respect, coordination may not survive.
7. Principle of Clarity of Objective Co-ordination will be successful only if the organisation has set its clear objectives and clear understanding regarding the objectives. Clear objectives are easily and quickly achievable.

60 8. Principle of Scalar Chain Scalar Chain is a line of authority. This line joins all the members (managers and employees) from top to bottom. Every member down the apex must have an identifiable superior. The superior must also know who his subordinate is. Scalar Chain is necessary for good communication. Scalar Chain must not be broken in normal circumstances. However Follett failed to produce empirical evidence to support her views. Some concrete evidence became available from data collected in the series of Hawthorne studies.

1.5 Conclusion

The widely perceived view of human relations was said to be one that completely contradicted the traditional views of Taylorism. While the Scientific Management School tried to apply science to the workforce, the accepted definition of human relations suggested that management should treat workers as individuals, with individual needs. In doing so, employees were supposed to gain an identity, stability within their job and job satisfaction, which in turn would make them more willing to co-operate and contribute their efforts towards accomplishing organisational goals. The Human Relations movement supported the primacy of organisations to be attributed to natural human groupings, communication and leadership. However, the conventional depiction of the human relations 'school' of management, rising out of the limitations of scientific management is argued to be a profound distortion of events. It has been argued that Elton Mayo's actual role in the human relations movement is controversial; some academics believe that the concept of human relations was used well before the Hawthorne investigations, which inspired the human relations movement. Taylor made important contributions to what inspires human motivation, even though his ultimate findings were somewhat different from the human relations movement. Another name which has been attributed to pre-existing human relations ideas is that of Henry S Dennison, the onetime president of the Taylor Society, who linked Taylorist principles with human relation ideals thus creating a nexus between Taylorism and human relation thought. Dennison demonstrated an activist concern both with the rationale and character of workers, and with the control and management undertaken by managers of the business enterprise. The theoretical goals of human relations were mostly identical with those of Taylorism. In essence, both sought to make the workplace a more efficient and worker-friendly. Some specific goals and outcomes of each movement were different, but broadly speaking, both aimed to create a coherent group of individuals in the workplace.

1.6 Summary

In the early 1920s, a shift away from classical management theory took place as theorists began to consider the human side of an organization and the social needs of employees. In this lesson, students will learn about the evolution of the neoclassical theory of management and its two sources: the human relations movement and the behavioral management movement. The human relations experts tried to integrate (combine) Psychology and Sociology with Management. According to them, organisation is a social system of interpersonal and intergroup relationships. They gave importance to the management of people. They felt that management can get the work done from the workers by satisfying their social and psychological needs. Important theoretical advancements in the human relations approach include the famous Hawthorne experiments conducted by Elton Mayo, Chester Barnard's cooperative system etc. The neoclassical theory encompasses approaches and theories that focus on the human side of an organisation. The human relations movement arose from the work of several sociologists and social physiologists who concerned themselves with how people relate and interact within a group. The behavioral movement came from various psychologists who focused on the individual behavior of employees. The work of these various sociologists and psychologists influenced management thought.

1.7 References

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62 Follett, Mary P(1918) 1998, *The New State: Group Organization the Solution of Popular Government*. Pennsylvania State University Press.

1.8 Sample Questions

1. Critically examine the context of origin of the Human Relations Movement.
2. Discuss the anti-Taylorism conceptual orientation of the Human Relations school.
3. Examine the contribution of Elton Mayo in developing the human relations approach.
4. Write a critical note on the Hawthorne effect.
5. Explain Chester Bernard's 'Acceptance theory to authority'.
6. How did Chester Bernard describe communication system of an organization?
7. How, in Chester Bernard's opinion, formal and informal organizations operate?
8. Evaluate Mary P. Follett's concept of power and management.
9. Explain Mary Parker Follett's view on coordination.
10. Discuss Mary Parker Follett's concept regarding 'new democracy'.

1.9 Select Readings

Ivancevich, J.M., et al., *Organizational Behavior and Management*, New Delhi, Tata McGraw Hill, 2006, (ch. 1) Maheshwari, S. R., *Administrative Theories*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1994(ch.15) March, James G., and Simon, Herbert, *Organizations*, New York: Wiley, 1958 Simon, Herbert, *Administrative Behaviour*, Illinois: Free Press, 1947 Sapru, R.K., *Administrative Theories and Management*, ND, Prentice Hall,2008 Bhattacharya, Mohit, *Public Administration-Structure, Process and Behaviour*, ND, World Press, 1987 Bhattacharya, Mohit, *Public Administration*, ND, World Press,1999

63 Unit 2 □□□□ BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH TO MANAGEMENT : HERBERT SIMON Structure 2.1 Objectives 2.2 Introduction to Behavioural Approach to Management 2.3 Origin of Behavioural Approach to Management 2.4 Behavioural Approach to Management 2.4.1 Herbert Simon 2.5 Conclusion 2.6 Summary 2.7 References 2.8 Sample Questions 2.9 Select Readings 2.1 Objectives Behavioural Management Theory emerged in response to the need to account for employee behaviour and motivation. Behavioural management theory shifted the approach to management from a production orientation to a leadership style, which focused on the job satisfaction of the workers and on their human need and good working conditions. The objective of this content is to make the students able to grasp the underlying concept of Behavioral management theory. After studying this unit, students should be able to: Explore the significance of interactions and motivations of the individual within organizations, as focused by the concept of Behavioural Approach; Compare and contrast the central concepts that define a classical organizational- theory approach and a behavioral perspective. Explain the limitations of Behavioural Approach

64 2.2 Introduction to Behavioural Approach to Management The classical perspective of management emerged following the Industrial Revolution and focused on the efficiency, productivity, and output of employees and of the organization as a whole. Scientific management theory, which was first introduced by Frederick Winslow Taylor, focused on production efficiency and productivity of employees. Another pioneer in the classical perspective of management. Max Weber, created the bureaucracy theory of management, which focused on efficiency and specific roles of managerial people in an organization; he described in this context, the role of bureaucracy in running the administration of the state. Henri Fayol, another leader in classical management theory, looked at it from a managerial perspective-i.e., he focused on improving management efficiency rather than on improving each individual employee's efficiency. Classical approach did not focus on human or behavioral attributes or did not take into account variation among employees. The classical perspective of management was criticized for ignoring human desires and needs in the workplace. The behavioural perspective of management approached productivity and efficiency factors quite differently. It considered the employee in terms of his motivation to work. It related motivation to one's psychological development in, and interaction with, a social environment. Classical Management principles could not meet up the contemporary needs of the situations, mainly due to its failure to explain the motivation and behavior of individual employees. As a result, the behavioral school came out with a revolutionary management approach as a natural outgrowth of this condition. The behavioral management theory is often identified as the human relations movement because it addresses the human dimension of work. Behavioral theorists believed that a better understanding of human motivation, conflict, expectations, and group dynamics would affect productivity. The behavioural theorists who contributed to this school viewed employees as individuals, resources, and assets to be developed and worked with-not as machines, as was done by the classical theorists. Several individuals and experiments contributed to this theory. Behavioral management theory relied on the notion that as soon as the managers would be able to understand the human aspect to workers and would start treating employees as important assets to achieve organisation's goals, productivity would increase. In opposition to the views of the classical theorists the Human Relations School focused on the individuals'(employees') behaviour, cognitive decision making process

65 and nature of authority in organization; informal, interpersonal relationship, group dynamics and communication pattern were also in the focal point of the Human Relations school. The Behavioural School looked at human motivation and social environment in which these organizations needed to work. They studied behavior of the individuals in the organization and the effect of such behaviour on organizational performance. The main contributors to Behavioural School were Psychologists and sociologists. The Human Relations School and Behavioural School have many things in common. These are: 1. Both focus on motivation of people. 2. Both emphasise on clarity of communication. 3. Both have a focus on interpersonal relationship. 4. Both highlight individual and group behavior. They have multiple differences too, which are as follows: The human relations approach neglected behavioural pattern of groups. Behavioural approach begins with the premise that man is a social animal and therefore he is greatly influenced by others' thoughts and beliefs; thus it is the group that sets the pattern of human behaviour. According to Behavioural approach, it is necessary to study the organisational behaviour as a whole, involving the study of the attitude, behaviour and performance of both individuals and groups in organisational setting. This made Behavioural Approach to Management more improved and modern approach.

2.3 Origin of Behavioural Approach to Management

Behavioural approach has evolved gradually over many years. Advocates of the behavioral approach to management point out that people deserve to be the central focus of organized activity. They believe that successful management depends largely on a manager's ability to understand and work with people who have a variety of backgrounds, interests, needs, perceptions, and aspirations. This marked the progress of the behavioural approach through the route of human relations movement. The human relations movement was a concerted effort among theorists and practitioners to make managers more sensitive to their employees' needs. It came into being as a result of special circumstances that occurred during the first half of

66 the twentieth century. From the late 1800s to the 1920s, American industry grew by leaps and bounds as it attempted to satisfy the many demands of a rapidly growing population. Cheap immigrant labor was readily available, and there was a seller's market for finished goods. Following the period of industrial boom, America witnessed the Great Depression in the 1930s. Many held management as responsible for the depression, and public sympathy swung from management to labor. Congress consequently enacted the Wagner Act of 1935 legalising union-management collective bargaining. Management began searching for ways to come out from the situation. Early human relations theory proposed that satisfied employees would be less inclined to join unions. Business managers subsequently began adopting morale-boosting human relations techniques as a mechanism to cope up with threat of unions. As the sociopolitical climate changed, a second development in industry took place. Behavioral scientists from prestigious universities began to conduct on-the-job behavior studies. Instead of studying tools and techniques in the scientific management tradition, they focused on people. Practical behavioral research such as the famous Hawthorne studies stirred management's interest in the psychological and sociological dynamics of the workplace. By 1932, when the Hawthorne studies ended, more than 20,000 employees had participated in one way or another. After extensive interviewing of the subjects, it became clear to researchers that productivity was much less affected by changes in work conditions than by the attitudes of the workers themselves. Specifically, relationships between members of a work group and between workers and their supervisors were found to be more significant. Hawthorne studies can be credited with turning management theorists away from the simplistic "economic man" model to a more humanistic and realistic view, the "social man" model. Mayo urged managers to adopt work strategies that would foster personal and Subjective satisfaction. He called for a new social order designed to stimulate individual cooperation. Mary Parker Follett's experience as a management consultant and her background in law, political science, and philosophy convinced her that managers should be aware that each employee is a complex collection of emotions, beliefs, attitudes, and habits. She believed managers had to recognize the individual's motivating desires if they wanted to get employees to work harder. A third philosophical rallying point for industrial humanism was provided by an American scholar named Douglas McGregor. In his 1960 classic, *The Human Side of Enterprise*, McGregor outlined a set of highly optimistic assumptions about human nature. McGregor viewed the

67 typical employee as an energetic and creative individual who could achieve great things if given the opportunity. He labeled the set of assumptions for this optimistic perspective of Theory Y. The Second World War prompted a shift in the field, as it turned its attention to large-scale logistics and operations research. There was a renewed interest in rationalist approaches to the study of organizations. Herbert Simon, James G. March, and the so-called "Carnegie School" conducted influential research on organizational behaviour. Chester Barnard was one of the most prominent behavioral theorists of organization. Chester Barnard stressed the influence of psychological and social factors on organizational effectiveness. Chester Barnard recognized that individuals behave differently when acting in their organizational role than when acting separately from the organization. Researchers on organizational behaviour studied the behavior of individuals primarily in their organizational roles. Barnard's theories were further developed by Herbert A. Simon in his book *Administrative Behavior*.

2.4 Behavioural Approach to Management

The behavioural approach viewed the organisation as a social organism. It was termed as behavioural sciences approach because it adopted a multi-dimensional and inter-disciplinary study of employees' behaviour applying principles from behavioural sciences like psychology, sociology and anthropology. The objective was not only to study, but to predict the future behaviour of employees. Motivation, leadership, communication, group dynamics and participative management were inbuilt in this approach, as means of securing better employee performance and to attain the goals of the organisation. Several sociologists and psychologists like Abraham H. Maslow, Douglass McGregor, Frederic Herzberg, Chris Argyris etc. contributed towards the development and enrichment of this approach. The main propositions of behavioural science approach can be summarised as under

- An organisation is a socio-technical system.
- Interpersonal or group behaviour of people in the organisation is influenced by a variety of extraneous and internal factors.
- The goals of the organisation are to be adjusted with an understanding of the human needs.

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- Multitude of attitudes, perceptions and values prevalent amongst employees characterise their behaviour and influence their performance.
- Some degree of conflict is inevitable in the organization and this must be taken into account while assessing the performance of the employees. The behavioural approach recognises the quality of leadership as a determining factor in the success of management. It focuses on group relationship and recognises the role of individual psychology and group behaviour in organisational effectiveness. It is thus an improved version of human relations approach. This illustration demonstrates the way in which individuals and culture behaves in the context of the process and structure to develop organizations.

2.4.1 Herbert Simon

Herbert Simon is recognized as one of the founding fathers of important scientific domains and the most renowned figure of the twentieth century. Apart from being the key researcher in the field of science, he is also recognized as an economist, a professor, a sociologist and a psychologist. His works contributed to the field of management literature, economics, cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence. He worked as a professor for 52 years at Carnegie Mellon university. Herbert Simon was inspired by M. P. Follett's concept of 'Group Dynamics', Elton Mayo's 'Human Relations Approach', and Barnard's 'Function of the Executive'. Herbert Simon is acclaimed highly for his innovative ideas, intelligence and personality. This academic scholar and Nobel Prize winner presented human decision making concepts in dynamic environments. Herbert Simon is pioneering scholar in the field

69 of the decision making in organizations. He was awarded the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics for his most important work, the decision making process of the organizations. Herbert Simon's book, *Administrative Behavior*, provides numerous and important contributions, for e.g., the psychology of administrative behaviour, the role of authority, the criterion of efficiency, loyalties and organisation identification, reorganization, etc. Among them, "bounded rationality", "communication", and "authority" captured biggest attention and appreciation. Simon relies on Barnard and advances the science of administration. Simon used Barnard's earlier work as framework, and developed more relevant concepts and a more precise vocabulary. Simon realised that it is not possible to build an adequate theory of human behavior unless an appropriate unit of analysis is developed. A noticeable feature of Simon's book is that he used decision premises, instead of the whole decision, as the unit of his analysis. The book highlighted as to how organizations can be understood in terms of their decision process, and the analysis of administrative behavior in each case can be finalized on decision premises, i.e., how behavior is influenced by decision premises, how the premises in turn can be modified by the behavior, and how organisation structure can influence the decision premises of individuals within it, so that decisions carried out by individuals becomes consistent with the organisational objectives. In his book *Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision Making Processes in Administrative*

Organisations, he made a very remarkable statement that decision making is the heart of administration. According to Simon, an organisation is a decision-making structure; therefore, administrative theory should primarily focus on the process of decision making and of action. Simon believed that decision making should revolve around alternative plans of action. He added further that the logic and psychology of human choice determine the administrative decision-making. According to Simon, decision-making involves three major steps. At the first instance, the administrator needs to consider the surrounding universal and organizational environment; second stage begins as and when the administrator realises that the prevailing condition requires action and thus he starts appreciating every possible alternative course of action and at the final stage the administrator chooses one of the alternative courses of action, using all his rational thought process. The entire premise of Simon's decision-making theory sounds simplistic, but is extremely complex and is based on the logical rational action mode. His proposition about rationality is to be understood within the particular context of the administrative decision making.

70 Simon distinguished between facts and values and suggested that administrator must take his decision keeping aside value judgements, as practicably as possible. He opined that each decision entails selection of goals and relevant behavior; administrator employs rationality to connect means and ends. According to Simon's administrative behavior theory, once decisions are taken for implementation of goals, it can be said that value judgments is being converted into factual judgment. Thus in Simon's work, rationality becomes a variable and he was aware of the limitations of human rationality; he knew that human rationality is not static but depend on the environment of the organisation in which the decisions are taken. According to Simon, the task of the administration should be to design such an environment in which the individual approach becomes as rational as practicably possible. To understand the concept, three important elements of the concept require special attention: 9 The Economic Man 9 The Administrative Man 9 Organizational Perspective In an organisation the decisions are made on empirical and normative elements; these premises can also be called the factual or the value premises. The factual premise is based on the information and knowledge regarding the organization and its environment. The value premises on the other hand are the morals and legal constraints. The Economic Man relates itself to the ideal and rational model of decision making. A rational decision is to choose those alternatives which are appropriate to reach the desired end. Organisational hierarchy is concerned with establishing connection between means and ends of the organisation. The Administrative man depicts the objective rationality, determining whether the selected alternative's course of action is good enough. He adopts the rational decision making process in which individuals clearly define the problem, generate and evaluate all alternative solutions and select the best approach before implementing it. The administrative man's approach to the world is simplistic and would take into account only a few most relevant and critical factors unlike the economic man for whom knowing all the alternatives and its consequences is a complex task. Their perspective is critical to the existing principles of administration which were: 71 z Specialization z Hierarchy z Span of control Simon argued that the applicability and validity of administrative principles needs to be tested on an underlying understanding of administrative decision making. According to Simon, these 'proverb' like principles are inconsistent and often contradictory to each other. Simon identified five mechanisms, manifestation of which can influence the performance of an organization. These are: 1. Authority - It is defined as the decision making power which in tum guides the actions of other people. This kind of relational transaction happens in case of a superior and a subordinate in the organization. 2. Communication - It comprises of both the formal and informal communication in an organization. 3. Training - This is to enable individuals to reach satisfactory decisions without constant authority and guidance. This can be both pre service (educational qualification) and in service (day to day supervision at work). 4. The Criterion of Efficiency - This basically suggests that out of two alternatives which would bear same cost, the one which shall attain more organisational goals should be chosen and if the two alternatives are achieving the same degree of organisational objectives, then the one which does so in lesser cost should be chosen. 5. Organisational Identification and Loyalty - An organisation consists of several groups and a person thinks himself to be part of group when in the process of evaluating alternatives he/she weighs the option in terms of its consequences on the entire group. Simon defines an "organisation" as a "complex pattern of communication and relationships in a group of human beings". It provides each member

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much of the information and many of the assumptions, goals, and attitudes that enter into

his decision. Such pattern can be changed once beliefs and attitudes are modified by changing the flow of communication. Simon pointed out that organisation is important, because, by structuring communications, it determines the environment of information in which decisions are taken. It's not hard to see the importance of communication to an organization, in which it serves the roles, which is far more than "coordination". Strategically, communication can help to attain lower-order requirements of common knowledge. The purpose of communication is to modify the decision premises of

72 other members of organisation, so that the difference between personal goal and "organization goal" becomes manifest. Simon suggested that

decision-making involves a choice selected from a number of alternatives, directed toward an organisational goal.

Realistic options

were defined as having

real consequences consisting of personnel actions or non-actions modified by environmental facts and values. In practice, some of the alternatives may be conscious or unconscious; some of the consequences may be unintended as well as intended and some of the means and ends may be imperfectly differentiated, incompletely related, or poorly detailed. The task of rational decision making is to select the alternative that results in the more preferred set of all the possible consequences. This task may be divided into three required steps: (i) the identification and listing of all the alternatives; (ii) the determination of all the consequences resulting from each of the alternatives; and (iii) the comparison of the accuracy and efficiency of each of these sets of consequences. Any given individual or organization attempting to implement this model in a real situation would be unable to comply with the three requirements. It is highly improbable that one could know all the alternatives, or all the consequences that follow each alternative. The human being striving for rationality and restricted within the limits of his knowledge has developed some working procedures that partially overcome these difficulties. These procedures consist in assuming that he can isolate from the rest of the world a closed system containing a limited number of variables and a limited range of consequences.

Given the inevitable limits on rational decision making, a person or organization seeks to achieve approximately the best result, using 'bounded rationality'. The term, bounded rationality, is used to designate rational choice that takes into account the cognitive limitations of both knowledge and cognitive capacity. Bounded rationality is a central theme in behavioral economics. It is concerned with the ways in which the actual decision-making process influences decisions. According to Simon, the decision making within an organisation is a complex process which is influenced by several factors. Simon examined the vastness and complexity of the decision making process in the context of administrative organizations and economy and then pointed out that people decide rationally only

73 in a limited number of situations. Decision makers make choices according to their interpretation of the situation which is often a simplification. Rationality is "bounded", e.g. managers seldom have access to all relevant information and must rely on a 'strategy of satisfying', that is to make the best decision on limited information. They choose the first opportunity that seems satisfactory rather than seeking the best solution. Simon contended that human rationality is limited because z information is incomplete, imperfect or even misleading; z problems are complex; z human information processing is limited; z time spent on decision making is limited; z decision makers often have conflicting preferences for certain organisational goals. Organisations, themselves, act with "boundaries". Organisational boundaries make its members to focus and act without rethinking for each action. Simon saw individuals as information processing entities, wherein uncertainty comes from a lack of information. Simon felt that depending on the circumstances, i.e. the complexity of the problem, the ambiguity of the decision making process and the number of decision makers, decision makers need to rely on behavioural decision making approach, than merely being more rational. Simon made it clear from the very beginning of the book that the central concern of administrative theory is with the boundary between the rational and the non-rational aspects of human social behaviour. He defined the principle of bounded rationality on the basis of the assumption that the capacity of the human mind for formulating and solving complex problems is very limited as compared with the size of the problems whose solution is required. Thus, he replaced the maximizing goal of choice with the goal of satisficing; that is instead of making the utility-maximizing choice, attempt should be to "satisfice". The choice problem under bounded rationality need detailed analysis of psychology. This, perhaps, makes organization theory a inter-disciplinary science involving economics, politics, law, psychology and sociology. 2.5 Conclusion Behavioral approach included relational sciences that deal with relationships, interaction, communication networks, associations, and relational strategies or dynamics between organisms or cognitive entities in a social system. The emphasis on using quantitative data and qualitative research methods to determine how people

74 process information and understand social relationships is important to help managers better comprehend about the factors related to employees' motivation and employees' productivity. The behavioral-science approach encompasses the most common study of management science today. The primary application of the behavioral-science approach can be seen in the field of organisational development. Organisational development is an ongoing, systematic process of implementing effective organisational change. Organisational development is considered both a field of applied behavioral science that focuses on understanding and managing organisational change as well as a field of scientific study and inquiry. It uses components of behavioral sciences and studies in the fields of sociology, psychology, and theories of motivation, learning, and personality to implement effective organisational change and aid in the development of employees. Simon's book provided a starting hand book for administration science, as he developed a set of concepts and structure to approach and analyse the organisational problems. The centerpiece of this book is the behavioral and cognitive processes of making rational human choices, that is, decisions.

Administrative Behavior, as a text, addresses a wide range of human behaviors, cognitive abilities, management techniques, personnel policies, training goals and procedures, specialized roles, criteria for evaluation of accuracy and efficiency, and all of the ramifications of communication processes. Simon was particularly interested in how these factors directly and indirectly influence the making of decisions. 2.6

Summary Behavioral approach depended on a number of different fields and theories, primarily those of psychology, social neuroscience, and cognitive science. Multiple researches were done and the scientific methods were used to determine and understand behavior in the workplace. One of the pioneer of behavioural approach was Herbert Simon. Simon was

primarily interested in seeking identification of the individual employee with the organizational goals and values. Following Lasswell, he suggested that

a person may identify himself with any number of social, geographic, economic, racial, religious, familial, educational, gender, political, and sports groups. The fundamental problem for organisations is to recognise the personal and group identifications.

A specific organization has to determine deliberately, and specify in appropriate detail and with full clarity its own goals, objectives, means, ends, and values.

Simon's contributions to research in the area of

75 administrative decision-making have become increasingly mainstream in the business community. 2.7 References Bennis, Warren G., Changing Organizations, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1966. Filley, Alan C., and Robert J. House, Managerial Process and Organizational Behaviour, Scott, Foresman and Company, 1969. March, James G., and Herbert A Simon, Organizations. New York: Wiley. 1958 Simon, H. A,

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Administrative Behaviour: A Study of Decision Making Processes in Administrative

Organisation, 2nd ed., New York: Collier/Macmillan, 1957. Simon, Herbert, Administrative Behavior (3rd ed.), New York: The Free Press, 1976. Simon, Herbert A. "A Behavioral Model of Rational Choice." Quarterly Journal of Economics 69: 1955, 99-118. 2.8 Sample Questions 1. Critically examine the origin of Behavioural Approach to Management. 2. Discuss the Behavioural Approach to management. 3. Examine the contribution of Herbert Simon in developing the Behavioural Approach to management. 4. Write a critical note on Herbert Simon's Decision Making model. 5. What did Simon mean by 'bounded rationality'? 6. 'According to Simon, the decision making within an organisation is a complex process'—explain. 7. What, according to Simon, is the role of communication in an organisation? 8. What, in Simon's view influence performance of the organization? 9. Critically evaluate the relevance of Behavioural approach in contemporary management. 10. Analyse the propositions of the Behavioural approach to management.

76 2.9 Select Readings Bhattacharya, Mohit, Public Administration Structure, Process and Behaviour, ND, World Press, 1987 Bhattacharya, Mohit, Public Administration, ND, World Press, 1999 Ivancevich, J.M., et al., Organizational Behavior and Management, New Delhi, Tata McGraw Hill, 2006, (ch. 1) Luthans, Fred, Organizational Behavior, Tenth Edition, NY, McGraw-Hill, 2005 Maheshwari, S. R., Administrative Theories, New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1994 (ch. 15) March, James G., and Simon, Herbert, Organizations, New York: Wiley, 1958 Simon, Herbert, Administrative Behaviour, Illinois: Free Press, 1947 Sapru, R.K., Administrative Theories and Management, New Delhi, Prentice Hall, 2008
77 Unit 3 □□□□ DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION — F. RIGGS Structure 3.1 Objectives 3.2 Introduction to

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Development Administration 3.3 Meaning of Development Administration 3.4 Genesis of Development Administration 3.5 Concept of Development Administration 3.6 Features of Development Administration 3.7

F. Riggs 3.8 Conclusion 3.9 Summary 3.10 References 3.11 Sample Questions 3.12 Select Readings 3.1 Objectives Most theorists of public administration take for granted a pattern of organisation that is not in fact universal but flourishes only in those countries that may be considered relatively advanced. They scarcely note that the relevance of their doctrines depends on the prior existence of formal organisations. Administrative aspects, it is argued, cannot be explained and analysed in their abstract forms. Therefore, an attempt is made to understand the socio-cultural and administrative factors and thus emerged the concept of development administration. Development Administration is not merely interested in economic growth. Rather, its objective is economic growth with social justice. It works for the purposes of a social order based on the principles of equity, justice, freedom. Objectives of this study content is to ● discuss the meaning of Development Administration;

78 ● distinguish between traditional and Development Administration; ● trace the evolution of Development Administration; and ● highlight its features. 3.2 Introduction The term development, according to Oxford English Dictionary signifies 'the process of developing or being developed. It is a specified state of growth or advancement or an event constituting a new stage in a changing situation. The traditional approach towards administration has certain limitations in its scope and premise. It is restricted by strict adherence to the rules and hierarchy. Development Administration is about programmes and policies, concepts and ideas, administrative values and orientation, which are focused towards development of a nation, with the point of view of socio-economic and socio-political development of society in general, carried out by people-oriented and skilled bureaucrats. Under the scheme of development administration, the bureaucracy is that arm of government which is responsible for executing plans and allocating resources at the grassroots; in doing so they must be ready to take some risks and be innovative in approach, especially more so when the nation is a developing one. Thus development administration must reject status quo and be directed towards change and be more result or goal oriented. It is dynamic in approach and encourages new and better ways to achieve objectives. It should focus on planning for the people as well as with the people. It is people-centered, designed to empower society as a whole and not product or profit-centered. The essence of Development Administration is to bring about change through integrated, organised and properly directed governmental action. In the recent past the governments in most of the developing nations have shifted their focus on development by means of planned change and people's participation. The growing welfare functions of the government have brought into limelight the limitations of the traditional theory of administration. Focus is, now more on the capacity of the government to bring about change in the structure and behaviour of different administrative institutions, to develop adaptability to the change by individuals, institutions and the government bodies. Thus the study of Development Administration with a focus on its meaning, features and genesis assumes importance.

79 3.3 Meaning of Development Administration Development administration, as pointed out by Fred Riggs, is the administration of development programs to

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the methods used by large scale organizations, notably government, to implement policies and plans designed to meet developmental

objectives. Development administration can be referred as a concern with creation, maintenance and strengthening of the organisation and administration. It has also been defined as action oriented, goal oriented, change oriented effort, which is concerned with plans, policies, programmes and projects, having focus on nation building and socio-economic development. It aims to achieve socio-economic goals through the talents and expertise of bureaucrats. Development Administration should focus on "planning with people" rather than "planning for people". It should be people-centered rather than production-centered, which means not maximizing production, goods and services but addressing the needs of people, to them empower. There is no uniform definition of Development Administration which is agreeable to all. However, certain basic features and characteristics of Development Administration can be highlighted in order to understand the meaning and concept of development administration. Development is integral to the aims and activities of the government especially in the developing countries. There is severe scarcity of resources, both human and material, in these countries. Optimum utilisation of available means and augmentation of new means assumes a great challenge in these countries. Development Administration thus becomes a means through which the government brings quantitative and qualitative changes in a developing economy. Though Weidner is said to be the first to conceptually explain the definition of development administration, many other scholars, like Riggs, Ferrel Heady, Montgomery, Gant, Pai Panandikar have attempted to define the term in their own ways. However, accepted definition and meaning of the term is that Development Administration

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is an effort towards planned transformation of the economy involving not only the sphere of administration but also formulation of policies and indeed the

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society as a whole. It is an effort at the synchronisation of changes in all spheres of development-

economic, political, social and cultural. The State plays a leading role in bringing about development through its administrative system. Thus Development Administration is simply action-oriented and places the administration at the centre in order to facilitate the attainment of development objectives. Thus Development Administration involves two steps: (1) the bureaucratic process that initiates and facilitates socio-economic progress by making the optimum use of talents and expertise available; and (2) mobilisation of administrative skills so as to speed up the development process. It plays a central role in carrying out planned change i.e. it is concerned with planning, co-ordination, implementation, control, monitoring and evaluation of plans and programmes. It is not only concerned with the application of policies as determined by the political representatives in existing situation but also with introducing efforts to modify existing situations so as to serve the cause of the people. 3.4 Genesis of Development Administration After the Second World War, the newly-independent nations, which came out from imperial exploitation, embarked upon a complex process of nation building and rapid social reconstruction; poverty, illiteracy, disease, low levels of agricultural and industrial productivity posed a tremendous challenge of development to the governments of these new nations. The concept to Development Administration was almost exclusively being

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used with reference to the developing nations of Asia, Africa & Latin America. The idea of development administration as a direct state engineered

effort to intervene in the processes of socio-economic transformation was therefore following decolonization. After independence of these nations from the imperialist foreign rule, indigenous people were confronted with the problems of unemployment, poverty, squalor, hunger and disease. There was scarcity of both material and human resources and progress in industrial and agricultural fields was also nominal. Moreover, the private entrepreneurs of these nations were not ready to take up the tasks of development. Thus the governments of these nations had to shoulder the responsibility of bringing about integrated development through a process of comprehensive and uniform planning. The goals before the nation builders were those related to modernisation, industrialisation, self-reliance, social justice and economic growth. It was realised that the western concept of development and the ways to achieve development could not be applied to developing countries like India. The western countries had already achieved a certain level of development, had a strong bureaucracy, their problems were different and their resources were abundant. The western models of development were not conducive to the social, economic, political and cultural milieu of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus a different kind of administrative system suitable for the needs of these countries was to be designed, establishing a certain definite relationship between the environment

81 and administration. The realities of these countries called for the adoption and execution of new approaches of change. This realisation led to the emergence of the concept of development administration. The demands of equity and justice called for redesigning administrative efforts relevant to the newly independent countries. Hence, development administration came as a holistic term inclusive of all elements - economic, social, cultural and political. Thus it was defined as a process. 3.5 Concept of Development Administration-- A New Thrust The concept of

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Development Administration has almost exclusively been used with reference to the developing nations of Asia, Africa &

Latin America. Understood in this sense, development administration includes the entire process of nation building, particularly in the developing states of the world. Development Administration refers to organised

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efforts to carry out programmes or projects thought by those involved to serve developmental objectives.

The phrase arises by simple analogy with such expressions as administration for agricultural, educational, socio-cultural development and social welfare, each of which involves organised efforts to implement respective programmes. However the word "development" carries more elusive meanings than such familiar programmatic expressions. Development, in terms of developing nations means more than mere economic growth, the increased production of capital and consumer goods, for these countries the demand for increase in gross national product is overriding and claims top priority. The essential idea of development lies in this

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increased ability of human societies to shape their physical, human and cultural environments.

In other words, from the urge for development they learn to make collective decisions, to formulate proposals for social action, and to implement programs already agreed upon. Broadly speaking, there are two schools of thought with regard to definition and scope of development administration. Among that the important school of thought which is represented by Lucian Pye, Fred W. Riggs and Weidner, used the term development administration in a broader sense. According to it development administration refers to

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the process of guiding an organisation towards the achievement of progressive political, economic and social objectives, authoritatively determined in one manner or another.

Understood in this sense, development administration would include the entire process of nation building, particularly in the developing states of the world. In this connotation development administration becomes an integrated concept for the study of public administration. In short, it may be said that

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development administration is essentially a concept of administration which is action oriented rather than structure oriented.

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it involves the study of a traditional and routine type of administration, it is more concerned with the dynamics of an administrative system with

a view to judging its capacities as an instrument of planning and execution. The concept of Development Administration should be understood keeping in mind two interconnected concepts - Administration of Development and Administrative Development. Administration of development involves following objectives: ¾ Innovation at all levels of planning. ¾ Importance to the development at grassroots level. ¾ Development of human capital as a resource. Politics and administration must go hand in hand to establish rapid change in society and bring about just and distinct social order. Freedom of administrative machinery to express ideas, views for the most effective and efficient use of natural resources is essential for such administration. For effective Development Administration the structure of Administration itself must be empowered, large and capable enough to sustain the pressures by the developmental activities. In simpler words it means to develop administrative health by rationalisation and institution building and bringing about a radical change in the administrative framework, transformation from the traditionalist approach, to handle and create socio-economic and political development and social change. In essence the objective of Administrative development can be summarized as: 9 building decision making capabilities, 9 development of skill and specialization to tackle complex issues in the personnel, 9 giving importance to training, 9 effective use of technology to bring about change in administrative approach, 9 increasing administrative capacity, capabilities, 9 removing corruption and bringing in more accountability, 9 creating leaders out of bureaucrats for promotion of development initiatives. To achieve development goals it is necessary to have proper planning, optimum utilization of resources, skilled personnel, accountability in actions and words,

83 selfreliance and emphasis on technology. At the same time, there must have the scope for bureaucracy to act with innovativeness, integrity and the bureaucracy must be equipped with the power of decentralised decision making. So, Administrative development and Administration of Development both are important for the effective development of Society and are two sides of the same coin of development. To grasp the essence of development administration it is necessary to distinguish it from traditional administration. 1. Traditional administration has been visualised as one concerned with fulfilling all the legal requirements and statutory formalities of governmental operations and maintenance of social stability and to go by rules and regulations. Traditional administration confines itself to the maintenance of law and order, collection of revenues and regulation of national life in accordance with the statutory requirements. The administration in newly emergent nations requires transformation from law and order values to developmental values. The qualitative goals of development administration i.e. planning for the people, by the people's support distinguish it from the narrow look of traditional administration; traditional administration highlights quantitative goals, confining itself to implementing rules. 2. Further development administration is not a closed system; the linkages with experts, relationships with the grassroots level and with the people make it open. Under development administration local units of administration are more important than Central structures, contrary to traditional administration. 3. Though there are technical and behavioural techniques common to all forms of management, in development administration, external relations have to be optimised. 4. As opposite to traditional administration, development administration IS concerned with attitudes and processes rather than procedures and structure. The maintenance of law and order is a prime function of both and is basic to development, but development administration does not keep itself confined to this single goal for maintaining status quo. Along with traditional functions relating to the provision of essential communications and educational facilities, maintenance of law and order and the maintenance of judicial and diplomatic systems, development administration has assumed the responsibility of formulating and implementing various development and welfare functions because of growing complexities of

84 administration and aspirations of people. Thus the vision of development administration is wider, broader, participative, innovative and change-oriented. Structurally Development Administration is concerned with the organization of new agencies for development or refashioning of established agencies. The internal organizations with authority structure and hierarchy engaged in development tasks have also to be differently conceived. The emergence of the new nations out of colonial administrative framework and their urgent need for rapid socio-economic reconstruction necessitated a radical change in government organization and procedures. It was in this historical context that a new administrative thrust called development administration arose. The colonial legacy of routine administration was found unsuitable for the accomplishment of nation building tasks and programmatic goal achievement like agricultural and industrial development, removal of socio- economic inequalities, etc. Revenue collection, export of raw material, providing essential public services and law and order were the prime concerns of colonial administration. Conventional administration was centralised, authoritarian, unaccountable and unresponsive to the people. But participative, responsive and accountable management constitutes the essence of development administration. It has been mentioned that Development Administration is characterised by its purposes, its loyalties and its attitudes. 3.6 Features of Development Administration There are certain distinct features of Development Administration: 1. Change Orientation The first and foremost element of development administration is its change orientation. Change forms part of philosophic values of development administration. Development administration seeks to establish a new social order in which growth and distributive justice coexist. For Pai Panandikar the central theme of development administration is socioeconomic and political change. Development administration cannot be stagnant. No development can take place unless and until it introduces certain positive changes in a system. Changes such as structural reorganisation of administration, innovative programme to increase production, elimination of unemployment, poverty etc., new schemes to improve employer-employee relations must form a part of development administration.

85 2. Goal Orientation Developing countries are facing the problems of poverty, injustice, unequal distribution of wealth, lopsided agricultural growth, underdeveloped technology etc. These colossal issues need to be addressed systematically by fixation of priorities and goals. Development administration is the means through which the goals of development viz., social justice, modernisation, industrialisation and economic growth can be attained. 3. Innovative Administration Development Administration focuses on replacing or reshaping the existing governing structures and norms with the ones that suit the changing political and social environment. In other words Development Administration is one that is dynamic and progressive in thought and action. It is interested in identifying and applying new structures, methods, procedures, techniques, policies, planning projects and programmes. Thus Development Administration has to be innovative enough in order to realise the predetermined objectives of development. IRDP (Integrated Rural Development Programme), TRYSEM (Training Rural Youth for Self Employment), NREP (National Rural Employment Programme), DWACRA (Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas), Tribal Development Programmes etc. are the classic examples of innovativeness on part of the Indian administration. These innovative programmes broadly aim at amelioration of unemployment, creation of job opportunities and elimination of poverty. Some development agencies like the District Rural Development Agency, District Planning Cells, State Planning Boards, Cooperatives etc. are working for achieving the goals of development and in doing so they are trying to make Indian administration responsive to the needs of people, following the ideas of good governance. 4. Client-Oriented Administration Development administration is positively oriented towards meeting the needs of the specific target groups, like small and marginal farmers of landless agricultural labourers and rural artisans in India. The socio-cultural and politico-economic progress of these sections forms the essential basis of performance appraisal of development administrators. The programmes, policies and activities of development administration aimed at the satisfaction of the needs of people. 5. Participation-Oriented Administration Development administration accepts for its purposes the principle of associative and participative system of administration. Here, people are not treated as mere

86 passive recipients of benefits or goods and services, as it is being done under centralized administration. They are taken as active participants in the formulation and execution of development plans, policies and programmes, because it has been admitted that decentralization and people's participation are the best means to address people's issues in vast multinational countries with heterogeneous groups of people, so as to take cognizance of local problems in a realistic frame and to process for optimum utilization of local initiatives, energies and resources. Hence, effective formulation of programmes and their implementation with the help and association of the local people is now a well recognised principle of administration. In the context of development administration of India, the involvement of Panchayati Raj institutions in planning and administration has found renewed support in the development strategy of India. 6. Effective Co-ordination The urge for increasing specialisation and professionalization Development Administration, has led to the increase in the number of agencies and organisations involved in development tasks. In order to have the maximum benefit of this newly emergent administrative system, co-ordination between various administrative units and activities is essential, so as to reduce administrative lag. 7. Ecological Perspective Environment sets forth the operative parameters of Development Administration. It requires flexibility and responsiveness in administrative actions and methods. The changes in administration affect its environment and changes in environment also have its impact on administration. Development Administration refers not only to a government's efforts to carry out programmes designed to reshape its physical, human and cultural environment, but also to the struggle to enlarge a government's capacity to engage in such programmes. From a developmental point of view then the capacity of a government to make and carry out decisions designed to change its environment is itself a variable. All governments cannot exhibit equal capabilities in terms of development activities. Clearly, a burden one government can shoulder with ease, may become out of the limit of the capacities of another. Hence political, economic and organizational contexts of administrative development determine the success of development administration. Political context The legislative bodies, courts, political parties, private organizations and the

87 average citizen play an important part in shaping and reshaping and in determining the success or failure of governmental programmes. Among these the public bureaucracy is the main instrument of all governments to implement development programmes. The state bureaucracy can be defined as a hierarchy of all offices under the formal authority of the head of state in any polity. Effectiveness of a government depends much on the performance of its public officials. The bureaucrats in developing countries often exercise political functions, which they are not supposed to do and in doing so the bureaucrats often tend to abuse their power, going beyond their responsibilities to perform administrative functions, which have only administrative consequences for the polity. Riggs showed that the administrative and managerial doctrines which have proved their usefulness in United State and other Western politics are of limited utility in many non-Western countries, where an imbalance exists between the power of bureaucracy and the power exercised by constitutive systems. In other words the administrative principles that may be helpful in bringing about some improvement in administrative performance in balanced politics may further undermine administrative performance in unbalanced politics. In these systems priority needs to be given to efforts to achieve balance, either by strengthening the constitutive system or the bureaucracy depending on the relative power of these key institutions. According to Riggs, to the extent that the distribution of power between bureaucracy and constitutive system is balanced in any of the countries, traditional administrative ideas are expected to be relatively helpful and relevant to them. Riggs believed that the idea of a balanced political system is not equivalent with the idea of a democracy. Indeed, it is quite possible for a one-party dictatorship whether under communist ideology or not to achieve a form of balance. A party dominated constitutive system can share power with an official bureaucracy. According to Riggs the administrative doctrines are relevant to the needs of these governments as well as to those which are democratic. There are some of the less developed countries where conditions exist which makes it possible to introduce improved administrative practices and where democratic values can simultaneously be strengthened. The Economic Context The salary system of the public employees not only provide an inducement to public officials to work effectively but also makes it possible, by the threat of withdrawal to impose constraints on administrator. The existence of a salary system 88 that is a system in which wages paid are adequate to cover living expenses is a necessary prerequisite for the relevance of established administrative doctrines. Whether or not a salary system exists, however, depends not only on the mobilization of funds by taxation and the distribution of wages through a responsible payroll system, but also on the existence of an adequate economic base. The level of economic production must be high enough to cover not only the consumption needs of primary producers but also to support an army of employees, both public and private, who engage in secondary and tertiary occupations. Although these later activities add to the total national product, a society cannot afford to maintain them unless it can provide an adequate base in its primary, notably its agricultural production. The enlargement of bureaucratic organisation and the proliferation of specialised government agencies involve great expenses. The introduction of salaries creates other consequences. In poor countries job opportunities outside of agriculture are scarce. The pressure for public employment increases as the gulf widens between the impoverished masses in agriculture and unskilled labour and the growing white-collar class of salaried clerks and office holders. In countries under colonial rule the discrepancy in living standards between alien administrators and native populations become even more problematic.

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A system of salaried officials can work in an economically advanced country

as a means of building a public bureaucracy capable of carrying out laws which enhance economic productivity and contribute to development, but in a poor country it creates complications. 3.7 The Contribution of Fred W. Riggs Contributions of the Comparative Administration Group (CAG) in developing the concept of development administration need special attention. It was Fred W. Riggs, under whose chairmanship the Comparative Administration

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Group was formed in 1961 by the American Society for Public Administration.

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CAG was made to carry out research in Comparative Administration with special focus on the problems of development administration. The

financial support to the CAG was given by the Ford Foundation, which was interested in the analysis of the relations between administrative system and its socio-political, economic, and cultural contexts. The Group felt that as the classical concepts of administration in the context of the newly independent nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America were rigid, narrow and parochial and hence inappropriate. Conventional organisational theory was found

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suitable only for "maintenance needs" rather than for "development needs". 89 The

technological-managerial school was challenged by the Ecological School which insisted on relating the organisational structures to other social structures. It resulted into the idea that sociological context of administration is more relevant than mere organisational change and personnel manipulation.

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The scholars in CAG insisted on a comparative analysis of the administrative systems of

these newly independent nations. In the 1960s Public Administration academics sought alternative approaches to development administration. Public Administration was seen in ecological perspective. They sought to examine the

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relationships between Public Administration and social, economic, political and cultural environment.

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the period of the 1960s saw a shift from normative approach to empirical approach.

The most prominent exponent of this approach was Fred Riggs. 3.7.1 Fused-Prismatic-Diffracted Model Fred Riggs contributed a lot in searching for an objective and effective model for analysing public administration in developing countries. With a sociological perspective, Riggs created the "fused-prismatic-diffracted model", which covered a wide range of structural elements, such as economic life, social structures, political symbols, and the allocation of power; Riggs opined that these are all parts of the analysis of structural function. From the perspectives of heterogeneity, overlapping, formalism, and social transformation, the model observed peculiar characteristics in prismatic society.

In 1956 Fred Riggs suggested that there are two kinds of society- Industria and Agrarian. Industria is modernised and industrialized society. Contrarily Agraria is mainly based on agriculture. Agraria is the traditional agricultural society. Riggs renamed these societies respectively as 'Diffracted' Society and 'Fused' society; 'Prismatic' Society lies in between these two. Fused society is the society where the functions and structures are not specified and where there is no differentiated and functional specification. Riggs selected Imperial China and the pre-revolutionary Thailand as examples of his concept of fused society. Riggs classified SOcietleS attending to their degree of "diffraction". As an alternative model for conceptualizing developing countries Riggs offered his "prismatic model "based on the metaphor of a prism. In designing his model Riggs borrowed a metaphor from Physics; he used the concept that when a ray of light goes through a prism, it gets diffracted. On the left side of the figure enclosed below, a fused ray of light is visible. On the right hand side, it can be noticed that the light has been

90 diffracted. Elaborating on this metaphor, Riggs classified societies in three groups. In the fused or "primitive" societies, there exists a clear concentration of power in its many fold manifestations. In this kind of societies, all expressions of power are held by the same hands; one person, or a relatively small number of persons, holds religious, economic, and political power. On the other hand, in "diffracted" societies, the power, on its different manifestations, is completely institutionalised, and there is a sort of systematic separation of roles: political, economic and religious powers; they are, somehow, independent from one another, and each one of these areas of power is hierarchically arranged and division of tasks is clear. In a prismatic society, there is a coexistence of the attributes of a fused society and of a dim-acted one. Formally, prismatic societies seem to be dim-acted, but, in reality, within them, there are many characteristic expressions of fused or primitive societies. The groups that effectively control the different spheres of power frequently advocate for changes in the forms in order to maintain reality unchanged. When white light, that is light made up of all visible wave lengths passes through a prism it is diffracted broken into a variety of colors - a rainbow. Similarly Riggs contended societies in the process of development move from a fused mode in which little or no differentiation exists to a diffracted condition in which there is a high degree of functional specialization. Transformation from fused to prismatic or prismatic to diffracted takes a long time. Riggs observed that GNP increase or increase in the per capita income

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may not necessarily lead to improving the real life conditions of the people. He

insisted that social and psychological quality of life is more important index for measuring development. Riggs

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analysed the structural functional features of the social and administrative systems of the developing countries in his industria - transita - agraria formulation, He placed the developing countries in the category of prismatic society. Prismatic society lies in between traditional fused and modernised diffracted societies 91 and is undergoing the process of social change. The ecological approach provided a vision that stressed on the relationship of non-administrative factors to administrative ones. 3.8 Conclusion Most of the

classical principles of Public Administration emerged from the

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works of Woodrow Wilson, L.D. White, Fayol, Gullick, F.W. Taylor and others.

Many scholars attempted to understand Development Administration with an ecological perspective, which related public administration with social, economic and political-cultural structures of the country. Riggs believed the close link between the political, economic and organisational contexts. The period of 1950s & 1960s saw a shift in approach of Development Administration. In the early days of 1950s administrative values like efficiency, economy & rationality were prescribed, which had nonnative (ideal or should be) inclinations. But with the introduction of Comparative Public Administration, the approach changed into empirical ('what it is') mode. Along with this, this period also marked a shift in focus from non ecological to ecological one. By the late 60s and early 70s, Development Administration suffered a setback, as the modernisation effort of Development Administration failed to remove poverty and social inequality. The gap between the rich and the poor increased. An 'Alternative' development vision was introduced with the new agenda items, like, 'environment,' 'gender equity,' 'child development,' and other situation specific problems. By 1970s not only

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the meaning of development underwent change in so far as development goals were conceived in terms of meeting basic human needs but also the development administration model, to meet these objectives, saw changes in strategies and substantive programmatic actions.

There was a shift in the approaches to the study of the theory and practice of development administration. It was found that the problems of

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development administration were rooted in the political economy of the aid receiving countries.

Many scholars sought to explain the dynamics of societal transformation and management of change by undertaking political-economy approach. It was asserted that administrative questions are political questions. The political economy paradigm seeks to relate administration to political and economic environment. These new concepts refer to the concepts of power and action in terms of the real process of conflicts and their resolution. The political economy paradigm provides for the analysis of the context of administration.

92 Physiological variables relating to development have attracted a good deal of interest in recent years. Everett Hagen, for example, has argued that a large number of authoritarian personalities work against innovation and development in traditional and many transitional societies. It seems to Riggs that authoritarianism involves a rigid adherence to one of several alternative ways of life in the face of challenges. In the 1970s and 1980s the development problems were being re-conceptualised in various ways. Rather than looking at growth as a measure of development, meeting basic human needs, equitable distribution of socio-economic benefits, and people's empowerment are now being increasingly looked upon as development goals. Alternative development models have hardly been applied in reality. In the Human Development Report of 1996, it was revealed that third world was suffering from increasing disparities between rich and poor and there was a marked degradation in human development situation. The report talked about the failure of the government to lay stress on structure and quality of development, leading to lop-sided growth. Employment situation did not improve as per expectation. Gender empowerment was still to achieve desired pace.

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Key elements in contemporary development approaches, reflected in the thinking of Rogers, Korten and Klaus, Bjur Bryant

and White were a)

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Greater equality in distribution of development benefits, b) Popular participation, knowledge sharing and empowerment to facilitate self- development efforts by individuals, groups and communities c) Self reliance and independence in development, emphasising the

potential of local resources. d)

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Integration of 'appropriate' technology with 'big' modern technologies in order to facilitate development. 3.9

Summary

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The term "Development Administration" came into use in the 1950s to represent those aspects of public administration and those changes in Public Administration, which are needed to carry out policies, projects, and programs to improve social and economic conditions

of the countries which

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achieved independence and political autonomy. This new status gave promise of freedom and liberty and self-determination 93 in political systems of representative democracy. It gave hope of greater individual freedom and of

higher national and per capita income, a rapid rise in standards of living, and an increase in individual opportunity.

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Even in countries which had not been colonies but had been administered by some other form of authoritarian government, this was a generation of rising and insistent expectations pressing for rapid political, social, and economic change.

The functions and the problems of administration in developing countries were seen to be radically different from those in industrialized Western countries. The only approach which could explain the differences was the study of ecology, which emerged as an interdisciplinary approach to the study of Public Administration. Visions of Political Science, Economics, History, Sociology, Psychology, and Anthropology were to be synthesized. The questions that comparative Public Administration then asked were: How do differences in political, economic, social and cultural environment affect the way administration is conducted? And how, in turn, does administrative action affect the society in which it plays a part? The outcome was ecological study of Public Administration, a study of the interrelation of administration and all the aspects. The Ecological school challenged the planned and managed transformation of the technological- managerial school. The former insisted on connecting the organisational structures to other social structures. It resulted into the idea that sociological context of administration is more relevant than mere organisational change and personnel manipulation. The development perspective of Public Administration can be credited to the American administrative theory and their contributions to the Comparative Public Administration in the establishment of a base for the latter. Thus the purpose here is to make an attempt to explain newly emergent phenomena or newly recognised problems transgressing the boundaries of the classical Public Administration. With an intent to overcome such gap in administrative theory,

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the concept of Development Administration was introduced by Weidner, and stressed by Riggs, among others.

In some ways or the other each period of analysis exhibits limitations to the analysis of problems addressed in the later stage of development of the discipline. This approach of analysis saw the emergence of the concept of Development Administration mainly after the World War II due to the problems faced by the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America which emancipated itself from the colonial rule in 1940s. 3.10 References Riggs, Fred Warren, Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic Society, Houghton Mifflin, 1964.

94

Painandiker, V. A. and Kshirsagar, S. S, Bureaucracy and Development Administration, New Delhi, Centre for Policy Research, 1978

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W

Rethinking Development Administration and Remembering Fred W. Riggs, International Review of Administrative Sciences

December 201076: 767-773. 3.11 Sample questions 1) Write an essay on the genesis of development administration 2) Discuss the scope of development administration. 3) Bring out the relationship between development administration and ecology. 4) How did CAG contribute to the understanding of development administration? 5) Highlight the features of development administration. 6) Write a critical note on the context and content of ecological approach to administration. 3.12 Select Readings PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION - MOHIT BHATTACHARYA, world press, 1999, (pp.129-147 for F. Riggs) PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND THE STATE: PRABHAT DATTA, UPPAL PUBLISHING HOUSE, 1989, (PP. 147-163,178-205) JANA PRASASHAN: TATTO 0 PRYOG: SOMA GHOSH, Progressive,(2010) ch. 2, Part -1) DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA by V.P. VARMA, Minerva Ass., 1972(pp. 91-134 for Dev. Admn. in India) PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION - STRUCTURE, PROCESS AND BEHAVIOUR, MOHIT BHATTACHARYA, world press, 1987,(pp.274-289) PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: A READER: ED. BY BIDYUT CHAKRABARTY AND MOHIT BHATTACHARYA (pg.101-133 for Riggs) ADMINISTRATIVE THEORIES AND MANAGEMENT THOUGHT: RK. SAPRU, Prentice Hall, 2008, (pg. 252-267, 472-483) BUREAUCRACY & DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION—M. BHATTACHARYA

95 Unit 4 PUBLIC CHOICE THEORY AND POLICY ANALYSIS Structure – Unit 4 (a) 4.1 Objectives 4.2 Introduction to Public Choice Theory 4.3 Emergence and Growth of Public Choice Literature 4.4 Public Choice Theory - A Conceptual Framework 4.5 Conclusion 4.6 summary 4.7 References 4.8 Sample Questions 4.9 Select Readings Structure – Unit 4 (b) 4.10 Introduction to Policy Analysis 4.11 Growth of the Study of Policy Analysis 4.12 Policy Analysis- A Conceptual Note 4.12.1 Approaches to the Understanding of Policy Analysis 4.12.2 Models of Policy Analysis 4.13 Conclusion 4.14 summary 4.15 References 4.16 Sample Questions 4.17 Select Readings

96 4.1 Objectives The objective here is to provide an introduction to public choice theory and the ways in which it analyses the policy processes of advanced liberal democratic states. The content focuses mainly on institutional public choice and organisational policy analysis. The emphasis is on introducing key concepts. By the end of the content you should be able: • to demonstrate a working knowledge regarding concept and growth of public choice theory, • to critically evaluate and apply the core arguments of public choice theory, • to examine the assumptions of policy process and policy analysis. Unit 4(a) POLICY ANALYSIS 4.2 Introduction to

Public Choice Theory Public choice theory is the use of modern economic tools to study problems of constitutional democracy, traditionally the province of political science.

Public choice theory attempts to look at governments from the perspective of the bureaucrats and politicians who compose them, and makes the assumption that they act based on Budget-maximising model in a self-interested way for the purpose of maximising their own economic benefits.

One way to organise the subject matter studied by Public Choice theorists is to begin with the foundations of government itself. According to this procedure, the most fundamental subject is the origin of government.

The study of how legislatures make decisions and how various constitutional rules can constrain legislative decisions is a major sub-field in Public Choice. Another major sub-field is the study of bureaucracy.

A field that is closely related to Public Choice is "rent-seeking." This field combines the study of a market economy with that of government. Thus, one might regard it as a "new political economy." Its basic thesis is that when both a market economy and government are present, government agents are a source of numerous special market privileges.

When such privileges are granted, they reduce the efficiency of the economic system. In addition, the rentseekers use resources that could otherwise be used to produce goods that are valued by consumers. Rent-seeking is broader than Public Choice in that it applies to autocracies as well as democracies and, therefore, is not directly concerned with collective decision-making. However, the obvious pressures it exerts on legislators, executives, 97 bureaucrats, and even judges are factors that Public Choice must account for in its effort to understand and assess collective decision-making rules and institutions. 4.3

Emergence and Growth of Public Choice Literature

The modern literature in Public Choice began with Duncan Black, who in 1948 identified the underlying concepts of what would become median voter theory. He also wrote *The Theory of Committees and Elections* (1958). Gordon Tullock (1987, p. 1040) referred to him as the "father of public choice theory." James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock of George Mason University, coauthored *The Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy* (1962), that founded the discipline of public choice theory. Kenneth Arrow's *Social Choice and Individual Values* (1951) influenced formulation of the theory.

Among other important works are Anthony Downs's *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957) and Mancur Olson's *The Logic of Collective Action* (1965). Development of public choice theory was

accelerated with the formation of the Public Choice Society in the United States in 1965.

Though it emerged in the fifties, it received widespread public attention in 1986, when James Buchanan, one of its two leading architects (the other was his colleague Gordon Tullock), was awarded the Nobel Prize in economics.

The theory aimed to apply economic analysis to the political decision-making process in order to reveal certain systematic trends towards inefficient government policies.

The

Austrian variants of Public Choice theory suggested by Mises, Hayek, Kirzner, and Boettke assumed that bureaucrats and politicians are benevolent but have access to limited information.

Positive public choice theory focused on the question of what government policies are likely to be implemented in a given political setting, while normative Public Choice theory considered what policies would produce a desirable outcome if they were implemented.

A predecessor of modern public choice theory was the work of Knut Wicksell (1896), which treated government as political exchange, a quid pro quo, in formulating a benefit principle linking taxes and expenditures. Modern Public-Choice theory has been dated from the work of Duncan Black, sometimes called "the founding father of public choice". In a series of papers from 1948, which culminated in the compilation of *The Theory of Committees and Elections* (1958), and later, Black outlined a program of unification toward a more general "Theory of Economic and Political Choices" based on common formal methods.

98 There were many other contributors like

Kenneth 1. Arrow's

Social Choice and Individual Values (1951) influenced formulation of the theory.

Among other important works

were those of Anthony Downs (1957), who wrote

An Economic Theory of Democracy and of Mancur Olson (1965), who wrote *The Logic of Collective Action*.

James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock coauthored *The Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy* (1962),

which was considered as one of the landmarks in public choice. The book focused on positive-economic analysis as to the development of constitutional democracy but in an ethical context of consent. James Buchanan, (winner of the Nobel Prize in Economic Science, 1986, for work in Public Choice) and Gordon Tullock are actually credited for being the primary developers of Public Choice Theory, in modern sense of term. Their book, *Calculus of Consent*, published in 1962, is still considered the classic piece on this subject. To quote a couple of interesting passages: Tullock and Buchanan considered themselves to be simply taking the tools of economics, looking at something like the structure of American politics in the way James Madison had envisioned it. It was clearly not a majoritarian democracy, based on the parliamentary mode, which concerned them; rather it was a sort of a constitutional structure. They started analysing the Constitution from an economic point of view. There were other people who analysed particular voting rules, like majority voting, but they put that in a constitutional structure and provided an argument for choices among voting rules. Their presentations were in modern economic terms.

4.4 Public Choice Theory – Conceptual Framework

Public Choice is referred to as a branch of economics that developed from the study of taxation and public spending. It is more frequently being used as an approach to political science, because

it does not try to explain how the economy works, rather

it tries to explore how politics and government using the methods and tools of economics. Economists who study behavior in the private marketplace assume that people are motivated mainly by self-interest.

Public choice takes the same principles that economists use to analyse people's actions in the marketplace and applies them to people's actions in collective decision making.

Public Choice applies the methods of economics to the theory and practice of

99 politics and government. This approach has given us important insights into the nature of democratic decision-making.

Public Choice is about applying these simple economic concepts to the study of how collective choices are made - applying them to such things as the framing and workings of constitutions, parliaments, committees, election mechanisms, political parties, interest groups, lobbying, bureaucracy, and other parts of the governmental machinery and system. For example, decision regarding raising property taxes to build a new road is both economics and political decision making. Both involve a choice between costs and benefits, which is not as simple as calculation of financial costs and social and political benefit. In public choices, the benefited people (e.g. the road's users) are not always the people who bear the cost (e.g. inhabitants of the place, who are ultimately displaced). In politics, by contrast, the minority

are forced to accept the decision of the majority, and bear whatever sacrifices that collective choice demands.

Post-war 'welfare' economists tried hard to measure the costs and benefits of policy proposals such as new roads or airports, and to identify how 'social welfare' might be increased and maximised by the right choices to

be made logically and rationally, by enlightened and impartial officials, pursuing the public interest.

This work, they believed, would inform and improve public decision-making. Public Choice theorists accepted that collective decisions are needed for some tasks. Often these are guided by self interest. Buchanan, with his co-author Gordon Tullock, suggested

that legislators, officials and voters all use the political process to advance their private interests, just as they do in the marketplace. They lamented that political decisions, far from being made efficiently and dispassionately in pursuit of the 'public interest', could well be less efficient, less rational and more vulnerable to manipulation by vested interests.

Buchanan and Tullock began with the view that a collective decision, that is, a decision in the public interest-would be one that all voters would support unanimously. While unanimity is largely unworkable in practice, the book effectively challenged the widespread assumption that majority decisions are inherently fair. The approach reflected in *The Calculus of Consent* has led to a further subdiscipline of public choice, "constitutional economics," which focuses exclusively on the rules that precede parliamentary or legislative decision making and limit the domain of government. Public Choice theorists believe that people may base some of their actions on their concern for others, but

the dominant motive in people's actions in the marketplace as employers or employees or consumers is a concern for them. Public

Public choice economists assume that people acting in the political marketplace have some concern for others, but their main motive, either as voters or politicians or lobbyists or bureaucrats, is self-interest. Public choice theory does not provide for an analysis that treats governments as agents to maximise some sort of welfare function for society and not as economic agents, such as those in business. In contrast, public choice theory views government as made up of officials who, besides pursuing the public interest, might act to benefit themselves. To streamline bureaucracies, Gordon Tullock and William Niskanen have recommended allowing several bureaus to supply the same service on the grounds that the resulting competition will improve efficiency. Public Choice economists point out that like 'market failure' in economics, there can be 'government failure'. The government intervention does not achieve the desired effect for several reasons. One of the chief findings of public choice theory is that the lack of incentives for voters to monitor government effectively leads to gross failure of government. Anthony Downs, in one of the earliest public choice books, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, pointed out that the voter is largely ignorant of political issues and that this ignorance is rational. Even though the result of an election may be very important, an individual's vote rarely decides an election. Thus, the voter has virtually no chance to determine the outcome of the election directly. So the voter may think that spending time for the electoral issues is not personally worthwhile for him. Public choice economists point out that in the private sector the people cannot afford to be ignorant. Before buying a car, a customer wants to be well informed about the car selected by him. That is because the car buyer's choice is decisive—he or she pays only for the one chosen. If the choice is wise, the buyer will benefit; if it is unwise, the buyer will suffer directly. Voting lacks that kind of direct result. Therefore, most voters are largely ignorant about the positions of the electoral candidates. Except for a few highly publicised issues, they hardly pay any attention to daily business of the government institutions. Public Choice economists also examine the motives and actions of legislators. Although legislators are expected to pursue the "public interest" using public resources, i.e., the resources provided by taxpayers. Politicians may intend to spend taxpayers' money wisely. Efficient decisions, however, will neither save their own money nor give them any proportion of the wealth they save for citizens. There is no direct reward for fighting powerful interest groups in order to confer benefits on a public that is not even aware of the benefits or of provider of benefit. Thus, the incentives for good management in the public interest are weak. In contrast, interest

101 groups are organised by people with very strong gains to be made from governmental action. They provide politicians with campaign funds and campaign workers. In return they often gain support for their goals. Public Choice theorists rely more on local governments. According to them, it will reduce the budgets. Public choice economists have also tried to develop rule changes that will reduce legislation that caters to special interests and leads to ever-expanding government expenditures. In the late eighties James C. Miller, a public choice scholar who headed the Office of Management and Budget during the Reagan Administration, helped pass the Gramm-Rudman law, which set a limit on annual spending and backed it with automatic cuts if the ceiling was not met. The law had at least a temporary effect in reducing expenditure. In addition to providing insight into how public decision making occurs today, public choice analyses the rules that guide the collective decision-making process itself. These are the constitutional rules that are made before political activity gets underway. Consideration of these rules was the core of *The Calculus of Consent*, by James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock, one of the classics of public choice. The microeconomic approach has led to a variety of contributions under the rubric of public choice theory that show how individual interests influence both marketplace and public policy outcomes. For example, self-interested bureaucratic actors maximise their budgets, as Niskanen predicted (1971), and citizens form clubs to collectively provide some forms of public goods, according to Buchanan (1965). The plausibility of social welfare functions has been challenged by Arrow (1951) on logical grounds, because under reasonable assumptions it is possible to show that any democratic aggregation process leads to inconsistent and unstable results. Collective decision-making mechanisms are inadequate or flawed; neither markets nor politics on their own serve us adequately. Market imperfections have deep impacts, with monopoly power, public goods, externalities and information problems being the most severe weaknesses. Government failures also impose limitations on democratic decision making. Bureaucratic self-interest can encourage agents within government to maximise their budgets or allow regulatory agencies to be captured. Democratic decision making according to "reasonable" criteria can become arbitrary and unstable, as Arrow was afraid of (1951). Arrow presented an impossibility theorem for the existence of social welfare functions, with the given criteria of collective rationality, independence of irrelevant alternatives, and non-dictatorship. He showed that society's preferences do not exhibit collective rationality and do not aggregate individual preferences

102 consistently. Formal democratic decision-making mechanisms thus need to be supplemented sometimes. Modern microeconomic theory now explicitly acknowledges both the independence and interdependence of decision makers. Theory now has much to say about the importance of rules and access to information, pinpointing conditions leading to stable, efficient, and sometimes, equitable outcomes. Equally important, an emerging emphasis on collection of experimental evidence has made microeconomics a more realistic behavioral science. 4.5 Conclusion Public Choice economics is having a powerful impact on Political Science.

It led to some major rethinking of the very nature of elections, legislatures and bureaucracies; it also raised questions as to

whether the political process can claim to be in any way superior to the market process.

It raised issues regarding, especially the prospect of minorities being exploited by coalitions of interest groups. Some Public Choice theorists advocated strong constitutional restraints on government and the political process.

There is no single 'public interest' anyway. We live in a world of value-pluralism: different people have different values and different interests. Competition between competing interests is inevitable. This makes it vital to study how such competing interests and demands are resolved by the political process.

Some of the public choice theorists are viewed as conservative or libertarian economists, as opposed to more "liberal" (that is, interventionist) wings such as Keynesian economics. Some others reflect dissatisfaction with the implicit assumption, held by Keynesians and some believe that government effectively corrects market failures. 4.6 Summary There is a popular stream of economics called Public Choice theory, that analyses the political developments in an economy. It applies economic tools to understand the various issues within the political system.

It studies the behavior of voters, politicians, and government officials and their interactions in the social system.

The theory was developed by James Buchanan Jr. and Gordon Tullock (both of George Mason University) and former got a Nobel Prize for his effort in 1986. The

103 theory just like classical economics assumes politicians and bureaucrats as rational agents. By rational it means they try to maximise their interests first and produce goods for others as a by-product. The theory suggests that a businessman would prioritise those decisions which lead to higher profits, and the politician would make policies that maximise his chances of winning the next election. By using economic theory

to explore how government decisions are made, Public Choice theory helped us to understand this market based collective decision making process, to identify problems such as the self-interest of particular groups and the potential exploitation of coerced minorities.

Voters, lobby groups, politicians and officials, aiming to maximise the outcome they personally desire, for minimum effort. Public choice theorists showed that the well-developed tools of economics - such as profit and loss, price and efficiency - can be used to analyse politics too. It pointed out that there is 'government failure' too. Political decision-making is not a dispassionate pursuit of the 'public interest', but can involve a struggle between different personal and group interests. 4.7

References Black, Duncan, *The Theory of Committees and Elections*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958
Downs, Anthony, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Cambridge: York: Cambridge University Press, 1957. Mueller, Dennis C., *Public Choice II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. Niskanen, W. A., "Bureaucracy." In Charles K. Rowley (Ed.), *Democracy and Public Choice*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987. Buchanan, .Tames M., and Gordon Tullock. *The Calculus of Consent*, 1962. Downs, Anthony. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, 1957. Gwartney, .Tames D., and Richard L. Stroup. *Economics: Private and Public Choice*, 6th ed. Especially chaps. 4,30. 1992. Gwartney, .Tames D., and Richard E. Wagner, eds., *Public Choice and Constitutional Economics*. 1988. Henderson, David R. ".Tames Buchanan and Company." *Reason*, November 1987: 37-43.

104 4.8 Sample Questions 1. Write a note on the emergence and periodic growth of Public Choice Theory. 2. Examine the context which led to the emergence of Public Choice Theory. 3. Comment on the opinion that ' Public Choice applies the methods of economics to the theory and practice of politics and government...'. 4. Critically explain the Public Choice Theory. 5. Public choice economists point out that like 'market failure' in Economics, there can be 'government failure'. How did Public Choice theorists explain 'market failure? 4.9 Select Readings Arora, R., *Public Administration--Fresh Perspectives*, New Delhi, Aalekh Publishers, 2004. Basu, Rajasree, *Jana Prasashan-- (Bengali)- Paschim Banga Rajya Pustak Parshad*, 2005 Chakraborty, Bidyut, *Reinventing Public Administration-The Indian Experience*, Hyderabad, Orient Longman, 2007 Ghosh, Soma, *Jana Prasashan: Tatto 'O' Pryog*, Kolkata, Progressive, 2012. Henry, Nicholas, *Public Administration and Public Affairs*, New Delhi, PHI Learning Pvt. Ltd., 2010. Sapru, R.K., *Administrative Theories and Management Thought*, New Delhi, Prentice Hall, 2008.

105 Unit 4(b) □□□□□

POLICY ANALYSIS 4. 10 Introduction A policy is a plan of action adopted by, for example, an individual, group, business or government following some kind of formal decisions. Public policy is the formal or stated decisions and actions of government bodies.

An academic expression of this intellectual leaning is the present orientation of public policy research, which is designed to provide possible solutions to political problems.

The policy process relates to mechanisms through which government policy is made; it links intentions, meaning what government says it will do - to actions, i.e., what government actually does - to results, implying

the consequences or impact of government action on society. Policy consists of the output of the political process and reflects the ability of government to adopt policies for better or worse.

There are three parts of public policy

process : a) the evaluation of current conditions and policy; b) the decision-making process, key element being

effectiveness and efficiency; c) analysis of the effects of these decisions on the society and determining points of responsibility.

Four theories are there to help us understand the policy process under different situations : a)

Rational actor models which highlight human rationality act as the basis for public choice theories; these models also focus on economic man, in terms of

the self-interested pursuit of material satisfaction calculated in terms of utility; these models

seek full information. b) Incremental models: Pioneering work representing incremental models, is the 'science of muddling through' (Lindblom 1959); according to

these models decisions are made with inadequate information and low levels of understanding; so decision-makers are cautious, use exploratory process; but they hardly have any clear cut goal or vision

c) Bureaucratic organisation models: these models highlight impact of the values and assumptions and patterns of behaviour found in large organisations on decisions.

106 d) Belief system models: they emphasise role of beliefs and ideology and thus argue that decisions are structured by perception, which is determined by the concepts and values they use or hold.

Policy analysis answer following questions - Who gets what? Why? What difference it makes in politics? What policies do governments pursue? Why do governments pursue the policies? What are the consequences of the policies? Policy analysis tends to focus on the 'how' of government - the way in which policy is made - rather than what of government - the substance of policy itself and its consequences.

It is understood as a mechanical process of responding to articulated wants (preferences) by aggregating them rather than responding to wants and needs by evaluating

them in the light of other human needs and goods. The understanding of the policy process helps us to solve the question as to what extent government decisions are responding to citizens' wants or determine their needs. 4.11

Growth of the Study of Policy Analysis

The study of policy (either in review or in planning new policy initiatives) is probably as ancient as the study of humankind; certainly a good case can be made that the Gita, Koran or Bible (especially the Old Testament) are at least partially an exercise in policy analysis (with, of course, one very major exogenous actor); Barbara Tuchman's *The March Of Folly* (1984) uses the Trojan War and the American War for Independence as illustrations of policy activities from which she gleans contemporary lessons. Machiavelli's *The Prince* is a glaring example of policy analysis in his attempt to show path for creating a unified Italy. While the study of politics has a long history, the systematic study of public policy, on the other hand, can be said to be a twentieth century creation. It dates, according to Daniel McCool, to 1922, when political scientist Charles Merriam sought to connect the theory and practices of politics to understanding the actual activities of government, that is public policy" (

McCool, Daniel C., 1995, p.4). But the systematic study of public policy began in the 20th century America. The study was initiated with the intention to apply

its lessons to become instrumental in policy change and learning.

Harold D. Lasswell and his colleagues, such as Daniel

107 Lerner, Myres McDougal, and Abraham Kaplan were the progenitors of the policy sciences in the early 1950s; this movement was strengthened by the 1970s with the founding of several public policy schools.

Recent developments in the public policy discipline are rooted in the work of Harold Lasswell and based on the theories of William James, Charles Pierce, and particularly John Dewey.

Policy Analysis is frequently deployed in the public sector, but is equally applicable to other kinds of organisations. Policy analysis has its roots in systems analysis as instituted by United States Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara during the Vietnam War. 4.12 Policy Analysis : A Conceptual Note

Policy analysis can be defined as the rational or technical assessment of the net marginal trade-offs between different policy choices.

Merely setting forth the marginal costs and benefits of a range of choices is identified as policy analysis. Selecting one balanced choice or a range from within the possibilities can be called policy formation. The decision regarding final choice or choices is policy decision and performing the market analysis needed for that is political analysis.

The understanding of the policy process highlights some normative considerations: —

for example financial educational assistance can be distributed either to students directly or to institutions; if the government wants to distribute it to students on the basis of need, government requires access to financial information from each individual applying for the same.

A truly refined policy analysis tells about the net marginal gain. But no such analysis, no matter how refined, will tell about the worthiness of the gain. A market analysis and a market decision are required to focus on the issue. As "Policy" implies "polity" and "politics", political analysis and a political decision may answer the question. Along with the question regarding

111 The policy process approach puts its focal point onto political processes and involved stakeholders; its scope is wider than micro-scale and its problem interpretation is usually of a political nature. It aims at determining what processes and means are used and tries to explain the role and influence of stakeholders within the policy process. By changing the relative power and influence of certain groups (e.g., enhancing public participation and consultation), solutions to problems may be identified. The policy process of policy analysis is political centered. It analyses the proposed policy in terms of political viability. The meta-policy approach is a systems and context approach; i.e., its scope is the macro-scale and its problem interpretation is usually of a structural nature. It aims at explaining the contextual factors of the policy process; i.e., what are the political, economic and socio-cultural factors influencing it. As problems may result because of structural factors, solutions may entail changing the structure itself. It tries to balance the power participation in the proposed policy. The meta-policy analysis approach is a macroscale in nature. This policy analysis has a broad perspective in tailoring the policy development process. It looks into the structural components impacting on the policy development process. For example, so far as political, economic and social cultural impacts of the policy are concerned, it is consequently modified to be fit properly in all the structural components after evaluation of the structural dynamics of the policy. In general, the purpose of policy analysis is to identify the problems that may exist in the development process of a policy and eliminate them to make the policy better.

4.12.2 MODELS OF POLICY ANALYSIS

Many models exist to analyse the creation and application of public policy. Analysts use these models to identify important aspects of policy, as well as explain and predict policy and its consequences. Some models are:

Institutional model Institutional model of policy analysis focuses on the traditional organization of government and describes the duties and arrangements of bureaus and departments. It considers constitutional provisions, administrative and common law, and judicial decisions. It focuses on formal arrangements. Government institutions give public policy three distinctive characteristics: legitimacy (legal obligations), universality (to all people), coercion (to punish violators, to command loyalty of all citizens, to enact policies, to use force). Traditionally, the institutional approach did not devote much attention to the linkages between the institutional arrangements (the structure of government institutions) and the content of public policy. The impact of institutional arrangements on public policy is an empirical question. We may discover that both structure and policy are largely determined by social and economic forces. In its different variants, the neo-institutionalist approach is the main explanatory framework for comparative public policy analysis. It is now common to use institutional variables as independent variables to explain policy variation across countries, between different policy areas or over time. Whilst in an early stage of neo-institutionalism the major emphasis was on institutional emergence, recently there has been progress in accounting also for institutional change and evolution over time.

Process model Policy creation is a process following these steps:

- Identification of a problem and demand for government action.
- Agenda setting
- Formulation of policy proposals by various sections (e.g., legislative committees, think tanks, interest groups political parties).
- Selection and enactment of policy; this is known as Policy Legitimation.
- Implementation of the chosen policy.
- Evaluation of policy.

This model, however, has been criticised for being overly linear and simplistic. In reality, stages of the policy process may overlap or never happen. Also, this model fails to take into account the multiple factors attempting to influence the process itself as well as each other, and also fails to focus on the complexity this entails.

The rational model of decision-making is a process for making sound decisions in policy making in the public sector, although the model is also widely used in private corporations. There are two sources of the rational approach: the economic rationality, and bureaucratic rationality. Herbert A. Simon, the father of rational models, describes rationality as "a style of behavior that is appropriate to the achievement of given goals, within the limits imposed by given conditions and constraints".

113 Rational models are intended to achieve maximum social gain. For this purpose, Simon identifies an outline of a step by step mode of analysis to achieve rational decisions. Ian Thomas describes Simon's steps as follows: 1. Intelligence gathering - data and potential problems and opportunities are identified, collected and analysed 2. Identifying problems 3. Assessing the consequences of all options 4. Relating consequences to values - with all decisions and policies there will be a set of values which will be more relevant (for example, economic feasibility and environmental protection) and which can be expressed as a set of criteria, against which performance (or consequences) of each option can be judged. 5. Choosing the preferred option - given the full understanding of all the problems and opportunities, all the consequences and the criteria for judging options. In similar lines, Wiktorowicz and Deber describe through their study on 'Regulating biotechnology: a rational-political model of policy development' the rational approach to policy development. The main steps involved in making a rational decision for these authors are the following: 1. The comprehensive organisation and analysis of the information 2. The potential consequences of each option 3. The probability that each potential outcome would materialize 4. The value (or utility) placed on each potential outcome. The approach of Wiktorowicz and Deber is similar to Simon and they assert that the rational model tends to deal with "the facts" (data, probabilities) in steps 1 to 3, leaving the issue of assessing values to the final step. According Wiktorowicz and Deber values are introduced in the final step of the rational model, where the utility of each policy option is assessed. Patton and Sawicki summarised that the rational model involves following courses: 1. Defining the problem by analysing the data and the information gathered, 2. determining the relevant factors to take into account when to make the 114 decision and identifying the decision criteria that will be important in solving the problem, 3. generating a brief list of the possible alternatives that succeed to resolve the problem, 4. a critical analyses and evaluation of each criterion is brought through. For example strength and weakness tables of each alternative are drawn and used for comparative basis. The decision maker then weights the previously identified criteria in order to give the alternative policies a correct priority in the decision. 5. The decision-maker evaluates each alternative against the criteria and selects the preferred alternative. 6. The policy is brought through. In applying deductive reasoning, rational choice explanations of policy outcomes advance through first establishing sets of propositions and statements about real world phenomena and the rational behavior of individuals, and then testing these propositions through comparison with events and the actual behavior of actors. The model of rational decision-making has also proven to be very useful to several decision making processes in industries outside the public sphere. Nonetheless, many criticism of the model arise due to claim of the model being impractical and lying on unrealistic assumptions. For instance, it is a difficult model to apply in the public sector because social problems can be very complex, ill-defined and interdependent. Linear thinking procedure and over simplification can create problems while dealing with extra ordinary problems or social problems. The process of identifying a suitably comprehensive decision criteria set is also vulnerable to being skewed by pressures arising at the political interface. The problems faced when using the rational model arise in practice because social and environmental values can be difficult to quantify and the assumptions stated by Simon are never fully comprehensible in a real world context. Thomas Dye states the rational model provides a good perspective since in modern society rationality plays a central role and everything that is rational tends to be prized. Rational policy analysis highlights the need to understand which factors should be considered as part of the decision making process. At this part of the process, all the economic, social, and environmental factors that are important to the policy

115 decision need to be identified and then expressed as policy decision criteria. For example, the decision criteria used in the analysis of environmental policy is often a mix of-

- Ecological impacts - such as biodiversity, water quality, air quality, habitat quality, species population, etc.
- Economic efficiency - commonly expressed as benefits and costs.
- Distributional equity - how policy impacts are distributed amongst different demographics. Factors that can affect the distribution of impacts include location, ethnicity, income, and occupation.
- Social/Cultural acceptability - the extent to which the policy action may be opposed by current social norms or cultural values.
- Operational practicality - the capacity required to actually operationalize the policy. For example,
- Legality - the potential for the policy to be implemented under current legislation versus the need to pass new legislation that accommodates the policy.
- Uncertainty - the degree to which the level of policy impacts can be known. Some criteria, such as economic benefit, will be more easily measurable or definable, while others such as environmental quality will be harder to measure or express quantitatively. Ultimately though, the set of decision criteria needs to embody all of the policy goals, and overemphasising the more easily definable or measurable criteria, will have the undesirable impact of biasing the analysis towards a subset of the policy goals. The process of identifying suitably comprehensive decision criteria set is also vulnerable to being skewed by pressures arising at the political interface. Decision makers may tend to give more weight to policy impacts that are concentrated, tangible, certain, and immediate than to impacts that are diffuse, intangible, uncertain, and delayed. Rational model is also known as Weberian model because, Max Weber, a German sociologist, constituted a rational mechanism for analysis of public policy. Rational model deals with choosing a policy from a variety of policy options, and the chosen policy is the one that is designed to maximize net value achievement. Thomas Dye defines rational policy as the policy of efficiency, "a policy is rational," he says,

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when the difference between the values it achieves and the value it sacrifices is positive and greater than any other policy alternative."

Rational-choice theory both alerts us to the importance of self-interest as a motivating force in politics and policymaking, and provides a better understanding of decision-making processes. Many contend, however, that politics is not nearly as devoid of altruism and concern for the public interest as the rational-choice theorists assume.

Group model

According to the group theory of politics, public policy is the product of the group struggle.

The political system's role is to establish and enforce compromise between various, conflicting interests in society. Group theory rests on the contention that interaction and struggle among groups are the central facts of political life. A group is a collection of individuals that may, on the basis of shared attitudes or interests, make claims upon other groups in society. It becomes a political interest group when it makes a claim through or upon any of the institutions of government. A policy is formed as a result of forces and pressures from influential groups. A central concept in group theory is that of access. To have influence and to be able to help shape governmental decisions, a group must have access, or the opportunity to express its viewpoints to decision-makers. Pressure groups are informally co-opted into the policy making process. Regulatory agencies are captured by those they are supposed to regulate. No one group is dominant all the time on all issues. However, from a methodological perspective, it is misleading and inefficient to try to explain politics and policymaking solely in terms of interests and the group struggle. This bias leads to neglect of many other factors, such as ideas and institutions, which abound and which independently affect the development of policy.

Elite model Policy is a reflection of the interests of those individuals within a society that have the most power, rather than the demands of the mass. Elites shape mass opinion on policy questions more than masses shape elite opinion. Violence, repression, mass disorders involve elite response or Elite-Mass interaction for a resolution of such situations. Generally it involves the decision makers, i.e., the dominant class and limited input of members of the elitist sections of the society. The elite model of public policy is based on exclusionary factors

117 because policy making takes place with limited participation of the privileged stakeholders. In addition to the problems of disorder in the society, the participants can also discuss this model to deal with other areas such as housing, poverty, health, and education. Approached from the perspective

of elite theory, public policy can be regarded as reflecting the values and preferences of a governing elite. The essential argument of elite theory is that public policy is not determined by the demands and actions of the people or the "masses" but rather by

a ruling elite whose preferences are carried into effect by public officials and agencies.

Professors Thomas Dye and Harmon Zeigler provide a summary of elite theory: 1. Society is divided into few groups who have power and the many who do not. Only a small number of persons allocate values for society; the masses do not decide public policy. 2. The few who govern are not typical of the masses who are governed. Elites are drawn disproportionately from the upper socioeconomic strata of society. 3. The movement of non-elites to elite positions must be slow and continuous to maintain stability and avoid revolution. Only non-elites who have accepted the basic elite consensus can be admitted to governing circles. 4. Elites share a consensus on the basic values of the social system and the preservation of the system. 5. Public policy does not reflect demands of the masses but rather the prevailing values of the elite. Changes in public policy will be incremental.

Six-step model 1. Verify, define and detail the problem 2. Establish evaluation criteria 3. Identify alternative policies 4. Evaluate alternative policies 5. Display and distinguish among alternative policies 6. Monitor the implemented policy. 118 Generally the steps involved in the entire policy process can be drawn as follows: A person should avoid becoming too dogmatically or rigidly bound to one model or approach. As a rule it is desirable to be eclectic and flexible, using those theories and concepts that seem most useful for the satisfactory and fair-minded description and explanation of political inquiry. The goal should be the objective explanation of political behavior rather than the validation of a preferred theoretical approach. Generally accepted notion of policy analysis can be projected as follows: Policy evaluation Problem recognition Identification of possible solutions Desired objectives Inputs Processes Outputs Outcomes Policy Choice of best solution Policy Termination Implementation 1 Define the Problem 6 Implement the Preferred Policy 5 Select the Preferred Policy 4 Evaluate Alternative Policies 3 Identify Alternative Policies 2 Determine Evaluation Criteria

119 Policy analysis includes: 1. An inventory or search phase, limited in scope and directed at a particular issue. 2. A constrained search for alternatives, which are then all usually evaluated and displayed to the client. 3. The preparation of memoranda, issue papers, policy papers, or draft legislation. 4. A particular client, be it a chief executive, an elected official, a public interest group, a neighborhood, or a bank, likely to have a particular perspective on the problem. 5. An issue or problem orientation, described alternatively as a reactive posture. 6. A time horizon often compromised by terms of elected officials and uncertainty. 7. A political approach to getting things accomplished. BOUNDED RATIONALITY / SATISFICISING : SIMON

Elements of the rational model are often associated with Herbert Simon and his discussions of rational decision making in Administrative Behavior (late 1940s). Theoretical economist, Herbert Simon, merged the works of Harold Lasswell with his own to build a proposition that altered the notion of comprehensive rationality Simon proposed that humans are controlled by forces that extend beyond pure rationality. He then built the decision theory of bounded rationality upon this foundation.

Simon states that organizational decision-making is what he called satisficing.

That is,

an administrator reaches a decision that is; • satisfactory on the one hand and, • produces benefits that suffices a decision-maker's conditional needs. The term, satisfactory, is reduced to satis and suffice is reduced to ficing. When these terms are placed together they form the term called satisficing.

A decision-maker is limited to the reality of what is actually possible without complete information. That is, total data and information are seldom possible to obtain in a timely manner. Moreover, that same information is manipulated by people at the middle management levels of the organization. By the time the information reaches the policy-makers, it has been changed into a different form. Considering the fact that

120 past decisions impact present reality, and that it is not possible to achieve all possible courses of action and also considering the fact that the boundary of the external environment is limited, humans and organizations cannot function rationally.

In terms of the policy maker (if we can be so simplistic for the sake of discussion) it is limited by: ● Incomplete knowledge and information of the existing situation and the consequences of policy “solutions” ● A cognitive inability of decision makers to consider every possible solution, not only in terms of time and intelligence, but also in terms of values or predisposition (or a willingness to consider only a limited number! type of policy solutions). Lindblom described the rational model (root method)

as one in which a rigorous process is followed in making a decision. First the problem is clearly identified and defined.

Then all alternatives/

options (means)

for dealing with it are articulated. These alternatives and their consequences or outcomes (ends) are rigorously analyzed by means of cost-benefit analysis or some other detailed method. Finally, the single best alternative is chosen and implemented. It is the one alternative that maximizes the values desired. After implementation, evaluation occurs to ensure that what is desired is truly occurring. The process repeats itself. INCREMENTALISM

Lindblom is

one of the early developers and advocates of the theory of Incrementalism in policy and decision-making.

This view (also called Gradualism) takes a “baby-steps”, or “Muddling Through”, approach to decision-making processes.

In it, policy change is, under most circumstances, evolutionary rather than revolutionary. He came to this view through his extensive studies of Welfare policies and Trade Unions throughout the industrialized world.

As described by Lindblom, Incrementalism is a process of “successive limited comparison” (branch method). Instead of evaluating everything all over again, decision makers accept a set of “givens” and go from there.

It is far easier to accept them and simply evaluate the change at the margin from these “givens.” Thus, only the increment of change is evaluated. We can once again bring Simon into the picture. People evaluate the increment until they find something that works, that satisfies or suffices. Simon calls this “satisficing” since the search is not for the 121 single best option, but for one that works and can be agreed upon. Herbert Simon’s “bounded rationality” and other contributions to decision-science divide the past from the future regarding budget decision-making. Simon’s “bounded rationality” provides the basis for our understanding of incremental decision-making, while Lindblom’s “disjointed incrementalism” provided a firm foundation for its evaluation.

Simon identified the existence of “bounded rationality,” while Lindblom built a model of disjointed incrementalism.

Lindblom’s incremental model is incremental, but that an incremental decision using high-understanding was grounded in rational-comprehensive techniques. Now, in this usage both Lindblom and Wildavsky seem to believe that incrementalism reflects the political theory of pluralism—at that time the predominant theory.

There are various actors involved in policy-making and implementation - politicians, bureaucrats, interest groups, and the public at large 1. Because there are many individuals and groups involved in the policy process - there is a lack of consensus on identifying which issues policy should address 2. Divergent views on how goals should be pursued because agreement upon strategy is “possible only to the extent that values are agreed upon” 3. As a result of the various views about ends and means, incrementalism alleges that actors use their political power to negotiate what and how something should be done - bargaining

Although Incrementalism has enjoyed widespread acceptance within political science, it has not spawned a lively research tradition leading to cumulative refinement and amplification of the core concepts. Nor has it provided much guidance for policy making, in part because scholars never attempted to clarify how decision makers could become better incrementalists. This is due in part, we suggest, to the fact that understanding of the concept of “incrementalism” has become extremely muddled, conceivably to the point where the term may have outlived its usefulness; but the problems which motivated the early scholarship remain at the heart of political theory and practice.

Lindblom’s formulation encouraged or allowed a large number of scholars to waste a great deal of time over a matter on which no thoughtful person could possibly disagree.

122 A second criticism holds that Incrementalism is an overly conservative approach, which would tend to neglect basic societal innovations and would limit social scientists’ ability to serve as a source of social innovation.

One of the criticisms of Incrementalism was the possibility that policy trials could produce unbearable errors, before error-correction could occur. While the problem afflicts all decision theories, not just incrementalism, it is well worth addressing. Even in highly uncertain endeavors, it is possible at the outset partly to foresee and protect against some of the worst risks.

However,

Incrementalism provides a framework that builds on Simon's notion of "satisficing." It appears to contribute to our ability to identify or model out of the decision making process. Incrementalism remains the most complete explanation for the public policy decision making process, particularly those relating to budgeting; the incremental model has contributed greatly to our understanding of the way politics and budgets work.

The Incrementalism is more realistic, more focussed on the problem at hand. It is based on trials and error. It is less costly and less disruptive.

SYNTHESIS—MIXED SCANNING In 1968, noted sociologist, Amitai Etzioni, developed an abstract decision model called, mixed scanning. This model represents a protest of the failure of incrementalism to clearly differentiate between functional and nonfunctional decisions.

Mixed scanning was designed to deal simultaneously with a problem or issue from a perspective that was both: • comprehensive, • and incremental. The sequence by which an administrator would approach a problem or issue from a mixed scanning perspective is listed below: The elements of the problem or issue would be: • identified through their respective goals, objective, criteria and standards. • assessed by comparing the respective goals, objectives, criteria and standards among one another. For example, the mixed scanning process can best be understood by relating Etzioni's high altitude weather satellite analogy. Consider the existence of a two camera weather satellite orbiting above the earth's surface. One camera is designed

123 for narrow angle photographs and thereby focusses on specific weather patterns within a narrow land area. The other camera is designed to capture major weather patterns. Analysis of the narrow weather pattern is dependent on its previous discovery by the wide angle camera of the weather system itself. This position enables an administrator to see the weather system's: • size, • location, • and boundaries. In contrast, the wide angle camera is dependent upon the narrow angle camera for a detailed analysis of weather storm centers and related weather activity. Both cameras are mutually dependent upon one another for the transfer of relevant data and information.

Etzioni compares this "mixed scanning" to a satellite scanning the earth by using both a wide-angle and a zoom lens.

"Mixed scanning

model emphasized that

effective environmental scanning requires both general viewing that sweeps the horizon broadly and purposeful searching that probes issues in sufficient detail to provide the kinds of information needed for decision making. 4.13

Conclusion Public policy is determined by political institutions, which give policy legitimacy. Government universally applies policy to all citizens of society and uses force in applying policy. The legislature, executive and judicial branches of government give policy legitimacy. Analysis of government policies is an inexact process wrought with uncertainties. It is, however, an essential segment of social learning and adaptation that brings attention to the complex relationship between decision making and environmental outcomes. Policy analysis is rarely exhaustive and in most cases, cannot be prescriptive.

The academic study of public policy is animated by the desire to solve public problems. Now there is a consensus that social research can and should be relevant to immediate policy concerns. In other words, policy concerns, which are, by definition, public, are proposals for government and social action.

The attempt to unite theory and practice is the unifying characteristic of approaches to policy.

Exploration of the concepts, like

Easton's 'post-behavioralism,' Lindblom's 'disjointed incrementalism,' and Dror's 'prescriptive-preferable policymaking' will focus on the current orientation of policy. Various approaches to policy analysis exist. The Analysis 'of / for' policy is the

124 central approach in social science and educational policy studies which is linked to two different traditions of policy analysis and research frameworks. Between policy analysis, policy formation, policy decision or promulgation, and the political analysis of policy there lie clear differences, and the practices of evaluation and policy research will relate differently to each. The tendency exists to regard these

four activities—analysis, formation, decision, and political analysis—as steps in the policy process. But such a view is misleading, because these activities are never fully discrete in practice and they do not occur in any persistent sequence. Nevertheless, there is a distinction of practice corresponding to each activity, and each practice, moreover; has its distinct kind of theory.

Public policy is both an art and a craft. It is an art because it requires insight, experience, creativity, and imagination in identifying social problems and describing them, in devising public policies that might alleviate them, in finding out whether these policies end up making things better or worse. It is a craft because these tasks usually require some knowledge of economics, political science, public administration, sociology, law, and statistics. Policy analysis is really an applied subfield of all these traditional academic disciplines. There is no any single model or method that is perfectly able to fit all other, or that consistently renders the best solutions to public problems. Policy analysis is one activity for which there can be no fixed program, for policy analysis is synonymous with creativity, which may be stimulated by theory and sharpened by practice, which can be learned but not taught.

Political Analysis: Unlike policy analysis, political analysis is concerned not with determining the net benefits of a given course of action, but with measuring their political weight. The aim is not so much to determine the net social benefits of a particular policy, but to determine its constituency. If policy analysis is concerned with establishing what course of action has greatest worth in the utilities of public goods, then political analysis is concerned with estimating who will vote for it.

It is concerned with determining whether the best thing to do is the same as the best thing that can be done. Often it is not.

The theory of political analysis is the theory of political behavior. • The theory of policy analysis is the theory of marginal utilities. It might rank policy choices according to the estimated net utilities of each. • The theory of policy formation is the theory of inter-agency politics. It is the governmental process by which a course of action comes to be selected and actually framed.

125 • The theory of policy decision is nothing less than the theory of the polity itself, the theory underlying the placement of authority. • Finally, the theory of political analysis is the theory of political behavior. All of these activities together, not as discrete steps in the policy process, but as distinct facets of a social process make it clear about the practices of evaluation and policy research, about the relevance to the creation promulgation and implementation of public policy and about the virtues required for the actors in the socio-political system. 4.14

Summary The study of public policy and policy analysis is now a well established part of Political Science and Public Administration. Public policy

is a course of action adopted and pursued by government. Public policy

refers to the decisions made by government, to a purposive course of action taken by governmental actors in pursuing solutions to perceived problems. Public policy can best be viewed as a process, a set or series of stages through which policy is established and implemented. The policy process consists of a succession of analytical stages. For many years, public administrators were seen as neutral implementors of public policies shaped and designed elsewhere in the democratic process. Since the 1960s, with the growth of public policy analysis, both the policy process itself and the role of Public Administration in it have been reevaluated. 4.15 References Dahl, R., Who Governs? New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961. Dunn, William, Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction, NJ, Prentice Hall, 2003. Dye, Thomas R., Understanding Public Policy (12th ed.), NJ, Prentice Hall, 2007 Ian, Thomas, ed., Environmental Policy: Australian Practice in the Context of Theory. Sydney: Federation Press, 2007

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1. How does the policy process work? 2. What are the objectives of policy? What are the major perspectives for public policy analysis? 3. What is Public Policy Analysis? Are decisions made on the basis of statistical analysis or political situations? Give reasons. 4. Critically discuss the significance of policy analysis in political domain. 5. Write a note on different approaches to policy analysis. 6. Explain the models of policy analysis. 7. Distinguish between political analysis and policy analysis and explain their interrelationship. 8. Identify the basic assumptions and elements of the Rational Choice model of policy analysis. 9. 'A person should avoid becoming too dogmatically or rigidly bound to one model or approach. Comment. 4.17 Select Readings

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World Press, 1999 Ghosh, Soma, Jana Prasashan: Totto '0' Pryog, in Bengali, Kolkata, Progressive, 2012. Henry, Nicholas, Public Administration and Public Affairs, New Delhi, PHI Learning Pvt Ltd, 2010. Sapru, R.K., Administrative Theories and Management, New Delhi, Prentice Hall, 2008 Sapru R.K., Public Policy: Art and Craft of Public Policy Analysis, 2nd Ed., New Delhi, PHI Private Learning Limited, 2011

127 PAPER-VI MODULE-3 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION : Democratic Administration & Good Governance
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129 Unit 1 □□□□□ Good Governance : Meanings and Aims Structure 1.1 Introduction 1.2 From 'Administration' to 'Governance' 1.3 Genesis of the Concept of Good Governance 1.4 Concept of Good Governance 1.5 Different Meanings of Good Governance 1.6 Governance and Civil Society 1.7 Critique of Good Governance 1.8 References 1.9 Sample Questions 1.1 Introduction The terms 'Administration', 'Government' and 'Governance' are related with one another, but there are some differences in the meanings among them. In this Unit, the differences will be noted. Next, the discussion will focus on the concept of 'Good Governance'. This aspect of theoretical discussion is relevant in the study of Political Science. The two core concepts in politics and political science are 'power' and 'state'. It is therefore necessary to understand how power is organised by modern democratic state apparatus to perform its main task of governing in order to serve the interests of the governed. This essential function of democratic state brings the two cognate academic disciplines of political science and public administration closer to each other. Since its advent as an academic discipline separate from political science, public administration theorists identified at different stages of its evolution various concepts as its core concept. The conventional idea in the nineteenth century was that public administration dealing with the organization and functioning of government machinery was merely a sub-field of political science. Woodrow Wilson brought in the concept of politics- administration dichotomy and gave the call for separation of government (public)

130 administration from politics in his famous essay on "The Study of Administration" (1887). This theme was endorsed by Frank Goodnow in his book Politics and Administration (1900) where he argued that politics is concerned with formulation of public policies whereas administration is concerned with execution of public policies. The search for the central concern of Public Administration began seriously at the beginning of the twentieth century. Frederick Taylor, although not professionally associated with Public Administration, suggested some measures to improve efficiency and production in his theory of "scientific management" published in 1910. This theory influenced the management in private sector in the United States. Surprisingly Vladimir Lenin, immediately after Russia's Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, wanted to follow Taylor's scientific management theory in the post-revolution management system in Soviet Union. The next attempt to focus on organizational management was made by Henri Fayol in France. He enunciated in 1916 his famous "fourteen principles" of organizational management. This line of approach for studying administration independently of politics re- appeared in the writings of Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick in the United States in the late 1930's in their theory of POSDCORB (planning, organising, staffing, directing, co-ordinating, reporting and budgeting). Parallel to this theoretical attempt to focus on the main concern of administrative management, a professional corporate manager Chester Barnard in the USA in 1938 perceived organization as a social system. From that point of view, Barnard highlighted the importance of the functions performed by the Chief Executive in an organization. In the 1930s a distinct contribution was made by Mary Parker Follett to organization management. She also perceived organization as a social system. Side by side, the Human Relation school of administrative management led by Elton Mayo and his research group in the United States underlined in the 1930s the importance of human relations within an organization towards increasing efficiency and better production. In the 1940s a shift took place in identifying the core issue of administrative management. Herbert Simon, an important spokesman of the behavioural school, in his book Administrative Behaviour (1947) identified 'decision-making' and communication process as the core issue of administrative management. He sought to develop a science of administration based on methodology of logical positivism. He rejected the idea of politics-administration dichotomy and insisted on excluding 'value-judgments' (i.e. ethical assumptions) while dealing with 'facts' of administration in decision-making.

131 The next major shift took place towards the end of the 1960s in the context of major political convulsions in Europe and America. Dwight Waldo led an intellectual movement of young social science scholars and administrationists, whose collective efforts in the Minnowbrook conference gave birth to 'New Public Administration' in 1968. Waldo and his team had upheld the perception of Public Administration as politics since the 1940s. The New Public Administration was based on the basic themes of relevance, participation, decentralization and representative bureaucracy. Very soon the 'public choice school' of Public Administration of Vincent Ostrom and others emerged forcefully to claim that hierarchical bureaucratic administration is incompatible with some of the basic norms of a humanist and liberal democracy. The theorists of this school views the individual as the basic unit of social analysis. As rational being, individuals pursue their self-interest. Hence, it is argued, individual choice needs to be posited as the determinant of social organization. The advocates of public choice theories recommend introduction of competition into public policy-making and administration through contracting-out, outsourcing, privatization and competition between public agencies, even government departments, by rewarding performance. This approach's main weakness is its market-orientation and advocacy of reducing social welfare spending. Ideologically it comes very close to neo-liberal political philosophy. In the 1980s and 1990s the World Bank and International Monetary Fund innovated the concept of 'governance' in order to involve the civil society, NGOs and corporate sector in making of public policies. Public Administration as a discipline quickly responded positively as it found the concept of 'governance' quite useful for identifying its own core theme. In the 1990s the ideas like hiving off the responsibilities of the social welfare state and increasing the involvement of civil society, NGOs and corporate sector in the formulation and implementation of public policies constitute the essence of 'Governance' which found wide acceptability to new politics and management of public interests. 1.2

From 'Administration' to 'Governance' The origin of the English word "administration" can be traced to the Latin word *administrare*, meaning "to serve". But "administration", as generally understood in English since the middle of the nineteenth century, means control. Hence public administration as the study of governing the affairs of the state stands for a social science which is engaged in finding out the best possible mechanism of controlling the decision-making processes and the necessary institutional and organizational

132 systems for that purpose. The theories of public administration for more than seven decades since the last decade of the nineteenth century were concerned with the concepts and processes of exercising control in conducting public affairs and

influencing the processes decision-making in regard to public interests. . Generally speaking, the concept of 'administration'

presupposes a well-organised machinery of functionaries appointed to make rules and apply them with a view to translating the policies of the established authorities. So far as 'government' is concerned, these functionaries are known to have collectively comprising the 'bureaucracy'. In a democratic regime bureaucrats are supposed to safeguard the legitimate interests of the public by exercising continuous vigilance and using

expertise in matters of decision-making and execution of policies. In private organizations the bureaucracy is not as much rule-bound as in public or governmental organisations and the administrative officers

are required to subserve the main objectives of the organization. Public administrators are to fulfil the lawful needs of the common people by adopting and implementing appropriate decisions without discriminating between the high and the low, the rich and the poor. However, in India and most other democratic countries, bureaucrats or public administrators have failed to live up to the high expectations about their role in managing natural, technological and human resources of the society. Hence the case for a permanent tenure, accompanied by host of privileges and perquisites, for the bureaucrats becomes weak. In very recent time, government officers and employees excepting a few in the Afro-Asian countries are generally found to be unwilling to perform their minimum of duties in time.

In most of the newly-independent democratic countries the

honest and conscientious bureaucrats and technocrats not only do not get any appreciation or reward, they are also frequently threatened of dire consequences if they do not fall in line with the desire of the businessman-mafia-bureaucrat nexus. The examples are not at all uncommon in an advanced Third World country like India, let alone other ex-colonial countries. Open and hidden bribery does the miracle of getting a job done in government office. Moreover, endless collective suffering are caused to ordinary and unprotected citizens only because of the failure of the higher-level bureaucracy to take timely decisions on important matters affecting the genuine interests of the masses. Sufferings are found to be caused in many development-oriented departments such as education, forest, irrigation, public works, agriculture, health, rural and urban development and so on. There are plethora of rules and regulations which come very handy to the functionaries of government departments for not rendering effective service to the citizens, especially those who are not rich enough to give necessary "speed money" or "incentives" and those who are socially-economically-politically

133 unprotected and underprivileged. Even, the conscientious higher officials also have to suffer ignominious and inhospitable transfers if any of their decisions happen to hurt the vested personal or vital party political interests of any legislator or party boss of the ruling party. In numerous public sector undertakings, India has suffered from losses worth hundreds of thousands of crores of rupees because of the acts of wastage, inefficiency and corruption originating in the politician-bureaucrat nexus and caused by self-aggrandisement and misuse of power and machinery of public administration. It is the common experience of the ex-colonial, development-seeking countries that whenever national interests are subordinated to personal-factional-party interests, appropriate decisions are subordinated to momentary matter. It was in this backdrop experience of the "public administration" in the developing societies and their economies that the shift to the concept of "

governance" was recommended by the World Bank. In this age of globalization and rising quantum of foreign direct investment, the importance of "governance" can hardly be overemphasised. To quote Daniel Kaufman, former Director of World Bank's Institute of Global Governance, "governance matters for development." Governance refers to a process, not structure, of decision-making whereby multi-layered elements in society are given an opportunity to wield power, authority and influence so that policies concerning public life and socio-economic change for better living can be adopted and necessary laws can be enacted. Governance is good only when it is in the larger interests of the masses. Democratic governance is thus linked with the larger involvement of the people in 'decision-making on desired political and socio-economic changes. In its document titled Governance and Development (1992) the World Bank defined governance as 'the manner,' and not the constitutional and legal framework, in which power is exercised in management of a country's economic and social resources for development, and

for creating and sustaining an environment which seeks strong and equitable development and increases the capacity of the political regime (avoiding the term "state") for development. Philosophically speaking, governance aims at converting a badly managed economy into a well-ordered re-arrangement of the social order. 'Governance' is a method of re-defining the relation between the government and society. It is therefore quite clear that the quality of 'governance' will be determined by the persons taking decisions and the manner of implementing them. At the same time, in a democratic set-up the views of the political parties, and in non-democratic system the views of the power-holders (the dictator and his collaborators) count. For example, in the Swedish system of consociational democracy, no major public policy

134 is adopted without consultation with, and support of, the interest groups and concerned civil society organizations. On the contrary, in the Indian variety of majoritarian democracy, the views of the affected minority is not always taken into account in making of public policies; in some cases, the dissidents are even mercilessly oppressed. To take a specific example, in western democratic systems, planning and development policies are generally not formulated without consulting the views of the developers and opinions of the affected people. In most developing countries, the business community receiving aid or foreign direct investment try to create pressure upon the politicians to adopt such policies as would serve the business interests. Where the political leadership in power has been elected through transparent democratic process and the press is well-informed and free, the government is not easily swayed by the influence exercised by the business community. Informed and free public debate offers a guarantee that the government would not be allowed to ignore genuine public interest. The same argument is applicable in regard to implementation of public policies.

In this respect the role of media, judiciary and public intellectuals is of critical importance.

Development projects meant for serving public good need to be implemented in a time-bound manner and in a manner of financial transparency. If not, cost-escalation takes place leading to pressure on public exchequer and corruption in the long run. Such situations either are the result of, or lead to, bad governance.

For achieving the United Nation's

Millennium Development Goals not merely governance but "good governance" is the key factor. It is the universal experience that political, administrative and financial corruption is found to have thrown a formidable challenge to achieving "good governance". Experience shows that in 'many cases the benefits which are expected to be generated out of foreign aid or loan do not percolate to the stakeholders, because the funds are not properly utilised, and politico-administrative corruption is responsible for this state of affairs. Most often the public is not informed of the source and the total amount of funds invested project-wise, and the quality of work done. Money changes hands. This state of affairs is not good governance. Governance and Government The two terms, 'governance' and 'government', though often used interchangeably in popular parlance, are different. Governance is the interrelationship between four principal institutions of democracy—legislature, executive, judiciary and media (print as well as electronic, including world wide web). Government, on the other, means a structural arrangement of institutions.

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The concept of 'governance' can be broadened further to include government's interrelationship with the corporate world and the non-profit "third sector".

The concept of Governance thus stands for the institutional arrangements that span the

levels of government and straddle the divisions between public bureaucracy, corporate sector, the non-profit 'third sector',

and the media. Government is the

specialized institution which contributes to governance; and governance is the outcome of politics, policies and programmes

of the government.

The characteristics of government and governance can be summarised as follows:— Distinguishing Characteristics of Governance and Government Governance Government 1. Functionality 1. Superstructure 2. Processes 2. Decisions 3. Goals 3. Rules 4. Performance 4. Roles 5. Coordination 5. Implementation 6. Outcomes 6. Outputs Source: D.C. Misra's article on e-Government in Management in Government, Oct-Dec. 2007. 'Governance' must not be confused with 'government'. To put it simply, 'government' is one of the factors of 'governance' but governance is influenced by many other factors. Governance implies the use of institutions, structures of authority and even collaboration with non-government organizations for resource allocation and also coordination or partial control of the voluntary organizations active at social and/or economic levels. 1.3

Genesis of the Concept of Good Governance Ensuring 'goodness' in governance is enshrined in the concept of 'good governance'. The idea providing a system of governance which would be capable of bringing some good to the people at large and society as a whole is generally the aspiration of well-meaning rulers. However what is meant and signified by the expression 'good governance' has been a theme of endless debates. Good governance is a dynamic concept.

Governance is a continuum and is not

136 necessarily unidirectional. Despite the inherent vagueness of concepts like 'common good' or 'public interest', these concepts are not invalid. Common good implies material, cultural and moral good. It points towards the full realisation (development) of the potentialities of individuals as well as institutions. According to the sages and thinkers in ancient India, the idea of common good is inherent in the concept of 'Dharma', which enables individuals, state and society to hold together in the path of righteousness with a view to achieving all-round welfare and happiness of all and everyone. The term 'common good' thus becomes a symbol of welfare and happiness for not only the sum-total of the well-being of individuals but also overall well-being of the entire society. This goal can be achieved only by 'good

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governance'. In modern times 'governance' refers to forms of political system and the manner in which power is exercised in utilising economic and social resources for development.

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Governance deals with the capacity of government to design, formulate and implement policies and, in general, to discharge governmental functions. Good governance is

associated with efficient and effective administration in a democratic framework.

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It is equivalent to purposive and development-oriented administration which is committed to improvement in quality of the

people's living-standard. To achieve good governance requires high level of organizational effectiveness. It also refers to adoption of new values of governance for establishing legitimacy, credibility, high efficiency and wide transparency in the governance process. In short, good governance is responsive, citizen-friendly and citizen-caring administration. As a model of governance, it seeks to replace the Taylorian as well as Weberian models. The rigidities and untenable assumptions of these older models of administrative organization did not fulfil the expectations of the dynamic and entrepreneurial ethos of the modern society. The model of good governance aims at entrepreneurial role of public organizations with a market-based public administration in order to promote effectiveness and economy in the functioning of public organizations.

The concept of 'governance' was especially highlighted for the first time in 1989 in the World Bank's document on sub-Saharan Africa.

And the concept of 'good governance' came into general use in the early 1990s as a model of sound development management aiming at societal management process by involving both the state and non-state actors. 1.4 Concept of Good Governance In a democracy, as opposed to autocracy in any form, the spirit of governance needs to be society-centric. It would include the government as the central and 137 dominant actor, but transcending its role by taking in the corporate sector and the civil society. All three actors are critical for sustaining human, economic and social development. The government has the responsibility of creating a conducive political, legal and living environment. The private corporate sector promotes commercial, industrial and business enterprise and generates job and income. The civil society, including interest groups and NGOs, facilitates interaction by mobilizing groups for social, economic and political activities. All three actors in the governance process have their own strengths and weaknesses. Democratic governance is achieved through meaningful and constructive interaction among all the actors in the practical governance process. Taking an overall perception of this interaction, it can be observed that the most critical factor is the existence of a virile civil society moved by honest and public-spirited motivation. In order to pin-point the progressive aspect of his party and government, Shri Narendra Damodardas Modi, immediately after taking over as India's Prime Minister in 2014, coined the phrase "less government and more governance." The implication was that the government headed by him would pursue the goal of establishing Good Governance. This phrase is implied by the political philosophy of the 'New Right' which declared in the early 1980s that the era of big government is over. In terms of concrete political programme, it aims at down-sizing the government. It prefers retreat of the government from socio-economic field of activities and opening wide this field to corporate sector and to the network of voluntary associations and non-government groups and institutions in the context of Liberalization-Privatization- Globalization (LPG) trends gaining in strength since the 1990s all over the world.

Contemporary Meaning The concept of Good Governance has become a buzzword for administrative reforms since the 1990s in the context of the chronic misgovernance in the Third World countries. The public bureaucracy in the development-seeking countries continues to suffer from trained incapacity, isolation from the people, misplaced faith in the capabilities of the government functionaries and inability of the administrative machinery to adapt itself to socio-economic changes. Governance, administration and management

all

lost their relevance and were reduced to mere avenues of ruling over the people and embezzling public funds. Public Offices were unscrupulously exploited for self-aggrandisement. The Third World

countries

are mostly densely populated, widely habited by malnourished, underliterate and least gender-sensitive people. Their economies are characterised by large-scale poverty, high unemployment, underskilled labour force, and lack of capital for investment. This scenerio convinced Mahbub-ul-Haque, the eminent Pakistani economist and an important pioneer in

138 formulating the Human Development Index (

HDI) for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP),

that the root cause of the failure of the Third World countries in

building efficient, effective and responsive government lies in their system of misgovernance, which has three varieties of non-feasance, mal-feasance, and over- feasance, in their public administration and management process. In the post-war period the newly-independent, development-seeking countries of the Third World received financial aid and technological assistance from the developed industrialised countries as well as the international aid-giving

agencies

like

World Bank, International Monetary Fund,

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development,

Asian Development Bank and such other institutions. However, the experience of the donor countries and the aid-giving agencies in the late-1980s and early-1990s was that the aid-receiving development-seeking countries failed to make proper use of the aids received because of their administrative and mangerial incapacity to utilise

the aids for the benefits of their people. The discourse of Good Governance emerged in the

specific context of this experience of failure to utilise developmental aids by the aid-receiving countries in the sub-Saharan African countries like Gambia, Zambia, Mali, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Eritrea, Malawi, Ghana, Uganda, Kenya, Botswana and Mauritania. First, the environment and management capacities of governmental institutions were studied; next, the areas of reform were identified; and finally, suitable reform strategies were suggested. Then the aid-giving agencies laid down certain conditionalities of their own

to their aid offers, such as adjustments in the structure of administration, liberalization of administrative rules and regulations in order to minimize government control as far as necessary, more democratization of the polity,

decentralization of political and administration power, improvement of human rights records, more transparency in management of public affairs, introducing marketization and competition in production and distribution system, improving political and administrative

accountability of decision-makers and so on. The concept of Good Governance emerged in this context, putting less importance to 'administration' (exercising control) and more importance to 'management' (making the best use of available

resources) by opening the field of decision-making to corporate sector and civil society organizations. There is hardly any unanimity in what is exactly meant by the term 'Good Governance'.

The span of governance extends to the entire canvas of the life of a nation. It involves not only administrative or managerial capacities but also the social, political, intellectual, cultural and moral capacities of the system. The best governance machinery is the one that harness all these capacities and directs their

139 focused beam on resolving the problems that confront the nation. If, for example, the prevailing culture of a nation does not generate values of honesty, dedication, compassion and the like qualities of mind, the quality of governance suffers, no matter how perfect are its institutional arrangements

of government machinery and administrative system. For establishing good governance,

it is necessary to make simultaneous efforts to upgrade all the capacities of a

polity and its administrative system. If any nation concentrates on a few capacities and neglects the others, the efforts to establish good governance would not be wholesome. The concept of 'Good Governance' came into use in the early 1990s. At that time, it stood for sound development management. Five key dimensions of good governance were identified viz. (

i) civil service reforms, (ii) improved management of public sector undertakings, (iii) political and administrative accountability, (iv) improving legal framework for development through establishment of rule of law, and (v) provision for freedom of information about government's functioning and transparency in the role played by corporate sector and civil society institutions. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund came to the conclusion

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that good governance is crucial to creating and sustaining an environment which fosters sustainable and equitable development and that it is an essential complement to sound economic policies. 1.5

Different Meanings of Good Governance There is hardly any unanimity on what is specifically meant by Good Governance. Different international bodies have attached different meanings to this concept. World Bank used this concept for the first time in 1989. In its document entitled *Governance and Development* (1992), based on its experience of lending its technical and economic solutions to the development-seeking poor countries,

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defined 'governance' as the manner in which governing power is exercised in managing a country's economic and social resources for development.

Based on its lending experience, the Bank concluded that good governance is absolutely necessary for fostering sustainable and equitable development. Its experience suggested that even after receiving sound technical advices, development programmes and projects have often failed to produce desired results. Owing to weak and defective enforcement of law, development programmes are frustrated because of delayed and inefficient implementation. Production in private enterprise and market-led growth do not succeed unless investors are given level-playing field and unbiased enforcement of laws and regulations. Political and administrative corruption distorts investment priorities and causes wastage of resources. Sometimes failure to involve beneficiaries and affected interests result in wrong design and implementation of development projects, which ultimately become unsustainable. This is clearly malgovernance. Hence the Bank identified the key dimensions of good governance as public accountability, well-defined legal framework, freedom of information and transparency in governance. In this connection it is interesting to note that John Stuart Mill, during the mid- nineteenth century heyday of capitalist development, tempered by his enlightened and modified utilitarianism, observed that production of virtuous and intelligent people should be the basic criterion of good government. He commuted : "One criterion of the goodness of a government is the degree in which it tends to increase the sum of good qualities in the governed." There are three defining features of the aid and overseas development policy followed by World Bank and its sister organization International Monetary Fund. First, the aims of aid have been to promote open, market-friendly and competitive economy. This policy was embodied in the structural adjustment programme and its conditionalities in the 1980s. Subsequently in 1994 two other aims have been added to structural adjustment, viz. democratization and improvement of human rights records, and insistence on 'good governance' which emphasizes on key governance elements of accountability, rule of law, openness and transparency (World Bank's Experience, 1994). Thus World Bank's conception

of good governance is identified with political accountability and transparency in dissemination of information and cooperation between government and society. In any way, then, good governance devotes a citizen-friendly, citizen-caring, responsive and transparent system which feels for protecting human rights and is committed to deliver goods and services to citizens without jeopardising their democratic entitlement and violating their human dignity. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has summarised the concept of Good Governance by identifying its essentials as democratization of the polity while confirming people's participation in the development process, preservation and protection of human rights of the individual. OECD thus underlines an equitable, transparent, non-discriminatory, socially sensitive and accountable administration having capability and effectiveness for achieving the goals of good governance.

141 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has defined Good Governance in terms of (i) people's participation, (ii) consensus-orientation, (iii) responsiveness

to citizens' demands and expectations, (iv) effectiveness and efficiency in formulation and implementation of public policies, (v) accountability of government and non-government agencies which are involved in governance process, (vi) transparency in all aspects of performance in governance process, (vii) equity as a principle to be respected in governance process, (viii) Rule of Law, and (ix) strategic vision in reforms of the governance process.

Institute of Governance (Canada) has identified the following principles of Good Governance, viz. (i) democratic legitimacy of the regime, (ii) people's voice in decision-making, (iii) clear vision in governance, (iv) performance level of the administration

of agencies involved in governance process, (v) legal and political accountability, and (vi) fairness in governance process.

Taking the essence of these different ways of defining Good Governance, the following principles may be identified as the universally acceptable core ingredients of Good Governance, viz. (i) effective people's participation in decision-making through

appropriate devolution and decentralization (ii) transparency in decision-making and implementation of decisions. (iii) responsiveness of the governance-agencies to people's needs and demands. (

iv) consensus-orientation in decision-making. (v) equity and inclusiveness in state policy. (vi) Rule of Law. (vii) effectiveness and efficiency in delivery

of services. (viii) public accountability in governance process. (ix) strategic vision in designing and reforms of governance. (

x) absence of violence in policy implementation. Obviously most of these principles are crucially value-laden and they constitute the bedrock of genuine

liberal democracy. Neo-liberal political theory presents quite a different view of Good Governance. The neo-liberal approach essentially

presents a strong case for "rolling back the State", meaning thereby withdrawal of the state from its commitment in redistribution of society's resources for the purpose of social justice. Coincidentally, the neo-liberal

142 agenda in the 1970s-1980s in political philosophy and economics, as propounded by Robert Nozick and Milton Friedman respectively, proved very much influential in formulating public policies

and re-orienting governance process in advanced western capitalist countries, especially in Britain under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and in the United States under President Ronald Reagan.

The neo-liberals advocate the case of the State's withdrawal in favour of market mechanism and voluntary agencies for formulating and implementing policies of socio-economic change. The shift of focus from public bureaucracy and State-leadership to voluntary sector and free market has been justified as an opportunity for 'participatory' development which is considered as an important component of Good Governance. 1.6

Good Governance and Civil Society The politico-administrative ideology of Good Governance and its consequent administrative reforms and innovations have brought some good results in Britain, United States, New Zealand and Australia in their governance process and style of administration. For achieving the fruits of Good Governance, necessary reforms of the governance system have been undertaken since of the 1990s.

Some well-known initiatives which have been taken include Right to Information Act., Consumer Protection legislation, Citizens' Charter, Whistleblower Protection, e-Governance, Report Cards, Democratic Decentralization, Public Interest Litigation and so on. Pressure now comes from the civil society crying for good governance. For Example, Lok Satta, a Hyderabad-based social activist organization, submitted to the Government a petition signed by over a million villagers demanding greater devolution of powers and resources to the panchayats. The civil society's functional contribution to good governance could be of the following roles, viz. (i) Watchdog : against violation of basic human rights as well as shortfalls and deficiencies in governance, especially at the implementation stage through social audit and other exposures. (ii) Advocate : of points of view of the weak, voiceless sections of the society. (iii) Agitator : as an assertive representative of the aggrieved citizens when all other normal, legitimate methods of representation fail. (iv) Educator : educating not only citizens on their rights and entitlements and their civic and statutory responsibilities but also educating the government about the actual state of affairs at the cutting edge and the pulse of the people.

143 (v) Service provider : Delivering services like education and health to areas and sections of people not reached by official efforts or as an agent of government. (vi) Mobiliser : mobilising public opinion and participation for a good policy/ programme for or against a wrong policy/programme, mobilising support for good initiatives by government in literacy, family welfare, child immunisation, environmental protection. (vii) Agent of the State : acting in the delivery of services, especially in situations where the inflexible arm of the government is ineffective and a personal soft touch is needed. (viii) Organizer of 'social capital' : Civil Society acts through what is known as social capital, i.e., capacity of people to act together willingly in their common long-term interest. Social capital is strong when a society is homogeneous in terms of socio-economic access and opportunity, and it is weak when a society is not egalitarian (mostly feudal) and is fractured in terms of tribe,

caste, religion, language or any other narrow sectarian, short- term interests. A weak civil society is unable to play its full potential role in enforcing good governance. Operationally, civil society has to be structured into compact, focussed organizations, each based on strong social capital in order to interact effectively with the huge politico-bureaucratic machine of the government. Civil society organizations are known by various generic names such as voluntary organisation (VO), non-government organization (

NGO), civil society organization (CSO) and so on. Many such organizations are found to be the fiefdom of some powerful person or group mainly interested in having national and/or international funding. In order to be really capable of having an impact on the quality of governance (which is, after all, their raison d'etre), such organizations need to have the requisite qualities like selflessness, commitment, grassroots experience, competence, objectivity, transparency, integrity, leadership, accountability and internal democracy. It is the active role of the civil society which would ensure that public interest is defined from a truly public perspective. Civil society organizations generate the need of the people. The strength of the civil society rests squarely on the quality of its social capital. It is the duty of citizens to see that society is not fragmented on the basis of narrow, self-centred loyalties weakening the social capital.

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Critique of Good Governance In whatever way it is defined, the concept of Good Governance differs from one country to another. Firstly, its meaning and implications depend on the living standard of the people concerned, the pattern of government, social institutions and cultural values of the people as well as the political culture of the society. This concept cannot have a universally acceptable connotation. What is accepted as normal routine in the governing process in, say, Britain or United States, is regarded as instances of good governance in the developing countries. It is almost an established practice in many South Asian countries to give a number of concessions like reduction in tax rates or availability of additional civic facilities at the time of elections at the local, regional and national level. But strangely, some of the concessions and facilities are either withdrawn or they are simply discontinued without any further notice. This practice is followed in many service sectors like transport, hospitals and health centres, primary education, literacy programmes, roads and communications, public distribution system and so on. Secondly, political, electoral and administrative corruptions are so pervasive in the developing countries that they are considered part of the culture and habits of the people. The prevailing political culture hardly frowns upon corruptions of the political leaders and bureaucrats, high or low. Good Governance, virtually speaking, has become a popular rhetoric only in such kind of society. Even when corrupt practices are detected and revealed in the press, the allegedly corrupt persons do not feel ashamed. The people and the media also easily forget about such misdeeds of the politicians and bureaucrats. Thirdly, absence of Rule of Law has become quite a common experience in many developing countries. The political and economic elites mostly do not experience discrimination and consequently do not suffer. The politically unprotected and economically underprivileged sections are destined to suffer the consequences of the absence of Rule of Law. It is impossible to achieve Good Governance in those societies where the minimum norm of Rule of Law is not observed at all. That is to say, where bias in decision-making is widely prevalent at both the higher and lower levels of administration, it is virtually impossible to usher in Good Governance. Fourthly, if citizens are viewed as consumers of public services, Good Governance would entail that they receive the services they are entitled to. All the constituents of the Establishment viz. the ruling party, the opposition and the bureaucracy and also those who can influence power bases, do not seriously take the issue of meeting the needs of the people. The Establishment is hardly seen to bother about the needs of the tax-payers and also of the down-trodden and underprivileged people. The governing system makes it very difficult for citizens to get access to services. The condition of the people in some South Asian countries is so pitiable that they would consider it an experience of good governance if they are not harassed by the power-holders. The fiscal and welfare policies do not necessarily reflect the will of the people. The ideology of Good Governance brings no succour to the people in these countries. Fifthly, good governance, for its success, has to depend on the State, although the World Bank relied, to a large extent, on the uninhibited functioning of the private sector. This is an impractical assumption so far as the developing economies are concerned. The private sector in these economies generally has not exhibited the ethics of promoting public good. It is hardly seen to consider the needs of the unprotected and underprivileged sections of the people. In the context of the Third World countries, good governance and market economy are not synonymous. The state, in these countries, must not withdraw from decision-making for economic development. In order to check the unhindered exploitation of the socially and economically vulnerable people by the profit-motivated private sector, the State must assume its moral responsibility of reining in the rapacious tendencies of the private sector, especially the monopolists in the service-providing areas of economic and social activities. Because of the low standard of social ethics and individual morality, it becomes easy for the giants in the private sector to influence the media, the bureaucracy and even the people's representatives elected on various decision-making bodies. Higher growth rate and increasing size of the GDP provide no dependable indicator of good governance. The pre-condition of Good Governance is not only democracy but effective democracy also. A healthy and democratic political culture is the sine qua non of good governance. The actual experience in most of the developing countries shows that this vital pre-condition of Good Governance is woefully absent there. If the relationship between the ruling party or coalition of parties and the parties in opposition is based on mutual hatred, good governance is next to impossible. The cases of Pakistan, Bangladesh or a number of African countries provide a good point. Sixthly, Good Governance is affected by the internal and external dependence of the State. In many cases in the post-war era the States are found to be heavily dependent on some interest groups operating within the country. In some countries it is the strongly entrenched agricultural or business interests, trade unions or mafia groups which prevent the State authorities from introducing reforms facilitating good governance. Again, in some other countries, the interests of the donor countries

146 always pressurize the ruling power to follow in their footsteps in respect of choosing the path of development and institution-building. In some cases, the State is totally helpless in combating the self-seeking interests. Only a strong civil society can effectively put pressure on the State apparatus and the parties in power for serving the larger interests of the nation.

Seventhly,

just like the businessmen-politicians-bureaucracy axis, the military also plays an equally detrimental role and prevents the State from

achieving good governance. A number of Afro-Asian nations eminently illustrate this point. Politics in Pakistan and Bangladesh, for example, provide examples of how good governance has been frustrated, the military subverts the democratically elected government and, if necessary, stages a coup for capturing power and imposing its own variety of governance. Both the business class and the military, wherever necessary, foster and promote the 'mafia' groups and organized musclemen. India is no exception, especially since the late 1960s. In such a context, good governance is given a special meaning of serving the interests of the ruling classes only. The normal development goals are displaced and parochial interests are promoted and thereby Good Governance loses its relevance. No initiative comes forth to build up capacity to realize particular developmental goals. Strong civil society movements are needed to establish that 'good governance' is

the

citizen's right. It is the responsibility of the State to keep the people happy as they are the clients of the State. In the absence of good governance, widespread public dissatisfaction would lead to anti-government movements and political de-stabilization. This has been the experience always in all the developing countries. Unless the civil society is strong, good governance cannot be achieved. The meaning of "civil society" tends to acquire nuances varying with the history of a country. The status and sophistication of civil society vary with the nature of civilian supremacy over military dominance and the cultural preparedness of the people at large, including the media. In the socio-political context of the post-colonial societies, "civil society" is mostly equated with democratic society prepared to uphold the basic values of libertarianism and egalitarianism and to ensure effective participation by the people through their elected representatives in administration at all levels. For ensuring realization of the principles of good governance, guarantees for citizens' liberty and equality of opportunity for all must enjoy immunity from the vagaries of political processes. If the State itself is made to relinquish more and more its responsibilities for protecting the dignity of the individual and meeting the basic minimum needs of civilised life, it is rendered incapable of sustaining a democratic society. As a consequence, the chances of establishing good governance become

147 weak. The situation can somewhat be saved if the print and electronic media is freed from government influence and control. The independent and responsible media can then play a pivotal role against human rights violation, other forms of injustice, institutional abuse and politico-administrative corruptions, and thus facilitate good governance.

Eighthly,

along with the need for increasing governmental capacity, good governance would require genuine decentralization of political, administrative and financial powers from the central to the local level and from the organised

bureaucracy to the people's representatives without violating the fundamental principles of justice and equity. Good Governance must ensure transformation of the centralised bureaucratic State into the democratic polity in the real sense of the term. Mere introduction of adult franchise without ensuring electoral probity and safeguards does not make a polity "democratic" in the true sense. Electoral corruptions and misconduct make a mockery of democracy and create insurmountable difficulties for Good Governance. The experience of India and some African countries show that the over-ambitious and dishonest politicians have evolved a system over the years where they can rule the roost with the help of a pliant bureaucracy. Decentralization has to be genuine and comprehensive, otherwise it is nothing. Hesitant and limited decentralisation amounts to betrayal of the people's faith in democracy and good governance. Here again, informed citizenry and a vibrant and powerful civil society, appropriately supported by the independent judiciary, would serve as the best bet for Good Governance. Unless democratic freedom is culturally developed and goes into the thinking and habits of the ruler and the ruled, Good Governance would have no chance of being a successful experiment. When people and their elected representatives at the local level are effectively empowered, Good Governance would have a hospitable ambience. Informed and empowered citizenry would determine the quality of governance. Only when this condition is fulfilled, the polity becomes autonomous and conducive for Good Governance. When the basic elements of Good Governance such as accountability, transparency and popular participation in decision-making are realized in actions and processes of democratic governance, Good Governance enriches democratic polity and protects the rights and interests of the people. The model of Good Governance, as recommended by the World Bank, prescribes an enhanced role of NGOs. But the problem is that the role of NGOs under specific conditions in many countries is not above criticism. The effective accountability and transparency of NGOs cannot always be ensured. For example, many NGOs import

148 tax-free equipments, printing machines to establish business. In Bangladesh, where thousands of NGOs are in operation, the total capital of NGOs exceeds in amount the total capital of the private sector. The latter cannot compete with the former. This system is neither ethical nor conducive to healthy socio-economic development. Many NGOs are actually involved in business activities, though their charters do not permit it. The lack of accountability and transparency of the NGOs create an ambience of corruption in public life, which amounts to a negation of good governance. Ninthly, the World Bank model of good governance relies greatly on a system of autonomous and vibrant local government which is supposed to fully reap the benefits of decentralisation. Local government is expected to function as an important vehicle for ushering in effective good governance. But India's experiment and experience of panchayati raj, even after the much-trumpeted 73rd Constitution amendment (1992), belie the hope that it would help realize transparent and accountable governance at the grassroots and ensure people's participation for good governance. The laws are good and well-intentioned but the motives of political parties are not always clean and corruption-free. Development projects are badly implemented and corruption thrives with every additional dose of development investment, be it in ensuring employment or housing or basic education for the poor people. People's participation in planning and development has been frustrated by political and bureaucratic corruption. Even the grand scheme of empowering women in local government, to a large extent, has failed thanks to either overbearing caste system or suffocating regimentation and centralised control exercised by the political parties. Either the women representatives are mostly mistreated and abused or they are intimidated. Good Governance, however, clearly requires the healthy

functioning of effective and autonomous political institutions at all levels, particularly at the local level. Local-level power abuse, political and bureaucratic corruption, social harassment of the poor and of the women have largely made a mockery of Good Governance at the local level. The local government institutions could develop as a pro-people and welfare-oriented grassroots organization and thereby promote good governance if the civil society concerned is sufficiently conscientious and virile to protect and promote accountability and transparency in local governance. Democracy can strike deep roots with congenial development at the local level. Finally, everything said and done, good governance in developing countries today is threatened to be defeated by two phenomena viz. first, threats of military dominance, and second, religious fundamentalism. The process of militarization of society and government militates against the healthy and democratic growth of civil

149 society, and is therefore inimical to Good Governance. Religious fundamentalism has, in reality, little to deal with issues of genuine religion. Most often it is practised for capturing power by any means. It finds a good soil in developing societies by appealing to prejudices of the people and exploiting their economic vulnerability. India is free from the danger of militarization of society and government, but the danger of religious fundamentalism poses threats to Good Governance.

However, India's neighbours in South Asia experience threats from these two dangers to Good Governance. It is the techno-managerial approach of the neo-liberal economic globalization that finds importance in the dominant discourse of Good Governance promoted by the World Bank, IMF, OECD and such other institutions. This approach focuses on decentralization, transparency and report cards as the methods to ensure macro-economic management of the "Bretton Woods Mandarins". It is interested to enforce accountability of the national governments for economic and political conditions imposed on them. The main agenda in the idea of Good Governance mooted by the multilateral and bilateral trade agencies like the World Bank, UNDP, OECD, ADB, JBIC etc. was to ascertain the success of their projects. Their major thrust is on structural adjustment and necessary economic reform programmes consisting of liberalization, de-regulation, privatization and state withdrawal from economic spheres. What is ignored in such discourses is the fact that 'governance' is a broader concept. It is essentially about power relationship within and beyond institutions and organizations and is based on the notion of accountability and answerability. Governance seeks justice through justice delivery system and helps build up the institutional means to protect the rights of the people. It mediates between citizens and government and seeks accountability. Therefore, a workable paradigm of good governance must adequately address the issues of budget tracking, participation, monitoring, planning process, citizens' charter, report cards, women's empowerment, public hearing, grievance redressal and public interest litigations. This theoretical understanding of Good Governance calls for people's empowerment, participation, public accountability, transparency, human rights and legitimacy based on the principles of democracy. One point that must be underlined is that Good Governance is a dynamic concept which needs periodic review, rethinking, and necessary remodelling of institutions of governance, enhancing accountability and transparency, so that political as well as socio-economic justice can be realized in real life. Although the Constitution of India declares high principles of democracy like liberty, equality, justice and dignity of the individual and gives "directives" to the state at all levels to ensure equitable distribution of material resources to subserve the common good, these grandiose goals have been lost in actual process of

governance. Good Governance in India - as in many other countries - has become a casualty by vacuity of vision, absence of mission and faulty leadership. Wretched living conditions of a significant section of the people at the lower rungs of the social class structure, menacing spread of political, administrative, economic and moral corruption all around, sharp deterioration in the quality of policy-makers, dominance of the money-bag and the musclemen in political and electoral processes, spread of caste feelings and religious communalism bordering

on fanaticism, and unprincipled and hence unholy populism practised by the political parties in order to garner votes in any conceivable way, fast-eroding ethics of educational institutions, and finally, growing trends of violence, terrorism, subversion and sabotage have collectively contributed to the destruction of the better and desirable aspects of Good Governance in India. This kind of scenario is not uncommon in many other countries. But another serious aspect of the Indian experience that needs special mention is the deplorable

quality of political and administrative culture of the country. It throws a huge challenge to the ideology and practice of Good Governance. The foremost challenge comes from low public morality in politics and administration. In the eyes of the people, at both the individual and mass levels, no wrong-doing and crime evokes universal and effective condemnation, especially if it brings in electoral success and huge monetary gains. This kind of political psychology offers a serious hindrance to good governance by facilitating deterioration in individual ethics and institutional governance. Because of the huge dimension of corruption in public life, especially in electoral and administrative processes, the

integrity and autonomy of educators, journalists, law-makers, administrators, and even judges are on the decline. The obnoxious understanding prevailing between politicians, businessmen and musclemen has effectively destroyed the ambience of good governance. Uninhibited interference by the politicians in almost all cases of decision making in the national life for the exclusive. goal of reaping partisan benefits has ruined the very basis of good governance. It is very hard, to find anything called public ethics. Good governance is bound to be the first victim in any system affected by mass-scale corruption, .electoral malpractices, criminalization of politics and politicization of crimes. If electoral victory, by hook or crook, is taken as license to abuse power and misuse influence, good governance will have almost no chance to bear its fruits. Defective accountability and inadequate transparency facilitate the process of reducing the good governance formula and its strategies to a farce. The fate of the Lok Pal bill in India provides a telling instance in this regard.

151 A nascent plant growing out of good variety of seed would have no chance of surviving and bearing fruits if the climatic environment and infrastructural support like irrigation and fertilizer prove to be inhospitable and inadequate. Similarly,

Good Governance will have no chance to succeed unless there is a national commitment to establish a largely corruption-free politico-economic order and honest

willingness of the political leadership at the highest level to establish genuine accountability and transparency in utilising the human and material resources of the country. It is a fact that successful reforms introduced in the governance process in the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Malaysia and Singapore in recent time were politically driven at highest level. [For elaboration of this point, see Mohan Kaul, "Civil Service Reforms : Learning from Commonwealth Experiences", Indian Journal of Public Administration, LIV (3), July-Sept. 1998.] Everything said and done, a viable strategy of good governance has to be relevant to the needs of the society concerned and needs to be ethically capable of addressing sustainable human development and enjoyment of human rights with positive support of the political leadership at the highest level. 1.8

References S. K. Das, Civil Service Reform and Structural Adjustment, Oxford University Press, 1998. D. Osborne and T. Gaebler, Reinventing Government, New Delhi : Prentice-Hall, 1992. T. N. Chaturvedi (ed.), Towards Good Governance, New Delhi; 11PA, 1998. (esp. articles by O. P. Minocha, Asok Mukhopadhyay, and Mohit Bhattacharya) The World Bank, Governance and Development, Washington D. C., 1992. 1.9 Sample Questions Long-answer questions : 1. Explain the conceptual transition from 'administration'

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to 'governance'. 2. Discuss the genesis of the concept of Good Governance. 3. Examine the concept of Good Governance. 4. Explain the different meanings of the concept of Good Governance. 5. Discuss the relationship between Good Governance

and civil society. 6.

Attempt a critique of the concept of Good Governance.

152 Short-answer questions : 1. Briefly indicate the core features of the concept of Good Governance. 2. Write a short summary of the genesis of the concept of Good Governance. 3. Briefly distinguish between 'administration' and 'governance'. 4. Indicate briefly the role of Neo-Liberalism in the conceptualization of Good Governance. 5. Discuss briefly civil society's functional contribution to Good Governance. 6. Explain three major points of criticism of the concept of Good Governance.

153 Unit 2 □□□□□ Accountability and Transparency in Public Administration Structure 2.1 Introduction 2.2 Public Accountability : Its Evolution 2.3 Forms of Accountability 2.4 Public Accountability in Developing Countries 2.5 Recent Experience 2.6 Concluding Observations : Accountability 2.7 Transparency : Introductory Note 2.8 Transparency and Good Governance 2.9 Right to Information 2.10 RTI : Indian Experience 2.11 Transparency : Concluding Observations 2.12 References 2.13 Sample Questions

2.1 Introduction The demise of the old 'command and control' system of public affairs management is not to be too much lamented. The real challenge is to achieve better public service management. This challenge requires attention to the 'people' who are entitled to get necessary information relating to governance process. In the changed context of the late 20th and early 21st centuries the 'people' in a democratic polity is not considered as the multitude to be governed mechanically in the old fashion. The current situation has empowered the people to act as participants in the governance process. They have two important roles to play as tax- payers and consumers of public services. New Public Management is no longer regarded as another passing academic fad.

154 While origins and objectives may differ from country to country, the strategies and directions of reform programmes generally converge on two items of good governance discourse, viz. enforcing public accountability and enhancing transparency in the governance process. Truly speaking, the state cannot be "rolled back" completely. It may have a continuing role to "steer" rather than to "row", or to "facilitate" rather than to "do". Public intervention in governance process is necessary, rather than rigid governmental structures and processes governing such intervention. The spirit of the recent times is less 'government' and more 'governance'. In the liberal democratic governance system the basic task is to minimize the costs to the interests of the people who are the 'principal'. This task can be well performed by exacting accountability of the civil servants who are the 'agents'. What is judged in public administration is not merely the cost-effectiveness and timely provision of public needs, but also whether the expenditure incurred is in conformity with the purpose and terms for which it is authorized by the legislature. Another consideration is whether administration is conducted within legally defined parameters and without abridging the rights of the citizen. Public Administration differs from the private economic sphere in the nature of its activity. It is concerned with providing public needs in a manner that meets both the political and legal criteria of performance. Secondly, while the performance of private economic activity is judged solely by the profit made, public administration is subject to different kinds and levels of scrutiny : the accountability of the executive to the legislature for the conduct of its business, the investigation in specific areas of administration by legislative committees, and the individual or groups going to the court in cases of maladministration. In countries where their civil service is not historically embedded in the surrounding social structure, a formal structure of accountability may be the solution to ensure accountability of civil servants. Rules governing the selection, appointment and advancement of civil servants have decidedly been an improvement on the patronage system, but they have not restrained self-interested behaviour. Rules define the role behaviour of civil servants and govern the range of their discretion in decision-making, but rules do not create structures of accountability. Construction of a formal structure of accountability may perhaps be the solution to ensure that civil servants do not behave opportunistically. Accountability would be in danger of being disturbed if there is no transparency in the various institutions of governance. Transparency, along with accountability, are the essential principles of satisfactory public service. It is vitally necessary to know how the agencies of governance, including the government, actually function. That is

155 to say, unless it is known to the public how and on what basis of facts and logic the governance decisions are taken, public interests cannot be adequately protected. Transparency in the governance process strengthens accountability. The gradual evolution of democratic governance reveals that there are three stages of this evolution. The struggle for democracy was first launched on the demand for representative government. At this stage, the basic idea was that a democratic government must reflect the principle of people's freedom to choose their representatives. The demand was realised in England over a period of nearly one hundred years from early 19th century to early 20th century. The second stage was the emergence of the demand for responsible/accountable government. That is to say, the democratic government must be accountable to different public agencies like elected legislature, court, and media for all its omissions and commissions. In the third stage the demand was raised that the process of governance must be transparent or open in order to satisfy the citizenry. That is, the citizens must have the right to know how governance decisions are taken, by not only the government but also the non-government agencies. The argument is that unless the citizens have open access to decision-making process and data, public interests cannot be fully protected. Thus it is now abundantly clear that the twin principles of accountability and transparency are vital for the success of a democratic polity worth its name.

2.2 Public Accountability : Its Evolution

The concept of public accountability evolved mainly in England in a mixed atmosphere of decaying feudalism and rising mercantilism. The meagre economic surplus generated in a feudal agricultural society was slowly being augmented by the enterprising mercantile class. The King wanted a part of this surplus. The mercantile class insisted on prudent spending of their hard-earned surplus and wanted to have some account of how it is used. The concept of accountability was further refined during the English civil war in the mid-seventeenth century. This concept finally emerged as a fundamental principle of governance during the reign of King Charles II. With the emergence of modern liberal democracy the principle was further refined in England. It was given a cognizable shape in a gradual and orderly fashion by Prime Ministers Walpole and Pitt the Younger in the eighteenth century. Subsequently the principle of public accountability was given the modern shape by great parliamentarians like Disraeli and Gladstone and eminent civil servants like Charles Trevelyan in the nineteenth century. This evolution took place through conventions and political practices. The primary element of this great principle was that the executive would enjoy power to initiate proposals of spending public money while Parliament would be entitled to criticise it and examine the accounts. Secondly, in course of time, Treasury assumed supremacy over all other departments of government in coordinating and controlling government expenditure. The third component of accountability principle was the doctrine of ministerial responsibility. This doctrine means the ministers remain responsible for all actions of civil servants working under the minister. All three principles are correlated with one another giving rise to the logically perfect democratic structure of public accountability, which developed in accordance with the gentleman's ethic in the decades following the Glorious Revolution of 1688. This principle underlined the representative character of the rulers and their willing obligation to give an account of their omissions and commissions to the members of Parliament. When bureaucracy as a political institution developed subsequently in France, Prussia and United States of America as an indispensable part of liberal democratic government, public accountability was gradually accepted as a fundamental principle of democratic governance. This important principle of governance was adopted in different ways by different countries following the Anglo-Saxon political tradition of democratic governance, of course, with some local modifications. For example, ex-colonial countries of Africa diluted the doctrine of ministerial responsibility because of their local compulsions of tribal culture and preference for one-party rule. Similarly, the acceptance of planning and mixed economy concept, as the basis of economic development, had also diluted Treasury control and ministerial responsibility in many Afro-Asian countries.

2.3 Forms of Accountability

Basically accountability has two facets, somewhat separate but interrelated. The first one

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is political. In a parliamentary system of government the executive functions under an obligation to give an account

of its performance to parliament. Parliament has many devices and instrumentalities to enforce accountability of the executive. The second facet is primarily administrative. The minister (executive) holds the administrators (civil servants) working in government departments and other public agencies accountable for the ways they carry out their responsibility in implementing

157 government policies. These two facets of accountability are complementary to each other, and they together constitute the foundation of responsible democratic governance. In a social welfare state the administrative machinery expands and becomes more and more complex. Hence the need of holding the government properly accountable is more acutely felt. Many experts such as Herman Finer, R. J. Pennock, H. J. Spiro, P. Self, Guy Peters and others consider it the classic problem of public administration. Expressions like 'control', 'responsibility', 'accountability' are used to pinpoint the need for ensuring proper responsibility of public officials towards law, rules and regulations, legislative control, judicial scrutiny and, of course, administrative supervision of political masters. Today public officials are found to make bye-laws and even adjudicate in administrative disputes. Legislature make law in terms of broad objectives and the machinery needed to implement policies. The details of making rules, regulations and bye-laws for filling up the gaps left in the legislation is given to officials. They are also required to interpret certain items and expressions used in the legislation. The nineteenth century model of public official has undergone vast expansion in meaning and dimensions of functions. In recent period, public officials undertake the responsibility of contributing indirectly to policy formulation and also engaging in negotiations with pressure groups, interest groups and promotional bodies, thereby contributing to decision-making. Conventionally, administrative accountability is insisted for upholding the norm of representative government and promoting efficiency of officials. This meaning of accountability has been expanded in the twentieth century by relating 'efficiency' to satisfactory accomplishment of policies and programmes of the government and other public authorities. Thus the concept of public accountability has now acquired multiple dimensions. Political Accountability In modern practice of democratic governance, if accountability of individual official is to be ensured, the target of attack is the concerned political executive (i.e. minister) on the logic that no policy decision can be taken without the concurrence of political executive. By virtue of their enormous expertise gained through long period in office and specialised training the officials heading the departments know better about the subject-matter they deal with than the political executive who is a temporary tenant in the Secretariat. The common experience suggests that the political executive usually decides the way he is 'advised' to do by his civil servant, if there is no compelling overall political commitment. Politically the official remains

158 anonymous, though he exercises important influence on policy-making in normal circumstances. This experience is generally true in parliamentary system as well as presidential system. Legislative Accountability The dimension of administrative accountability becomes larger if the age-old institution of interpellation (i.e. legislator's right to ask questions to the political executive) is taken into account. The top officials in the department know that policy-decisions of their departments may be challenged on the floor of the House. The main objective of parliamentary questions is not to inform ministers of public reaction to policy but to discipline the concerned administration. Administrative accountability, therefore, indirectly means accountability to legislature. Accountability of officials is also enforced through the committee system. In the standing committees attached to the ministries the departmental officials have to meet the queries made by legislators. In addition, there are consultative committees attached to ministries where the departmental officials are to meet the information needs of the members and also to discuss policy options suggested by the members. Besides these committees, sometimes parliamentary committee of investigation is formed, which is empowered to ask for files and other relevant documents and to call for evidence by government officials. In the United States, the Congressional Committees are very powerful and effective to enforce accountability of departmental officials who are put hard to defend their policies and actions on grounds of laws, rules and their own perception of public interest. Through its powers over the public purse, legislature seeks to ensure administrative accountability. Financial control exercised through passing the budget is a potent instrument in the hands of legislators. When legislature is critical about the government's policy or decision, it may veto or amend substantially by denying the necessary budgetary support. However, this instrument of enforcing accountability is more theoretical and potential than practical and real, especially in the case of parliamentary democracy. Post-audit of the government accounts is another means of ensuring accountability. The supreme auditor of public funds, in every democratic system, is duty-bound to place his report to Parliament. The actual procedure followed and the nomenclature of the national Auditor vary from country to country. But the common basic purpose of post-audit is to ensure that funds sanctioned by legislature are spent by the executive for the purpose for which funds are appropriated and also that all spending by public authorities are made as per laws and rules laid down.

159 Judicial Accountability In some liberal countries, including Britain and India, the higher judiciary can issue a variety of writs challenging decisions of the executive and legislature. The government officials, therefore, have to advise on policy-formulation and policy- implementation keeping in view the probable reaction of the court of law, if and when government policy and action are judicially challenged. To the extent that administration has the obligation to offer sufficient justification and proper explanation for its policy and action before a court of law, the judicial dimension of accountability becomes clear. Moreover, a quasi-judicial institution like Ombudsman renders useful service for ensuring accountability. The basic job of such institution is to defend public interests and public morale against actions of malfeasance, non-feasance and overfeasance of the executive by enforcing public accountability of public officials. Any Ombudsman- like body, having whichever form and actions, is a useful instrument for ensuring administrative accountability. Accountability to Media In modern democracies the administration and political executive generally feel an informal obligation to meet the queries of the press and other public media for two reasons : first, refusal to meet would be interpreted as arrogance and may give rise to avoidable suspicion ; secondly, if media can be properly fed with appropriate information, the task of policy formulation and implementation becomes easier as the general public obtains the necessary perspective of the government's point of view. Sometimes, a reliable and workable rapport with the press and other media helps the government to wage battles against undesirable and vested interests or corruption network. Moreover, informal accountability of the policy-maker and administrator to the interest groups, lobbies and pressure groups proves quite helpful in the pluralist structure of a democratic society. A great responsibility for monitoring the regulatory process in a democratic political system devolves on these groups and lobbies. These bodies sometimes leave good impact on public administration by identifying issues, making them understandable to the stakeholders, and facilitating public scrutiny of administrative policies and actions. Intelligent and well-motivated publicity of government policies and decisions is a major tool for promoting public interest. As M. M. Harmon has shown, four sets of conflicting values regarding "public interest" can be compared by viewing "public interest" as (i) unitary or individualistic, (ii) prescriptive or descriptive, (iii) substantive or procedural, and (iv) static or dynamic.

160 From this comparison, he has defined "public interest" as "continually changing outcome of political activity among individuals and groups within a democratic political system". [M. M. Harmon, "Administrative Policy Formulation and the Public Interest", *Public Administration Review*, Sept.-Oct., 1969]. That is to say, public interest is seen through the operation or process of public administration rather than its substance. In shaping the operation of administration, both public media and interest groups play important role. No public official can afford his/her accountability to these important public agencies. While dealing with these groups, the public administrator plays the role of a negotiator willing to listen to their arguments and viewpoints and trying to discover if and how far these can be accommodated in public policy. For proper performance of this job, the administrator is expected to possess knowledge about the affected interests and some amount of diplomatic skill. In a democratic political system, the government and public sector agencies can hardly afford either to neglect these groups or behave arrogantly with these groups, because the very functioning of these groups sets, to a large extent, a limit to the making of public policies and their proper implementation. Professional and Ethical Accountability As Carl J. Friedrich has argued, there is always a need of some discretion and elasticity of choice in the exercise of power by the public administrator, some inner self-checking upon his/her own behaviour. Hence he quite rightly refers to internal controls, like professional standard, code of ethics, and social values possessed by individual administrator, which are important in qualifying accountability of public officials. To the extent that these normative controls are strengthened, administrative accountability would increase. [Carl J. Friedrich, 'Public Policy and the Nature of Administrative Responsibility', in Friedrich and Mason (eds), *Public Policy*, Cambridge, Mass : Harvard Univ. Press, 1940.] These behavioural norms internalised by the administrator become an efficient form of control insofar as these norms serve as 'preventive' rather than 'correctional' measure against administrative malfeasance. The best such norm, undoubtedly, is the administrator's ethical commitment to public service as a profession. The ethical norms of administrative behaviour constitute the social values affecting accountability of public officials. The value system of civil service is essentially built up in response to the public image of public administration. The ethical pressure of public expectations about public administration sometimes compel the administrator to rise upto the ethical standard of professions of medical doctors and nurses, engineers and academic specialists serving in government departments and public agencies.

161 Parallel to this institutional environment, the prevailing overall political culture helps the public administrator to develop personal perception of his/her role in public service. The concept of administrative accountability is culturally oriented, and it changes with varying nature and degree of public image about the system of public administration prevailing in the society. The standard of professional ethics inherited by the administrative class in India during the first two decades after independence eroded over the years. The low mark was reached during the infamous "internal emergency" period (1975-77) and the erosion continued since then. Apart from the growing complications and normlessness in Indian politics, the decline in professional ethics of the administrative class and its internal value system has perceptively weakened the standard of public accountability in India. This situation is one of the many reasons for fast-spreading political and administrative corruption and symptoms of lawlessness in the country. 2.4

Public Accountability in Developing Countries Most ex-colonial developing countries follow a system of accountability that is patterned on the European model. The system had been introduced by the colonial masters before they departed from their colonies. Generally speaking, in a

such a system the civil servant is accountable to the minister only in a general way but that accountability is neither explicit nor

clarified adequately. In developing Third World countries where the ambit of state action is sizable, civil servants exercise enormous powers in defining the character and scope of public law and programmes, and deployment of government resources.

Since accountability is not clearly spelt out, it is left entirely to the incumbent political executive (minister) to interpret that accountability in a manner that is most convenient to him. Legislatures in most of the Third World

developing countries have not been able to exercise their function of enforcing accountability with regard to the executive in respect of

economic policies and budgeting. Although the opposition parties and groups in the legislature make much noise against the government, their criticisms tend to be unfocused and uninformed.

The scenario has been noted in

the World Bank reports. The legislators do not have access to critical information that is necessary for effectively overseeing executive action.

Sometimes

economic policies and the budget are presented to the legislature shrouded in such styles and

technicalities that they are beyond the comprehension of the average legislator. The majority of legislators in the developing Afro-Asian countries, unlike their counterparts in the developed western countries, do not have any meaningful access to

formal education

162 and training, and also to

privileged access to independent information such as analytical and investigative reports in the mass media, libraries and reference journals.

They do not also get the help of

skilled committee staff and independent consultants. The legislators are reduced to being formal clearing houses for proposals emanating from the civil service. The development-seeking Afro-Asian countries have not spawned the kind of informed consumer organizations, professional associations or independent research organizations that could propose competing alternatives to the policies of the government. The associations of business and industries do not seek to confront the government.

The trade unions in the developing countries occasionally offer some resistance but they are organized along political lines and are unable to take an apolitical view of most policy initiatives. The mass media is weak in the majority of the developing countries. The radio and television networks in majority of the

developing countries are owned by the government. Only some sections of the print media is the solitary institution of civil society that tries valiantly to enforce public accountability, but is handicapped by its lack of access to vital information about the internal functioning of the

government. The print and electronic media tends to be weak in financial and economic analysis and as a result, it is not possible for them to challenge the stranglehold of the bureaucracy over economic policies and the budgetary process. So far as accountability of civil servants to the user public is concerned, it is conspicuous only by its total absence in the developing countries.

Because in the poor Afro-Asian countries either public utilities for benefit of the citizens are absent, or public utilities are managed by bureaucrats and have a monopolistic presence in production and service delivery of most basic necessities. Terms like "user public" or "client public" are not in currency for describing the consumers of government-goods and services. Instead, the term "beneficiary" is used in administrative parlance. It is thus

clear that what is distributed is largesse and therefore the question of accountability does not arise. This is an issue of administrative culture. Good governance in these countries depends, to a large extent, on the desired changes in public administration's attitude towards the client public or users of public services. 2.5

Recent Experience The conventional model of minister-civil servant interface and accountability problem is no longer valid in real experience as the public choice theory of public administration documents. Politicians in power do not always embody people's

interest, because they are much motivated by self-interest as the civil servants. The pursuit of self-interest by politicians is manifested in their desire to stay in power, and their use of the state power and its resources to reward those who help them to continue in power. On the other hand, civil servants in reality exercise considerable power and influence in the discharge of executive functions. As the minister-civil servant relationship is issue-sensitive, the accountability relationship remains vague; "it can be anything from all pervasive to minimalistic." [S. K. Das, Civil Service Reform and Structural Adjustment, p. 11] The reality experience shows that on many occasions the minister and the civil servant may join together in a mutually beneficial concert to indulge in self-interested behaviour, which in some cases leads to self-aggrandisement. Ministers, in their turn, very often give the alibi that the "mutually beneficial concert" takes place because of the political pressure coming from the political party to which he/she belongs. The political party is the 'principal' and the minister is the 'agent', and again the minister is the 'principal' and the civil servant is the 'agent'. The 'principal-agent problem' can be tackled by re-structuring the relationship between them in such a manner as to minimize the agency costs and maximize the organizational objectives. The standard solutions suggested by the World Bank would be to prepare clear definitions of performance requirements, enhance transparency in decisions and their results, careful choice of agents, and performance-based incentives. [World Bank, Civil Service Reform (1994), Technical Paper No. 259]. The World Bank's recommendation is to undertake civil service reforms in order to achieve a 'leaner' state but not a 'meaner' state. Such a state should be capable to competently formulate policy, implement programmes and deliver services satisfactorily. [World Bank, Managing the Civil Service : Reform Lessons from Advanced Industrialized Countries (1994), Discussion Paper No. 204] In this context the need of transparency in governance as an important component of the idea of Good Governance becomes very much significant. 2.6 Concluding Observations : Accountability In practical terms, good governance is conditioned by the priority given to build up creditable arrangements for political and administrative accountability. Simultaneously, this arrangement needs to be supported by freedom of association, freedom for the media, efficient and independent judiciary, freedom of information

164 (transparency in governance). What is also required, side by side, includes effective functioning of public organizations of a pluralist institutional structure, rule of law, better information communication network, and participatory development process. All these conditions, if and when present in a democratic polity, would strengthen political accountability. At the core of public accountability is the need for rigorous system of financial accountability with swift and tough penalties for malfeasance. The political commitment to establish honest and effective system of administrative accountability can be achieved only through an effective system of political accountability and an efficient and independent judicial administration.

2.7 Transparency : Introductory Note One of the characteristics of the Weberian bureaucracy is the culture of secrecy. As the model of social welfare state developed, bureaucracy claimed more and more powers to control the governance process. Its administrative efficiency succeeded in better delivery of public services, but administrators claimed that their efficiency is better achieved when they are allowed to function in a culture of secrecy. Huge powers and high secrecy at all levels of administration characterize the mode of functioning of bureaucracy. This is an inheritance from the colonial times. However, in post-colonial period the tradition continued unabated. Government files are marked 'confidential' and 'secret' according to the arbitrary decision of the administrator and political executive. It would be no exaggeration to say that bureaucratic self-enclosure has been developed into an art form over the years. Even at block and village level the concerned administrators always prefer to take shelter under the style and practice of administrative secrecy. As noted in a document of National Academy of Administration, the process of policy formulation and implementation has become an executive-centred activity : an internal matter decided by the civil servants, and decisions affecting individuals are shrouded in confidentiality and taken behind closed doors. [Atindra Sen, Civil Service Reforms, Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, (1995).] Things began to change in the post-World War II period. The U N General Assembly at its first session in 1946 mentioned freedom of information as "a fundamental human right and the touchstone of all the freedoms to which the UN is consecrated". Next, the UN Declaration of Human Rights (1948) laid down

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that "everyone shall have the right to seek, receive, impart information and ideas through

the media regardless of frontiers." This declaratory statement was just an expression of ideal democratic way of living. It has no legally binding effect on any State.

165 About two decades later the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) clearly affirmed that the right to freedom of speech and expression included the right to information of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally or in writing or in print. Theory of democratic governance believes in the moral personality of the individual or the group. This assumption creates the utter necessity of certain civil rights of the individual and the group against the State. Rights as claims against the State and/or administration have a liberation connotation. 'Rights mean moral and/ or legal recognition of choices or interests to which particular weight is attached. 'Civil rights' are created when the State gives constitutional or statutory guarantee to citizens' moral and/or socio-economic claims. Legal and administrative support adds teeth to the laws and provides for the enforcement of civil rights. Administration, court, and people's initiative are all involved in creating and re-creating civil rights. People's movement creates consciousness of rights and take concrete issues to the court. When the court's verdict goes in favour of people's claims, the administration is forced to pay heed to them and thereby create civil rights. The right to transparency in governance is one such civil right, which enriches democracy, both ideologically and strategically. Amartya Sen in his book Development and Freedom (1993) has identified five kinds of freedom viz. enabling freedom, political freedom, economic freedom, protection freedom, and transparency freedom. Transparency freedom is represented in right to information. In democratic polity of modern times "information" is power. Right to choose a government through popular election becomes meaningless if citizens are deprived of 'transparency freedom". That means, citizens should have free and easy access to all kinds of information regarding actual performance of the power-holders and power-seekers, the policies and programmes of contesting parties and groups. The right to information is the cornerstone of the fundamental edifice of freedom and choice without which democratic governance loses all its charm and significance. The basic theory of democracy stands on the assumption that citizens would contribute their considered judgment over the performance of their rulers and decide on their policy choices with the help of information about policies and programmes as well as the level of actual performance of the power-holders. Informed citizenry provides the strongest foundation of democratic governance. 2.8

Transparency and Good Governance Introduction Transparency denotes governmental functioning in as much openness as possible

166 and also citizens' right to know about the government's transaction. Enforcing accountability is facilitated if the government machinery and the governance procedure are made responsive to the needs and demands of the people. In order to make responsive governance possible, new laws need to be enacted, regulations framed and procedure made simpler and transparent. All these arrangements are especially necessary for serving the interest of the weaker and poorer section of the society. Secrecy and lack of openness in governance is the symbol of feudal and authoritarian administration. Openness and transparency are absolutely needed to make governance responsive. Only when this is achieved can there be people's trust in governance, and corruption in administration can be reduced and brought to the minimum. Nature of Transparency For achieving transparent governance, accessibility to information about decision-making procedure and decisions taken in public affairs need to be ensured. The government records and papers are to be made open by suitably amending the law governing official secrecy. The very fact that information is accessible to the people helps in building people's trust in the system of governance. For achieving this purpose, the governmental structure and governance procedure require to be improved by making rules for negating political interference in administration. Codification and simplification of procedures need to be ensured for the sake of good governance. People's participation at the grassroots level helps increase transparency in governance by bringing out facts and throwing full light on administrative discretion used. Transparency in governance is promoted further if judicial administration is made open, speedy and efficient. Governance is, after all, a trust with people's trust and a commitment of the people for the people, a social compact for achieving the greatest good of the society. It becomes effective and fruitful when the people are institutionally and ethically allowed to develop a stake in protecting and promoting public interest at large. In order to ensure good governance, transparency is one of the important elements by which honest attempts can be made to curb politico-administrative corruption. Transparency demands availability of information to the general public and clarity about government rules, regulations, and decisions. The public as the stakeholders should not be kept insulated from the mainstream activities of the government. In fact, the principle of people's participation is derived from an acceptance of the point that people are at the heart of the development process and its management. They are not only the ultimate beneficiaries of development but are 167 also the agents of development. Since development is both for the people and by the people, there is need to ensure public access to the institutions that promote representative democracy. This political approach and philosophy of democratic administration has been reflected in the 73rd and 74th amendments (1992) to the Indian Constitution. In the 'provisions for Gram Sabha in panchayat administration and Ward Committee in municipal administration transparency and democratization have been sought to be realised. Through those institutional mechanisms the democratic process has been taken to the grassroots level. Public administration in most developing countries lacks transparency and openness. Bureaucracies have traditionally been closed shops. Their stranglehold over information and refusal to part with it, has been, in a true sense, the real source of their power. This is what is known as bureaucratic "self-enclosure", which is usually sustained under the rubric of secrecy and confidentiality. [For further discussion on this point, see David Beetham, Bureaucracy, Milton Keynes : Open University Press, 1987, p. 114] In the developing countries, bureaucratic self-enclosure is often

carried to ridiculous extremes. Policy formulation tends to be a closed and executive-centred activity. It is considered an internal matter decided by the senior civil servants. Large parts of the population, whose lives and incomes are affected by these policies, do not have access to information, with the result that they are not in a position to influence the policy formulation and implementation process. This point has been elaborated by Merilee Grindle in the article "The New Political Economy: Positive Economics and Negative Politics" [see, Gerald Meier (ed), Politics and Policy- Making in Developing Countries, San Francisco: ICS Press, 1991] One of the best example of "bureaucratic enclosure" is found in the handling of the industrialization policy of the Government of West Bengal in 2006 - 07 in respect of the Tata's small car project in Singur. The agreement signed by the West Bengal Government with the Tatas had been treated with utmost administrative secrecy. To quote Thomas Jefferson, it is the people who are the "safe repository of the ultimate powers of the society." Hence people needs to be always aware of their position. With this goal, they should be properly enlightened in such a way that they be in a position to establish their claim to question everything concerning their interests which may be subverted by corruption in politics and administration. The goal of achieving transparency in government and administration can best be achieved by clean practices of the enlightened political parties, constructive Opposition, free and progressive media. One of the instruments necessary for a transparent ambience of governance is the Right to Information as a recognised civil right of the people in a democracy.

168 2.9 Right to Information Good governance is facilitated if the people have the civil right to access what happens in government and administration. James Madison (1751 - 1836), the American statesman, said in 1822 that " a popular government without popular information, without means of acquiring it, is but a Prologue to a Farce or Tragedy, or perhaps both."

Transparency and information constitutes one of the main specific items of "good governance" identified by the World Bank document on Governance and Development (1992). The citizens' right to information is increasingly recognised as an important instrument to promote openness, transparency and accountability in public administration. In this age of globalization and liberalization, secrecy in government has become an anachronism. Citizens, stakeholders in democratic governance, consumers of public services, .beneficiaries of development programmes, civil society organizations, business world and commercial houses - all must have access to information they require from the "public authorities" relating to their operations, administration and decisions. Only when the public administration is made sufficiently accountable and transparent, the access to information could be guaranteed. It has been the common experience in public affairs in all countries that a system of public administration operating in secrecy is more prone to corruption as compared to a system which operates in openness. Transparency in government is an important means of combating political, economic and administrative corruption and a significant step towards empowering the people in a democratic polity which needs to be based on the trust of the governed. Secrecy in governmental functioning invariably facilitates and promotes corruption, oppression, nepotism, and misuse or abuse of authority. The Franks Committee Report (United Kingdom, 1972) has rightly observed: "

A government which pursues secret aims, or which operates in greater secrecy than the effective conduct of its proper functions require, or which turns information services into propaganda agencies; will lose the trust of the people. It will be countered by ill-informed and destructive criticism."

The contemporary theory of democratic policy underlines the urgent need for making the government citizen-centric, implying thereby that government should be not merely representative but, more importantly, responsive to the citizens' legitimate needs, aspirations and grievances. The citizens, on the other hand, are required to be cooperative and vigilant. As Pericles, the eminent statesman of ancient Greece, had said, : "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." And citizens can be adequately

169 vigilant only if sufficient information about government functioning could be guaranteed. The right to information is the necessary instrument for producing enlightened and informed citizenry. The right to information removes unnecessary secrecy in the

functioning of public authority and thereby helps to improve the quality of decision-making in public policy and administration. By using their access to government documents and records of public administration, informed citizens can contribute to making better public policies, influence the process of policy formulation and decision-making in democratic governance. Right to information is a very useful tool to strengthen democratic governance at the grassroots and ensure people's participation in local governance and developmental activities. It can effectively bring local governance under public scrutiny and help the administration to avoid costly mistakes. Public accountability of the policy-makers and administrators becomes meaningless without transparency in public affairs. Proper accountability, backed by adequate transparency in public administration, help people fight for the kind of policies and actions that would create decent jobs, improve access to education and control corruption in a significant way. These are important items of the Millennium Development Goals enunciated in the historic Millennium

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Declaration adopted by 189 countries at the United Nations Millennium Summit in September 2000. The UNDP in its Human Development Report 2003 emphasised the important role of civil society groups in implementation and monitoring of the progress towards the Millennium Development Goals by popular mobilisation through open, participatory political culture in order to sustain the political will to achieve the goals. Against this backdrop of developments at the international level, India's Tenth Five Year Plan document (2002) not only placed governance reform at the centre- stage of development planning but also recognised Right to Information as the key to achieving good governance. The right to information is immensely important in view of the fact that very often people do not even know what programmes and schemes are available and what facilities and benefits the people are entitled to. Also, policy and procedural reforms can be effective only when people know that such changes have been made. Information by itself is never the end in itself. It is the means to empower the people legally to have access to their other democratic rights. Such a legislation is helpful in strengthening grassroots movements and enhancing people's awareness and ability not only to access their entitlements but also to ensure effective implementation of development programmes.

170 2.10 RTI : Indian Experience The Right to Information Act was passed by India's Parliament in May 2005 and received Presidential assent on 15th June 2005. In India the right to information was judicially recognised by the Supreme Court in the Uttar Pradesh vs. Rajasthan case (1975) in its observation

that the right to information is implied in the right to freedom of speech and expression

guaranteed under Art. 19(1) and the right to life and liberty guaranteed by Art. 21 of the Constitution. The apex court, again, reiterated the people's right to know every decision taken in a public way by public authority functionaries in the S. P. Gupta vs. Union of India case (1982). Meanwhile, the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative,

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international NGO, had been advocating the right to information for several years. The right to information gained the status of a full-fledged civil right in India towards the end of the 1990s when legislations on the right to information were passed in a number of States of the Indian republic. Between 1997 and 2004 as many as nine States had their own RTI legislations. These state legislations were mostly over-protective of the bureaucracy's unwillingness to disclose governmental information and provided no penalty for officials for either refusing to disclose information or delaying a decision without any justification. Background The popular movement for the right to information began in Rajasthan under the banner of Mazdoor Kishan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS), led by Aruna Roy, who had resigned from the Indian Administrative Service to assist the rural folk in demanding benefits under development projects. She convinced the poor people that they must be agents of their own empowerment and they must act politically to achieve it. She and her co-activists in the movement realised that information relating to all aspects of policy-framing and implementation of development projects was the key to the uplift of the dispossessed and the marginalised sections of the society. The MKSS's sustained campaign finally led to the RTI enactment in Rajasthan. Subsequently, a few other states enacted their own RTI legislations. Very soon the need for a central legislation was felt. First, the

BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (

NDA) government enacted the Freedom of Information legislation in 2002. This Act, however, did not come into force, because the necessary notification and the Rules under the Act were not made. While disposing some Public Interest Litigations, the Supreme Court held in early 2003 that the voters' right to know is vitally linked to the citizens' right to freedom of expression guaranteed by Art. 19. (1) of the Constitution, because the right to vote would be meaningless unless citizens were

171 well-informed about the candidates' property interests and criminal background, if any. The next

Congress party-led United Progressive Alliance (

UPA) government promised quick action on a better RTI legislation. The RTI Act 2005 came into force on 12th October 2005. [For details, see Asok Kumar Mukhopadhyay (ed), Right to Information, ATI : Govt. of West Bengal (2007)] RTI Act (2005)

The Act of 2005

makes it obligatory for every public authority to publish all relevant information and data regarding its organization, functions, duties, role of its officers, the procedure followed in decision-making, its project-wise expenditure and so on. The Act provides that information which cannot be denied to legislature would not be denied to any citizen. Under this Act, the central government constitutes the Central Information Commission headed by the Chief Information Commissioner enjoying a semi-judicial status; and the State governments constitute the State Information Commission headed by State Chief Information Commissioner enjoying the status of the Chief Secretary. These Information Commissioners at the centre and state level have been given the powers of a civil court. In constituting the Information Commissions, an excessive reliance on bureaucrats has been noticed and virtually there is no representation of people with non-civil service background. The RTI Act (2005) requires every public authority to designate the Public Information Officers (PIO) in all administrative units or offices to provide information to persons requesting for information. The PIOs are required to provide the information on payment of prescribed fee or reject the request, within thirty days of receipt of the request. The aggrieved applicant for information may prefer appeal against the decision of the PIO. The citizens' right to have information on demand would not however be entertained in matters relating to sovereignty and integrity of India; and

the security, strategic, scientific or economic interests of the State; India's foreign policy management; incitement to an offence;

contempt of court; parliamentary privileges; commercial confidence, trade secrets or intellectual property; individual's fiduciary interests; life or physical safety of a person; matters likely to impede the process of investigation or apprehension or prosecution of offenders; the cabinet papers including cabinet deliberations; privacy of the individual. Implementation Since the enforcement of the Act (2005) on 12th October 2005, its implementation has revealed some interesting additional dimensions because of judicial decisions. It

172 has been revealed by the Central Chief Information Commissioner that the level of people's awareness of the RTI Act is not quite satisfactory, especially in States like West Bengal. [Ananda Bazar Patrika, 23.04.2008 and The Statesman editorial 25.04.08]. Even Prime Minister M. M. Singh admitted that the public authorities still have a long way to go in proactive disclosures of information. The reluctance of the government departments to disclose information is widespread and very common. [Hindusthan Times, 04.11.2000]. Voluntary disclosure of government information by public authorities is imperative for citizens to realise the full potential of the information legislation. The Public Information Officers (

PIOs) of public authorities, however, complain of inadequate office staff and improper record-keeping systems as the biggest stumbling block in providing information to the public. The experience of the Information Commissioners suggests that they felt hindered in delivering justice in cases of denial of information by the PIOs because of non-availability of enough funds and the overwhelming number of people using the RTI to settle personal scores. [Hindusthan Times, 04.11.2008]. The

overall experience throughout India suggests that applications for information are not always brief and precise and are written in a clumsy manner. The Information Commissions are sometimes confused if the presentation is not neat and specific. Like a frivolous Public Interest Litigation (PIL) in a court of law, the meaningless, irrelevant and hypothetical queries do not come within the ambit of Right to Information Act. There is a popular misconception that the RIT Act is an instrument or forum for personal grievance redressal. Sometimes the habitual seekers of irrelevant information create difficulties in the smooth functioning of the Information Commission.

The Information Commission in West Bengal, even after ten years of its foundation, remains structurally defective. It flies in the face of the RTI Act which provides for a multi-member (not more than ten) commission, yet the West Bengal Commission still makes do with a "trustworthy" retired bureaucrat as the single-member panel. Moreover, as admitted by the CIC of West Bengal himself, the state is lagging behind primarily because information gets filtered and dished out to anxious citizens only on the government's terms. There is little doubt that any data that the ruling party and the government wish to suppress will not be disclosed. (The Statesman editorial, 25.04.2008). After three years of its foundation, it is found that the Central Information Commission, which oversees the RTI, has failed to provide even basic information like the number and status of cases and pending appeals. It has even been accused of not keeping any records of judgments and orders passed on RTI applications or of pending cases.

173 Recently, the Central Information Commission has ruled, on a point of interpretation, that once the Cabinet "arrives at a decision", all papers pertaining to it are "disclosable". (The Statesman, 27.10.2009). Earlier, the Central CIC had called the bluff of the Union government's intent on manipulating a piece of parliamentary legislation and being evasive in disclosing information. The ruling makes it clear that "file notings are not classified information; they are, as they were meant to be, for public consumption." [The Statesman, 04.07.2008]. The relevant point is that any government would abuse its powers if it is permitted to function in secrecy, which is an instrument of conspiracy and ought not to be a system of regular government. Secrecy contributes to the disempowerment of ordinary citizens. The Calcutta High Court and also the Supreme Court have made it an obligation on the part of all universities, boards of examination and public service commissions to show the examined scripts to the examinees under the RTI Act. While deciding on the central government's plea that the information on immovable property of government servants is exempted from disclosure as such property is personal and has no relationship with any public activity or interest, the Central CIC has ruled that government officers and employees can be made to reveal details about their private properties under the transparency law [The Statesman, 30.5.2008]. Recently, the members of Parliament have been found to be intent on interpreting the RTI Act on their own terms. The MPs preferred that the applicants for information about the assets of the MPs should furnish reasons for seeking information and that the Speaker should refer these applications to the Privilege Committee. That is, the MPs are seen to be keen on establishing a cordon sanitaire that will shield the elected representatives from an electorate demanding information. Unfortunately, the general standard of probity of the politicians is scarcely above board. The Central CIC has already directed all political parties to disclose their income tax returns in response to a request filed by

a registered body called Association of People's Democratic Rights. The reported stand of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court that his office does not come under the purview of the RTI Act is also not acceptable to many quarters. Parliament's Standing Committee on Personnel, Public Grievances, Law and Justice has unambiguously asserted that the RTI Act applies to all Constitutional authorities, including the Judiciary, as they are "public authorities", and the Speaker has taken the same stand. [

The Times of India editorial, 07.04.2008, and The Times of India, 30.04.2008]. After some public debate, the Supreme Court judges have expressed
174 their readiness to disclose their assets provided a new legislation defines "assets" and creates a legal machinery under which they could declare their assets [

The Times of India, 25.02.2009]. In the process of RTI implementation a serious threat comes in respect of giving adequate security to the Whistleblowers who take initiative and risk in revealing gross corruptions in government. The role of information activists is very important as their efforts ultimately strengthen the cause of transparent governance. In India the Whistleblowers Protection Bill was introduced in August 2010 and referred to a Parliamentary Standing Committee in September 2010. But it took four years for the legislation to get into the Statute Book. The Whistleblowers Protection Act was finally passed and received Presidential nod in May 2014. The Act provides a mechanism for protecting the identity of whistleblowers (information activists exposing corruption). It also provides for a system to encourage people to disclose information about corruption or the wilful misuse of power by public servants, including ministers. But the whistleblowers in India are not safe and do not receive adequate security as it is proved in the murder of whistleblowers in many parts of India despite the police providing nominal security.

2.11 Transparency : Concluding Observations One important aspect of accountability is information. In many democratic and industrial countries and also in developing countries of the Third World, transparency legislations have been passed to provide information. Starting in Sweden, which was the first country to pass its Freedom of the Press Act in 1766, right up to Bangladesh, which framed its Right to Information Act in 2009, the movement for transparent governance has now spread across the world with a view to strengthening democratic governance with varying degrees of success in nearly sixty countries. They have their own laws to facilitate access to information on how the government, other public authorities, and even autonomous bodies and corporate firms using public funds in some ways discharge their obligation to disclose information relating to their functioning. The older democracies like Britain and the United States have also felt the need for legislations for protecting the citizen's right to information. The World Bank and the IMF and such other international bodies also agree to disclose their information to the extent possible in order to ensure transparency. Both media and civil society groups everywhere agitate for more access to records and information for people's participation in the governance process. One important aspect of accountability is information. In many democratic

175 industrial countries, there is so much information publicly available on the operations of government organizations. In countries having Freedom of Information legislation, this situation is even more pronounced. But sheer quantity is not the point : more important is the relevance of information. Audit institutions can play an important role in assuring the reliability and even relevance or validity of performance information while not detracting from the responsibility of management to develop good performance information as part of self-evaluation. Performance contracting involves both an increased emphasis on performance and the development of new accountability instruments.

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176 Sir William Reid, 'Public Accountability and Open Government in United Kingdom', Indian Journal of Public Administration, July-Sept. 1995. M. A. Ahammad, 'Good Governance through Transparency', Management in Government, 31 (3), Oct.-Dec., 1999. 2.13 Sample questions Long-answer questions : 1. Discuss the importance of public accountability in governance process. 2. Discuss the importance of transparency as an instrument of Good Governance. 3. Trace the evolution of public accountability as a fundamental principle in Public Administration. 4. Analyse the different forms of public accountability as instruments of Good Governance. 5. Write an evaluative essay on public accountability in the developing countries. 6. Discuss the importance of transparency as a fundamental instrument of Good Governance. 7. Analyse the historical background of enactment of Right to Information in India. Short-answer questions : 1. Mention the three phases of evolution of the ideology of democratic governance. 2. Give a short definition of the concept of accountability. 3. What are the different forms of accountability in governance? 4. Write a short note on political accountability. 5. Examine the concept of administrative accountability. 6. Indicate how legislature in a democracy can enforce accountability. 7. Briefly explain what is meant by judicial accountability in a democratic polity. 8. Explain the concept of professional and ethical accountability. 9. Discuss briefly the importance of transparency as a principle of Good Governance. 10. Briefly indicate the role of whistleblowers in transparent governance?

177 Unit 3 □□□□□ Decentralization, Devolution and Development Structure 3.1 Introduction 3.2 Meaning of Decentralization and Devolution 3.3 Meaning of Development 3.4 Ideological Debate on Decentralization 3.5 Democratic Decentralization 3.6 Development through Decentralization : Indian Experiments 3.7 Conclusion 3.8 References 3.9 Sample Questions 3.1 Introduction The problem of decentralization has been at the core of political philosophy, constitutional study and Public Administration as a serious issue in the history of ideas. Preference for decentralization is universal, yet the concept does not evoke unanimity as regards its meaning, scope, significance, contents, or even limits. Ecology, history, tradition, political culture, compulsion of development needs, sometimes the vision of a happy political utopia have been responsible for lack of unanimity about this concept. Decentralization has to be interpreted in terms of area and geography, tasks and functions as well as inter-and intra-institutional relationships. But one thing is common : decentralization itself is intrinsic to democracy, although it is not confined to any one variety of political system. Decentralization provides the necessary avenue to the individual citizen and the community for their genuine and maximum self- expression as well as contribution to social good. There is no uniform intellectual, political or administrative model of decentralization. In the post-colonial developing countries in Asia and Africa, even Latin America, where nation-building is the pressing imperative for the people, there is some tendencies among the elitist sections to opt for a centralised and strong governmental system. In course of time, however, the centralization-decentralization

178 debate has ceased to be a matter of ideological conflict, mainly because of advance of technology and modernization of social behaviour and institutions. More and more the two concepts are seen as fortifying each other with their distinct sphere of importance. In operational process decentralization gained roots whenever and wherever political conditions appeared favourable. With the epithet 'democratic', decentralization implies political and administrative pluralism, which satisfies people's aspiration for self-rule and responsive governance. In post-colonial countries decentralization strategy has two major goals viz. nation-building and development. 3.2 Meaning of Decentralization and Devolution The idea of decentralization is inherent in the practical application of the democratic ideal to the administrative organization. As an administrative process, decentralization is the converse of centralization and it "

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denotes the transference of authority--legislative, judicial or administrative--from a higher level of government to a lower level". [

L. D. White, 'Decentralization' in Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, vol. 5 (1959).] By associating people with the process of administration, it seeks to provide nuclei of local energies, initiatives and enthusiasm. By so doing, it offers a means to, and an impetus for, the goal of social and economic betterment. The sheer magnitude and volume of the tasks of a democratic welfare state requires a good deal of delegation of authority, and the settlement of much business at the points where it arises. Much authority has to be delegated, in fact, by the central reservoir of power to the field agents. In some cases, again, proper adjustment of policy and programme to local conditions requires discretionary decision by the field officer. Basically the process of decentralization seeks to create greater energy, a higher sense of responsibility, and better morale among the field agents. Thus in the modern complex mass societies of today, decentralization has become an imperative necessity of democratic administration. Today decentralization is not something which politicians and administrators may just dandle, like a lisping child, before their eyes. It has rather become, like the oxygen cylinder to a suffocated patient, an inexorable necessity of vital importance for the success of all developmental projects. It is impossible to standardize the usage of the word 'decentralization' by seeking to give it meanings that would be accepted universally. To quote A. W. Macmahon, "the English language took the word from Latin; it shares it with the Romance language...it must be accepted as a word of innumerable applications. Through all of them, however, runs a common idea, which is inherent in the word's Latin roots,

179 meaning away "from the centre" [Delegation and Autonomy, Bombay : Asia Pub, 1961, p. 15]. Conceptually, 'decentralization' embraces the related processes of 'deconcentration', 'devolution' and 'delegation'. Deconcentration means, according to Henry Maddick, "the delegation of authority adequate for the discharge of specified functions to the staff of a central department who are situated outside the headquarters". [Democracy, Decentralization and Development, Bombay : Asia Pub, 1966, p.23]. In other words, deconcentration "denotes mere delegation to a subordinate officer of capacity to act in the name of the superior without a transfer of authority from him. Devolution, on the other hand, refers to the process of "the legal conferring of powers to discharge specified or residual functions upon formally constituted local authorities." [H. Maddick, op. cit., p.-23] That is to say, conferment of authority must be by law, and power has to be given to local authority which is constituted under constitutional provision or statutes enacted by legislature. Power or authority given once by way of devolution cannot be taken back without subsequent amendment of the constitution or repeal of the law under which power / authority is given to another authority which is constitutionally or statutorily created. When the word 'delegation' is used, it refers to relations in which powers are formally conferred under law, as per the constitutional provision or by the legislature to an executive agency, or by an administrator to an administrative subordinate office, or powers transferred from one level of government to another level. [A. W. Macmahon, op. cit., p.-16] That is to say, powers once delegated by the delegator can be subsequently taken back by the delegator from the delegatee by executive order in case any administrative reason arises. A Study Team of the Planning Commission (Government of India) made clear this distinction between 'devolution' and 'delegation'. It observed : "It is not infrequently that delegation of power is mistaken for decentralization. The former does not divest the Government of the ultimate responsibility for the actions of the authority to whom power is delegated; this authority is under the control of the Government and is in every way subordinate to it. Decentralization, on the other hand, is

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a process whereby the Government divests itself completely of certain duties and responsibilities and devolves them on to some other authority." [

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Report of the Team for the Study of Community Development Projects and National Extension Service, Committee on Plan Projects, Planning Commission, New Delhi,

vol. I, Sec. 2, p. 7 (1957)]

180 Decentralization creates a corporate sense of responsibility in the

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local decision- making agencies having more or less independent existence and powers.

In Harold Laski's language, decentralization "is a training in self-government. It confides the administration of powers to those who will feel most directly the consequences of those powers." [Harold J. Laski, A Grammar of Politics, London : George Allen & Unwin (1960), p. 61] Decentralization in the sense of devolution of powers has the great merit of retarding conditions favourable to bureaucracy by breaking the administrative hierarchy at specific levels of administration. This process facilitates closer adaptation of legislative and administrative methods to the needs and opinions of given areas. Administration, in the ultimate analysis, is a human problem, because the ultimate goal of public administration is to meet the needs of the people to the satisfaction of the people in the best possible methods. Without establishing adequate contact with the governed and without establishing suitable channels of communication with the people at large, selling the idea and programmes of development and creating sufficient popular enthusiasm for different welfare projects become practically impossible. To attain this basic goal, decentralization enormously helps by providing suitable institutional agencies for transmitting the message of the government to the governed and carrying back the grievances of the government. The process of decentralization, broadly speaking, instills a sense of participation and belongingness into the minds of the people. This advantage of decentralization is a great asset of democratic administration for effectively realising the ideal of "grassroots democracy."

3.3 Meaning of Development

The term 'development' indicates the direction of historical change in modern times, characterised by an accelerating pace of technological advance. It has the flavour of secular teleos (purpose it serves) about it. The simple definition of 'development' is the secular (non-ideological) evolution towards a participant society seeking a reasonable synthesis of the egalitarian and libertarian dimensions. Broadly speaking, 'development' indicates advancement towards a higher state of living. The change process involves an operationally viable and reasonably acceptable fusion of both egalitarian and libertarian ideologies. How this fusion would take effect in any society depends on its history, social values, culture, economic conditions and leadership pattern.

181 In the ex-colonial countries of the Third World the immediate aspiration of the people is to catch up with the industrially developed western countries and define their "preferred future". Simply speaking, development implies a change in social objectives that is desirable and acceptable to the people. According to United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), development is "to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living and to be able to participate in the life of the community". Another perspective view of development is freeing people from obstacles that affect their ability to build up their own lives. Viewed from this perspective, development is empowerment. This means necessary powers and authority are to be devolved to the local or regional level so that people can take control of their lives, articulate their interests and find solutions to their problems. As such, development is cherished by all individuals, communities and nations. Development needs to be distinguished from economic growth. Economic growth means an increase in the value of all goods and services produced in an economy, which is called Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Growth is, therefore, an increase in the productive capacity of an economy. Development, on the other hand, implies an improvement in the national welfare of the people. Therefore, development is a qualitative concept and denotes an improvement in the general standard of living in a country or economy. Although economic growth is an essential component of development, it does not denote development if there is no equitable distribution of benefits of growth across different sections of the society. The basic elements of development should include the following : (i) substantial reduction of poverty; (ii) improvement of living standard of majority of the people; (iii) increase in material welfare of the people; (iv) equitable distribution of the benefits of economic growth; (v) increase of skill development of all; (vi) enhancement of technology and capacity-building to produce wider range of goods and services; (vii) building institutional structures for promoting active participation of people in decision-making in developmental process. In short, 'development' may be defined as an activity or process of both qualitative and quantitative change in the existing systems, aiming at immediate

182 improvement of the living conditions of the people or increasing the potential for betterment of living conditions in future. The concept of 'development' has certain human dimensions in the sense that it should fulfil the basic human needs, promote human self-respect and guarantee human freedom. In a United Nations document it has been remarked : "the concept of development is to be understood in terms of fundamental humanistic values rather than narrower techno-economic notions. The core of this concept is de-alienation of man vis-a-vis both material forces of production and society and a purposeful growth of human personality." Experts have concluded that the objectives of 'development' may be described as follows : (i) To increase the availability, and widen the distribution, of basic necessities; (ii) To raise the living standard as well as cultural and humanistic values; (iii) To expand the range of economic and social choice for the human population and removal of disparities. [G. Sreedhar and D. Rajasekhar, Rural Development in India : Strategies and Processes, New Delhi : Concept (2014), p.5]

3.4 Ideological Debate on Decentralization

There is no uniform intellectual, political or administrative model of decentralization. The theme of decentralization reflects the opposing pulls and tendencies of a strong and authoritarian direction, on one side, and those of a volitional, participative approach, on the other. Historically these apparently opposing forces have had their periods of ups and downs. In every age and every country there were examples of authoritarian rulers who built great infrastructures of development. For example, the Roman emperors, the Indian emperors and rulers in ancient and medieval periods, and kings and zaminders in modern period, Hitler in Germany and Stalin in the USSR, and a number of Latin American, Asian and Africans dictatorial rulers in modern period took much interest in developing infrastructural facilities like roads, stadia, irrigation projects, slum clearance, communications and so on. In the post-colonial period in the 20th century nation-building and development have been the pressing imperatives for the people and in many countries a strong and centralized administration is generally favoured as the politico-administrative panacea. In several countries the military rule has received popular support, because the elites there prefer to take the risk of non-democratic rule because otherwise the alternative would be slipping back to colonial rule or emergence of neo-colonialism. However, by and

183 large, the forces and arguments for decentralization have come up to re-establish the values of democratic administration, political accountability, transparency in governance and human rights. The erstwhile USSR under Stalin introduced centralised socialist planning for development since 1928 and this model of development immediately caught the imagination of some Fabian thinkers like Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb and also some young nationalists in India like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose in the 1930s. But this attraction for centralised planning and development model later evaporated when the ruthlessness of the Stalin regime and the chaos in production and distribution came to public knowledge. The question of expanding government control over production and distribution system and public delivery of services controlled by bureaucracy is intimately linked up with the debate on centralization versus decentralization. The more there is centralization, the more the hierarchical structures becomes necessary in order to control, coordinate, communicate, direct and supervise and finally to take preventive or punitive action as necessitated by the exigencies of the central administration. Hence social philosophers like M. K. Gandhi placed greater faith in the genius of the local people to solve their own problems without interference of the government. The pertinent point is whether local initiatives alone would be able to rise successfully upto the challenges of all-round development of society and economy under the circumstances of semi-feudal conditions and widespread culture of corruption. Alexis de Tocqueville thought that however enlightened and skillful the central power may be, it cannot of itself embrace all the details of a great nation. David Lilienthal, a great champion of grassroots democracy, felt that centralization is a threat to the human spirit everywhere and its control is a concern of all men who love freedom. The problem is that there is no process of socio-economic development known in history which can be totally insulated from politics. Even a "partyless polity" cannot be independent of class and it will also not be independent of castes and sub-castes. Moreover, it would be totally utopian to think of any governance structure without bureaucracy in some form or other. Admittedly, bureaucracy is not a class by itself nor is it a homogeneous monolith. It is not totally opposed to the common man. In the USA the classical debate between Hamilton and Jefferson indicates the point that class outlook influences the question of centralization and decentralization. Hamilton, an arch conservative, wanted centralised authority to support the business

184 class and the industrial enterprises. Jefferson was more concerned with public welfare and favoured state control of commerce but wanted that there should be more decentralization that would strengthen agrarian democracy. He was apprehensive that centralization might help emerge tyrannical governance. Administration everywhere takes its shape and spirit in a socio-economic and political milieu. The experience of the internal emergency in India during 1975-77 shows that if the administrative machinery, under the pressure of overall politics, fails in its duty to exercise word of caution and protect the spirit and letter of law, morality and good governance, the institutions of decentralized democracy become totally meaningless. The academic debate over centralization versus decentralization is unresolvable. The moot point is that democracy must survive and then only necessary decentralization reform would yield political-administrative dividends for the benefit of the people. The basic need for good governance is to make the political and administrative executives adequately accountable and establish transparency in the governance process. 3.5 Democratic Decentralization So long as the representative and democratic institutions capable of supplying the local interest, supervision and care cannot be created, it would not

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be possible to evoke local interest and excite local initiative in the field of development

administration. In development-seeking democratic countries these arguments become very much pertinent. Strictly speaking, the term 'decentralization' should not ordinarily contain any democratic connotation, hence the adjective "democratic" is used to impart a special meaning to the term. Democratic decentralization means not merely the creation of a few elected institutions and revamping the already-existing ones to suit the expanding needs of Development Administration but something more, namely, a total transformation in the outlook regarding power relationships and a radical re-orientation of our attitudes toward the power structure in the government. As a political concept, 'democratic decentralization' aims at widening the area of people's participation, authority and autonomy through dispersion of powers from the top to the bottom. The concept of democratic decentralization possesses two virtues viz. it is consistent with the

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democratic trend, and it is also technically the most efficient method of formulation and execution of

the local developmental programmes. It is democratic in the sense that the source from which power is decentralized itself has its democratic basis, and the body to which power flows is also democratically 185 organized. Thus the scheme of democratic decentralization facilitates the combination of, and cooperation between, the official machinery of administration and the non-official political leadership and control. While administrative decentralization originates in the quest for efficiency in administration in terms of initiative, speed and performance in the field and particularly at the lower levels of operation, democratic decentralization aims at something more. That is to say, administrative decentralization means delegation of powers to the subordinate bodies and officials to facilitate operating decisions, but administrative policy remains centralized. Democratic decentralization, on the other hand, associates the people with the local administration and recognizes the people's right to initiate and execute the policy decision in an autonomous way. This principle makes the scope and significance of democratic decentralization wider than those of administrative decentralization. Ensminger correctly points out : "...with Democratic Decentralization the administrative orientation must shift quite completely from making decisions and issuing orders to helping the people make decisions through their Panchayats, cooperatives and Samitis." ['Democratic Decentralization : A New Administrative Challenge', Indian Journal of Public Administration, July-Sept., 1961] The idea of democratic decentralization stands in a special relation to the idea of local self-government. The two terms are not identical, though basically they refer to the same institutional pattern.

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Democratic decentralization is a political ideal and local self-government is its institutional form.

Democratic decentralization believes in devolution and seeks to democratise self-administration (what is known in German language as *selbstverwaltung*). Properly speaking, self-government in small local area is not possible unless the local unit is made to exercise powers in its own right and independently execute its own decisions. Democratic decentralization puts stress upon local initiative and decision. Through the mechanism of democratic decentralization are the elected local bodies created with powers and functions local in character. These local bodies constitute the basic structure of a democratic government. They provide a very good training ground for developing a sense of civic duties and responsibilities. Furthermore, these local bodies provide the best agencies for realizing the welfare purpose of a social service state. They are very near the people and, therefore, are in the best position to know the needs of the people. They are best managed by the local people who are quite familiar with the local situation. By virtue of greater knowledge, wider experience, more financial power and better expertise, the superior government at the central and regional level may exercise general

186 superintendence over self-governing local authorities, but in no case local authorities should be reduced to the position of subordinate agents. The self-governing local bodies in a country like India may impact on the planned programmes of the rural and urban local authorities in two ways. First, these local authorities may be used as instruments for development without administrative and political tension. They may help establish a valuable link between the people and the administration, and thereby lend stability to the entire administrative edifice. They serve as the basic unit nearest to the people and may manage the affairs of a small locality, provide rudimentary but essential municipal framework for the area, and also act as the simple judicial tribunal. The popular self-governing local bodies are always expected to mobilise that community spirit in the locality to which the larger, more artificial units of administration have no appeal. There is evidence that the village councils functioning in India's colonial period, with all their democratic imperfections, were successful in awakening the minds of the common folk to the idea of self-government. Once this awakening is achieved, it becomes easier for the people to abate the tyranny of petty officials. "A healthy system of local government", rightly observes Hugh Tinker, "offers almost the only method of keeping a check on the new bureaucracy created by the growth in the activities of the state." [

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Hugh Tinker, Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma (

Indian edn), Bombay, 1967, p. 346] Secondly, there is the other side of the picture. The popular bodies in rural areas are mostly institutions whose inertia is strongly buttressed by the village tradition, popular emotions and local feelings. Owing to the rigours of the caste system and its divisive effects on the people, a deep feeling of prejudiced groupism among the villagers constituted the commonest feature of rural life in India. On some occasions this factor alone stands in the way of successful implementation of development programmes. Sometimes firm guidance from higher level government may be necessary to iron out the differences among rural leaders, even if that means the domination of local government by the superior government. Besides, the touch of the qualified expert hand becomes absolutely necessary in initiating the illiterate rural folk to the process of economic and technological development. But the purpose of development is likely to be defeated unless sufficient care be taken to prevent that expert hand from turning itself into a grip over these institutions of self-government. This important point must be borne in mind while implementing any development programme in a democratic context. As

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the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service

correctly pointed out, "the urgency for decentralization is the greatest in the field

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of development". [Report of the Team for the Study of 187 Community Projects and National Extension Service, Committee on Plan Projects,

Planning Commission, New Delhi,

vol. I, Sec. 2, p. 11 (1957)]. The fundamental purpose of decentralization in the Indian context, to quote from the report of an official committee, "should be to train the local leadership to assume higher responsibilities and to serve the people with maximum efficiency and economy and with minimum taxation so as to meet their growing needs within the resources at their disposal, giving priority where it is legitimately due". [Report of the Committee on Democratic Decentralization, Department of Cooperation and Rural Development, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay (1961), p. 52] All these comments reveal the euphoric attachment to local government which was conceived purely in terms of deepening of democracy. A great loss of legitimacy of the centralized state and the resultant belief in decentralized governance as an alternative channel for better administration of public service delivery at lower cost and latest technological innovations, coupled with effective monitoring, may be viewed as responsible factors behind a 'rage' in matters of good governance. Today both the leftist and rightist ideologues appreciate the concept and ideology of democratic decentralization as an efficient and democratically satisfactory institutional process for re-allocating political power and financial resources from a higher and central authority to lower levels of government. Today social thinkers ranging from post-modernists, multicultural philosophers and free-market economists to environmental activists, supporters of indigenous technology and democratic developmentalists clamour for decentralizing development. Every variety of social thinkers and political philosophers support the point that decentralization by way of devolution of powers and resources is vital for democratization as well as good governance.

3.6 Development Through Decentralization : Indian Experiments

India's tryst with development through decentralization began in the late-1950s, when the recommendation of the Balwantray Mehta Committee in favour of creating "Panchayat-i-Raj" institutions of local governance was accepted by the Government of India. The idea was to create three-tier rural government viz. Zilla Parishad at the district level, Panchayat Samiti at block level, and Gram Panchayat at the village level. These institutions were elected by the people (both direct election and indirect election) and given some powers and resources devolved to a limited extent from the state government. Very soon democratic platforms like All-India Panchayat Parishad,

188 Consultative Council on Panchayati Raj, and Central Council of Local Self-Government were created by the central government mainly to provide for national level initiatives for suggesting channels for coordination, improvement, training and research on decentralised rural development. Since its inauguration in 1959 till 1977 India's experiments with panchayat-i-raj meant, in actual performance, little genuine decentralization and more a pursuit of an "unhappy Utopia". During this period there were no meaningful constitutional and administrative changes for devolving powers, responsibilities, functions and resources (both financial and personal) to the elected panchayats. Rather, a number of development agencies like CADDC, DPAP, IRDA, DRDA were created. These development agencies and panchayats were supposed to be working for implementing development schemes designed and funded by the central government. Subsequently the debate over decentralization and genuine devolution for development began afresh with three committees appointed by the central government : Committee on Panchayati Raj Institutions (1978), Working Group on District Planning (1984) and Committee to Review the Existing Administrative Arrangements for Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation Programmes (CAARD) (1985). Ideas generated by these committees finally fructified into the Constitution (73rd and 74th) Amendments in 1992. The 73rd amendment related to panchayats and the 74th amendment related to municipalities and municipal corporations came into effect in 1993-94. This enactment, for the first time gave these local government institutions a constitutional status of their own. Before this Constitution amendment, there was no genuine devolution and local government institutions used to function under an authoritarian style of administration. There was a disjunction between power and the people at the grassroots. The central and state governments were far removed from the masses, district administration by its very nature was isolated from the people. For the first time, a third tier of government was created and a structural change was effected in the style of decentralised governance. The basic theoretical advance was noticed in respect of efficiency, accountability and popular participation. The traditionally neglected sections of population like scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes, and women were given opportunity to participate in decision-making and implementation of development programmes. These changes have already brought some beneficial results by creating, for the first time, a milieu of participatory democratic governance in isolated special socio-political environment. In majority of cases, the potentiality of devolution of power has been ruined by widespread corruption, which seems to be a permanent feature of India's body politic, and perverse political culture of dictating policy formulation and implementation in detail. This new decentralization project has replaced the old

189 power structure at the local level by a new party political power structure in rural and urban governance. The concept of Self-Government with its noble concomitant attributes are either not fully understood or very dimly appreciated. Stripping the enormous administrative power structure of its overload and shedding excessive concentration of power and unhealthy influence at higher levels are the essential prerequisites for genuine empowerment of self-governing local-level institutions. In some States of India the authority and powers remain confined to the state executive to delegate powers and authority to different tiers of local government as it thinks best. Actual devolution of financial, executive and legal authority and power is yet to take place. In many states district planning has remained totally moribund in practice. Apart from the typical party political corruption and the administration- mafia-businessman nexus, the large number of central and state laws and regulations militate against the very scheme of devolution of powers, functions and funds to the institutions of local self-government. Even the international experience shows that it is not so easy to devolve real power and authority to the local level, because the entrenched interests would not like to part with their existing powers. [The World Bank, Human Development Report 1996, New Delhi, OUP, 1996, p. 74]. The National Declaration for Local Self-Government issued by the national conference of the heads of panchayats on 6 April 2002, sought to devolve more powers to the local bodies. The consensus in the conference was that the Constitutional Amendments of 1992, although historic in importance, failed to meet the basic objectives of democratic decentralization. India's experiments of this fundamental principle have so far been essentially of a halting and hesitating character. People in India are not yet meaningfully involved in local-level planning and governance. They do not enjoy the full length of decision-making in respect of their path of development, exercising their discretion to fix priorities of development programmes and to mobilise financial resources. There is also the lack of comprehensive and effective accountability of the functionaries in local democracy. The concept of decentralizing for development represents a new social philosophy of democratic governance. It is no mere political rhetoric or electoral slogan, nor is it an administrative or management technique only. 3.7 Conclusion Decentralization, devolution and development are all interrelated concepts. It is futile to argue which is more important and which comes first. Both liberal and social democracy ideologies, despite their so many differences among themselves, come to

190 the ultimate objective of building a “participant society” where individuals would have the necessary ability to live with peace and dignity. Both liberty and equality are necessary, but as John Rawls concluded in his search for social justice, “liberty” is not negotiable, but there is enough scope to experiment with “equality” depending on the social, economic and technological conditions prevailing at particular time and place. Every human society, tribe or nation, should have a free choice to make as to the kind and dimension of development (social change) and the speed of developmental pace. The most acceptable criterion is to judge the human cost involved. Flexibility and adjustment are the most useful attitude to adopt. To ensure that decentralization and devolution effort is not hijacked by the wealthy elites, and there is broad-based popular participation, both well-intentioned and sagacious political leadership, and also informed and well-mobilized civil society are required. Democratic theory insists that all endeavours of public authority as well as private corporate sector must be conducted with utmost accountability, transparency, and performance audit. Stable government and Rule of Law are the two indispensable prerequisites of good governance. Participatory governance is a corrective remedial measure necessary to remove “democratic deficit”. Examples of successful participative local planning and governance are rare in the world. The moot point is to generate requisite “capacity building” to manage decentralized responsibilities. The crucial issue of institutional ‘capacity building’ confronts the policy-makers and administrators at all levels of running the decentralized system. As the World Bank experts have rightly commented : “To debate whether decentralization is good or bad is unproductive and misleading since the impact of decentralization depends on design”. Fiscal federalism is the starting point in devolution of powers. Beyond this is required capability of institutions and functionaries at different levels of government, in the private sector as well as the civil society actors. [J. Litvack, J. Ahmad, R. Bird, Re-thinking Decentralization in Developing Countries, Washington D. C. : World Bank, (1998).] As it is said, “the devil is in the details”. A very well-designed plan and devolution scheme would fail if the details of implementation are tardy, inefficient and corrupt. New kinds of challenges do emerge always in devolution of resources, macro-economic problems, capital market development, service delivery mechanism, deterioration in governance and so on. Decentralization and development turn out to be much more complicated problems than they apparently appear to be.

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3.9 Sample Questions
Long-answer questions : 1. Explain the meaning of decentralization. 2. Explain the meaning of devolution. 3. Examine the meaning of development. 4. Write a note on the ideological debate on decentralization. 5. Discuss the meaning and implications of democratic decentralization. 6. Summarize the main points of India's experiments on development through decentralization. Short-answer questions : 1. Distinguish briefly between 'decentralization' and 'devolution'. 2. What is meant by 'delegation'? 3. What are the general objectives of 'development'? 4. Define the concept of 'democratic decentralization'. 5. Who did recommend the establishment of Panchayat-i-Raj in India? When was Panchayat-i-Raj established? 6. Explain briefly the concept of 'self-government' of local authority. 7. When were the 73rd & 74th amendments to India's Constitution enacted? 8. Indicate the status of 'district planning' in Indian administration.

193 Unit 4 □□□□ Good Governance in Indian Context Structure 4.1 Introduction 4.2 The Indian Context 4.3 Good Governance : India's Initial Response 4.4 Civil Service Reforms 4.5 Institutional Reforms : Citizens' Charter 4.6 Transparency in Governance : Right to Information 4.7 Good Governance Through e-Governance 4.8 Conclusion 4.9 References 4.10 Sample Questions 4.1 Introduction Today the concept of 'good governance' occupies the centre stage in the development discourse. It is also taken as the crucial item in the development strategy. The World Bank was the first international body to use the term 'governance' in its publication Governance and Development (1992), in which 'governance' was defined as having three distinct aspects viz. (i) the form of a political regime, (ii) the process by which authority is exercised in managing economic and social resources; and (iii) the institutional capacity of the

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government to formulate and implement policies and, in general, to discharge

its own functions. In recent democratic theory, development and good governance are considered to be interrelated. Democracy will fail as a system of exercising authority if economic and social development do not take place. Similarly, socio-economic development, however well-planned, will fail if 'good' of the people could not be achieved through good governance institutions. The thesis of linking development and good governance was further elaborated in a number of World Bank publications, namely, Governance

194 : The World Bank Experience (1994), and The State in a Changing World (1997). Good Governance implies a suitable strategy of economic and administrative reforms and particular initiatives to strengthen civil society's functioning with the objective of making governance at the central, regional and local levels more efficient, decentralized, accountable, responsive, open, transparent, participatory, inclusive and people-friendly. That is to say, Rule of Law must be established and the form of government must not be autocratic in any manner. And the economy must be competitive and market-friendly. 4.2 The Indian Context The 'Governance' concept reflects empirical reality much more sharply than what the focus on 'government' alone did. In the case of the developing societies, 'governance' points to networks in society that are involvd in policy-making. It moves away from the well-established notion of authoritative single agencies. Governance is concerned with the changes taking place in the organization of the state and its relationship with corporate sector and civil society actors. In this respect academic attention turns from state-centric analysis towards an understanding of the wider public policy system in which government institutions appear to be involved in negotiation, bargaining and compromise in consonance with the ruling-power coalition controlling the government. Conventionally this is described as the transition from government to governance. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund have designed their aid programmes for strengthening the institutional capacity of recipient governments so that governmental machinery is not only smaller but also more efficient. Operationally the notion of good governance of the aid-giving countries or agencies refers to reducing corruption and encouraging rule-bound functioning of the government machinery. It reflects the concerns of the Weberian model insisting on recruitment on merit, professionalization and impartiality in enforcing rules and regulations. Asian Development Bank, for example, places "capacity-building" as the core dimension of its governance policy, The capacity- building exercise seeks to promote the role of the market, thinning of public bureaucracy and reducing overload of social spending on the state. In this perspective

195 the role of non-government organizations (NGO) and community-based organizations (CBO) and voluntary organizations (VO) assumes significant importance. Side by side, Development Economists recognise that good governance is not merely a matter of promoting markets or encouraging private investment. Stable political regimes, appropriate legal framework, conducive social institutions and social values also matter. In this context, participatory democracy provides legitimation for good governance. [Paul A. Hirst, 'Democracy and Governance', in Jon Pierre (ed), Debating Governance, Oxford : OUP (2000).] Democracy does not mean periodic elections and political parties alone. Genuine democracy is established through increased participation of people in the use and management of resources through greater decentralization, sharing power and greater responsiveness of the government to issues of equity and justice. Governance points to networks in society that are involved in policy-making. Networks connect disperate set of actors who jointly realize that they need one another to craft effective political agreements. Governance is not state-centric. The state is one actor, albeit an important one, in steering society. The agenda for good governance is not confined to civil service reform only. It touches virtually every aspect of politics, economy and society. Pursuing the ideal of good governance needs political commitment, in the absence of which legislative and technical strategies of building institutional capacities cannot work. There cannot be any universal model of good governance. The experience of three decades of development administration movement and panchayati raj experiments in India has led one expert to conclude that decision-making is enmeshed so intricably and so deeply in the surrounding culture that it cannot be extricated as an autonomous and behaviour and transplanted in a society seeking to establish good governance. [Devesh Kapur and Pratap Bhanu Mehta (eds), Public Instititions in India : Performance and Design, Delhi : OUP, 2005] That '

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governance' is concerned with network of relationship of three actors-- state, market and civil society--

and that private corporate sector and other institutions of civil society have an important role to play in establishing good governance

196 entered the mind of Indian political leadership when the Indian economy faced its worst crisis in 1990-91. Henceforth liberalization of the economy became the immediate agenda of the effective political class as a whole except the die-hard left- minded ideologues. Very soon the term 'governance' gained currency in India and its necessity became clear to the policy-makers. It was a remarkable change in the vocabulary of Indian politics. In the preceding three decades, especially in the Second and Third Five-year Plans, the Indian policy- makers believed in the importance of administrative and bureaucratic system in the strategy of planned economic development. It was the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1992- 97) that pointed out, for the first time, the need to re-examine and to re-orient the role of government as well as the planning process. The re-structuring of public sector emerged as one of the urgent needs. It was also emphasized that the role of the government should be to create the right type of institutional infrasturcture so that people could participate more meaningfully and usefully through voluntary agencies, panchayats and cooperatives. Thus began India's journey towards 'good governance' discourse. 4.3 Good Governance : India's Initial Response In governmental arena the concern for introducing good governance was seriously discussed in November 1996 at the Chief Secretaries' Conference. Presided over by the Cabinet Secretary of the central government, who is generally the senior-most officer in the bureaucracy, this conference considered '

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An Agenda for an Effective and Responsive Administration'. It recommended to the government various reform measures in the machinery and processes of the

administrative system. These measures were deemed necessary in the context of the increasing needs to open up India's economy to the forces of globalization and to liberalize the decision-making process in governance. The Government, both at the centre and the state, shared the concern for ensuring responsive, accountable, tansparent, decentralised and people-friendly administration. The couclusions of the Conference of the Chief Secretaries were open for a national 197 debate to elicit views from a wide cross-section of people. Communications were received from officials, experts, voluntary agencies, citizens' groups, media etc. The recommedations of the Chief Secretaries Conference were considered in May 1997 by the Chief Ministers Conference presided over by the Prime Minister. The highest level of political leaders in the country endorsed the recommendations of the Chief Secretaries and suggested an Action Plan. As a result, the 'good governance'' regime was officially ushered in Indian administration towards the end of the 20th century. The introduction of liberal economic reforms and the adoption of a new agenda for improving governance in the country from 1991 set decentralization in a different perspective. The second generation of panchayats, created in the wake of the Asoka Mehta Committee on Panchayati Raj Institutions (1978), had evoked considerable ethusiasm during the 1980s, because the PRIs were designed more as political rather than as purely developmental entity. Subsequently the Constitution 73rd and 74th amendments, enforced in 1993, gave constitutional recognition to local self-government institutions and devolved powers to them, but this move towards devolution fell short of its expectation, because the amendments left devolution of powers on the discretion of the States. However, this constitutional amendment achieved certain good things for local self-government. It made local elecions mandatory to be conducted by the State Election Commission, envisaged the directly elected village assembly (Gram Sabha) as the deliberative body of decentralised governance, women empowerment was mandated by reserving one-third seats in all elected bodies of the three-tier structure as well as among the office of chairpersons in each tier, reservations for scheduled castes and tribes and dalits (OBC) were provided, created State Finance Commission every five years for recommending principles of State grants to the local bodies and distribution of funds by the State to the local bodies. But here also there was some constraints as the district-level agencies of development, not accountable to local bodies, retained their powers. Secondly, Local Area Development Scheme gave the Members of Parliament the power of sanctioning upto Rs. 5 crores annually for

198 taking up development projects in their constituencies to be spent through the office of District Collector. In short, local government institutions virtually remained dependent on the State government and functioned as agencies of the State government. Only in Kerala the decentralization process through people's mobilization sought not only to devolve power to the local level but also to elicit people's participation in the process of local planning and development.

4.4 Civil Service Reforms The Indian bureaucracy is often cited as having Weberian characteristics such as recruitment on merit, governed by law, rules and regulations, political anonymity, professional neutrality, assured tenure of service subject to good behaviour, and so on. But it is not known for creating inclination and interest for serving the people in the context of development. Over the decades the bureaucrats emerged as a powerful component of the decision-making process. Some academics complained about the close linkage of civil servants with caste or communal groups, business houses and the big farmer community with the purpose of serving their mutual interests. [C. P. Bhambhri, 'Of a Partisan, Self-Serving Bureaucracy', The Pioneer (Delhi), 23 Sept. 1998] The demands of career advancement are of paramount significance for a civil servant and an obliging politician is willing to do anything for the civil servant who bends rules to favour his political master. The first serious assault on the nature of Indian civil service came from Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1969 in the form of demand for a "committed"bureaucracy. The political loyalty of a number of senior civil servants came to light in the report of the Shah Commission of Inquiry which enquired into excesses committed during the infamous Emergency (1975-77). The first civil service reform effort, after neo-liberal economic reforms were introduced, was seen in the Report of the Fifth Central Pay Commission (1996). Down-sizing the Departments of the government was an important recommendation along with decent increase of pay-scales of the civil servants. The scope and responsibilities of the government was to be reduced, and the number as well as the

199 size of the government departments was to be cut down. The other important recommendations included "outsourcing" and "public-private partnership". The state is perceived as an enabling authority that facilitates business and civil society to work together for development. The idea is to replace the bureaucracy's attitude of domination by the attitude of partnership. Civil service reform in terms of posting and transfer, promotion and punishment, however, has not been given high priority on the political agenda of the ruling parties. Side by side, powerful interests have developed in continuing the status quo. Moreover, there has been failure at the conceptual level in generating alternative reform strategies. Bureaucracy has not been able to rise above its interests. On the other hand, market has not responded with sufficient vigour and honesty. Corruption has spread like cancer in India's political and administrative systems. An expert has suggested the remedy of creating multiple bureaucratic, market and participatory institutions responding to the needs of the society. A congenial legal and constitutional situation needs to be created where this multiplicity of institutions can freely function. "The more important direction that reform can take is in providing facilitative legal and contractual arrangements, explicit codification of rights as well as attendant obligations for new institutions to emerge and sustain themselves". [Kuldeep

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Mathur, From Government to Governance : A Brief Survey of the Indian Experience, New Delhi : National Book Trust, 2008.] 4.5

Institutional Reforms : Citizens' Charter The Eighth Five-Year Plan (1992-97) underlined the need to re-examine and re-orient the role of the government as well as the planning process. In this reorientation, the Plan inter alia underlined the need to create right type of institutional infrastructure to serve the people as customers of public services. The Action Plan suggested by the Chief Secretaries Conference (1996) emphasized the need to build effective and responsive administration in order to enforce accountability interpreted in a larger sense of public satisfaction. It recommended a phased introduction of Citizens' Charter.

200 The concept of Citizens' Charter originated in the British administration in 1991- 92 with a view to raising the standard of public service by making civil servants more responsive to the needs of the users of public services.

The Charter aims to empower the citizens who have a right to be informed and of choosing for themselves the services offered by the government and public agencies.

It was the centre-piece of British civil service reform in the 1990s.

India's Ninth Five-Year Plan (1997-2002)

regretfully observed: "Lack of accountability of the implementing agencies either to the government or the people has been the single major cause for misappropriation of funds for development programmes" (Approach Paper, p. 19). Hence the institution of a Citizens' Charter was considered very much necessary in achieving good governance inasmuch as it helps improve administrative accountability as well as transparency in administration.

This decision was taken by

the Government of India at a time when there was widespread frustration among the people of vulnerable groups regarding deteriorating standards of public services, and public administration at all levels

of civil services suffered in terms of credibility and effectiveness. The media gave vent to increasing public frustration over the low levels of honesty and effectiveness of public administration machinery as a whole. The key elements in Citizens' Charter are as follows : (i) Standards : Setting, monitoring and publication of explicit standards for the public services that individual users can reasonably expect. (

ii) Information and Openness : Full, accurate information, readily available in simple language, about how well they perform and who is in charge

of the service. (iii) Consultation and choice : There should be regular and systematic consultation with the service-users whose needs and views about services and priorities are to be taken into account for final decision on standards. (iv)

Courtesy and Helpfulness : Courtesy and helpful service from public servants wearing name badge. Services to be available equally to all who are entitled to them.

201 (v) Putting Things Right : If services go wrong somewhere, an apology, a full explanation, swift and effective remedy are to be offered. Well-published and easy to use complaint procedures, wherever possible, is to be introduced and maintained. (vi) Value for Money : Efficient and economical delivery of public services are to be offered within the resources that the nation can afford. And, independent scrutiny and validation of performance against standards is to be ensured with the involvement of citizen groups. Speaking simply, Citizens' Charter is an institutional arrangement symbolizing

the moral and political commitment of the government and public agencies to the service of the

people. Indian Experience There cannot be any general format of Citizens' Charter applicable uniformly to government departments, public sector undertakings, local authorities, banks, and other public agencies. Till the Tenth Five-Year Plan (2002-2007) about forty public agencies have published their Citizens' Charter for delivering service mentioning the organization's mission and the quality of service it

delivers and revealing the entitlements of the service-users. Among the prominent national level organizations, the following organizations may be mentioned as illustrations : Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas, Ministry of Urban Affairs and Employment, Land & Development Office of Govt of India, Life Insurance Corporation, General Insurance Corporations in India, Public Distribution System in Ministry of Civil Supplies, Passport Division of Ministry of External Affairs, Indian Railways, Air India, Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion, State Bank of India and major public sector banks, important public hospitals, Delhi Development Authority, New Delhi Municipal Corporation, Central Public Works Department, Dept. of Post, Dept of Telecommunication and so on. Most of the Charters seek public cooperation and feedback from the users.

202 No doubt, the strategy and instrument of Citizens' Charter, if formulated and implemented in an objective and committed spirit to give to the citizens services to which they are entitled would lead India towards Good Governance. The most positive aspects of this programme relate to its emphasis on disseminating information to the general public and laying down some basic principles of public service delivery. One of the most important conditions of success of the Charter scheme is to strengthen the efficiency of the government's grievance redressal machinery. In many cases the Charters do not prescribe such procedures, or even the names, addresses and phone numbers of the officials whom the sufferer can approach. Most often it has been found that either the phone call is not picked up or the official is not in his/her seat. The harassed citizen is ultimately fed up and frustrated. The suffered or harassed citizens in many cases do not receive the compensation. Hence a drastic change in the official attitude and organization's work culture is called for. Unless the officials are not conscientious and sensitive to public needs and their inconveniences, good governance in a major aspect would remain an illusion. There is need for greater coordination and consistency in the offices of public authorities in charge of public service delivery. Very many times any excuse offered by the officials prove good enough to make citizens frustrated and deprived of the benefits of Citizens' Charter. Another important aspect of Charter's success is to keep the whole system of public services away from bureaucratic and party political influences. There is no place for politicization and bureaucratic indifference or obstruction in the Charter scheme if it is to be made an effective instrument of accountability and good governance. 4.6 Transparency in Governance : Right to Information National Human Development Report (2000), published by the Planning Commission, while emphasizing the importance of good governance, observed inter alia that corruption seems to be endemic in all spheres of public affairs and it should be addressed urgently.

203 It was further observed that an all-out effort should be made by both Central and the State governments to ensure greater transparency and create awareness among citizens about the manner in which development programmes are implemented and resources are distributed. Transparency in public administration is one of the urgent items of civil service reform. Transparency is equally needed at the level of local governance through panchayats and municipal bodies, and in the activities and administration of policies of non-government actors like the corporate sector and voluntary agencies. The Chief Secretaries Conference (1996) had also felt that a new culture of openness and free information, as opposed to secrecy and mystification, should pervade all government offices. This Conference noted that, more the effort at secrecy in government, the greater the chances of abuse of authority by public and semi-public functionaries. The Official Secrets Act (1923), as amended in 1989, and the Code of Conduct Rules for Government employees prevent most of the information about affairs of Government from being disclosed to the public and the media. The most damaging consequence of the secrecy legislation and the code of conduct is the generally secretive behaviour of civil servants and denial of items of unclassified information, and the details of development expenditure, to the citizens. Since 1990 efforts are being made to introduce legislation to ensure freedom of information, and to amend the Official Secrets Act. Some State governments like Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu issued government circulars to ensure the availability to the people of details of development expenditure and inspection of revenue records in public offices. The system of transparency in Public Distribution System (PDS) and Employment Exchanges has been in vogue in many States. Simultaneously the government of India also formulated amendments to the Official Secrets Act and the Indian Evidence Act to bring them in line with the new trends in transparency in government. Meanwhile, the governmental authorities circulated instructions for greater openness in the style of functioning of government departments, public agencies and elected local bodies, especially in regard to assessment criteria and levy of taxes, sanction of building plans, details of allotment of land and housing property, award of work tenders, selection of beneficiaries under different government schemes, development expenditure on public works and so on.

204 It has been decided that every public authority should periodically publish, through its website or otherwise, and keep updated information indicating (i) particulars of its organization, functions and responsibilities, (ii) description of its decision-making processes, (iii) norms of performance of activities, (iv) facilities provided for access to information, (v) names, designation and other relevant particulars of its Public Information Officer (PIO). An integral aspect of administrative reforms, both in short-term and long-term perspective, is related to the easy and speedy access of information to the public on activities of government and public services, and development of appropriate Management Information Systems in government. Efforts have been made to develop appropriate computerised network of information in different public services and to ensure widespread and easy access of citizens to information about Government and its agencies. A significant infrastructure to create a computerised public interface is available through National Informatics Centre (NIC), which is working closely with the state governments. Finally, after a series of people's movements demanding public access to information regarding development expenditure in many states, especially in Rajasthan, the Right to Information Act (2005) has been passed by Parliament (Detailed discussion on it has been made in Unit II). 4.7 Good Governance Through e-Governance Electronic Governance, popularly known as e-governance, is often used to describe the networking paradigm and its decentralizing and communicatory implications. The term 'governance' gained currency since the early 1990s when the World Bank underlined the importance of elected bodies, accountable government, transparent administration, role of non-government actors like private sector and voluntary agencies for successful implementation of development programmes. Since then the concept of 'good governance' has engaged the attention of academics, policy-makers, bureaucracy, civil society actors. To meet the diversities of needs and aspirations of the people in ex-colonial developing countries requires gigantic organised efforts of the government. To achieve this goal in a seamless way, the innovations in information and communication technology (ICT) were found very handy, useful and almost indispensable. E-governance strategy thus became a new dimension of governance, which enormously facilitates improvement of the quality

205 of governance. That is to say, 'e-governance' denotes the process of enabling the governance actors (government, private sector and civil society agents) to make governance effective in delivering services to citizens in terms of efficiency, transparency, reliability and cost effectiveness. The advent of Internet and World Wide Web (www) in the 1990s has given rise to a digitally networked society. Manuel Castells has noted in his book *The Information Age : Economy, Society and Culture (Book-1)* : "As a historical trend, dominant functions and processes in the information age are increasingly organized around networks. Network constitutes the new social morphology of our societies, and the diffusion of networking logic substantially modifies the operation and outcomes in processes of production, experience, power and culture." [Oxford : Blackwell, 1996, p. 469]. E-governance is the technological process further than automating the public service delivery and involves direct participation of citizens in government activities. It needs new pattern of cooperation between public, private and civil society organizations. E-governance implies use of ICT viz. local area network (LAN), wide area network (WAN), international network (Internet), mobile and computing technology to transform government by-- (i) making it more accessible, effective, and accountable; (ii) providing access to requisite information; (iii) enabling the people to interact with officials; (iv) making administrative operation transparent; (v) offering public services on-line. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) refers to e-governance as multifaceted use of ICT for improving collective governance that includes making service delivery more accessible, efficient and responsive. E-governance is a technology tool for promoting efficiency and effectiveness in government with the goal of providing integrated, efficient and quick services to the people. E-governance means digitization of government information and on-line transaction of public services. The Government of India looks at e-governance as the use of ICT to bring about SMART governance. That is, making governance Simple, Moral, Accountable, Responsive and Transparent. By using the Internet as the channel of communication, it is possible to provide electronic delivery of better public services at the national, regional and local, and even international, levels at affordable cost

206 and optimum time to the end-user. In a broader sense, e-governance is all about reform in governance facilitated by creative use of ICT. The SMART governance system ushers in Good Governance through creative use of ICT. In India the 1980s saw the development of computerization in the government sector and the 1990s witnessed the importance of overall computerization with a centralised model. With the cost of communication and IT infrastructure going downwards and demand going upwards, the e-governance initiatives took shape in the first decade of the 21st century. Demands generated from political leadership, capacity-building needs, and perceived citizen expectations all have contributed to ICT innovations. At the state level, many state governments started off their initiatives by taking up projects to serve their people through ICT. Currently every state has a State Electronic Mission (SEM) to provide e-government services to the citizens. India's e-governance transformation has been progressing rapidly. By 2014 over one billion e-government transactions have been logged and the growth rate of e-government is rising exponentially. The government has taken several initiatives in the journey from e-governance vision to actual implementation. Some purposeful steps and "from vision to implementation" initiatives include : (i) Thirty-one Mission Mode Projects (MMPs) across a wide range of public services under the National e-Governance Plan (NeGP) such as passport seva, e-procurement digitization of land records, national citizens database etc. (ii) Eight e-Government Support Components to help set up the required infrastructure (State Wide Area Network, State Data Centre, Common Service Centres etc.) with technical and financial partnership with the private sector. (iii) e-Government Management Structure comprising multiple committees to resolve bottlenecks and oversee programme execution. Currently with the launch of State Electronic Mission and under the State Data Centre guidelines, inclusion of 'Citizen Services under Governance' has become a necessity at the state level. Online Monitoring of Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan (Gol), Passport Seva Project (Gol), e-Sampark in Chandigarh, Mee Seva in Andhra Pradesh, Haryana Land Records Information System, Bhumi project in Karnataka, Gramsampark in Madhya Pradesh, Lok Mitra project in Himachal Pradesh, Mahiti Shakti in Gujarat 207 are some of the better-functioning electronic services which have started bearing fruit of good governance. Governments at all levels throughout India are moving towards e-governance on mobile telephony as well. Mobile telephony is revolutionizing the outreach of corporate social responsibility programmes and the government's outreach in both remote areas and in populated parts of the country. It offers one of the most effective channels for information access and dissemination anytime, anywhere, and can help governments provide citizen-centric public service. Some standard programmes and projects at the state and central levels which offer e-governance services to citizens include : certificates, licences, land records, utility services and tax payments in regard to health, education and pension, RTI and public grievance redressal, public distribution system, election, police, railways and air travel, agriculture, local government service, employment, commerce and industry, property registration, passport and visa, and state specific services. Before the effective e-governance era, government delivery of services was manual and opaque which caused much difficulties to the citizens. Overcrowded government offices, long queues, employee absenteeism, arrogant and rent-seeking attitudes and inefficiencies were a common experience. The focus of employees was more on corrupt practices than on citizen's service delivery. Citizens used to face much hardship in having access to government services such as land and house property registration, booking of rail and air tickets for reservation of seats, birth and death certificates, municipal sanction of building plan and such other benefits under social welfare state system. E-governance has now been widely recognised as an important means for improved services in quality, efficiency and effectiveness of governance. However, important impact of e-governance is not felt in remote areas where people usually face immense challenges in getting any public service. Application of ICT has definitely helped fighting corruption and improving efficiency and effectiveness in public service delivery and, furthermore, streamlining governance system to create synergy for inclusive and sustainable development. India, however, lags behind South Korea, Singapore, Japan, Malaysia, Israel, Uk, USA, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, and Canada on e-governance front. [United Nations e-Governance Surveys for 2013 and 2014]. India has several challenges and contextual factors which form the milieu in which improvements in good governance and e-governance are sought to be brought about. India's huge population of 130 crore (in 2014) with extreme diversity of

208 culture, demography and style of living all bring up their own challenges. Furthermore, internal migrations to urban regions with relatively better facilities and employment opportunities create additional burden on delivery mechanisms of government services. The challenges are further accentuated due to large sections of the population being poor, the Indian economy being at different stages of growth in different sectors, and the fragmentation of the administrative structure. E-governance has the capacity to empower ordinary citizens. But, compared with the developed countries, India's e-governance efforts should place greater emphasis on 'institutional linkages' between and among tiered government structures at the national, regional and local levels in order to create synergy for inclusive and sustainable development. The UN e-Governance Data Base for 2014 shows that India does not even rank among the top ten (10) Asian countries. While ICT opens channels for government to reach citizens, much more has to be done by opening up ways and means for citizens to reach out to administration. The portability of data across the central government and the State/UT governments and also across different departments of government is important for good governance. In India the institutional structures with rigid rules, lack of recognition for e-governance domain experience, poor linkages to career path, promotions and opportunities, and absence of incentive mechanism to attract, leverage and retain the scarce talented human resource to work on e-governance projects do not enable seamless deployment and movement of personnel. Challenges at National Informatics Centre (NIC) include its inability to attract, leverage and retain the scarce talent due to limitations of the government salary structure, government procedures regarding employee recruitment and training, contractual engagement, non-availability of professional programmes and lack of project management system in the country resulting in inadequate number and quality of personnel. Finally, there are some inadequacies in capacity-building. The key challenges with regard to capacity-building include absence of institutionalised training and learning framework for e-governance, assessment of training needs, developing training strategies, and lack of trained personnel for training. Training in e-governance should be repositioned as an in-service mandate linked to career progression at all levels in the government. There is need for human resource interventions for the National Informatics Centre to include identifying human capital gaps, enhancing number of permanent posts and recruitment capacity-building.

209 4.8 Conclusion E-governance has been recognized as a vital force for transformational improvement in quality, efficiency and effectiveness of governance. The importance of e-governance has been applied at the highest level by all the three partners in good governance viz. the government, private sector and civil society organizations. The websites have been the primary touch points for the citizens, administrators and research scholars. But India is lagging behind in terms of the range of e-governance coverage. India's limited success in e-governance till date is due to some basic shortcomings. These shortcomings include (a) limited availability of internet infrastructure, (b) high cost of access and usage, (c) lack of awareness and low digital literacy among the population, (d) narrow range of applications and services, and (e) an unfavourable business environment. Successful leveraging of e-governance opportunity, therefore, involves building of institutional capabilities, adopting and implementing a comprehensive and sound e-governance policy, and deepening of technology platforms. Some experts feel that "there is the need to look at present e-governance initiatives from management perspective of "good governance". [R. K. Sapru and Y. Sapru, 'Good Governance Through E-governance with special reference to India', Indian Journal of Public Administration, LX (2), April-June 2014]

Technology in governance process mandates higher public accountability, a consensus among stakeholders and an integrated model of e-governance. E-governance is undoubtedly of great help in achieving Good Governance. But in the midst of euphoria about e-governance it would be necessary to pay heed to certain points in the Indian context. Both psychologically and practically, the mentality and habits of the aam janata have been accustomed to the Weberian model of rule-bound, file-based administration. Hence a fundamental change in the orientation of the executive, legislature, even judiciary as well as of the management of medium and small industry and business and a significant part of the civil society organizations would be required. E-governance cannot improve efficiency and effectiveness unless party political interference in administration of all aspects of governance, especially in police administration, could be drastically reduced. The necessary changes in administrative procedures and the application of e-governance techniques would be fruitful and beneficial for 'good governance only when the people are generally willing and capable to understand, accept, internalise and adopt the changed form of communication and decision-making. The common people would have to be enabled to derive the benefits of technology in the midst of humanising level of poverty and

210 illiteracy. A new culture of mutual trust between public administrators and functionaries in charge of public service delivery, on the one hand, and the aam admi, on the other, must be created to reap the benefits of e-governance. What is absolutely necessary is the political will of the leaders in government and administration, ready cooperation of the informed civil society and of common people who have a stake in introducing and promoting Good Governance. The agenda for good governance is very long and complex. An expert in good governance theory has pointed out, good governance is deeply problematic as a guide to development. Good governance calls for improvements in virtually all aspects of the public sector : from institutions that set the rules of the game for economic and political interaction, to decision-making structures that determine priorities among public problems and allocate resources to respond to them; to organizations that manage administrative systems and deliver goods and services to citizens, to human resources that staff government bureaucracies, to the interface of officials and citizens in political and bureaucratic arenas. Getting good governance at times implies changes in political organization, the representation of interests, and processes for public debate and policy-making. [M. S. Grindle, 'Good Enough Governance : Poverty Reduction and Reform in Developing Countries', *Governance (International Journal of Policy, Administration and Institutions)*, October 2004), referred in Kuldeep Mathur, *From Government to Governance*, New Delhi : NBT, 2008, p. 14] The political system in India till now has provided opportunities to the elites to enhance governance through appropriate policies, institutions and processes. In his thought-provoking analysis of India's future, Bimal Jalan, a former Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, has argued that it is the interface between politics, economics and governance, and their combined effect on the functioning of Indian democracy, that will largely determine India's future. He has concluded that unless there is the political will to seize the new opportunities available in the new innovations made in the reforms of decentralization, devolution, larger accountability transparency, and enhanced fiscal viability, and a determined fight against politico-administrative corruption, the future of Indian democracy would remain unpredictable. [Bimal Jalan, *The Future of India : Politics, Economics and Governance*, New Delhi, (2006)]. Because of the interplay of caste, cash and criminality, politics of development is gaining ground whereas developmental politics is losing its efficacy. 'The Good Governance' discourse came into Indian administration in the wake of India opening to the politico-economic ideology of liberalization and privatization in the context of globalization. The state now shares power and responsibilities with the emerging non-state actors in building infrastructure and improving services in health and education by adopting public-private-partnership (PPP) model. The state

211 remains an important player in governance, but much of the policy-decisions are made in consultation with the private sector and civil society agencies. The governance issue is now a much more regionalised problematic for the Indian state in a political situation of persuading, bargaining and partnership with the states. The Public Administration having adopted the agenda of good governance with emphasis on accountability and transparency as the guiding principles in the functioning of the executive, legislature and judiciary, the non-state actors in the governance process like the private sector, NGOs and the media have started to play a bigger role than before the 1990s. The governance scenerio in India is currently under the influence of a particular political and administrative culture. The Good Governance discourse has to confront the twin formidable challenges of fast-spreading corruption at all levels and the unputdownable assertion of different socio-political and economic pressure groups having their own interests and targets. Democracy in India exists in form with regular elections, but in substance it appears to be stunted. The old idea of state sovereignty seems to be no longer valid in the context of the compulsions of globalization and international obligations, on the one hand, and agitational violence and normlessness in the name of democratic movements, on the other. 4.9 References S. K. Chopra (ed), *Towards Good Governance*, Delhi : Konark, 1997 K.

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4.10 Sample Questions Long-answer questions : 1. Discuss the context of the emergence of Good Governance discourse in India. 2. Analyse the main points of India's initial response to Good Governance regime. 3. Summarise the highlights of civil service reforms as part of the Good Governance programme. 4. Explain the concept of Citizens' Charter and discuss how India has introduced it in administrative reform programme. 5. Discuss the background of India's legislative achievement in ensuring people's right to information. 6. Examine the significance of e-governance as an instrument of building good governance in India.

Short-answer questions : 1. Mention the three distinct aspects of the definition of Governance. 2. Give a brief idea of the kind of governance implied in the term 'Good Governance'. 3. Mention the three actors involved in the governance process and briefly indicate their roles. 4. Identify the main points emerging from the Chief Secretaries Conference (1996) on Good Governance. 5. Give, in brief, the most important features of the 73rd Constitution Amendment (1992-93). 6. Mention briefly the significant recommendations made by the Fifth Central Pay Commission for ushering Good Governance in India. 7. What are the key elements of the idea of Citizens' Charter? 8. What is the crucial need for having the legislation on free access to information relating to governance? 9. What is the meaning of SMART governance? 10. Mention three important inadequacies in India's e-governance programme.

213 PAPER-VI MODULE-4 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION : Emerging Issues in Public Administration
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215 Unit 1 □□□□□ Gender and Public Administration Structure 1.0 Objectives 1.1 Introduction 1.2 Meanings of Gender and Public Administration 1.3 Patrimony in Public Administration 1.4 Human Capital Theory and Socio-Psychological theory 1.5 Benefits of Gender diversity in Public Administration 1.6 UNDP and other findings on Gender & Public Administration 1.7 Women and Public Administration--Socio-cultural Realities 1.8 Globalisation--Opportunities & Challenges 1.9 Globalisation and Women 1.10 Laws (national and international) to Prevent Discrimination in Public Offices 1.11 Marginalised Gender identity in Public Administration--An International Case study 1.12 In-service Training Programme for Greater Gender Equality 1.13 Conclusion 1.14 References 1.15 Sample Questions

1.0 Objectives If you go through this unit, you will be able to understand and analyse the following topics : • Meaning of gender and public administration. • Two theories--Human Capital Theory and Socio-psychological Theory exploring the state of differing representations of men and women in public administration and work-places from two opposite viewpoints.

216 • UNDP and other international reports focussing on the trend of gender– inequality in public administration. • Existence of gender inequality is most societies of the world and the socio- cultural realities hindering efforts gender equality. • Globalisation and its effects on the gender question. • National and international laws to prevent gender-discrimination in public offices. • An international case study on the gender question and an in-service training programme for greater gender equality. 1.1 Introduction Women’s role in securing water, shelter, food etc. i.e., house management have been accepted in the society but they had long been marginalised in the decision- making processes on matters of administration, work and governance. A gendered perspective needs to be integrated into the administrative processes of work, decisionmaking and management. Challenges for achieving equal participation of women and men in those spheres must be overcome and approaches for integrating a gender perspective into public administration must be devised. Gender dimension is central to all our efforts to develop more sustainable and safe ways of organising and managing the society. 1.2 Meanings of Gender and Public Administration Gender denotes the state of being male or female. It is related to biological differences and is used with reference to social and cultural contexts. Gender differences arise from differences in biological chromosomes, brain structures and hormonal characters as well as from differences in socially constructed gender roles. Range of characteristics pertaining to differentiating between male and female may be biological (state of being male or female) gender identity or sex-based social structures (gender roles of social roles). The social interactions between members of the society result in socially constructed roles, responsibilities and identities as men, women, girls and boys. Gender issues are prevalent in society, operational and visible in daily life at the level of the individual, the family, the community and the society at large and reflected institutionally in the social and cultural norms.

217 Gender relations in society are broadly reflected in (i) gendered identities : a combination of physical and behavioural characteristics which set apart boys from girls, men from women; (ii) perceptions : views as to how they are differentiated in their roles as men and women, boys and girls. (iii) attitudes : actions guided by the perceptions. (iv) status : the place occupied by men and women in the family, the community and the society. Gender relations affect all spheres of life—cultural, personal, social, political and economic. They are not equitable and always unfavourable and biased against girls and women. Gender relations have evolved in such a way that women occupy a subordinate status within the family, the community or the society. Statistically they are deprived of basic amenities of life more than their male counterparts irrespective of the stages of the social ladder they belong to. Within the same class or class category women have less power to affect change in comparison to the male category. Gender marginalisation is evident in terms of levels of poverty (among the world’s poor more than 60% are women). Women have less ownership of assets and property, they earn less and are paid less than men for equal work; they are less skilled, get fewer opportunities to develop skills and have access to fewer decision-making possibilities within the family or the public sphere. They face greater risks of sexual abuse, domestic and other forms of violence and are dominated by the male members of the society. So women and girls are economically and socially weaker in comparison to men and boys and hold a subordinated status within their respective communities, leading to gender-based inequalities and vulnerabilities.

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Public Administration consists of those operations which have for their purpose the fulfillment or enforcement of public policy

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declared by any competent authority. It is the bedrock of government and the central instrument, through which national policies and programmes are implemented. In an ideal world public administration is to be guided by principles of fairness, accountability, equality, justice and efficiency and non-discrimination; the civil service should serve as a model, where men and women equally participate and lead and both are included in decision making and management. However, this is not a global reality, Despite the fact that the internationally agreed target of a minimum of 30% women in leadership positions applies equally to public administration, as it does to politics, women remain unrepresented in decisionmaking in public administration. In many developing and even developed countries, public administration often remain a patriarchal institution, perpetuating gender-based traditions, attitudes and practices.

218 1.3 Patrimony in Public Administration Over the course of history, gender has played an important role in Public Administration by influencing the ways, in which people think about administration and bureaucracy. It has become impossible to look at public administration without examining the place of the feminine-masculine dichotomy. In today's society Public Administration remains widely segregated in regard to gender, though it has become commonplace to advocate for greater numbers of equality and non-discriminatory policies. During the early years of Public Administration, textbooks and curriculum largely overlooked minorities and dismissed those writings which reflected women's experiences or contributions as unimportant. In the 20th century there was a shift in public perceptions. The Civil Rights Acts (USA) ensured equal opportunity initiatives and job protection laws, This shift caused public administration to more readily acknowledge the views and voices of those who framed the U. S. Constitution and of those who are credited with establishing public administration as an academic discipline. But we find that even in 1864 U.S. government declared that women employees in government should be paid one-half of the salary that a man would be paid to perform exactly the same job. Though equality in this context has improved later, there are innumerable instances of inequality. Equal Pay Act of 1963 (USA) could ensure some amount of equality at a much later stage. But still we find inequity in pay persisting even today--women earning 77.8 for every dollar that a man earns. With the processes of industrialisation, globalisation and liberalisation gender inequality in Public Administration grew wider in the modern world. When people look at the role of gender in Public Administration, there are two opposite viewpoints--one focussing on efficacy and objectivity and the other on the subjective issues of social justice. The first is known as masculine approach and the second is regarded as feminine approach. Before the World War II, both the approaches were utilised harmoniously with men and women working together to emphasize on the principles of classical pragmatism and to focus on the efficient execution of policy, social cooperation and the strengthening public knowledge. After the outbreak of the world War II, there was a shift in American Public Administration. Public administration system became more dependent on male-dominated organisations, such as the Social Science Research Council's Advisory Committee of Public Administration. The system became suddenly more attached to efficiency approach. Then the Rockefeller Foundation began aggressive funding of programs

219 that encouraged scientific research in other organisations. In addition to the increased reliance on masculine principles, American society's approach to social science began to change and this influenced Public Administration also. For example, in the 1890s economists altered the way they studied the subject by focussing less on general trends and more on statistics and hard facts. Sociology, on the other hand, remained focussed on specialised knowledge based on the value-neutral pursuit of abstract generalisations about human relations and continued to promote social justice. This dichotomy is largely responsible for the relegation of women to more congenial specialities such as social work, while men remained leaders in finance and scientifically driven ventures. 1.4 Human Capital Theory and Socio-psychological Theory Both the theories try to explain the state of differing representations of men and women in Public Administration and work-places in general. Human Capital Theory says that roles of men and women in government come from a historic separation based on the opposition of masculine and feminist thought. It further argues that women's decreased role comes from the inferior investment in their personal human capital. The theory opines that men reap benefits in society, because they are more inclined to pursue higher education and attain better jobs. They have more work experience. But the theory has been attacked, because of the fact that women were unable to secure the same jobs as men with equal qualifications in many cases. Moreover, women were denied the opportunity to receive higher education like men. Socio-psychological theory was developed by researchers in sociology in response to the criticism of the human capital theory. This theory, like the Human Capital Theory attributes a great deal of emphasis on the differing qualifications between men and women. But the difference between the two is that this theory gives attention to the sociological constructs that inhibit women's ability to acquire equal qualifications. This theory points out that men are typically attributed with social characteristics, such as aggressiveness, ambition and self-confidence, while women are regarded as affectionate, kind, sensitive and soft-spoken. So women are viewed by an employer as inferior to a man with the same qualifications. According to this theory, it is difficult for a woman to enter a profession heavily dominated by men because they are likely to be taken as incompetent or less competent than their male counterparts.

220 This theory also points out that women’s representation in public work is also influenced by sociological stereotypes and stigmas about the place of women in the society. It is widely held that women are meant for domestic duties and child-bearing and child-rearing. This idea of domestic role has been so pervasive that they have been integrated into the very institutions of public administration and business organisations. So it has been difficult for them to advance professionally. 1.5 Benefits of Gender Diversity in Public Administration Gender diversity in public administration is imperative, if the discipline is to strive for the normative ideal of both efficiency and social justice.

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Public Administration was first established as a matter of technical implementation where the values of efficiency and effectiveness were paramount. This meant that the principles of social equity, protection of minority rights and equal opportunity took a back seat

in administrative science. A fundamental argument for the representation of women in public sector is that when the public sector reflects the composition of the society it serves, government will be more responsive and democratic. So closing the gender gap in Public Administration is important to ensure inclusive development and democratic governance. This helps to restore trust and confidence of the people in the public institutions and to enhance the sustainability and responsiveness of public policies. It is a crucial policy issue for both developed and developing countries. Women’s equal participation in public administration and decision-making with men is viewed as a necessary condition for women’s interest to be fully taken into account and addressed properly. 1.6 UNDP and other findings on Gender & Public Administration United Nations Development Programme or UNDP recognises the importance of a healthy Public Administration for national development and implements many projects and programmes for gender equality in public administration, provides technical assistance to strengthen public service capacities, opens up training centres for woman public servants and managers and undertakes research in support of innovation, reform, human resource development and inter-ministerial cooperation.

221 Analysing the trend of the gender question in public administration, it listed the following trends in 2014 : (1) According to UNDP women are unrepresented in top-levels of public administration. It states that there has been great developments of women in certain countries—Costa Rica 46%, Botswana 45% & Colombia 40% But women persistently occupied junior positions and were engaged in soft spheres, like culture, education, health and tourism in all countries. (2) There has been gender-bias in job categories. Women were engaged in support positions or soft jobs and not involved in decision-making or governance, which has been the sphere of men. (3) Women were found mostly in short-term and contractual positions and not in permanent type jobs. (4) More women were involved in local government jobs or sub-national bodies (Councils), but not in subnational executive branch (Mayor), this being the sphere of men. (5) There has been increasing numbers of entries of women in politics, though these numbers are not encouraging (Elected women head of state and government was 8 in 2005; it rose to 17 in 2012. Women ministers were 14.2% in 2005 and 16.7 in 2012). Highest number of women entries in politics were found in Scandinavian countries. (6) Gender-gap at the decision-making levels in private sectors has been less than one-third in senior positions and there were only one woman for every ten men in boardroom. (7) Women needed higher qualifications than men to reach the same top position. Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women or CEDAW was established in 1979 by the UN for reducing trafficking, advancing educational and vocational training and ending forced marriage or child marriage. It seeks to remove overt discrimination, ensure inheritance rights, guarantee the right to vote, help mothers, ensure the right to work and do business, implement special measures etc. and to correct the historical gender imbalances. CEDAW defined gender discrimination as any distinction, exclusion or restriction, made on the basis of sex, which has the purpose or effect of impairing and nullifying the recognition,

222 enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field. Beijing Platform for Action, 1995, agreed on by 189 countries, includes specific commitments by governments to advance full participation of women in public life, and public administration. South African Development Council (SADC) in its Gender and Protocol, 2008 agreed that members shall try to ensure that 50% of decision-making positions of the public and private sectors are held by women. Basilia Consensus Document, 2010 adopted by 33 Latin American and Caribbean countries urged regional governments to safeguard women rights. Art 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that-- (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country either directly or through freely chosen representatives. (2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public services in his country. 1.7 Women and Public Administration--Socio-cultural Realities Gender inequality is found in varying degrees in most societies around the world. Social and cultural stereotypes and false beliefs underlie gender inequality, which though weakened since 1970 due to women movements, persist even now and hamper all efforts to achieve gender equality. In some cases discretion on women are overt, e.g public administration statutes that use gender-insensitive language by referring existing officials as masculine body. Some gender-neutral laws, regulations, policies or programmes are disadvantageous for women, because they do not take into account either women's biological differences (such as pregnancy, breast-feeding etc.) or differences that exist because of gender stereotypes, attitudes and expectations. So some gender-neutral laws or policies end up discriminating women in public administration. Failure to harmonise various laws or policies relevant to gender equality may also create problems. National labour laws may have provisions for certain levels of continued salary during maternity leave or for solving problems of sexual harassment, but laws of civil servants do not include the same in many instances.

223 Socio-cultural norms may shape gender roles positively or negatively. They often feed or deconstruct negative gender-based stereotypes. In some countries women willing to take on increasing responsibility and continued career of full employment are known as career women or bad mothers or too aggressive and manly. This stereotype may lead them to parttime work. Opportunities for training and advancement are limited in part-time work. Many male workers do not take women workers seriously or equally as colleagues--some even make jokes on them. To add to all these are the institutional cultures that do not penalise sexism and harassment, which create major barriers to women's confidence in public administration. Sexual harassment, present at workplace, bewilder women. Some women do not know how to report it, some are unwilling to do so. Many countries have provisions prohibiting workplace harassment of women, even provisions to punish the offenders, but their implementations are not consistent. Women, facing the difficulty of balancing work and personal life, find it difficult to have equal participation in public administration. The so-called long hours of work or the requirement to demonstrate obedience to the organisation by working beyond contractual hours is held to be a masculine model of work. Cultures of long working hours and full commitment to the institution by doing long hours of work do not add to efficiency of bureaucracy; but that is the feature of many bureaucracies. Long hours of work is problematic for women, who have family responsibilities also. Time-pressure is greater on them than that on men. This deters women from aiming high. Some women even resign from work when they are mothers. Lack of child-care infrastructure creates imbalance. If such infrastructures are present, public administration can offer better benefits, as that would ensure work-life balance for women. All these point to the following solutions of the problem for women workers-- (i) flexible work options both for men and women, (ii) greater responsibility along with equal partnership at work, (iii) sexual harassment provisions and their proper implementation, (iv) removal of structural obstacles in office places, (v) doing away with cultural and social stereotypes in real life, (vi) provisions of children care centres during office work of women etc.

224 1.8 Globalisation –– Opportunities and Challenges Public Administration is no longer confined within the boundaries of national governments. Since the end of the 20th century the world market moves to a new era characterised by a globally integrated economy, where decisions regarding consumption, production and other aspects of social relations increasingly include transnational dimensions or globalisation. Forces of globalisation are real and its influences are felt everywhere. It entails free trade, free mobility of ideas and capital, rapid diffusion of products, technology, information, consumption patterns etc. Government's policy choices are consequently shifted to openness of trade and financial flows, higher regulation of industry, privatisation of state-owned industries and enterprises and lower public spending. Liberalisation and technical advances accelerated the impact of economic integration, thus eroding conventional boundaries of nation-states. Governments, in some instances proceeded with deregulation, without the introduction of new forms of regulation to ensure the observance of social protection. This increased the risks of globalisation for many social groups. UNCTAD's Trade and Development Report (1997) and UNDP Human Development Reports (1997 and 1999) suggest that economic growth fostered by recent liberalisation policies can be accompanied by increased inequality and a decline in living standards. The Asean crisis has revealed that failures in the financial markets can cause severe dislocations in the economy of all countries. Social, cultural and political factors of increasing international integration has also been profound. Population around the world are being familiarised through economic exchanges and advertisements, media and telecom to a culture of instant gratification through material consumption. Globalisation is also linked with momentous political changes and giving rise to identity politics, transnational civil society, new forms of governance, universal human rights etc. Globalisation has both positive and negative effects. Globalisation brings about opportunities, e.g. access to markets, technology-transfer, but it is also associated with instability, risks and uncertainties foreign investments and international competition can help poor economics of underdeveloped countries to modernise, to increase efficiency and productivity and to raise living standards of the workers. It can also threaten their livelihood, it can undermine banks, it can destabilise the whole economy. Globalisation offers opportunities as well as challenges for human development and gender equality.

225 1.9 Globalisation & Women Globalisation process is closely related to gender equity questions. Beijing + 5 workshop (1999) has recognised the relevance of globalisation for transforming gender relations. It has been stated that because of gender inequality and discrimination in all parts of the world women can be affected negatively by globalisation to a greater extent than men. They may have some gains also. We are discussing a few sectors of economy relevant in this respect-- (1) Labour market : Extension of the labour market as a result of globalisation may have positive effects. There would happen extension of employment opportunities in non-traditional sectors for women. This would enable them to earn income. This means empowering and enhancing of women's capacity to negotiate their role and status within the household and the society. In the past two decades the relocation of labour-intensive industries from advanced market economy to middle income generating developing countries has increased labour-market participation of women in the latter. Globalisation may also lead to increased exploitation and dependency on direct engagement with the market and particularly on the vagaries of the market. It has been found that women employment is concentrated in low-skill sectors and the gender-based wage gap show no signs of disappearing. Still the rapid increase in female labour participation rate has a considerable positive effect on women's wellbeing and that of their families. Nevertheless the issue of the poor conditions under which many women enter the labour market need to be raised. In developed countries, as industrialisation relocate elsewhere in search of cheaper labour and production, labour demand shifts towards relatively high skill manufacturing, while employment growth in low-skill sectors where women workers predominate, has been declining. (2) Trade in services : Trade is the primary vehicle to realise the benefits of industrialisation and globalisation. Trade policies affect employment, production, distribution, consumption- patterns, cultural values, social relations and environment, all of which affect both men and women, Increase in world trade, particularly in the services, has increased the involvement of women in the various occupations and professions of this sector. Women around the world have made impressive inroads into professional services,

226 e.g. law, banking, accounting, computing, tourism, information, services, offshore airline hooking, mail order, credit cards, word processing for publishers, telephone operators etc. The expanding numbers of aging population in developed countries (as a result of immense improvement of treatment, medicine and surgery facilities) and decrease in state provision of welfare services increased the demand for female labour from poor countries as caregivers or nurses. (3) Governance : Integration of national economy into the global economy is increasingly shifting the focus of the formulation and implementation of policy away from national levels to the international level. Increased shift of governance to the international level may undermine the modernist notion of citizenship, which over the years provided women's movements with a strong ground for advancing their civil identity and claims for equal rights vis-a-vis the sovereign state. New actors above (global) and below (local) the nation-state are now asserting alternative identities and roles for women, thus fragmenting their political citizenship. Globalisation is generating an unprecedented understanding that economic and social rights are parts of the international human rights discourse. Moreover, the growing force of international women's movements and their influence over intergovernmental processes are empowering women and creating space for international women's organisations at the national and local levels to grow. (4) Poverty : Under industrialization and globalisation, the limits of state ability to provide social protection, provision of needs and human capital investment are more strained. This poses a major challenge to poverty eradication programmes and the efforts to respond to the needs of the less viable sections of the population, specially women and children in responding to their rights to basic services and development of their capabilities. Withering away of the welfare state and increasing cost of social services have produced uniformly negative impact on poor women of both developed and developing countries. These have increased the household burden on finance. Poor women have to work inside and outside home and combine house-making work with job elsewhere. There is an increase in child labour also. (5) Migration : Emerging globalisation trends are changing the pattern of cross-border flow of labour and also the labour demand patterns. Globalisation favours short-term temporary

227 employment and so short term contracted labour migration is rising with distinct gender-differentiating consequences. Women are migrating into different big cities and entering new labour engagements more. While migration may improve women's life-chances, migrant women in some parts of the world are increasingly becoming victims to trafficking and sexual exploitation. Due to lack of effective international mechanisms that regulate labour rights for women moving across national borders, both legal and illegal women migrants have become vulnerable to human abuses. (6) Technical changes : Expanding reach of new communication technology has brought about increasing opportunities of employment for women. They are using internet, emails, networking, exchange and dissemination of information, creative e-commerce initiatives designed to help local artisans and producers and market products globally. But millions of poor men and women are denied access to internet facilities. Cost, location bias, time constraint etc. are impediments. Employment opportunities in info-processing work, specially in the service sector opened up novel opportunities in some developing countries for men and women. Homebased teleworking, employment in telecentres, flexibility in location and hours of employment can overcome some constraints faced by women. The massive entry of women into the workforce around the world coincides with the political mobilisation of women and the expansion of women organisations of all types. The sentiment behind this growing force is recognised in the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and in the Beijing Platform for Action. World Survey on the Role of Women in Development states that national economy must be continually adjusting themselves to the changing conditions of the world economy in order to reap the economic benefits of globalisation. The challenges before Beijing + 5 Process and the agents of gender equality development and peace at national and international levels are to establish new alliances and develop new modalities towards building an inclusive global society, where the goals of Beijing Declaration and Beijing Platform for Action are realised. In 2008 UN general secretary launched Unite to End Violence against Women campaign with the aim to raise public awareness and increase political will and resources for preventing and ending all forms of violence against women and girls in all parts of the world. Through its advocacy initiatives at the global, regional and national levels this campaign is mobilising individuals and communities, women organisations and civil society groups and men, young people, celebrities, artists, sports, personalities, private sectors etc. for achieving this goal.

228 UNDP Global Initiative on Gender Equality in Public Administration (GEPA), 2014 was developed with two key priorities— (i) Supporting women empowerment and expanded participation and leadership of the executive branch of the state. (ii) Contributing to the availability of upto-date information on gender equality in public administration and of evidence and analysis to facilitate informed policy and decision-making. Thirteen countries were selected for case study—Bangladesh, Botswana, Burundi, Cambodia, Columbia, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Mali, Morocco, Mexico, Romania, Somalia and Uganda. We have already seen that the economic policy of the developing world in the process of restructuring from an inward looking and state-directed political regime to an outward-looking economy in the direction of free market, liberalisation and globalisation creates difficulties for all, specially for women. New Indian economic policy of 1991 in the wake of debt crisis was launched as an essential part of the Structure Adjustment Policy urged by the IMF and World Bank. Substantial loans were provided by them. This Policy brought about globalisation of trade and commerce, decline of state interventionist policy and marketisation. These have led to an increased burden for women and is creating inequality between regions, between men and women and increased feminisation of poverty.

1.10 Laws (national and international) to Prevent Discrimination in Public Offices
Laws to prevent discrimination in public offices have become more visible in the present political scenario of the world. Some such laws are :

1. Employment of Non-Discrimination Act (USA) It prohibits discrimination on any ground.
2. The Civil Rights Act, 1964 (USA) This federal law makes it illegal to discriminate against someone on the basis of race, colour, religion, national origin or sex.
3. Houson Equal Rights Ordinance (USA) It bans discrimination based just on sex, race, colour, ethnicity, national origin, age, religion, disability, pregnancy and genetic information, as well as family, marital or military status.
- 229 4. Equal pay Act, 1963 (USA) 5. Fair Employment Act 1941 (USA) 6. Employment Equity Act, 1998 (South Africa) 7. Provision of Equality and Prevention of Discrimination Act, 2000 (South Africa) 8. Section 9 of the Constitution of South Africa 9. Equal Pay Act, 1970 (UK) 10. Equality Acts (2006 and 2010) (UK) 11. Employment Equality Regulations, covering sexual orientation, religion, belief or age (UK) 12. Article 14 of the Constitution of India 13. Caste Disabilities Removal Act, 1850 (India) 14. Hindu Succession Act, 1956 (India) 15. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989 (India) 16. Canadian Employment Equity Act, 1986 17. Canadian Human Rights Act, 1977 18. Employment (Equal Opportunity) Law, 1988 (Israel) 19. Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (International) 20. Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention 1958 (International) 21. Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discriminations against Women, 1965 (International) 22. Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment Act of Migrant Workers. 1975 (International)

1.11 Marginalised Gender identity in Public Administration— An International Case study
Reserchers investigated 155 Spanish Municipalities and found that most departments of Public Administration favoured primarily male population. Of the 230 areas examined 14 were having a gender differential of at least 10% and six having a differentiation greater than 50%. In areas where equality existed, it was found that men dominated the upper-level positions of a system—more men in mayoral or similar positions, while women were mostly in the council. Men dominated also in economics and finance, women were found in areas mostly concerned with social justice. So the analysis concluded that even as women are becoming involved and employed in politics on a much larger scale than before, they remain in areas that are deemed feminine in a masculine and male-dominated system.

1.12 In-service Training Programme for Greater Gender Equality
The Lithuanian Institute of Public Administration in collaboration with the Office of the Equal Opportunities Ombudsman launched in 2004 the in-service training programme “Equal opportunities of Women and Men.” The plan was to deliver the course once in every three months with 20 public officials, mostly heads of units or their deputies. It included courses and lectures on— (1) Legislations and Directives concerning gender equality in the UN & EU, (2) Institutional and legal mechanisms for the implementation of equal rights of women and men in Lithuania, comprising parliamentary, governmental, non-governmental and local levels, (3) Activities of the office of the Ombudsman for Equal Opportunities, including the legal situation regarding gender equality, (4) Mechanisms for the protection of equal rights in the EU, (5) Topics related to men and women in the labour market and in the institutions of public administration in particular, (6) Issues regarding the position of men and women in politics and in working life, (7) Activities of CEDAW (UN convention), (8) Gender Equality issues at municipal levels. Participants became acquainted with the relevant information concerning government programmes concerning gender equality. The in-service training programme offered the participants opportunities to enrich their knowledge of gender equality situations and developed their skills of

231 dealing with day-to-day issues involving gender, such as domestic violence, sexual harassment at workplace. If we want an advancement of the work for gender parity, then it is imperative that the decisionmakers must be informed of such issues—problems and prospects of the issues, methods of realising those issues etc. So this type of in-service programmes are very much essential for the establishment of gender equality in public administration. 1.13 Conclusion Gender equality is both an essential development goal in its own right and a driver of human development. Gender and diversity are necessary in Public Administration, if the discipline is to strive for the normative ideal of democratic governance. The goal of true integration of women into the workforce is to achieve a depolarised workplace where the worth of both men and women are appreciated. International law recognises that everyone has a right to participate in public life, but there are still challenges to women's equal participation in Public Administration, specially in decisionmaking; A critical mass of women in Public Administration, specially in senior decision-making positions is important for equity reasons. Without adequate number of women public administrators Public Administration is yet to tap the full potential of a country's workforce, capacity and creativity of women, who are almost half of the population and help economic development of the country to the right path. Women's contributions complement and enrich Public Administration and public policies. Gender equality issue related to Public Administration is the capacity of public institutions to formulate policies and deliver programmes that— (1) recognise and respond to different situations and needs of men and women. (2) work towards narrowing inequality. Governments make and implement legislations that affect people's rights and opportunities, government institutions influence communities, families and individuals through its policies and government actions have often gender-based impacts, because of differences between men and women in the responsibilities they carry in the household, the type of work they do in the labour market and their access to key resources—capital, property and credit.

232 1.14 References Commilla Stivers, Gender Images in Public Administration, 2002. Maria J. Agostino and Helisse Levine, Women in Public Administration: Theory and Practice, 2011. UN, Report of Economic and Social Council for 1997.

1.15 Sample Questions Long-answer questions : 1. Discuss the arguments of the Human Capital Theory and Socio-psychological theory relating Public Administration and gender. 2. Discuss the basic points of the international reports on the trends of gender-inequality in Public Administration. 3. Analyse the effects of globalisation on the gender question. 4. Explain the in-service training programme for greater gender equality in Lithuania. 5. What are the different laws to prevent gender discrimination in public offices? Short-answer questions : 1. What do you mean by gender? 2. What is the meaning of Public Administration? 3. What is the meaning of patrimony in Public Administration? 4. What is Gender diversity in Public Administration? 5. Mention three trends referred to by UNDP regarding gender and Public Administration. 6. What do you mean by socio-cultural realities concerning gender- inequality? 7. What are the major advantages and disadvantages of globalisation?

233 Unit 2 □□□□ Public Administration and Civil Society Structure 2.0 Objectives 2.1 Introduction 2.2 Civil Society and Public Administration—Changing Perspectives 2.3 Civil Society and State Administration 2.4 Contributions of the Civil Society 2.5 Civil Society and Public Administration in India 2.6 Conclusion 2.7 References 2.8 Sample Questions 2.0 Objectives A study of this unit will equip you to analyse the following topics : • Concept of civil society and evolution of the concept. • Changing nature of civil society and Public Administration. • Relationship between civil society and government and their interactions. • Civil society and Public Administration in India. 2.1 Introduction Civil society and Public Administration are two very popular and important concepts among agencies and people working on economic and social development. But there is no unanimous view and definition of them and both the concepts keep changing their meanings with change of times. Let us first have a clear understanding of the two concepts. By civil society we generally mean the aggregate of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and institutions that express the interests and the wills of the citizens. Civil society is the arena outside the state and the market, where people associate and voice their interests and is referred to as the "third sector" of society, distinct from government

234 and business. Volunteering is often considered as a defining characteristic of the organisations that make up the civil society. Public Administration is concerned with governmental activities. It deals with federal, state and local government agencies that administer, oversee and manage public programmes and exercise executive, legislative and judicial control over other institutions within a given territorial unit. These government agencies also frame policies, make laws, adjudicate legal cases and provide safety and national defence. These agencies are engaged in the organisation and financing of the production of public goods and services, mostly free or at low prices.

2.2 Civil Society and Public Administration – Changing Perspectives

The term civil society goes back to the days of the ancient Greeks. In Aristotle's *Politics* it was referred to as a community commensurate with the Greek city-state or the polis and the end of both the civil society and the city state was common well being. The Greek ideal state was a just society in which people dedicated themselves to the common good and practiced civic virtues of wisdom, courage, moderation and justice. Roman writers, such as Cicero introduced the concept of civil society, which meant a good society ensuring peace and order among the people. Greek and Roman thinkers did not distinguish between the state and the society; they held that the state represented the civil form of society and civility represented the requirement of good citizenship. In the middle ages the concept of civil society practically disappeared from the mainstream discussion due to the unique arrangements of feudalism; conversations were dominated rather by the concept of just war. This lasted until the end of Renaissance. Thirty years' war and the subsequent treaty of Westphalia brought about the birth of the sovereign nation-states. States became territory-based sovereign political units and monarchs began to exert domestic control by weakening the feudal lords. They did no longer depend on the armed forces provided by the feudal lords, but formed national armies. They also designed a professional bureaucracy and fiscal departments, which enabled them to maintain direct control and supreme authority over their subjects. In order to meet administrative expenditure monarchs began to control the economy. This gave birth to absolutism in mid-eighteenth century Europe. In the Enlightenment period this concept of absolutism began to be questioned. The ruler's claim to political legitimacy and moral authority of the state was judged in different ways by different thinkers. For Hobbes human beings are motivated by

235 self-interests, which are contradictory in nature. So the state of nature according to him, was a condition of war of all against all and anarchical in general. Rationality and self-interests impelled the people to protect themselves from anarchy and so they agreed to surrender sovereignty by way of a contract to a common power, which was the state. Hobbes emphasised on the need of a powerful state to maintain civility in society. Locke's time or the period of Glorious Revolution witnessed struggle between the rights of the crown and the political rights of the parliament. So Locke made the social contract theory of a limited state and a powerful civil society. According to Locke life of human beings, though peaceful and first, was not peaceful later and so people gathered together to sign a contract and constituted a common public authority by the first contract. This authority had the power to enact and maintain law. The second contract was concerned with the limitation of the authority of the state. The state, formed with the second contract, could not usurp the basic rights of human beings like right to life, liberty and property. He supported the right to revolution of the civil society, if the basic rights of human beings were not respected by the state. Hobbes and Locke did not regard the civil society as distinct from the state. They accepted the coexistence of the two. Hegel changed the meaning of civil society. He provided a modern liberal understanding of the civil society as a form of market society, as opposed to institutions of modern nation-state. For Marx civil society was the foundation, in which productive forces and social relations were taking place, whereas political society was the superstructure. He accepted the link of the civil society with capitalism and held that the civil society represented the interest of the bourgeoisie and that the state as the superstructure also represented the interests of the bourgeoisie. He rejected any positive role of the state and considered the state to be the executive arm of the bourgeoisie and predicted that the state will wither away, once the working class took democratic control of the society. Gramsci did not, like Marx, consider the civil society to be co-terminus with the socio-economic base of the state. He viewed civil society as the vehicle for bourgeois hegemony and located it in the political superstructure. The new Left assigned to the civil society a key role in defending the people against the state and the market and in asserting the democratic will to influence the state. Neoliberals viewed the civil society as a site for struggle to subvert communist and authoritarian regimes. According to the theory of restructuring of welfare systems the concept of civil society became a neoliberal ideology and a substitute for the welfare state and not for democratisation. Since 1980 with the emergence of non-governmental organisation, and the new social

236 movements on a global scene civil society became equated with a key terrain of strategic actions for an alternative social and world order. Jillan Schwelder points out that the civil society emerges when individuals and groups challenge the boundaries of permissible behaviour of the state by speaking out against the regime or demanding a government response to social needs. In recent years NGO's action areas have expanded rapidly from local and national setting to the international level. In the context of globalisation there has occurred international transformations and there are now international actors--such as United Nations agencies, regional organisations, finance and trade institutions and transnational corporations--as well as international "summits". These have assumed an increasingly prominent role in global governance. NGOs are late-comers to this evolving system of global governance, but are having great influence on the international decision-making processes associated with development issues. Public Administration prevailed as a regulatory activity of societal and state affairs since time immemorial. Roman emperor governed a vast territory and developed detailed administrative systems. Public administration plays a significant role in the life of an individual at every stage even today. Practice of regulatory administration gradually changed into welfare administration and development administration. But Public Administration as a branch of study is a recent phenomenon. Initiation of the study of Public Administration goes to Woodrow Wilson, who in 1887 emphasised on the necessity of developing its scientific foundations. He made a distinction between politics and administration. Following him, Goodnow said that politics deals with expressions of the state will or policies of the state and public administration is concerned with the execution of those policies. All other writers following them, e.g. Willoughby, Luther Gulick, Henry Fayol, White etc. emphasized on the politics-administration dichotomy. (policy making versus implementation of policy). In the next phase politics-public administration dichotomy came to be regarded as impracticable and undesirable, as administration was an instrument for fulfilling political goals and in reality policy and its administration were always mixed up. Gradually Public Administration became concerned with managerial phenomenon and asserted that its results applied to all organisations. It had three features-scientific management, sociological studies and generic management. In recent times (since 1940) behavioural, comparative, ecological of Weberian analysis grew and the tie of public administration and politics was reasserted. There are also post-behavioural, interdisciplinary and value-loaded approaches. In the 237 second half of the 20th century (1960) Development Administration (Weidner) and New Public Administration (Waldo) became popular. Development efforts were initiated in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America along the capitalist lines. The new efforts were concerned with gender equity, environment-friendly development, child development, development of local level leadership, involvement of grassroot people in administration etc, giving rise to the concept of participatory administration. 2.3 Civil Society and State Administration Relationship between government and the civil society and their interaction define the nature of the polity and the society. Through such interactions some ideas and projects emerge from the society and they are addressed to the decision-makers of the state. People come together as citizens and articulate their autonomous views to influence the political institution. Civil society is the organised expression of these views and the relation between the state and the civil society is the cornerstone of a democracy. Without an effective civil society capable of structuring and channelising citizen debates over diverse ideas and conflicting interests, the state drifts away from its subjects. State's interaction with citizenry is then reduced to the election time only and the time was to be decided by the politicians.

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Civil society is the realm of organised social life, that is voluntary

and self-generating, largely self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of rules. It consists of a vast array of organisations, both formal and informal: interest groups, cultural or religious organisations, civic and developmental associations, issue-oriented movements, the mass media, research and educational institutions and similar organisations. It includes economic, religious, kinship and political interest groups within the civil society and emphasises on their actors or agents. Civil society includes self-organising groups, movements and individuals autonomous from the state (including individual protestors and mobs). Civil society also signifies the space within which interactions occur, e.g. neighbour's association, women's groups, religious groupings, intellectual currents and civic organisations from all classes of professions such as lawyers, journalists, trade unions, and enterprises. They all attempt to constitute themselves in an ensemble of arrangements so that they can express themselves and advance their interests. Universities, cultural institutions, informal networks of public opinion formation have traditionally been spaces of civil society. Now in the digital era mass media, internet and wireless communication are not only spaces of civil society and

238 public sphere, but they are also cultural repository of values and projects that feed public debate. We can also analyse the structures associated with the functions of civil society. This gives us an understanding of the civil society not from the perspective of what it is, but from the perspective of what it does. The different functions of the civil society enable the members to— (1) articulate own interests & make demands. (2) defend their rights vis-a-vis the state and others. (3) meet their needs directly, without depending on state agencies. Civil society organisations help to ensure that people's interests, rights and needs are not suppressed, but are fulfilled. These functions may also be performed by the state. So people and the state are not in an oppositional relationship. Performance of civil society functions depend on the existence of a set of institutions and organisations. These organisations are reinforced by favourable conditions, policies, procedures, precedents, etc. ensured by the state. Supportive cultural values and norms, beliefs and attitudes may give legitimacy to these institutions and organisations, which together will encourage individuals and groups to take initiatives and the carry through independent actions, exercise self-determination and enjoy security of person and property. Cultural values are important for the functioning of a civil society. Values preserve a substantial degree of autonomy for them. But it is people's capacities for initiative and independent action that give civil society effective scope for action. These capacities are largely created and sustained through institutions and organisations. It is actually the interplay between the state and the civil society that determines in practice how well a civil society functions are performed in a particular context. A totalitarian state can entirely absorb within itself all acceptable civil society activities and debar or criminalise unacceptable ones. In such a setting civil society can hardly be strong and effective. In a contrasting setting, the state may permit, facilitate and encourage multiple independent actions initiated by organised citizens. Civil society will obviously be stronger in such a setting. So the strength of civil society depend on what the state does and what the state permits. For the civil society to be strong, state institutions have to be more accountable to the civil society and the state must function as protectors, coordinators and regulators of citizen's lives and this will lead to a democratic expansion of the civil society through state support. Operations of the civil society and performance of its functions depend on what the state institutions allow, facilitate and support. The power of the civil society

239 and the capacity of the state institutions can increase together in a positive way or decline together negatively. The actual outcome depends on state's policy making and administrative capacities and civil society's capacity for independent self-determined activity. So the relation between the two is not opposed to each other. Strengthening of both is necessary to deepen democracy and undermine injustice. Social movements seeking greater justice should work on both these fronts and increase the links between the civil society and the state. Civil society is not disassociated from state institutions. Some of the institutions and organisations that promote civil society purposes are surely independent of the state, but all need not be. Institutions such as the legislature, the judiciary and subnational governments which are embedded within the state must be linked with non-state institutions and organisations, if they are to be effective. The ability of the more autonomous units of the civil society to protect citizen-interests or to help citizens engage on favourable terms with state actors depend largely on the orientation of such institutions that are embedded within the state. Non-state actors, called civil society should not be understood as operating all by themselves, because that is not how they exist and function. It is the nature of the links and relationships between the state and the non-state sectors that represents the true potentials of the civil society in any particular context. State institutions can be analysed in terms of six sets of actors. They create the power of the state, though their organisation may vary from state to state. State structures

1. The Executive : It exercises the broadest and the final authority of the state. It also known as the regime or the rulers. In Britain it called the government, in U.S.A. it is known as administration. The set of persons within the executive are not a part of the civil society. But they may be accountable and responsive to citizen's needs and interests. Civil society will be stronger if such is the case.
2. The administration : The permanent staff of government or the civil service, known as bureaucracy is in charge of administration. It acts quite autonomously, as the government depends on it on all matters and especially on matters of economic policy. It gives effects to the decisions of the government and acquires information, collects revenue and other resources needed to govern. Administration part of government has huge powers and it can advance the interests of the citizens and protect their rights. If this part functions properly and effectively, then all institutions and organisations performing civil society functions can be more successful in

240 advancing individual and group interests. If not, then it becomes the focus of civil society pressure and resistance.

3. The Armed force and the police : This branch includes all those persons who wield force in the name of the state. It includes intelligence services and security forces too. Where there is civilian supremacy, this branch is subordinate to the executive, the administration and the legislature and the civil society is strong. But when it acts in an autonomous manner or when the rulers are puppets of this branch, then civil society performance will be hindered and its organised expression may even be outlawed.
4. The Legislature : This branch of government is formed by the elected representatives of the public. It enacts laws, approves budget and in some countries determines the government or the executive. In some countries it is the rubberstamp for the executive or the military. Where legislatures operate independently, they are important voices and vehicles of civil society interests and they make civil society strong. Otherwise the civil society becomes weak.
5. The Judiciary : Judges are appointed by the executive in most countries, they are in some cases elected by the legislature also. They are dependent on the executive, legislature and administration for resources and for enforcement of judicial decisions but they have the authority and legitimacy to limit these other branches of government. There is a hierarchy of judicial organs, culminating in the highest court at the national level. The judiciary is accessible to the members of the public, who can get an opportunity for getting justice there. The actions of the judiciary strengthens the civil society.
6. Sub-national governments : Governments which operate at provincial, regional or state levels have some spheres of autonomy from different branches of national governments. In federal systems they are able to act fairly independently, responding to and acting upon regional expressions of needs and interests. If they have their own taxing powers, then they can serve the people of the region better. This makes the performance of civil society functions stronger.

Civil Society structures There are some organisational structures that serve the interests of the civil

241 society. It is rather difficult to draw a boundary around civil society and regard is as a self-contained buffer. The various components that contribute to the functions of the civil society range from social structures that are more or less associated with state institutions to others that are practically autonomous. Various non-state institutions—depending on their leadership and circumstances can contribute greatly to the autonomy of individuals and to the ability to speak up and speak back to the state. This is not achieved through autonomy only. There is need for cooperation and connection between these institutions and also between them and the state. Important agencies in this regard are :

1. Political Parties : All political parties can present and represent people's needs and interests—sometimes quite forcefully. Political Parties are considered to be a part of the civil society when they represent regional, occupational, ideological or other interests within the political process at higher levels. History shows that single party structures become arms of the state vis-a-vis the public. However, they can be helpful for the civil society if they are internally democratic. History also shows that multiple parties serve the interests of the political elites, rather than that of the society at large. Having a large number of political parties in a country thus gives, no guarantee of a stronger civil society. It is important to look at what they contribute to effective exchange among the citizens and the state.
2. The media : In many countries the media—television, radio, the major daily newspapers etc. are controlled by the state, but it does not happen so everywhere. Many journalists expose some malpractices by state institutions and work on behalf of non-state interests. They are regarded as parts of the civil society. Now the power of the media, with digital revolution, internet, wireless communication etc. have become very strong.
3. Local government : Depending on how much financial and legal autonomy they have, local government bodies at district, subdistrict, village or local levels can be parts of the civil service. If they operate with independence and carry out programmes that local citizens desire, then they promote non-state needs and interests, but when they are only an extension of central administration, then they cease to be parts of the civil society.
4. Business Sector : That part of business enterprise which is concerned only with producing goods and services for private profit are not parts of the civil society. But some businesses that are concerned with policy matters and engages in public service should be considered within the civil society. Businesses, with their own sources of income, can be more independent from the state than other parts of the civil society. Even the state depends on the business sector in terms of tax payments and employment generation. But it is known that a major part of the business sector is closely aligned with government. Business needs state approval and it can benefit from various concessions from the state and so some business leaders get attached to the state. Then the civil society role of the business sector is lost. The exposure of crony capitalism in many Asian countries has experienced this danger. But during the period of autocratic rule by Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines, an organisation known as Philippine Businessmen for Social Progress played a key role in forcing a return to democratic governance.
5. Religious organisations : Religious organisations insist on remaining outside the control of the state, while others depend on the state. Churches, mosques, temples etc. are generally a part of the civil society. The Catholic Church of Philippines under the leadership of Cardinal Sin became an active part of the civil society since mid- 1980s. Recent political transition in Indonesia was spurred partly by two national Muslim organisations which criticised the performance of the rulers. In some countries separation of powers is so extreme that religious leaders focus fully on other-worldly concerns, never engaging with public affairs or challenging the power of the state even when exercised unconstitutionally, e.g. in Nigeria. There religious organisations are irrelevant to the civil society. When churches are closely aligned with the state, they become parts of the state apparatus and reduce the effectiveness of the civil society. How religious organisations are tied to the state or how independent they are in their country is an empirical question.
6. Foundations : These are non-profit organisations dedicated to philanthropy of various sorts. They are small operations, but operate on their own, independently from or in cooperation with the state. They deal with issues and problems that their founders and directors consider important. They provide funding and expertise for select activities, that are mostly autonomous from the state. They make the civil society pluralistic and strong.

243 7. Universities : Universities and institutions of higher learning that are publicly established and supported are considered as parts of the state and have little or no freedom of critical action. But a large number of privately operated educational institutions operate autonomously, even in opposition to government. In 1975 students from public and private institutions led the revolution which brought down the autocratic regime in Thailand. Students can be quite a radical force in society. When both idealism and knowledge get combined in university settings, there emerges important centres of civil society. So universities are regarded as hotbeds of criticism and opposition. 8. Trade Unions : They are organised channels through which the interests of a large number of citizens can be expressed and advanced, aggregated in terms of their respective means of earning livelihood. In some countries these structures are controlled by the state agencies. where they are so, they donot belong to civil society. In other situations they, as parts of the civil society, are major protectors of individuals’ rights and interests. Trade unions empower the workers as a group to engage in collective bargaining over wages and conditions of work. If no agreement is arrived at with employers, trade unions enable their workers to withhold their labour. 9. Professional Associations : Various professional associations have expanded in recent times and they are important both to the public and to the state. Lawyers as an organised group can challenge and work within the judicial system and try to make it live up to the lofty ideal it possesses, like dispensing justice and providing equality before law, e.g. Ghanian lawyers’ role. Medical associations have also been voicing indepently not only for its economic interests, but also for the needs and health of the public. These professional associations possess status and legitimacy and information as experts in the medical arena. So they can serve the interests of the public by contradicting state claims. These associations are voicing their concerns for environment conservation, construction of dans, preservation of animals or clear- cutting of forests. Artistic community—writers, poets, musicians, playwrights etc. produce ideas, melodies, verses etc. that appeal to the mind. These creative people are generally independent in nature and even critical of state power and action. They form a 244 powerful civil society group. They communicate with the civil society and inspire them with articles, songs, murals etc. American civil rights movement and anti- Vietnam war movement were made more powerful by the power of folk music. 10. NGOs or Non-governmental Organisations : These organisations are major actors of the civil society and are empedded in the society end. NGOs vary greatly in size and effectiveness, cover a wide range of functions and are autonomous. They are private sector non-profit organisations and are accountable to their founders, managers and contributors and are national, regional and local in character. But the local NGOs will be discussed in the next category as grass-root organisations. How well NGOs perform their functions depend on the quality of the linkages of NGOs and other sectors. 11. Grass-root organisations : These are local level organisations, but can extend upward to regional and national level, with a local base. Relations between these organisations and the state are not always conflicting in nature; there can be mutually beneficial cooperation with state agencies, e.g. farmers’ organisation working with government agricultural extension services or water-user’s associations cooperating with irrigation department of the government. Horizontal linkage among grass-root organisations and vertical linkage with other kinds of civil society structures are an important part of the effectiveness, and the strength of the civil society. Interaction of the civil society and the state is shown in the chart given below : Civil society organisations and institutions as a continuum of interaction among non-state institutions and with state institutions chart given below : Core Interface Interface Semi-autonomous autonoouse

1. Executive 2. Administration 3. Armed force & police 4. Legislature 5. Judiciary 6. Sub-national govt. 1. Political parties 2. Media 3. Local Govt. 4. Business sector 5. Religious organisations 6. Foundations 7. Universities 8. Trade unions 9. Professional Associations 10. Non-Govt. organisations 11. Grass-root organisations State Institutions and Organisations Social institutions and organisations

245 2.4 Contributions of the Civil Society Civil society’s functional contribution to good government are : (i) A civil society is a watchdog against violation of human rights and also against governing deficiencies. (ii) Civil societiy advocates the point of view of the weaker sections of the society. (iii) Civil society acts as an educator of the citizens

on their rights, entitlements and responsibilities and the government about the pulses of the people. (iv) Civil society provides service to areas and to people, which cannot be reached by official efforts or by the government agents. (v) Civil society mobilises public opinion for or against a programme or policy. (vi) Civil society acts through social capital. Social capital is strong in a homogeneous and egalitarian society. There the people act together willingly in their common long-term interests. 2.5 Civil Society and Public Administration in India India has adopted representative democracy, leaving the decision-making to a small group of elected representatives. This could result in a government of the people, but it is now becoming a government off the people. Progressive marketisation of traditional government functions has widened this gap. Governance is

the process by which a society manages itself through the mechanism of the state.

The basic requirements of good governance are peoples' effective participation, transparency, equity and inclusiveness, rule of law, accountability and strategic vision. Many administrative reform commissions were appointed in India to provide good governance, but none have produced any appreciable impact on the quality of our governance. The emphasis now is on facilitating external pressure from citizens on the system to improve through the Right to Information Act., Consumer Protection Act, Citizens' charter, whistleblower protection, e-governance, democratic centralisation, public interest litigation etc.

246 Civil society is exerting itself now, but is not yet able to play its full potential role in enforcing good governance

in India, except when an issue is of common major concern to all sections of people. Civil society of India is divided over narrow loyalties and interests. Individuals cannot take on the huge politico-bureaucratic machine that the government is, nor can the entire civil society act on behalf of every citizen. The

Government of India's National Policy on the Voluntary Sector, 2006, encourages an independent, creative and effective voluntary sector.

But the government has to assess their suitability, capability and experience and evaluate their performance continually. Efforts to improve governance will fail if the quality and calibre of the political executive is unsatisfactory. Civil society of India needs to note the deterioration in the quality, integrity and commitment of the elected representatives and the fact of the criminalisation of politics. Voter education, electoral reforms and periodical highlighting of the performance or non-performance of elected representatives are priority items. Only with civil society's active role can parliamentary democracy of India become participatory democracy in future. 2.6 Conclusion Diverse ideas and projects from the civil society feed the public debate about protection of citizen rights, advancement of citizen interests or fulfillment of citizen needs and diverse forms of civil society institutions enact this public debate ultimately influencing state decisions. The state or the political institutions set the constitutional rules by which the debate is kept orderly and productive.

Interactions between the citizens, the civil society and the state ensure that there is a balance between stability and social change. If the actors fail to fulfill the demands of this interaction or if the channels of communication among them are blocked, the whole system of decision-making comes to a standstill. This gives rise to a crisis of legitimacy. Citizens do not recognise themselves in the institutions of the society. This leads to crisis of authority, which again leads to a redefinition of power relationships embodied in the state. Socio-political forms are built upon cultural materials which are either produced unilaterally by the state as an expression of

247 domination or are coproduced by individuals, interest groups, civic associations (or the civil society) and the state together. How such forms are constituted and how they operate define the structure of any polity. The set of institutions and organisations that enhance the power of the citizens is not the same in all situations or at all times. In some countries the media may be a vital part of what is understood as civil society, it is religion in Latin America and student movement in East Asia. Now women groups, environment protection groups, child development groups etc. are assuming importance in the civil society. It is imperative to empower them with state approval and also to decentralise the civil society groups, so that they can perform their functions more effectively. 2.8 References Edwards Michael, Civil Society, Polity Press, Cambridge, England 2004. Ehrchberg, John, Civil Society, New York University Press, New York, 1999. Frank, Arechiarico, Administrative Culture and Civil Society, Sage journals. Hayden, Rebert, "Dictatorships of Virtue", Harvard International Review, Summer, 2002. Holloway, John, Challenging the World without Taking Power, Pluto Press, London, 2002. Putnam, R. D., Making Democracy Work, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1993. World Bank, Governance and Development, Washington D. C., 1992. 2.9 Sample Questions Long-answer questions : 1. Discuss the changing perspectives of Public Administration and civil society. 2. Define the concept of the civil society and trace its evolution. 3. Write a note on the mutual influence of civil society and Public Administration. 4. Discuss the relationship between civil society and Public Administration.

248 5. Write a note on the functions of the six departments of government structure. 6. Discuss the functions of the different agencies of civil society. Short-answer questions : 1. What is civil society? 2. What are the six components of the state structure? 3. What are the structures of civil society? 4. What are the advantages of civil society?

249 Unit 3 □□□□□ Globalisation and Public Administration Structure 3.0 Objectives 3.1 Introduction 3.2 Globalisation : Meaning and definitions 3.3 History of Globalisation 3.4 Effects of Globalisation 3.5 Nature and Characteristics of Globalisation 3.6 Globalisation--Advantages and Disadvantages 3.7 Globalisation and Public Administration 3.8 Changes in Public Administration 3.9 Conclusion 3.10 References 3.11 Sample Questions 3.0 Objectives • A reading of this unit will enable you to have clear ideas on the following topics: • Meaning of globalisation and its history. • Nature, characteristics and effects of globalisation including its advantages and disadvantage. • Reciprocal relations between globalisation and Public Administration and different kinds of strategies adopted by Public Administration to cope with the challenges from globalisation. 3.1 Introduction The major trend in the contemporary world is globalisation. Its goal is the establishment of a Global Village compressed into an ecological, financial, trading

250 and electronic system. It refers to the processes whereby cultural, ideological, economic and technological exchanges take place across national borders, prompting the emergence of a global society and ad hoc forms of global governance. Globalisation shifts the focus of our attention and discussion on public affairs from the national to the international domain and is increasingly constructed around global communication networks. Public Administration is reeling under the complex challenges and pressures in the face of changing trends in globalisation and the two trends of liberalisation and privatisation resulting therefrom. 3.2 Globalisation : Meaning and definitions Roland Robertson defined globalisation as the process of

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compression of the world and intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole.			

According to Martin Albrow, globalisation is the process by which people of the world are incorporated into a single whole society. All these processes

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of international integration arise from interchange of worldviews, products, ideas and other aspects of culture			

and are brought about by advances in transportation facilities and telecommunication infrastructures, including the telegraph, the internet and wireless communication techniques. These facilities and techniques generate further interdependence of economic and cultural activities. International Monetary Fund defines globalisation "

as the growing economic interdependence of countries worldwide through increasing volume and variety of cross-border transactions in goods and services, free international capital flows and more rapid and widespread diffusion of technology." The

International Forum on Globalisation views globalisation as the present worldwide drive toward a globalised economic system dominated by supranational corporate trade and banking institutions that are not accountable to democratic processes or national governments. Wallerstein thinks that globalisation cannot be understood separately from the historical development of the capitalist world system. The different definitions of globalisation highlight the roles and relationships of governments, corporations and individuals in maximising social welfare within the globalisation paradigms. It is clear that globalisation has economic, political, cultural and technological aspects that may be closely intertwined. These aspects are related to an individual's quality of life and so the social benefit and costs brought upon them by globalisation generate strong debates. The globalisation process is driven economically by trade, investment and migration and are related to financial flows. The globalisation of trade entails that human beings have greater access to an array of goods and services never seen before

251 in human history. From German cars to Colombian coffee, from Chinese toys to Egyptian cotton, from Japanese Sushi to American Starbucks--a wide range of goods and services can be purchased by people inhabiting any part of the world. The globalisation of investment takes place through Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) which enables multinational companies to invest assets directly in a foreign country or to purchase financial assets of other countries or sell them in other countries by indirect investment. Migration allows individuals of different countries to find employment in places where there are labour shortages. The political aspects of globalisation are evidenced by the emergence of transnational elites and phasing out of nation-states and also by the government- created international rules and institutions, which deal with issues such as trade, human rights and environment. New institutions that have come up as a result of globalisation are the IMF, World Trade Organisation, the North American Free Trade Agreement etc. Whether a government is to consciously open itself to cross border links is the central question of this age. Social activists and non-profit organisations, such as Amnesty International and Greenpeace are also becoming global in scope. Some of these organisations are concerned with some economic and political aspects of globalisation as they fear that economic interests either subvert the nation-state in its ability to protect its citizens from economic exploitation or support governments that violate the human rights of their citizens. Cultural global ties also grow through globalisation, as exchange of songs, products, new ideas and fashions through trade, travel and media move around the global at lightning speed. Global brands such as Coca Cola, Nike and Sony serve as common reference to consumers all over the world. An individual in India enjoys the same soft drink or uses the same products as an individual in America.

Revolutionary change in technology particularly in transport and communication, information technology and mass media entertainment now create a Global Village. In 1950 it took nearly a year to sail around the world. Now a person can fly around the world in a day, send an email anywhere almost instantly or be a part of the billions of viewers watching the final cricket match of the World Cup. Transportation costs have come down as a result of technological advances that make foreign markets more accessible to trade. Connectivity available via cheaper telecommu- nications and modes of travel--made more accesible to more people--facilitate global exchanges and interactions at a rate unprecedented in history. Tuna caught in North Atlantic may be served the next day at a restaurant in Asian or African

252 countries. Billions of dollars in assets and currencies are exchanged daily around the globe by electronic means at virtually no cost. Globalisation has touched all spheres of human life--economy, technology, cultural phenomenon, social and political aspects, ecological and ideological factors etc. Globalisation, generally described as the cause of much turbulence and change, is an umbrella term for the collective effect, the change itself. It is caused by four fundamental forms of capital movement throughout the global economy. The four important capital flows consist of : (1) Human capital (immigration, migration, emigration, deportation, international tourism etc.) (2) Financial capital (aid, equity, credit, debt, investment, lending etc.) (3) Resource capital (energy, minerals, metals etc.) (4) Power capital (Security forces, alliances, armed forces etc.) In 2000 IMF (International Monetary Fund) listed

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four aspects of globalisation – trade and transaction, capital and investment movements, migration and movement of people and dissemination of knowledge. Environmental challenges, such as global warming, cross-border terrorism, water pollution and overfishing of the ocean are linked with globalisation. Globalisation processes affect and are

being affected by business organisations, economic matters, socio-cultural resources and natural environment. Globalisation is an ongoing process linking people, neighbourhoods, cities, regions and countries much more closely together than what had been done before. So the life of modern men is intertwined together with people in all other parts of the world via the food they eat, the music they listen to, the informations they collect and the ideas they adhere to. Interconnectedness among human beings on this planet earth is now referred to as Global Village, where the barriers of national or international boundaries become less relevant and the planet earth becomes a smaller place. 3.3 History of Globalisation Globalisation is generally regarded as a recent phenomenon and is traced back from the 18th century or even to the age of enlightenment, when the concept of modernity began to emerge. But it did not happen all of a sudden. It has a long and 253 continuous history. Human beings have crossed long distances for thousand years and interacted with different kinds of people. The overland Silk Road that connected Africa, Asia and Europe is an example of cross-border voyages and of the transformative power of trans-local exchanges that existed in the old world. Philosophy, language, religion, arts, and other aspects of culture spread and got mixed up, as nations exchanged products and ideas. In the 15th and 16th centuries Europeans made important discoveries in their exploration of the oceans, including the start of the transatlantic travel to the New World of America.

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In the 16th and 17th centuries there happened the rise of European empires – first the Portuguese and the Spanish and then British and Dutch empires. Chartered companies like the British East India company or the Dutch East India Company

contributed to the development of world trade; global movement of people, goods and ideas expanded in the following centuries. Eighteenth Century witnessed industrial revolution and in the early 19th century there were development of standardised production in industries and also new forms of transport – railroad and steamship – and telecommunication – telegraph and telephone. All these brought about increasingly rapid rate of global interchanges. As a result

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the connectedness of the world's economies and culture grew very quickly

in the late 19th and the 20th centuries. We found then improved roads, vehicles, airlines, electronic communication, mobile, internet etc., which connected millions in the later part of the 20th century in trade, commerce or other relations. Globalisation is thus an ongoing process, not a new one. Globalisation gave rise to liberalisation, which meant the acceptance of the neo-classical economic model which is based on the unrestricted flow of goods and services between economic and political jurisdictions. This led to specialisations of nations in exports and the pressure to end protective tariffs and other barriers to trade. The period of the liberalisation and gold standard of the 19th Century is often known as the first era of globalisation. This era brought about industrialisation. The theoretical foundation of this era was David Ricardo's work on comparative advantage and the law of general equilibrium. It was argued that nations would trade effectively in a free environment and that any temporary disruptions in supply or demand would correct themselves automatically. The institution of Gold Standard came in steps in major industrialised nations between 1850 and 1880. Since World War II there has been an accelerated growth and development of globalisation in different countries around the world. Globalisation in this era has been driven by trade negotiation rounds, originally under the auspices of GATT, which led to a series of agreements to remove restrictions on free trade. International Monetary Fund or IMF was created as an international institution to favour money growth of nations. The Uruguay round led to a treaty to create the WTO or World Trade

254 Organisation (1970) to mediate trade disputes. Other bi- and tri-lateral trade agreements, sections of Europe's Maastricht Treaty and the North American Free Trade Agreement have also been signed in pursuit of free trade. Gradually multi-national companies or MNCs appeared on the scene. To name a few General Motors, Ford, Toyota as vehicle manufacturing companies, Samsung, LG, Sony as electronic companies and MacDonald's as fast food company. They offered multiple national outlets. In the political field, the power of the nation-state began to decline and there arose supranational, regional or international institutions—EU (European Union), G-8, EEC, NAFTA etc. and non-governmental institutions or NGOs which were not bound by national laws and regulations, but operated internationally. The global scene changed from a few sovereign nation-states to a globalised and unified world.

3.4 Effects of Globalisation Effects of globalisation are felt (a) across Europe and USA and also (b) in the third world countries—some are favourable for growth and development of the country, some are not. (a) Effects across Europe : Significant changes have taken place across Europe and USA on account of globalisation, particularly in the field of international business politics. Such changes gave rise to changes in cultural and social aspects as well. The economy of the European countries and US are getting integrated with the global economy. Different arrangements were made in consequence :— (1) Free Trade Area : It is an agreement among a group of countries to abolish all trade restrictions and barriers in carrying out international trade. (2) Customs Union : The member countries abolish all restrictions and barriers and adopt a uniform commercial policy. (3) EEC\European Economic Community : It was created on 1.1.1958 with six countries—France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxemburg. Its membership later increased to fifteen. All its members are European and all are democratic. Its activities consist of the following : (i) Elimination of customs duties and quantity restrictions on export and import of goods.

255 (ii) Devising a common transport policy. (iii) Formulation of a common agricultural policy. (iv) Control of disequilibrium in balance of payments. (v) Development of a common commercial policy. (4) North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) It was created in 1994, Developed countries like USA and Canada and a developing Country Mexico, became its members. The activities of NAFTA are : (i) Removing of trade barriers among the member countries and opening of the facilities of free trade. (ii) To enhance industrial development. (iii) To enhance competition. (iv) To improve political relationship among member countries. (v) To develop industries in Mexico. (5) European Free Trade Association (EFTA) : It was formed in 1959 and its member countries are Austria, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and Britain. Its activities are : (i) To eliminate trade barrier. (ii) To remove tariffs. (iii) To encourage free trade. (iv) To enhance economic development of member countries. (b) Effects in the Third World Countries In the present scenario the concept of the third world does not have much significance now. Before the disintegration of the Soviet Union, USA and Soviet Union were considered super powers (number one and number two) and most of the countries of the world were aligned with any one of them. The countries which did not have any alliance with either of them were known as third world countries. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union the Second World disappeared. But still the term 'third world countries' is used.

256 Changes and effects across third world countries are as follows : (1) Trade Blocks in Asia South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) came into being in 1983. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives and Srilanka adopted the SAARC declaration. Later on Afganistan and Nepal joined it. Its objectives and activities are : (i) To promote economic, social and cultural development among member- countries. (ii) To improve the quality of life of the people of member-states. (iii) To enhance cooperation with other developing economics. (iv) To liberalise trade among member-countries. (v) To promote economic cooperation among member-countries. (2) Chinese market : Communist China introduced many economic reforms and started privatisation in 1984. It has formed special economic zones and has attracted heavy foreign investments. It has also formed economic and technical development zones in towns and cities. These zones are free ones and allow quick business operations. (3) Japanese market : There has been a rapid growth in Japan's economy during the past fifty years. Japan maintained a close link with the ministry of international trade and investment. The strategies of Japanese corporate sector was deirected by the ministry of international trade and investment. (4) Impact on India : Globalisation has its effects on the Indian economy. It participates actively in global politics and there has been relations of increasing economic inter- dependence between India and other countries of the world. Globalisation offered extensive opportunities for India's telecom sector, information technology, research, development of productivity and bilateral treaties to promote free trade. It is a member of WTO, which facilitates global trade. India is also amending its domestic laws to suit the requirements of a liberalised economy, e.g, FEMA.

257 There has been significant changes across the developed and developing countries all over the world as a result of the globalisation process. 3.5 Nature and Characteristics of Globalisation Globalisation describes the political, economic, cultural and technological atmosphere of today's interdependent world. People around the globe are more connected to each other than even before. Information and money flow more quickly than ever before. Goods and services produced

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in one part of the world are now increasingly available in other parts of the world.

International travel is more frequent. International communication has increased more greatly than ever before. Globalisation has become identified with a number of trends since the World War II, which include greater international movements of money, commodities, information, people etc. and the development of technology, organisations, legal systems and infrastructures which help such movement. Economically there is increase in international trade at a faster rate than the growth in the world economy. International Organisations like WTO, OPEC are created through international agreements to control the economy. The role of theres international organisations is of increasing significance today. Some MNCs take to the economic practice of outsourcing. Culturally greater international cultural exchange, spreading of multiculturalism and better individual access to cultural diversity are happening now, e.g. export of Hollywood and bollywood movies. But imported culture may assimilate local culture, leading to westernisation. Greater international travel and tourism lead to greater immigration and even illegal inmigration, spread of local food like pizza, chinese food etc. to other countries and worldwide fads and pop-cultures like Pokeman, Soduku, Origami etc. change human habits is a different way. Increasing use of foreign phrases are common among people who use them without actually knowing the language. Technologies like telephone, mobile phone, internet etc. are developing global telecom infrastructure and enabling greater transborder dataflow. Copyrights and patent laws are now applied globally. There is harmonistion of intellectual property laws globally. Even terrorism has been influenced by globalisation. Since World Was II barriers to international trade has been lowered through GATT or General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which promotes free trade of goods, reduces or eliminates tariffs, constructs free trade zones with small or no traiffs etc. Establishment of Free Trade Zones has become an essential feature of modern governments to handle preferential trading arrangements with foreign and multi-national entities. There are different kinds of Free Trade Zones :

258 (a) Special Economic Zones (SEZs)——these are zones in which laws on tax or customs regulations are financially more libertarian than a country's national laws. Within SEZ there may be (i) Free Trade Zones (FTZ), (ii) Free Zones (FZ) and open borders, (iii) Industrial Park and free ports. The purpose of SEZ is to increase foreign direct investment. (i) Free Trade Zones (FTZ) : These are zones where goods may be landed, manufactured, handled, reexported without intervention by the custom authorities of the concerned nation. These goods become subject to custom duties only when they are moved into other parts from Free Trade Zones, FTZs are generally situated near areas with geographical advantage for trade, e.g. near major seaports or international airports. It is a zone where a group of countries agree to reduce or eliminate trade barriers. (ii) Free Zones (FZ) and Open Borders : FZ is a trade block whose member-countries have signed a trade agreement which eliminates tariffs and import quotas. If people are free to move between countries, the space is called open border. European union is both a FZ and on open border. (iii) Industrial Park or Qualifying Industrial Zones (QIZ) : Industrial parks in Jordan and Egypt allow traders to take advantage of free trade agreement between USA and Israel. These are known as Qualifying Industrial Zones (QIZ). (iv) Asia Pacific : It is the most integrated trading region of the world. Its intra-regional trade accounts for 50-60% of the region's total import and export. (b) Tax haven : It is the state or country or territory where certain taxes are levied at a low rate or are not levied at all. Its laws can be used to evade or avoid tax or regulations of other jurisdictions. There are often accumulation of idle cash in these tax havens. These idle cash are expensive and useless for companies. They often have connections to fraud, money laundering and terrorism. (c) Blackmarkets and Transnational Organisations : These operate on a transnational basis and are often associated with crime. In 2010 UN office on Drugs and Crime reported that global drug trade generated more than US \$320 billion a year in revenues and that 50 million regular users of heroin, cocaine etc. existed worldwide. International trade of endangered species is

259 related to smuggling industries——and are associated with the use of parts of seahorses or rhinoceros horns or tiger bones or elbows or antelope horns. The trade with endangered species resulted in blackmarketing by poachers who hunt restricted animals. Globalisation is reducing the importance of nation-states and strengthening supra-national institutions like European Union, G-8, International Criminal Court, International Court of Justice etc. which facilitate international agreements——nation- states have no role. Non-governmental institutions are now influencing public policy relating to humanitarian and developmental programmes. Philanthropic associations with global missions are very powerful now, e.g. Bill Melinda Gates Foundation, Echoing Green etc. They are combining business model with philanthropy. There are Global Philanthropy Groups and Global Philanthropy Forums, which are carrying on philanthropy activities on the international scale with business model. A few of the states follow the isolationist policy and they are excluded from the non-governmental activities of the regional groups or forums. There has been a new social movement voicing anti-global concerns. People are organising anti-global movements, expressing their views in the social media, forming NGOs to spread their concern, using Twitter or Facebook and organising protests. An important movement was the battle of Seattle, 1999, which intended to make people conscious of the problems of globalisation and organised protests before the offices of WTO, IMF, World Bank, G-8 etc. Despite these feeble protest movements, globalisation is still moving with full strength. 3.6 Globalisation——Advantages and Disadvantages Globalisation has drastically improved the access of the people to different kinds of technology, Internet facility, mobile phones etc., which have helped the process of international integration of the world and gave rise to an interdependent global picture. MNCs of different countries brought about tremendous increase in the production of goods and extended the opportunities of employment. It has abolished trade barriers among nations and helped the infrastructure development of individual countries, contributed to efficiency in production, quality service and freedom from political interference of nation-states. It allows businesses to operate as if national borders did not exist; it also allows social activists, labour organisers, journalists, academicians to work together on a global stage.

260 Globalisation has its problems and defects too. It has increased the inequalities among countries. Its effects were beneficial to developed countries, some developing countries like China have become very successful, but all developing countries are not. They are facing economic problems of severe kinds. It increased job opportunities but failed to guarantee job security for the employees. Farmers of developing countries are facing serious competition from powerful agricultural industries. Cheaply produced agro-products of developed countries are sometimes dumped into less developed countries. Mass movement of goods and cars across the world has resulted in gas emission. Developing or underdeveloped countries are mostly exploited by the developed ones in this respect. Some of the projects financed by the world Bank are essentially devastating to the ecological balance of the country, e.g. extensive import or export of meat. MNCs which are the driving force behind globalisation can dictate states on certain aspects of the economy. They are emerging as growing corporate power. They are exploiting the cheap labour and natural resources of the host countries. Globalisation is a threat to national sovereignty. It shifts economic power from independent countries to international organisations like the UNO, WTO etc. The sovereignty of elected governments of different countries are undermined, as the policies are formulated internationally in favour of globalisation. The immediate effect of globalisation is liberalisation, known as free trade. It demands removal of restrictions and barriers to free trade. Globalisation leads also to privatisation, which can be defined as transfer of ownership and control of public sector units to private individuals or companies. It has become inevitable as a result of structural adjustment programmes imposed by the IMF. Globalisation can be destabilising. The global market is irrational, and there are sudden changes in exchange rate, interest rate or investment decisions, coupled with extreme vulnerability of the poorest and the most marginalised in emerging economies. There can also be a bizarre situation where everyone privately thinks that the currency is already too low, but continues to sell hard because everyone apprehend that currency may fall still further. In a mass wave of panic selling rates fall through the floor. Although the term globalisation is widespread, some scholars prefer to use the term internationalisation rather than globalisation. In internationalisation the role of the states and the importance of nations are greater, while globalisation, in its complete form, eliminates nation-states. They also argue that the frontiers of states are far from being dissolved. Some argue that globalisation is not a real phenomenon, but an analytical artefact or a myth. But we have to admit that globalisation has changed the way the world does business. It at least, for now seems unstoppable and inevitable.

261 3.7 Globalisation and Public Administration Dramatic changes brought about by globalisation produced profound changes and transformations in government, political systems, governance, public administration and civil society-state relationship. Many old and traditional ways of perceptions and thinking regarding philosophy of management, governance, economy and international relations were altered. There has also been many institutional changes in the traditional structural forms and substance of governance and administration. It can indeed be said that the dawn of the new modern globalisation process has begun with the rapid fall of the established industrial civilisation, with which many parts of the world are still trying to catch up. While a few are making leaping advancements and progress, the majority is still desperately struggling to survive. The phenomenon of globalisation is affecting societies, people, government and Public Administration systems in myriad ways. Change is both inevitable and necessary, but chaotic change is not. Quantitative changes are important for societies, government and humanity, but qualitative changes alter the longstanding characteristics of human civilisation. Massive qualitative changes are now taking place in the name of globalisation and they are altering the planet Earth and its societies and communities. Globalisation brings about some degree of interdependence which goes far beyond the simple expansion of international trade—the main indication of internationalisation of the economy in the past. It now includes integration of production across national boundaries and significant increases in international investment by MNCs. Production of commodities was concentrated for nearly a century at national levels. It is now done at global levels with accessories being assembled by a large number of supplier companies from a dozen countries. One aspect of globalisation is the extensive and complex network of suppliers. Globalisation is not just a change in production and supply relationship, it affects the service sector and delivery and sale of both private and public services, which still cater to the local markets, but are increasingly coming from MNCs. Globalisation means unprecedented and massive movement of capital, which is linked to some new technology like IT and a new ideology like free marketism. Globalisation has profound social and political implications. It can bring the threat of exclusion for a large portion of the world's population, severe problems of unemployment and growing wage and income disparities. It makes it difficult to deal with economic policy or corporate behaviour on a purely national basis. It brings about a certain degree of loss of control by democratic institutions of development and economic policy. Over the last few years the highly paid employees within the

262 industrialised countries have seen their rise much faster than the average, while a growing number of families depend on insecure, lowpaid jobs or social benefits. The challenge of globalisation now is to find ways to manage change and regulate the structure of the society so that it is subject to the popular will, supports fundamental rights and brings prosperity to as many people as possible. The global task of trade unions is to influence policy at the international level, convince governments and enterprises to assume the responsibilities of globalisation and engage in practical and effective solidarity. Developed countries (Western European and North American countries) have been benefitted far more from globalisation than others because of the nature of globalisation and strong

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public administration systems. Contrastingly, many developing countries have benefitted less from globalisation because they have considerable disadvantages in the global market place in addition to weak Public Administration systems.			

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The nature of globalisation and the global market systems are beyond the reach of Public Administration			

systems. Globalisation has been primarily caused by capitalism and the markets, not by Public Administration, politics or democracy. When national capitalism shifted

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to global capitalism, the logic of capital and markets began to dominate over democratic principles. Capitalism needs a strong state with a stable environment for its prosperity. Global markets would not function efficiently without an appropriate national or global intervention for market failures. Market failures hinder domestic and international markets from working efficiently. In the global market place there are unfair competitions, unfair trade, unfair price controls and manipulation of financial flows. Some Asian countries (from South Korea to Taiwan) were financially devastated in 1990s due to the unregulated financial and currency flow from the major international financial agents. Millions of private and public employees in those countries lost their jobs and their human and social interests were sacrificed. Public Administration in those countries could not effectively respond to financial devastation, because global financial problems were beyond			

the arena of public administration systems. They require states

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to be interdependent in handling domestic and international issues. The emerging contemporary issues like environmental			

or

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ecological protection and war on terror cannot be controlled within national boundaries.			

They are universal and have common global roots. Strong Public Administration systems help the

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countries to have more benefits from globalisation than others in spite of the fact plural social and political systems limit a proactive role of Public Administration. Public Administration in Western European and North American countries

have

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significantly streamlined numerous areas including budget, personnel and entire organisations by privatising, outsourcing, 263 deregulating or restructuring government functions and services and has become more efficient, effective, productive, responsive and transparent. This helps those countries to maintain strong economic, financial and trade systems. So they have some advantages with regard to multi-national or transnational corporations and global supranational or nongovernmental organisations. It

is a matter of debate whether weak administration systems lead the developing

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countries to have far less benefits from globalisation than others, because Public Administration systems and governance in those countries are more likely to be determined by unstable political structure and behaviour, underdeveloped economic system, poor technology, weak infrastructure and poor education. Poor nations have considerable disadvantage in the global marketplace due to fewer resources, few skilled manpower,

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technology and fewer information-based tangible products beyond public administration systems. Moreover, poor nations and their citizens are unilaterally under the influence of

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wealthy nations whose national interests and corporate interests are generally fulfilled at the expense of the interests of the economically and technologically disadvantaged nations. In this situation the autonomy of public administration and the role of public administration as responding to global forces are likely to be limited. Both developed and developing countries have been attempting to streamline public bureaucracies by privatising, downsizing

or deregulating government functions and services and mobilise IT in Public Administration. 3.8 Changes in Public Administration Globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation are now increasingly changing the character of the state and the nature of the public administration. Responding to such changes has not been an easy matter for Public Administration. A number of strategies have been adopted by scholars and practitioners in this regard : (1) Public service reforms : One of the reasons for public service reforms is the adoption of free market economy in 1980 in UK and other western countries and in 1990 in India. New economic policy, Structural Adjustment Programmes, deregulation, privatisation etc. are the names of such reforms. The consequences of free market reforms of

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government and government businesses are generally described as the new way of governance, government by the market, new public management, sharing power, slimming of state,

hallowing out of state etc. The impact of free market economy on the concept of government, structure of government and the method of governance are now on the agenda of discussion throughtout the world.

264 (2) Reinventing Government : New Public Management (

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NPM) has the most significant impact on reshaping Public Administration to cope with the challenges of globalisation. The

policies of developed and developing nations are beeing increasingly influenced by NPM and reinventing government prescriptions. These are privatisations, deregulation, establishing market like mechanisms, decentralisation and debureaucratisation. It is now emphasised that business principles need to be introduced and effectely adhered to in conducting public business. NPM and reinventing government advocate that the government should not only adopt the techniques of business administration, but also adopt the values of business like steering rather than serving, injeeting competition into the service delivery, meeting needs of the consumers, leveraging change through the market etc. NPM focuses on management, performance appraisal and efficiency. It seeks to convert public bureaucracies into agencies which deal with each other on user pay basis. It depends on quasi-market and contracting out and fostering of competition. Its style of management is to cut cost, reduce public expenditure and provide moneytary incentives to help increased performance. (3) Entrepreneurial Government : Government office, generally viewed as a dusty, dingy, paper-infested place, where babus with feudal outlook work. Hierarchical structure, complicated proedures, dilatory examination of issues and sercretive dealing with customers are its features. The common man views the government functionaries as exploiters and not as facilitators. The enterpreneurial

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government is the answer to the present administrative malaise. Efficiency and productivity, the hallmark of entrepreneurial government are

the areas where considerable changes have happened

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due to constant pressure of globalisation. Public sector organisations are now under immense worldwide pressures to enhance their productivity by increasing efficiency. Public bureaucracies are

now trying to cut down waste and increase output and also

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to facilitate better delivery of services. (4) Changing Role of Bureaucracy :

The process of economic liberalisation in it basic concetpual formulation seeks a reduced government

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intervention in the economic sector, thus implying a reduced role for the bureaucracy in the process of development.

There has to be a realisation that with the switch over to globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation, the bureaucracy will have to play the role of a catalyst for change—its role will be that of a booster, accelerator and helper to facilitate the process of liberalisation and privatisation.

265 (5) Good Governance : Governance deals with the capacity of the government to design, formulate and implement policies. Good governance means

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efficient Public Administration. It is the process of building bridges between the state and the society at large through effective and people-oriented mechanisms of administration. The concept of good governance

was conceived in 1989 and was mentioned first in the World Bank report of Sub-saharan Africa. It

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defined Good Governance as a public service that is efficient, a judicial system that is reliable and an administration that is accountable to

the public. Good Governance is purposive, development-oriented and committed to improvement in the quality of life of the people. It implies high level of organisational efficiency and effectiveness and association with a democratic framework. It is citizen-friendly, citizen-caring and responsive administration. (6)

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E-governance : E-governance is the application of information technology IT to the process of government functioning, which ensures simple, moral, accountable, responsive and transparent (SMART) governance. The speed and

transparency of E-governance makes Public Administration responsive, people-friendly and efficient. (7) Bringing the State back in : Globalisation is perceived as the spread of liberalisation on a universal scale and liberalisation essentially means the process of freeing the economy from state control—the economy operates as per market forces and not as per rules and regulations laid down by the state. As a consequence of globalisation the state has been withdrawing or retreating or abstaining from many areas of the economy. A liberalising state focuses on the core areas, such as defence and foreign affairs, leaving other areas to private players, both domestic and foreign. At the same time when the state was retreating, private enterprises and non-state actors such as voluntary agencies, self-help groups and community-based organisations are automatically filling the vacuum. But so far as the third world is concerned, the issue is not state versus market; the issue is to change the character of the state in order that a vital shift can take place from the bourgeois-feudalism-bureaucracy combine to a genuine people's democracy. The developed market-friendly states would pave the way for capitalist world development, but the third world states need an altogether different model of development—a model that will assure general welfare of the masses and an equality-oriented social life, free from exploitation and deprivation. World Bank sponsored 'rethinking the state' is now important

266 in Public Administration. State minimalism and free market policy would be injurious to the third world states; there the government has to mobilise social efforts to struggle against poverty, ill-health, malnutrition and also against the forces of inequity and injustice of the feudal-capitalist social regime. The real issue in the third world

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is to have a strong state with an expanded agenda,

though a different one; the state will not be deprived of its regulatory functions, it may withdraw from non-essential sectors of the economy but it should continue to maintain a visible presence in social sectors like education and health. (8)

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Empowering Citizens : Globalisation has seen the rise of people's active participation at local levels in areas, such as, women's empowerment, education, human rights, consumer rights, environment protection and decentralisation. So empowering citizens has been an important part of recent reform

trends in Public Administration. 3.9 Conclusion Since the nineties of the last century globalisation has come to dominate the world. This trend brought about increased reliance on the market-economy and renewed faith in private capital and resources, a process of structural adjustments etc. Also globalisation has brought about new opportunities to developing nations. Greater access to the markets of the developed countries and technology transfer ensure improved productivity and higher living standards to them. But globalisation has also thrown up new challenges like growing inequality across and within nations, volatility in financial markets and environmental pollution. Another negative aspect of globalisation is that many developing countries remain detached from the process. But the implications of globalisation for a national economy are many. It has intensified interdependence and competition between economies in the world market. This is reflected in interdependence in respect of trading in goods and services and in movement of capital. As a result, domestic economic developments are no longer determined entirely by domestic policies and markets; they are influenced by both domestic and international policies and economic conditions. So a globalising economy cannot afford to ignore the possible actions and reactions of policies and developments in the rest of the world while formulating its domestic policy. This implies loss of policy autonomy to some extent in decision-making at the national level.

267 The world, it is claimed is becoming boundaryless, the role of the state is declining while the role of individuals and entrepreneurial companies are growing. Powerful technologies like computers, internet and telecommunications are helping individuals to connect to each other with or without the approval of the state. Nowadays cross-border integration is happening at a rapid pace, specially in the spheres of economic and financial activities. This was facilitated by revolutionary advances in IT. The world is becoming increasingly interconnected, creating a global orientation of consumer goods. Globalisation is thus weakening local ties and local identities. What is emerging is a new global society with a new global culture. Public Administration is moving towards protection of citizens' rights, ethical values, accountability, research and training. Emphasis is now shifted to good governance, e-governance and corporate governance as the framework of administrative analysis. The concepts of state the authority etc. are changing. The emphasis is on transparency, participation, responsiveness, accountability and decentralisation. Globalisation is inducing scholars and other experts to revamp the administrative structure to meet emerging challenges created by it. 3.10 References Aseem Prakash and Jeffery A. Hart (ed.); Globalisation and Governance, Routledge, London, 1999. Box, Richard (et.al); "New Public Management and Substantive Democracy", Public Administration Review, (61) (5)

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pp 606-619. Kette, D. F.; "The Transformation of Governance, Devolution and the Role of Government", Public Administration Review, 60 (6),

pp 488-497. 3.11 Sample Questions Long-answer questions : 1. Evaluate the changes that occur in the economic, political, cultural and technological spheres of the society as a result of globalisation? 2. Trace the history of globalisation. 3. What are the effects of globalisation in the Western developed states and in the states of the Third World? 4. Analyse the nature of globalisation. 5. Analyse the advantages and disadvantages of globalisation.

268 6. Discuss the mutual relationship between globalisation and Public Administration. 7. What are the different strategies adopted by Public Administration to cope with the problems of globalisation? Short-answer questions : 1. What do you mean by globalisation? 2. What are the changes brought about by globalisation in the economic sphere? 3. What are the political impacts of globalisation? 4. Mention the changes brought about by globalisation in the cultural sphere. 5. How is globalisation related to technological innovations? 6. What are the different types of Free Trade Zones? 7. How is globalisation being resisted?

269 Unit 4 □□□□ Indian Administration in the Era of Liberalisation Structure 4.0 Objectives 4.1 Introduction 4.2 Liberalism--A Changing Philosophy 4.3 Indian Economy--Towards Social Welfare and State Controlled Administration 4.4 Indian Economy--Embracing Liberalisation 4.5 New Economic Policy of Liberalisation and some new laws 4.6 Impact of Liberalisation on Indian Economy 4.7 Disadvantages of Liberalisation 4.8 Advantages of Liberalisation 4.9 Conclusion 4.10 References 4.11 Sample Questions 4.0 Objectives If you study this unit, you will be able to know the following topics and would be able to use them for your research purposes: • Concept of liberalism and its changing perspectives. • New independent India's journey towards social welfare and state-controlled economy, but introduction of liberalism first in 1966 and then in 1985 to save Indian economy from devastating balance of payment crisis and continuance of liberalism since then, with some exceptions at some periods. • Objectives of India's new economic policy of liberalisation (1991) and some new laws is that respect.

270 • Impact of liberalisation on the Indian economy. • Advantages and disadvantages of liberalisation policies in the Indian context. 4.1 Introduction Liberalisation is closely linked with globalisation and it leads to the process of privatisation. Globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation, the three interlinked process known as LPG have touched and influenced all spheres of modern life, such as economy, politics, technology, government, cultural phenomenon and social aspects throughout the world and have produced immense changes in the programmes and policies of all governments. Indian case is no exception to this. Before embarking on a discussion of Indian administration in the era of liberalisation, let us be clear about the meaning of the three terms. Globalisation may

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be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shared by events occurring many miles away.

It reflects a more comprehensive level of interaction than has occurred in the past, suggesting something different from the word international. It implies a diminishing importance of national borders. It is because of globalisation that people, goods, service, funds, economic activities, ideas, even epidemics and terrorism and the adverse effects of pollution and environmental degradation, as well as knowledge of science and technology cross political boundaries of countries in an easy manner. Liberalisation, commonly known as free trade or laissez faire on the economic front implies removal of all trade barriers and restrictions between countries. Liberalisation encourages, in the political sphere, an open society based on civil liberties, limited government, and a democratic and equal society based on equality before law. Socially it means equal opportunities for all men and women to realise their potentialities and limitation of discriminations among human beings on grounds of gender, colour, language, religion etc. Privatization has become an order of the day and can be defined as the transfer of ownership and control of public sector units to private individuals or companies. 4.2 Liberalism--A Changing Philosophy The three process of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation (LPG) are linked with the liberal philosophy, which is regarded as a philosophy of individual

271 liberty, individual freedom and individual rights and generally anti-state in character. But it has been expressed in different forms and in different ways in different states and at different times. Emergence of classical liberalism is traced back to the 16th and 17th century. In the 16th century there happened a liberal and realistic outlook about the world and a breaking away from the religious atmosphere of feudalism. In the seventeenth century liberalism attained the importance of a political and intellectual doctrine in the hands of Locke, who is known as the founder of liberalism. Glorious Revolution of England in 1688 laid its foundation by constitutionally limiting the power of the monarch, affirming political sovereignty, passing bill of rights and establishing the principle of the consent of the governed. In 1777 Declaration of Independence of USA founded the American government as a republic—without hereditary aristocracy and accepted the principle that all men are created equal. French revolution of 1789 overthrew hereditary aristocracy, raised the slogan of “liberty, equality and fraternity” and adopted universal male suffrage. Its declaration of the rights of man and citizens inspired powerful revolutionary movements, which toppled many autocratic ancient regims of Europe, Latin America and North America. Thus liberalism attained the status of a revolutionary political doctrine. This classical liberalism emphasised on freedom of speech, press, religion, civil rights etc., free markets and laissez faire style of government with minimum interference on the lives of individuals. It was committed to individualism, individual liberty and a negative state. In the later part of the 19th century classical liberalism was replaced by social or new liberalism and the concept of the negative state was changed into that of the positive one, because the development of capitalism brought about, during this period of time, a huge gap between the rich and the poor, giving rise to a general discontent among the majority of the people and there were demands of individual liberty under favourable economic and social conditions ensured by the state. This gave rise to state-directed reforms measures in political and social spheres. It was then realised that dependence on the market economy would cause neglect of the minimum requirements of health, education, food etc. of the majority of the people. All these came to be decided by public policy. Green, an exponent of liberalism of this stage emphasised on the concept of the welfare state, which would extend its activities in the interests of the people and which was not a minimal state, as prescribed by the classical liberal thinkers. Keynes advocated that the state would take full responsibility for economic development of the state and its citizens.

272 Both types of liberal approaches protested against the established system— classical liberalism against feudal autocracy and new liberalism against the evils of capitalism and both were interested in the development of the individual. After the Second World War, the situation changed again, as it was apparent that the government could not fulfill the hopes and aspirations of the people; the government was also suffering from shortage of funds. Since 1960 and 1970 there developed neo-liberalism, which is known as the revival of classical liberalism. It emphasized on individual liberty, spontaneous activity of individuals and free economy. F. A. Hayek, John Rawls, Robert Nozick etc. are exponents of this neoliberalism. In general, liberalism evolved through three stage—(i) Classical liberalism from 16th & 17th century, (ii) Social or new liberalism from the later part of the 19th and (iii) Neo-liberalism from 1960-70 (revival of classical liberalism). India achieved independence from British rule in 1947 and the first Indian government led by Nehru accepted social liberalism and state-controlled social welfare politics from the first stage of its journey to the path of growth and development. But in 1991 government of India resorted to neo-liberalism and policies of liberalisation, free economy and lesser control of the society by the state and paved the way for globalisation and privatisation. 4.3 Indian Economy—Towards Social Welfare and State- Controlled Administration Indian economic policy after independence in 1947 was influenced, on the one hand, by India’s colonial experience, which was exploitative in nature and, on the other hand, by the views of fabian socialism, as exposed to some Indian, leaders. The objective of putting the Indian state on the path of development impelled the Indian leaders of that time to undertake the goals of a welfare state, to meet the demands of distributive justice and to ensure fast economic growth. Indian leaders felt that maintenance of law and order was not enough. The government

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policy tended towards, protectionion, with a strong emphasis on import substitution, industrialisation under state monitoring, state intervention at the macro level in all businesses, especially in labour and financial market, a large public sector alongside a feeble private sector, business regulations and central planning. Five-year Plans of India resembled central planning

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the Soviet Union. Steel, mining, water, machine tools, telecommunications, insurance, electric plants etc were effectively nationalised in the mid-1950s. Elaborate licences, regulations and accompanying red tape, commonly known as licence raj, were required to set up

a business in India between 1947 and

273 1990. During this period the government attempted to close the Indian economy to the outside world. High tariffs and import licencing prevented foreign goods from reaching the Indian market. The central pillar of the policy was import substitution, the belief that India needed to rely on internal markets for development, not on international trade. Planning and state control rather than free markets, and laissez faire policies were resorted to by the Indian government. The state would determine how much investment was needed in which sectors, what was to be produced, how much, at what price etc. and the bureaucracy often led to absurd restrictions--upto 80 agencies had to be satisfied before a firm could be granted a licence to produce. The goals of development and welfare state and of demands of distributive justice and fast economic growth called for state intervention in a variety of forms and fields and it was increasingly felt that the civil service should play an important role in fields of health, education, agriculture, industry and focus on the upliftment of the vast multitude of rural people and the weaker sections of the society in general. Nehru, as the first prime minister of India opted for the socialist pattern and encouraged the policy of planning for development. In the fifties two important institutions were set up--one was the Planning Commission and the other was National Development Council. The planning commission was set up in 1950 by a resolution of the government of India. It was not a statutory body. Briefly, its functions were assessment of resources, priorities of allocation of resources, formulation of development plans both for the central and the state governments, determination of the machinery for implementation of the plan, appraisal of the progress achieved in the execution of each state of the plan. The National Development Council was set up by a government resolution in 1952 with the objective to secure the cooperation of the states in the execution of the plans, to mobilise the resources and efforts of the country for the implementation of the plan, to evolve common policies in all vital spheres and to ensure balanced development of all regions of the country. The Administrative Reforms Commission was set up in 1966 by the government of India. Its aim was to ensure the highest standard of efficiency and integrity in the public services, to make

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public administration a fit instrument for carrying out social and economic policies of the government, to achieve social and economic goals of development and to make public administration responsive to the people. In 1962 the

Planning Commission suggested to the state governments to set up State Planning Boards on the lines of the Planning Commission for formulation of plans in the light of the resources and the needs of the state. In 1966 the Administrative Reforms Commission recommended a three-tier machinery--a state agency, sectoral planning agencies and regional and district planning agencies. Accepting the

274 recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Committee, the Planning Commission instructed the states to set up Planning Boards and strengthen the planning machinery in general. Then State Planning Boards were formed in some states. At the state level each government department prepares its own plan. The Planning Department of the state government consolidates and prepares them into draft form, which after subsequent approval of the State Planning Board is sent to the Planning Commission for consideration. There are planning machineries at the district and block levels also. There are institutions of local government—panchayats in rural areas and municipalities in urban areas. There has thus been decentralisation of the planning process below the level of the state, but these lower levels are weak and function primarily as data collection centres, final decisions are generally not taken by them—they are taken by central or state governments. The Constitution of India contained provisions for the socially disadvantaged sections including scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, women and children. Consequently a network of policies and programmes and a set of institutional arrangements have emerged. In 1964 the Department of social security was created for ensuring social welfare at the union level. In 1966 it was named the Department of Social Welfare and in 1979 it was turned into a ministry—Ministry of Education and Social Welfare. In 1984 it was renamed as the Ministry of social and women welfare. In 1985 the Ministry of Welfare was formed with responsibilities of welfare of the SC, ST and OBCs and also the welfare of the disabled, The Department of Women and Child Development was placed in 1986 under the Ministry of Human Resources Development. At the state level Social Welfare Departments administer social welfare programmes for the improvement of the weaker sections of the population. Implementation of the schemes is the responsibility of the state Welfare Department under a ministry. The department has its district and block level offices. The Department of Women and Child Development works for holistic development of women and children—it formulates plans, policies and programmes, enacts legislation, coordinates the efforts of both governmental and non-governmental organisations working for women and child development. It established National Commission for Women, Rastriya Mahila Kosh, adopted a National Nutrition policy, set up National Creche Fund, launched Indira Mahila Yojna, Rural Womens Development and Empowerment Projects, Integrated Child Development Services etc. The central govt. adopted the National Policy on children in 1974 to ensure equality of opportunity to the children. The girl child is often regarded as a burden by parents. To ensure that a girl child is not discriminated against the central government started the slogan “A happy girl is the future of our country”. It also seeks to prevent female infanticide and prohibited discrimination on the basis of

275 Gender. Other institutions in this field are National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, National Commission for Children etc. Important programmes like the schemes for the welfare of devdasi girls were also undertaken. Eco-feminist sentiments and movements around such issues are becoming very popular now. In India Chipko and Normoda Bachao Andolan are two such movements. These movements centre around women’s rights and are concerned with access to resources to meet basic needs of water, fuel and fodder. Various laws were passed by the government of India in different times for prevention and control of environmental pollution, like Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1974, The Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1981, The Environment Protection Act, 1986. In 1980 a separate department of environment and in 1985 an integrated Ministry of Environment and Forest were set up at the centre. Indian government set up National Afforestation and Eco-Development Board and National Wasteland Development Board. Environment Action Programmes of the Government of India seek to conserve bio diversity (forest, marine life, soil etc.) to lessen industrial pollution and waste, the access to clean technology and alternative energy plant to the Indians. From the 1st plan special needs of the Scheduled Castes / Scheduled Tribes/ OBCs were looked after. Special consideration is accorded to them in the Integrated Rural Development Plan (IRDP). The constitution of India contains special provisions for the advancement and protection of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. A National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Tribes was created to investigate, monitor and evaluate all matters relating to constitutional safeguards provided to them. In 1950 a special officer designated as Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was appointed to look after their welfare and evaluate different government schemes. State and district level officers were also created to administer tribal welfare. The first backward class commission was appointed in 1953 for social, economic and cultural development of the group designated as backward. The second such commission was set up in 1978. Government of Indias social welfare programmes were essentially preventive, promotive, developmental and rehabilitative. They were designed to enable targeted sections of the society to realise their full potential for growth. Central, state and local governments along with NGOs are involved in the implementation of welfare policies. To associate people with the administration Panchayati Raj institutions were established in Indian states.

276 4.4 Indian Economy--Embracing Liberalisation Attempts to liberalise the economy were made in 1966, but it was reversed in 1967, when a stronger version of socialism was adopted. Again another attempt was made in 1985 by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. He started light reforms, reduced licence raj slightly and promoted telecommunication industries, but the process was halted in 1987. Prime Ministers Viswanath Pratap Singh (1989-90) and Chandrasekhar (1990-91) did not add any significant reforms. Following the policies of liberalisation--privatisation--globalisation (LPG) India accepted many reforms measures in 1991. These reform measures were necessitated in the light of the devastating conditions of the economy of India. The impact of social welfare policies of the government of India was not conducive for economic growth. Annual growth rate of India from 1950-80 was 3.5% while at the same period of time Pakistan grew by 5%, Indonesia grew by 9%, Thailand by 9%, South Korea by 10% and Taiwan by 12%. The growth of per capita income at this time was 1-3% only. Deficit in expenditure was 10 billions in 1983-84, 32 billions in 1984-85 and 36 billion in 1985-86. Foreign debt in 1961 was 1073 crores, in 1965 it was 2341 crores and in 1980 it was ten to fifteen times more. 30% of India's capital was spent for repayment of foreign debt. In 1990 GDP was 3.2% and 76% of GP was spent for foreign debt. Export trade was meagre. In 1989 number of government employees were 18.5 million while that of private agencies were 7.4 millions. A major part of our money was spent for salaries of these huge number of employees. So no development could be possible at this time. Most of our public sector companies were then suffering from proper technological infrastructure and overburdened with excessive number of employees. Very few licenses were given. Those who were licence owners built up huge powerful empires. Public sector monopoly destroyed competition and hindered infrastructural development and investments. State-owned industries made large losses. Licence raj created an irresponsible and self-perpetuating bureaucracy, and corruption flourished under the system. In addition to all these, there developed a unique balance of payment crisis since 1985. India started having balance of payment problems and by the end of 1990 it became serious. India was close to default. Its central bank had refused new credit. India's foreign exchange reserve had reduced to the point that India could barely finance three weeks' worth of imports. It had to pledge 20 tonnes of gold to the Union Bank of Switzerland and 47 tonnes to the Bank of England as part of a bail out deal with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The balance of payment crisis pushed India near bankruptcy. India had to accept the alternative development policy of

277 macro- economic adjustment and follow the policies of structural Adjustment, top- down development of Indian economy and programmes of good governance. Most of the economic reforms were forced upon India as a part of IMF bail out process. Prime Minister Narshimha Rao had to resort to policies of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation (LPG) to free the country from balance of payment crisis. He together with his finance Minister Manmohan Singh introduced the new economic policy for India, which meant liberalisation (did away with license raj and ended public monopolies), privatisation (encouraged the private sectors) and globalisation (approved foreign investment and F. D. I). Economic reforms were then the inevitable to unshackle the economy. Rao's economic reform bill was passed in the parliament, though his party did not have the required majority. His party had only 232 seats out of 520 in parliament; seven months later his party got 12 more seats from the Punjab election. He reached the required magic figure of 272 with supports from DMK and other regional parties (232+12+28 out of 520+23). Economic Reform Bill of Rao introduced new reforms in the economy. Controls started to be dismantled, license system was abolished, tariffs, duties and taxes were progressively lowered, the economy was opened to trade and investment by Indian private companies, foreign private sector enterprises and competitions were encouraged and policies of denationalisation were adhered to. The main objective of liberalisation is transformation in the use of capital; the motive behind the use of capital is to increase profit from capital and not to keep money in banks in lieu of interest. Capital is to be invested cautiously, intelligently and realistically. Money from provident fund-pension project etc. are to be invested in the market. In addition to savings and deposits in banks and post offices, there are mutual funds in the market with advertisement of caution written on them. Foreign capital is now rampant in the economy. Market of India is divided at present into three types--market of Indian goods, market of foreign goods and money market. After Narsimha Rao the Bharatiya Janata Party-led NDA government under Vajpeyee continued with reforms for five years. This government began privatising under-performing government-owned business ventures including hotels, VSNL, Maruti Suzuki and airports and reduced taxes further. An overall fiscal-policy aimed at reducing deficits and debts. Congress-led UPA-1 coalition government under Manmohan Singh attempted a progressive budget that encouraged liberal reforms, but the 1997 ASEAN financial crisis and political instability created stagnation.

278 Towards the end of 2011 the congress-led UPA-2 coalition government initiated the introduction of 51% FDI in retail sector. But due to the pressure from fellow coalition parties and the opposition, the decision was rolled back. However, the policy was approved in 2012. In the early months of 2015 the 2nd BJP-led NDA government under Narendra Modi further opened up the insurance sector by allowing upto 49% FDI. This came seven years after the previous government attempted and failed to push through the same reforms and sixteen years after the sector was first opened to foreign investors. The 2nd BJP-led NDA government under Modi also opened the coal industry and ended the central governments monopoly over the mining of coal. The reform process and liberalisation continues still today and they are now accepted by almost all political parties, but the speed is often held hostage by coalition politics and vested interests.

4.5 New Economic Policy of Liberalisation and some new laws The objectives of India's new economic policy of liberalisation are : (i) To achieve higher economic growth rate (ii) to reduce inflation (iii) to rebuild foreign exchange reserves. Some new laws were passed by the parliament of India to bring about India's liberalisation programme. Some of them are : (I) FEMA (Foreign Exchange Management Act) Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, 1973 was repealed and FEMA was passed with clauses, which have facilitated easy entry of MNCs. Its main features are : (1) reduction of import tariffs (2) removal of export subsidies (3) full convertibility of rupee on current account (4) encouraging foreign direct investment (FDI) (5) joint ventures with foreign companies. (II) Coal Mines (special provisions) Bill of 2015 It ended monopoly of the Indian government over the mining of coal, which existed since nationalisation in 1973 through socialist controls. It has opened

279 up the path for private foreign investments in the sector, since Indian arms of foreign companies can bid for coal blocks and licences as well as for commercial mining of coals. This could result in billions of dollars investments by domestic and foreign miners. The move is also beneficial for the state- owned Coal India Limited, which may now get the elbow room to bring in much needed technology and best practices, while opening up prospects of a better future for millions of mine workers. (III) RTI Act of 2005 RTI or Right to Information Act, 2005, covers all government bodies from those at the centre to those at local government levels. Under this act, information is defined as any material in any form including records, documents, opinions, advices, press release, circulars, orders, log-books, contract reports, papers etc. RTI provides access to information held by government bodies and includes the right to inspect records, documents etc. Use of this act makes the government accountable to the citizens, who can force public servants to respond to the poorest citizen of the land.

4.6 Impact of Liberalisation on Indian Economy Impact of liberalisation on Indian economy can be felt in three spheres--(i) Rural agriculture and village economy (ii) Industry and commerce (iii) Development of technology and information. Liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation (LPG) has brought about speedy development of heavy industries. In 1954-55 growth of industrial output was 8.4% and economists say that national income would increase from 6% to 11% within 2025. In the sphere of industrial development India occupies now the third position-- after USA and China. LPG has given rise to greater competition towards markets and investments. Like other nations of the world, India is also changing its old economic behaviour and traditional practices. MRTP Act, 1969 (amended), tax reforms, regulation of inflation, privatisation, overseas transactions, deregulation, foreign technological agreements, foreign investments etc. created a new industrial environment suitable for development. In fact, industrial development is imperative for underdeveloped economics as a part of their development process. Agricultural production of rural India after LPG has increased with the use of fertilisers, machines, improved seeds, application of the knowledge of science and technology etc, though the growth has been slow and not very impressive at first. But improvements in communication, improved roads and vehicles etc. are breaking

280 the age-old seclusion and isolation of the villages; electricity, television and motorbike are influencing the village culture immensely; computer, mobile phones etc. are also entering the villages. Panchayats are becoming centres of local decision-making and implementation and dissemination of information. Decentralisation and devolution are now being sought to be carried down to the grass-roots. Educational centres—schools, colleges etc. are available in villages, where village boys and girls are getting educated. Village people are now politically conscious and voice their demands through the media, which are now accessible in villages also. Liberalisation policies of Indian government, by reducing licensing requirements, removing restrictions on investment and expansion, facilitating easy access to foreign trade and FDI have linked Indian economy with world economy in a harmonised manner and brought about globalisation. Over-protective Indian market was opened to foreign companies and investment. Industry registered an unprecedented growth, number of industries increased manifold in the last two decades. India achieved prosperity and modernisation in the industrial field. Industrial policy around industrial licensing, industrial entrepreneur memoranda, locational policy, policy relating to small scale undertakings, environment issues etc. underwent rapid changes and there has been enormous increase of various sectors of industry. Most striking of them is software industries, which grew from US \$ 150 million in 1991-92 to US \$ 5.7 billions in 1999-2000 against global competition. The then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh announced on January 3, 2013 at the 100th science congress held in Calcutta that there would be a change in the 2003 policy on science and technology. After that, long discussions were held in seven meetings, where representatives from various industries and noted scientific exponents came together and ultimately the new science and technology policy was declared on December 26, 2013. Its aim was to strengthen the impact of the reforms brought under LPG initiative of India. Total foreign investments (including foreign direct investment, portfolio investment, and investment raised on international capital markets) in India grew from US \$ 132 billion in 1991-92 to US \$5.3 billion in 1995-96. Annual growth of GDP per capita has increased from just 1¼% in the three decades after independence to 7½%. In a few years, the rate of growth will be double, as many people expect. In the service sector where government regulations have been eased significantly—such as communications, insurance, asset management and information technology, —output has grown rapidly, with exports of information technology-enabled services becoming particularly strong. In those infrastructure sectors, which have been opened to competition, such as telecoms and civil aviation, the private sector has proven to be effective and growth has been phenomenal.

281 Cities like Chennai, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Noida, Gurgaon, Ghaziabad, Pune, Jaipur, Indore and Ahmedabad have risen in prominence and economic importance. They have now become destinations for foreign investments and firms. India set up research institutions in Biotechnology, Chemical Science, Earth Science, Life Science, Atmospheric Science and also encouraged women scientists. New scientific and technological policy was a part of the 12th five year plan. It was expected to ensure quick economic growth in the decades ahead. Liberalisation of India brought about improvements in pharmacy industries, which ensured faster growth of health and life-expectancy of the people. New economic policy of liberalisation added to the development of banking and insurance sectors and emphasised on greater sustainable development on the basis of improvements in energy and food sectors. Major industries of India can be found in the sectors of cement, steel, software, mining, petroleum, pharmacy, textile, communication and IT, wool, silk and pottery industries are also flourishing. All of them were restructured and modernised. India is inviting FDI and foreign companies and encouraging non-resident Indians or NRIs with attractive offers. Privatisation is happening in education sphere also. Private engineering and medical colleges and general colleges and schools are springing up, which extended the scope of education to millions. Stock market is the platform where corporate securities can be traded and it is the backbone of free market. In India stock market is emerging as the centre, where industries are now getting opportunities for buying and selling their securities freely. IT and telecom private services reached their pinnacles and quality of television service improved significantly since liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation in India. There has been increase in exports of Indian software goods, foreign exchange earnings also increased sufficiently. 3.5 million people are engaged in software industries. Demand for IT education has increased so much that private IT educational institutions are mushrooming in India. Competition of public and private sectors influenced the quality and quantity of production and also their cost and the share prices, monetary policy, budget etc. are now influenced by international financial market. National economy is now linked with world economy.

4.7 Disadvantages of Liberalisation There has been significant debates around the question whether liberalisation is an inclusive growth strategy or not. Liberalisation has been challenged because of the disadvantages it produces on a developing economy like India. These are as follows :

282 In India agriculture is the main pillar of the economy, where 60% people are engaged. But there has been slow rate of growth of agricultural sectors. The peasant buy fertilisers or technologies for his plot of land from big firms with bank loans or mortgage of valuable like gold. In both cases they have to pay high rates of interests. If the peasant fails to produce as expected by him or if the produce is spoiled by too much rain or heavy draught or if he does not get sufficient price for the production, then the depressed peasant has to resort to suicide. 2009 statistics of government says that 2½ lakh peasants committed suicide in the last 15 years. Farmer suicide is rampant in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Maharashtra, Punjab and Rajasthan. Modern village economy of India has been affected badly with liberalisation privatisation-globalisation processes, when there was a contract between Indian government and European Union (E. U) in 2009 that states of the union would export skimmed milk in the Indian markets. 14.8 million Indian people are engaged with production and distribution of milk products. Export of skimmed milk from the states of E. U. would reduce their income by 60%. Again, 50% of landless labourers are engaged with poultry farming and earn their living by selling eggs or meat. European MNCs are entering this market also. This is affecting India's poultry farming badly and the people connected with them are facing scarcity of food and lodging. Thirty-five to thirty-eight millions of people are engaged in India in buying and selling different kinds of goods either in the markets or on the streets. They are affected by big MNCs like Metro, Big Bazar, Spencer etc. which sell different kinds of things under one roof. In 2005 there was an agreement between USA and India concerning 'Initiative on Agriculture, Education, Training, Research, service and commercial linkage' known as AKI. According to this agreement gene manufactured seeds (GM) would be employed for agricultural production. G.M. production requires plenty of water and application of insecticides, which contain arsenic and fluoride so GM production is bringing about increasing arsenic and fluoride pollution, level of water under the earth is getting reduced and there is increasing pollution. GM use not only damages the environment but makes the land barren also. Moreover, GM agricultural produce is spreading incurable diseases among the village people. In West Bengal there were more than four thousand varieties of rice, many of these varieties are now lost for ever.

283 Land acquisition Bill of 1894 is still unchanged, though it requires changes in the interests of the businessmen and industrialists of India. All matters of food processing industries are under the control either of MNCs like Walmart or Indian industrialists like Tata, Ambani etc, who aspire only after profit. This leads to dependence on foreign nations and multinational companies and loss to domestic units. Ultra-modern and ultra-primitive production patterns are existing side by side in India. There are personal lawboards existing side by side with khap and kangaroo courts. Wealth and poverty reside side by side in India--big and beautiful palacial buildings coexist beside dirty and unhygienic devolving, unown as bastees. IT revolution and free flow of information combined with improvement of communication facilities have given rise to instances of terrorism and terrorist destruction. Industrial growth in general improved substantially after liberalisation, but that was not impressive enough. So import substitution was not possible. There has been a lag in research activities along scientific and technical lines. Competition of public and private sectors leads sometimes to the elimination or destruction of the public sector. The principle is to remove sick units. This is affecting the job market seriously. Globalisation and global ties are weakening the nationalistic spirit of India and the concept of Indian state or Indian Nation is dying down. The spirit of westernism or imitation of western-culture is now rampant in India. This destroys indigenous culture. Problems in the field of industry arise from or give rise highly restrictive labour laws, high inflation, high poverty and reduction in jobs, increasing cases of corruption and graft and increasing numbers of frauds, lack of political consensus and will and increase of income inequality in India since 1992. It has been found that

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consumption among the poorest are staying stable, while the wealthiest generate consumption growth. Moreover, India's gross national product (GDP) growth became

the lowest in 2012-13, growing merely at 5%. New Economic policy

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failed to address employment growth, nutritional growth in terms of food intake in calories and also exports growth, thereby leading to a worsening level of current account deficit.

IT and telecom development are leading to increasing cases of cyber crimes and increasing problems of security, both internal and external.

284 India's 17% peasants occupy 80% land rights, while 83% have only 20% land rights. Landless peasants could not be given the right to ownership of land. 4.8 Advantages of Liberalisation In the agricultural sector there has not been much improvement initially but the situation changed soon. And Indian farmers could attain self-sufficiency in some spheres e.g. production of cereal crops like wheat, paddy, maize etc, oil seed production like mustard, sunflower oils etc., sugar-yielding plant, like sugarcane, beet etc., pulses, tea, coffee, medicinal, plants etc. Basmati rice of India has earned export money in foreign currency. In IT and software engineering plenty of job opportunities are created and Indian experts in these fields are very much in demand in developed countries. There has been BPO and KPO boom in India. Indian exports and foreign exchange earnings have also increased from them. Liberalisation has brought about flexibility in policy, increase in quantity and quality of industrial production, increase in creativity, new scope for experiment etc. There is competition in the public and private sectors among different agencies. This competition enhances efficiency and effectiveness, transparency and responsiveness, higher techniques of business and modern business principle etc. Functions are now being contracted out to private sectors and functions of bureaucracies are transferred to non-government organisations and private agencies. Government is now concentrating only on developmental functions for the underprivileged. Power and functions of bureaucracy are now getting reduced. Control of administration over the economy and the commercial activities of the country are now getting loosened and there is less work on administration. Competition among firms and consequent specialisation and efficiency ensure not only better quality of products, but also reduced price, technological and managerial improvements and higher living standards of the people. Modern management processes increase the efficiency of administration. There is a change in the traditional administrative process of file keeping, secrecy, lengthy process and delay of red tape. All these are replaced by deregulation and data communication networks. Number of employees involved in administration gets reduced. There is increasing public-private collaboration. Many public sector liberal India.

285 Proliferation of communication and publicity, media and internet facilities help people to know about government, administration and different business organisations. These agencies offer the people the opportunity to express their opinions. These agencies increase people's awareness of administration and accelerate people's participation in administrative activities. With the liberalised economy of India many functions of administration are updated—such as, PDS or Public Distribution System, ration card preparations, implementation of national and rural employment guarantee, regulation of land records, driving licence, pension, national insurance schemes etc. So with the introduction of LPG, the role of public sector is now limited, while the role of the private sector is increasing and there is competitive relations among public and private and among private sectors. Private enterprises of not only Indian, but also foreign origin are encouraged in modern India. Thus Indian economy is linked with world economy, there are inter-dependence and integration of the world economy. Indian economy is being increasingly opened to FDI and there is free flow of foreign capital in India. India is now able to participate in global politics. Liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation has brought about new technologies and development of technologies in India, development of infrastructure of industrial units, optimum utilisation of resources, accountability, innovations, research and development, increase in our currency value (which is however low now), GDP growth, adoption of a new and high life style, increase in consumption, control over price, reduction of dependence on external commercial borrowings etc. Development of the economy is now possible without capital investment and there has happened great increase of foreign investment and foreign exchange reserve. Liberalisation has offered extensive opportunities in the fields of I.T., telecom sector etc in India and bilateral treaties to promote free trade are being signed by India with many states. India is now a member of WTO, SAARC and UN. India has now realised that its business cannot survive without focusing on changes in other countries. Indian economy has become now a major economy in the world and a trade partner of many. Modern business organisations have now adopted global management practices every functional area of management is now being studied with a global perspective.

286 4.9 Conclusion We may conclude our discussion with the findings of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report. Its observations about India’s reform activities are as follows : “In labour markets, employment growth has been concentrated in firms that operate in sectors not covered by India’s highly restrictive labour laws. In the formal sectors, where there labour laws apply, employment has been falling and firms are becoming more capital intensive, despite abundant low-cost labour. Labour-market reform is essential to achieve a broad- based development and to provide sufficient and higher productivity jobs for the growing labour force. In product markets, inefficient government procedures, particularly in some of the states act as a barrier to entrepreneurship and these need to be improved. Public companies are generally less productive than private firms and the privatisation prgramme should be revitalised. A number of barriers to competition in financial markets and some of the infra-structure sectors, which are other constraints of growth, also need to be addressed. The indirect tax system need to be simplified to create a true national market, while for direct taxes, the tax base should be broadened and rates lowred. Public expenditure should be reoriented towards infra-structure. Election of Bajpeyee as Prime Minister and his agenda of liberalisation together with privatisation and globalisation (free economy, private sectors and opening of FDI) was a welcome change in the Indian economy which since independence was following the policy of social welfare and protective guardianship. In a few years the west was developing a bit of fascination to India’s brainpwr of IT and BPO. By 2004 the west was considering investment in India, if the conditions were suitable. By the end of Bajpeyee’s term as Prime Minister, a framework of foreign investment has been established. Later governments are further strengthening the required infrastructure to welcome FDI. Today, attraction of India as an investment destination is translated into active consideration of India as a destination for FDI. The A.T. Kearney study puts India as the second-most likely destination for FDI in 2005 behind China. To quote A. T. Kearney, “India’s strong performances among manufacturing and telecom and utility firms was driven largely by the desire to make productivity enhancing investments in IT, business process outsourcing, research and development, and knowledge

287 management activities.” Investment by reducing subsidies. Furthermore, the social policies should be improved to better reach the poor and given the importance of human capital—the education system also needs to be made more efficient.” The report concludes with the hope that if complementary neasures for better delivery of infrastructure, education and basic services were implemented, they would boost employment creation and poverty reduction. 4.10 References Chandrasekharan, Balkrishnan, Impact of Globasation on Developing Countries and India. Gills, S. and Law, D., The Global Political Economy : Perspectives, Problems and Policies, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1988.

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and others, Globalisation and the New Regionalism, MacMillan Press Ltd., London, 1999. Todaro, M. P., Economic Development, Longman, New York, London. 1994. 4.11 Sample Questions Long-answer questions : 1. Discuss the philosophy of liberalism in its changing perspective. 2. Explain the economic policy of social welfare and state-controlled administration of newly independent India. 3. Why did Indian government accept liberalisation in the later part of the 20th century? 4. Discuss the impact of liberalisation on the Indian economy. 5. What are the advantages of liberalisation? 6. What are the disadvantages of liberalisation?

288 Short-answer questions : 1. What do you mean by liberalism? 2. Why was the economic policy of social welfare abandoned by Indian Government? 3. What were the major objectives of the new economic policy of liberalisation of the Indian government? 4. Mention the specific laws passed by the Indian parliament to introduce liberalization in India.

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1/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	43 WORDS	68% MATCHING TEXT	43 WORDS
<p>Politics and Administration reiterated and further developed the Wilsonian theme of dichotomy, arguing that politics and administration are two distinct functions of government. Politics 'has to do with policies or expressions of the state will', while administration 'has to do with the execution of these policies.'</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
2/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	69% MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS
<p>of evolution of Public Administration, there emerged the tendency to reinforce the notion of politics-administration dichotomy and to evolve a value free 'science of management'.</p> <p>W https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>				
3/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS
<p>with his Time and Motion studies and careful analysis of the role of managers and workers.</p> <p>SA 2016 chap1.docx (D25307859)</p>				
4/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>Taylor's principles of management emphasized tight control of work processes and careful planning by managers.</p> <p>SA 2016 chap1.docx (D25307859)</p>				
5/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	30 WORDS	94% MATCHING TEXT	30 WORDS
<p>Division of work 2. Authority 3. Discipline 4. Unity of command 5. Unity of direction 6. Subordination of individual interest to general interest 7. Remuneration of personnel 8. Centralization 9. Scalar chain 10. Order 11. Equity 12. Stability of tenure 13.</p> <p>SA MA Politics SEM 1 public administration.pdf (D110639260)</p>				

6/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS
<p>the classical theory of management or the administrative management theory.</p> <p>W http://himia.umj.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Public-Administration-for-Civil-Services-Main-E ...</p>		<p>the Classical Theory of Management or the Administrative Management Theory.</p>		
7/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	47 WORDS	73% MATCHING TEXT	47 WORDS
<p>classical perspective was thought to be the best for organizing the public sector work and was undoubtedly popular for quite some time. The traditional model of public administration was regarded as the most successful theory of public sector management, although it did not have a single, coherent intellectual foundation. Its</p> <p>W https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>		<p>classical model was thought to be the best way for organizing the public sector work and undoubtedly worked well for a long time. The traditional model of public administration has been regarded as the most successful theory of public sector management, although it does not have a single, coherent intellectual foundation. Its</p>		
8/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	78% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>principles of administration, namely, Planning, Organisation, Staffing, Directing, Coordinating, Reporting and Budgeting. 14 During the 1920</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
9/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	64% MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS
<p>World War II, the basis of the classical approach was questioned, both in theory and in practice. Among the most powerful</p> <p>W https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>		<p>World War, the basis of scientific management was questioned, both in theory and in practice, and the most powerful</p>		

10/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	61 WORDS	92% MATCHING TEXT	61 WORDS
<p>Herbert Simon. His work represented a radical departure from the classical approach to public administration. The classical approaches of Weber and Taylor have been referred to as the public administrative "orthodoxy", but when a series of challenges to the classical approach to public administration appeared in the 1940s' "heterodoxy replaced orthodoxy" , to quote Dwight Waldo. Different theoretical approaches and practical experiences started to influence administrative organizations.</p>		<p>Herbert Simon. Simon's work represents a radical departure from the classical approach to public administration. The classical approaches of Weber and Taylor have been referred to as the public administrative 'orthodoxy', but when a series of challenges to the classical approach to public administration appeared in the 1940s, 'heterodoxy replaced orthodoxy', to quote Dwight Waldo. In other words, different theoretical approaches and practical experiences started to influence administrative organizations.</p>		
W	<p>https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>			
11/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	69% MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
<p>principles of administration. This phase saw the publication of W.F. Willoughby's Principles of Public Administration in 1927.</p>				
SA	<p>PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>			
12/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>Discuss the evolution of Public Administration as a field of study. 2.</p>				
SA	<p>PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>			
13/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS
<p>During the 1960s and 1970s, the idea of Development Administration evolved</p>				
SA	<p>PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>			
14/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS
<p>Development Administration", in F.W.Riggs ed., Frontiers of Development Administration, 1971], "</p>		<p>Development Administration in F.W. Riggs (ed.), Frontiers of Development Administration.</p>		
W	<p>http://himia.umj.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Public-Administration-for-Civil-Services-Main-E ...</p>			

15/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>as an extension or an applied part of Comparative Public Administration.</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				

16/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS
<p>keen interest in exploring administrative problems in developing nations and the agenda set by its funding agency (the Ford Foundation) to improve administration for economic development in these countries.</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				

17/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	73% MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS		
<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;"> <p>development administration is characterized by its purposes, its loyalties and its attitudes'. The purposes of Development Administration</p> </td> <td style="width: 50%;"> <p>Development administration is characterized by its purpose, its loyalties and its attitudes.' Elaborate. OR The immediate contribution of development administration</p> </td> </tr> </table> <p>W http://himia.umj.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Public-Administration-for-Civil-Services-Main-E ...</p>					<p>development administration is characterized by its purposes, its loyalties and its attitudes'. The purposes of Development Administration</p>	<p>Development administration is characterized by its purpose, its loyalties and its attitudes.' Elaborate. OR The immediate contribution of development administration</p>
<p>development administration is characterized by its purposes, its loyalties and its attitudes'. The purposes of Development Administration</p>	<p>Development administration is characterized by its purpose, its loyalties and its attitudes.' Elaborate. OR The immediate contribution of development administration</p>					

18/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	32 WORDS	61% MATCHING TEXT	32 WORDS		
<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;"> <p>the organization of new agencies such as planning organizations and development corporations; the reorientation of existing agencies; delegation of administrative powers to development agencies and the creation of a cadre of administrators capable of</p> </td> <td style="width: 50%;"> <p>the organization of new agencies, like planning organizations and development corporations, the reorientation of already established agencies, such as departments of agriculture, the allocations of administrative powers to development agencies and the setting up of a group of administrators capable of</p> </td> </tr> </table> <p>W https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>					<p>the organization of new agencies such as planning organizations and development corporations; the reorientation of existing agencies; delegation of administrative powers to development agencies and the creation of a cadre of administrators capable of</p>	<p>the organization of new agencies, like planning organizations and development corporations, the reorientation of already established agencies, such as departments of agriculture, the allocations of administrative powers to development agencies and the setting up of a group of administrators capable of</p>
<p>the organization of new agencies such as planning organizations and development corporations; the reorientation of existing agencies; delegation of administrative powers to development agencies and the creation of a cadre of administrators capable of</p>	<p>the organization of new agencies, like planning organizations and development corporations, the reorientation of already established agencies, such as departments of agriculture, the allocations of administrative powers to development agencies and the setting up of a group of administrators capable of</p>					

19/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>According to Edward W. Weidner, " development administration is concerned with maximizing innovation for development."</p> <p>SA PRADEEP KUMAR. K Thesis.pdf (D111291848)</p>				

20/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	65% MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS
<p>Press. Bhattacharya, Mohit (2008). New Horizons of Public Administration, Jawahar Publishers & Distributors, Delhi. 27 Unit 3 □□□□ NEW PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
21/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	62% MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS
<p>of New Public Management 3.1 Introduction The New Public Administration movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s challenged the status quo in public administration</p> <p>W https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>				
22/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS
<p>criticized the "old" public administration for its lack of an explicit ideological framework.</p> <p>W https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>				
23/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	54% MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS
<p>of New Public Administration 3.4 Evolution of New Public Management (NPM) 3.5 Features of New Public Management 3.6 A Critique of New Public Management 3.7</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
24/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>The 28 basic principles of the New Public Administration were participation, decentralization and representative bureaucracy.</p> <p>W https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>				

25/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	66% MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS
<p>the development of New Public Administration • The basic principles of New Public Administration • Importance of</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
26/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	71% MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS
<p>New Public Administration. These were - i] The Honey Report on Higher Education for Public Service, 1967. John C.Honey of Syracuse University undertook an evaluation</p> <p>New Public Administration: important landmarks I. The Honey Report on Higher Education for Public Service, 1967 (USA); John Honey of Syracuse University begun an evaluation</p> <p>W https://web.sol.du.ac.in/my_modules/type/cbcs-40-3/data/root/B.A.%20Programme/Semester%203/In%20L...</p>				
27/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS
<p>Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence edited by Dwight Waldo</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
28/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>attacked the status quo and the powerful interests entrenched in permanent institutions.</p> <p>SA MA Politics SEM 1 public administration.pdf (D110639260)</p>				
29/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	67% MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS
<p>Minnowbrook Conference was on correcting the imbalance between public needs and the resources devoted for their amelioration.</p> <p>Minnowbrook II was on correcting the imbalance between the public needs in the present times and the resources devoted to their amelioration.</p> <p>W https://jkpostupdate.blogspot.com/2020/06/study-material-political-science.html</p>				
30/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>the traditional bureaucratic structures that ushered in the industrialized economies of the 20th century</p> <p>SA 2016 chap1.docx (D25307859)</p>				

31/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	56 WORDS	94% MATCHING TEXT	56 WORDS
<p>a new managerial approach in the public sector emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s. It was named New Public Management. It lay emphasis on the economy, efficiency and effectiveness of government organizations, instruments and programs, and higher quality service delivery. This new model of public sector management emerged in the most advanced countries, as well as in many developing ones.</p>		<p>A new managerial approach in the public sector emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s and it was named new public management. This new approach lay the emphasis on the economy, efficiency and effectiveness of government organizations, instruments and programs, and higher quality service delivery. This new model of public sector management emerged in the most advanced countries, as well as in many developing ones,</p>		
W	<p>https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>			
32/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	40 WORDS	92% MATCHING TEXT	40 WORDS
<p>reached a point of diminishing returns. The large size and rigid structures of the traditional system were too cumbersome for the new era of instant communication and an economy in which economic value was based on information and its manipulation rather than</p>				
SA	<p>2016 chap1.docx (D25307859)</p>			
33/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	64% MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS
<p>on the Public Choice Theory and managerialism, reposing its faith in the primacy of the market and in private sector management.</p>		<p>on the basis of public choice theory (PCT) and managerialism. NPM also believed in the dominance of the market and in private sector management.</p>		
W	<p>https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>			
34/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>industrial production. Production is still important, of course, but it is increasingly based on information systems.</p>				
SA	<p>2016 chap1.docx (D25307859)</p>			

35/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	71% MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS
<p>of New Public Management [NPM]. 31 The term New Public Management was used by Chistopher Hood in 1991</p> <p>SA contemporary theoretical perspective.docx (D159756278)</p>				
36/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	70% MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS
<p>the 'New Public Administration' movement in the USA of the late 1960s and early 1970s .</p> <p>The new public administration movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s</p> <p>W https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>				
37/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>clash of values between traditional Public Administration and New Public Management. The</p> <p>Clash of Values between Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management The</p> <p>W https://jkpostupdate.blogspot.com/2020/06/study-material-political-science.html</p>				
38/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	92% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>distinguishing strategic formulation from implementation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasizing performance evaluation and quality improvement 33 • stressing upon <p>Distinguishing strategic policy formulation from implementation; 3. Emphasising performance evaluation and quality improvement; Stressing upon</p> <p>W https://jkpostupdate.blogspot.com/2020/06/study-material-political-science.html</p>				
39/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	71% MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS
<p>political executive from the implementation aspects of public administration as political executives lose control over the implementation of their policies as a result of managerial reforms.</p> <p>political decision from the implementation aspects of public administration. Political executives are lose control over the implementation of their policy as a result of managerial reforms.</p> <p>W https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>				

40/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	92% MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS
<p>David Osborne and Ted Gaebler in their book Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector</p> <p>W https://www.analogeducation.in/al-major/uploads/1214317642Administrative%20Theory%20_%20202.pdf</p>		<p>David Osborne and Ted Gaebler. In their Reinventing Government, How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector',</p>		
41/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	52% MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS
<p>from New Public Administration to New Public Management has been a long journey in the history of Public Administration.</p> <p>SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)</p>				
42/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	62% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>the concept of New Public Management iii] What are the basic tenets of New Public Management?</p> <p>SA contemporary theoretical perspective.docx (D159756278)</p>				
43/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	68% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>Public Administration: The Essential Readings. Bhattacharya, Mohit (2008). New Horizons of Public Administration, Jawahar Publishers & Distributors, Delhi.</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
44/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS
<p>a non-bureaucratic collective life where bureaucratic discourse would be replaced</p> <p>W https://web.sol.du.ac.in/my_modules/type/cbcs-40-3/data/root/B.A.%20Programme/Semester%203/In%20L...</p>		<p>a non-bureaucratic collective life where bureaucratic discourse would be replaced</p>		
45/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	78% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>Administration, in her book Gender Images in Public Administration: Legitimacy and the Administrative State ,</p> <p>W https://web.sol.du.ac.in/my_modules/type/cbcs-40-3/data/root/B.A.%20Programme/Semester%203/In%20L...</p>		<p>administration discourse in her path breaking work 'Gender Images in Public Administration: Legitimacy and the Administrative State'</p>		

46/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
<p>Osborne, David and Ted Gaebler,(1992). Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector, Addison-Wesley,</p> <p>SA contemporary theoretical perspective.docx (D159756278)</p>				
47/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	90% MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS
<p>Haque, M. Shamsul,(2010). Rethinking Development Administration and Remembering Fred W. Riggs, International Review of Administrative Sciences, 76(4).</p> <p>Haque, Shamsul.2010. 'Rethinking Development Administration and Remembering Fred W Riggs', International Review of Administrative Sciences,</p> <p>W https://web.sol.du.ac.in/my_modules/type/cbcs-40-3/data/root/B.A.%20Programme/Semester%203/In%20L ...</p>				
48/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	87% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>Gender Images in Public Administration: Legitimacy and the Administrative State, Sage Publications,</p> <p>Gender images in public administration: Legitimacy and the Administrative State. 2 nd edition. California: Sage Publications,</p> <p>W https://web.sol.du.ac.in/my_modules/type/cbcs-40-3/data/root/B.A.%20Programme/Semester%203/In%20L ...</p>				
49/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	52% MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS
<p>D' Agostino, Maria J. and Helisse Levine ed.,(2011). Women in Public Administration: Theory and Practice, Jones & Bartlett Learning,</p> <p>D' Agostino, Maria J. and Levine, H. (2011) Women in Public Administration: Theory and Practice. (ed.) New York: Jones & Bartlett Learning.</p> <p>W https://web.sol.du.ac.in/my_modules/type/cbcs-40-3/data/root/B.A.%20Programme/Semester%203/In%20L ...</p>				
50/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS
<p>Medury, Uma (2010). Public Administration in the Globalisation Era: The New Public Management Perspective, Orient BlackSwan,</p> <p>SA MA Politics SEM 1 public administration.pdf (D110639260)</p>				

51/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	91% MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
<p>New Delhi. Riggs, Fred W (1961) The Ecology of Public Administration, Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Riggs, Fred W (2001)</p> <p>SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)</p>				
52/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS
<p>in his 1933 book--The Human Problems of an Industrialized Civilization,</p> <p>in his book, The Human Problems of an Industrialized Civilization</p> <p>W http://himia.umj.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Public-Administration-for-Civil-Services-Main-E ...</p>				
53/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS
<p>at the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company in</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
54/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	90% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>much of the information and many of the assumptions, goals, and attitudes that enter into</p> <p>much of the information and many of the assumption, goals and attitudes that enter into</p> <p>W http://himia.umj.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Public-Administration-for-Civil-Services-Main-E ...</p>				
55/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS
<p>Administrative Behaviour: A Study of Decision Making Processes in Administrative</p> <p>Administrative Behaviour: a Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative</p> <p>W https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>				
56/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS
<p>at the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company in</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				

57/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	69% MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS
<p>Development Administration 3.3 Meaning of Development Administration 3.4 Genesis of Development Administration 3.5 Concept of Development Administration 3.6 Features of Development Administration 3.7</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
58/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	83% MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
<p>the methods used by large scale organizations, notably government, to implement policies and plans designed to meet developmental</p> <p>SA MA Politics SEM 1 public administration.pdf (D110639260)</p>				
59/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	75% MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS
<p>used with reference to the developing nations of Asia, Africa & Latin America. The idea of development administration as a direct state engineered</p> <p>used exclusively with reference to the developing nations of Asia, Africa and South America. The concept of development administration as a direct effort engineered</p> <p>W https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>				
60/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	75% MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
<p>Development Administration has almost exclusively been used with reference to the developing nations of Asia, Africa &</p> <p>Development of administration' has been used exclusively with reference to the developing nations of Asia, Africa</p> <p>W https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>				
61/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS
<p>is an effort towards planned transformation of the economy involving not only the sphere of administration but also</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				

62/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	80% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>efforts to carry out programmes or projects thought by those involved to serve developmental objectives.</p>		<p>efforts to carryout programmes or projects thought by those involved to serve developmental objectives. [3]</p>		
W	<p>http://himia.umj.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Public-Administration-for-Civil-Services-Main-E ...</p>			
63/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	91% MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
<p>society as a whole. It is an effort at the synchronisation of changes in all spheres of development-</p>				
SA	<p>PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>			
64/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS
<p>increased ability of human societies to shape their physical, human and cultural environments.</p>				
SA	<p>PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>			
65/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	60% MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS
<p>it involves the study of a traditional and routine type of administration, it is more concerned with the dynamics of an administrative system with</p>		<p>it encompasses the study of a conventional and routine type of administrative system, it deals with the dynamics of an administrative system with</p>		
W	<p>https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>			
66/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	82% MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS
<p>the process of guiding an organisation towards the achievement of progressive political, economic and social objectives, authoritatively determined in one manner or another.</p>				
SA	<p>PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>			
67/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>A system of salaried officials can work in an economically advanced country</p>		<p>a system of salaried officials can work in an economically advanced country</p>		
W	<p>http://himia.umj.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Public-Administration-for-Civil-Services-Main-E ...</p>			

68/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>Group was formed in 1961 by the American Society for Public Administration.</p> <p>W http://himia.umj.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Public-Administration-for-Civil-Services-Main-E ...</p>				
69/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
<p>development administration is essentially a concept of administration which is action oriented rather than structure oriented.</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
70/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	92% MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS
<p>CAG was made to carry out research in Comparative Administration with special focus on the problems of development administration. The</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
71/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>suitable only for "maintenance needs" rather than for development needs". 89 The</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
72/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>The scholars in CAG insisted on a comparative analysis of the administrative systems of</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
73/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS
<p>relationships between Public Administration and social, economic, political and cultural environment.</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				

74/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	96% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>the period of the 1960s saw a shift from normative approach to empirical approach.</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
75/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>may not necessarily lead to improving the real life conditions of the people. He</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
76/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	70 WORDS	69% MATCHING TEXT	70 WORDS
<p>analysed the structural functional features of the social and administrative systems of the developing countries in his industria - transitia - agraria formulation, He placed the developing countries in the category of prismatic society. Prismatic society lies in between traditional fused and modernised diffracted societies 91 and is undergoing the process of social change. The ecological approach provided a vision that stressed on the relationship of non-administrative factors to administrative ones. 3.8 Conclusion Most of the</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
77/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>works of Woodrow Wilson, L.D. White, Fayol, Gullick, F.W. Taylor and others.</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
78/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	58% MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
<p>Key elements in contemporary development approaches, reflected in the thinking of Rogers, Korten and Klaus, Bjur Bryant</p> <p>key elements in the modern development models, as evident in the thoughts of Rogers, Korten and Klaus, Bjur Bryant</p> <p>W https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>				

79/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	37 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	37 WORDS
<p>the meaning of development underwent change in so far as development goals were conceived in terms of meeting basic human needs but also the development administration model, to meet these objectives, saw changes in strategies and substantive programmatic actions.</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
80/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	96% MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS
<p>development administration were rooted in the political economy of the aid receiving countries.</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
81/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	86% MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS
<p>Greater equality in distribution of development benefits, b) Popular participation, knowledge sharing and empowerment to facilitate self- development efforts by individuals, groups and communities c) Self reliance and independence in development, emphasising the</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
82/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS
<p>Integration of 'appropriate' technology with 'big' modern technologies in order to facilitate development. 3.9</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
83/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	37 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	37 WORDS
<p>The term "Development Administration" came into use in the 1950s to represent those aspects of public administration and those changes in Public Administration, which are needed to carry out policies, projects, and programs to improve social and economic conditions</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				

84/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	30 WORDS	98% MATCHING TEXT	30 WORDS
<p>achieved independence and political autonomy. This new status gave promise of freedom and liberty and self-determination 93 in political systems of representative democracy. It gave hope of greater individual freedom and of</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
85/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS
<p>Rethinking Development Administration and Remembering Fred W. Riggs, International Review of Administrative Sciences</p> <p>Rethinking Development Administration and Remembering Fred W Riggs', International Review of Administrative Sciences,</p> <p>W https://web.sol.du.ac.in/my_modules/type/cbcs-40-3/data/root/B.A.%20Programme/Semester%203/In%20L ...</p>				
86/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	90% MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS
<p>Even in countries which had not been colonies but had been administered by some other fonn of authoritarian government, this was a generation of rising and insistent expectations pressing for rapid political, social, and economic change.</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
87/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	96% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>the concept of Development Administration was introduced by weidner, and stressed by Riggs, among others.</p> <p>SA PSC_1046.pdf (D164969508)</p>				
88/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	58% MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS
<p>Bhattacharya, Mohit, Public Administration--Structure, Process and Behaviour, ND, World Press, 1987 Bhattacharya, Mohit, Public Administration, New Delhi,</p> <p>SA synopsis 12.docx (D139659069)</p>				

89/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	75% MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS
<p>governance'. In modern times 'governance' refers to forms of political system and the manner in which power is exercised in utilising economic and social resources for development.</p> <p>SA Chapter_1.doc (D15365854)</p>				
90/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	93% MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS
<p>Governance deals with the capacity of government to design, formulate and implement policies and, in general, to discharge governmental functions. Good governance is</p> <p>SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)</p>				
91/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	81% MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS
<p>defined 'governance' as the manner in which governing power is exercised in managing a country's economic and social resources for development.</p> <p>defined 'as the 'manner in power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development.'</p> <p>W https://web.sol.du.ac.in/my_modules/type/cbcs-40-3/data/root/B.A.%20Programme/Semester%203/In%20L ...</p>				
92/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	31% MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS
<p>to 'governance'. 2. Discuss the genesis of the concept of Good Governance. 3. Examine the concept of Good Governance. 4. Explain the different meanings of the concept of Good Governance. 5. Discuss the relationship between Good Governance</p> <p>to Good Governance • Trace the genesis of Good Governance • Throw light on the concept of Good Governance • Distinguish 'Governance' from Good Governance • Highlight the significance and key characteristics of Good Governance • Discuss the ' Good Governance'</p> <p>W https://www.analogeducation.in/al-major/uploads/1214317642Administrative%20Theory%20_%202.pdf</p>				
93/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS
<p>It is equivalent to purposive and development-oriented administration which is committed to improvement in quality of the</p> <p>SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)</p>				

94/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	64% MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS
<p>is political. In a parliamentary system of government the executive functions under an obligation to give an account</p> <p>W https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>		<p>is political, and in a parliamentary system of government like India, the executive has responsibility to give an account</p>		
95/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	96% MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS
<p>that "everyone shall have the right to seek, receive, impart information and ideas through</p> <p>W http://himia.umj.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Public-Administration-for-Civil-Services-Main-E ...</p>		<p>that everyone shall have the right 'to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through</p>		
96/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	76% MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS
<p>that good governance is crucial to creating and sustaining an environment which fosters sustainable and equitable development and that it is an essential complement to sound economic policies. 1.5</p> <p>SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)</p>				
97/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	85% MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS
<p>a process whereby the Government divests itself completely of certain duties and responsibilities and devolves them on to some other authority." [</p> <p>W https://web.sol.du.ac.in/my_modules/type/cbcs-40-3/data/root/B.A.%20Programme/Semester%203/In%20L ...</p>		<p>a process whereby the governments diverts itself completely of certain duties and responsibilities and devolves them on to some other authority. ?</p>		
98/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	87% MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS
<p>P. Aucoin, 'Administrative Reform in Public Management : Paradigms, Principles, Paradoxes and Pendulums',</p> <p>SA synopsis 12.docx (D139659069)</p>				
99/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	87% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>local decision- making agencies having more or less independent existence and powers.</p> <p>W https://web.sol.du.ac.in/my_modules/type/cbcs-40-3/data/root/B.A.%20Programme/Semester%203/In%20L ...</p>		<p>local decision-making agencies with more or less independent existence and powers. ?</p>		

100/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	90% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>be possible to evoke local interest and excite local initiative in the field of development</p> <p>W https://www.bdu.ac.in/cde/SLM-REVISED/UG%20%20Programmes/BA%20Public%20Administration/Introductio ...</p>		<p>be able to evoke local interest and excite local initiative in the field of development.'</p>		
101/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS
<p>denotes the transference of authority--legislative, judicial or administrative--from a higher level of government to a lower level". [</p> <p>SA IJPA GOOD GOVERNANCE GANDHIAN PERSPECTIVE 2013 (1).pdf (D149958046)</p>				
102/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	67% MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS
<p>Report of the Team for the Study of Community Development Projects and National Extension Service, Committee on Plan Projects, Planning Commission, New Delhi,</p> <p>SA PRADEEP KUMAR. K Thesis.pdf (D111291848)</p>				
103/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS
<p>the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service</p> <p>W https://web.sol.du.ac.in/my_modules/type/cbcs-40-3/data/root/B.A.%20Programme/Semester%203/In%20L...</p>		<p>The study team on community projects and National Extension Service</p>		
104/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	90% MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS
<p>democratic trend, and it is also technically the most efficient method of formulation and execution of</p> <p>SA PRADEEP KUMAR. K Thesis.pdf (D111291848)</p>				
105/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS
<p>Democratic decentralization is a political ideal and local self-government is its institutional form.</p> <p>SA PRADEEP KUMAR. K Thesis.pdf (D111291848)</p>				

106/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	83% MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS
<p>Hugh Tinker, Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma (</p> <p>SA PRADEEP KUMAR. K Thesis.pdf (D111291848)</p>				
107/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	85% MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS
<p>of development'. [Report of the Team for the Study of 187 Community Projects and National Extension Service, Committee on Plan Projects,</p> <p>SA sharnappa.Palekar.Political Sciene.2016.doc (D18302150)</p>				
108/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	88% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>Tinker, The Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma, Bombay, 1967.</p> <p>SA PRADEEP KUMAR. K Thesis.pdf (D111291848)</p>				
109/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	89% MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS
<p>Mookherjee (eds), Decentralization and Local Governance in Developing Countries : A Comparative Perspective, New Delhi :</p> <p>SA PRADEEP KUMAR. K Thesis.pdf (D111291848)</p>				
110/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	80% MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS
<p>Aziz and D. Arnold (eds), Decentralized Governance in Asian Countries, New Delhi, Sage, 1996.</p> <p>SA PRADEEP KUMAR. K Thesis.pdf (D111291848)</p>				
111/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	45% MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS
<p>An Agenda for an Effective and Responsive Administration'. It recommended to the government various reform measures in the machinery and processes of the</p> <p>An agenda for an effective and responsive administration" in order to restore the faith of the people in the fairness and efficiency of the</p> <p>W https://www.analogeducation.in/al-major/uploads/1214317642Administrative%20Theory%20_%20202.pdf</p>				

112/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	95% MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS
<p>government to formulate and implement policies and, in general, to discharge</p> <p>SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)</p>				
113/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	90% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>governance' is concerned with network of relationship of three actors-- state, market and civil society--</p> <p>SA 2016 chap1.docx (D25307859)</p>				
114/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	97% MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS
<p>Mathur, From Government to Governance : A Brief Survey of the Indian Experience, New Delhi : National Book Trust, 2008.] 4.5</p> <p>SA chap 1.docx (D64300393)</p>				
115/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	80% MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS
<p>Public Administration consists of those operations which have for their purpose the fulfillment or enforcement of public policy</p> <p>Public Administration consists of all those operations having for their purpose the fulfillment or enforcement of public policy.'</p> <p>W http://himia.umj.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Public-Administration-for-Civil-Services-Main-E ...</p>				
116/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	36 WORDS	96% MATCHING TEXT	36 WORDS
<p>Public Administration was first established as a matter of technical implementation where the values of efficiency and effectiveness were paramount. This meant that the principles of social equity, ptotection of minority rights and equal opportunity took a back seat</p> <p>Public administration was first established as a matter of technical implementation where the values of efficiency and effectiveness were paramount. This upside-down priority meant that the principles of social equity, protection of minority rights, and equal opportunity, took a back seat</p> <p>W https://web.sol.du.ac.in/my_modules/type/cbcs-40-3/data/root/B.A.%20Programme/Semester%203/In%20L ...</p>				

117/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	93% MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS
<p>Mathur, From Government to Governance : A Brief Survey of the Indian Experience, Delhi : National Book Trust, 2008.</p> <p>SA chap 1.docx (D64300393)</p>				
118/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS
<p>Civil society is the realm of organised social life, that is voluntary</p> <p>SA contemporary theoretical perspective.docx (D159756278)</p>				
119/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	96% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>compression of the world and intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole.</p> <p>SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)</p>				
120/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	73% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>of international integration arise from interchange of worldviews, products, ideas and other aspects of culture</p> <p>SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)</p>				
121/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	89% MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS
<p>as the growing economic interdependence of countries worldwide through increasing volume and variety of cross-border transactions in goods and services, free international capital flows and more rapid and widespread diffusion of technology." The</p> <p>SA sharnappa.Palekar.Political Sciene.2016.doc (D18302150)</p>				

122/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	41 WORDS	80% MATCHING TEXT	41 WORDS
<p>four aspects of globalisation– –trade and transaction, capital and investment movements, migration and movement of people and dissemination of knowledge. Environmental challenges, such as global warming, cross-border terrorism, water pollution and overfishing of the ocean are linked with globalisation. Globalisation processes affect and are</p> <p>SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)</p>				
123/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	36 WORDS	34% MATCHING TEXT	36 WORDS
<p>In the 16th and 17th centuries there happened the rise of European empires– –first the Portugese and the Spanish and then British and Dutch empires. Chartered companies like the British East India company or the Dutch East India Company</p> <p>SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)</p>				
124/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	87% MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS
<p>the connectedness of the world’s economies and culture grew very quickly</p> <p>SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)</p>				
125/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	62% MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS
<p>in one part of the world are now increasingly available in other parts of the world.</p> <p>SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)</p>				
126/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	79% MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS
<p>public administration systems. Contrastingly, many developing countries have benefitted less from globalisation because they have considerable disadvantages in the global market place in addition to weak Public Administration systems.</p> <p>SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)</p>				

127/154**SUBMITTED TEXT**

16 WORDS

75% MATCHING TEXT

16 WORDS

The nature of globalisation and the global market systems are beyond the reach of Public Administration

SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)**128/154****SUBMITTED TEXT**

126 WORDS

81% MATCHING TEXT

126 WORDS

to global capitalism, the logic of capital and markets began to dominate over democratic principles. Capitalism needs a strong state with a stable environment for its prosperity. Global markets would not function efficiently without an appropriate national or global intervention for market failures. Market failures hinder domestic and international markets from working efficiently. In the global market place there are unfair competitions, unfair trade, unfair price controls and manipulation of financial flows. Some Asian countries (from South Korea to Taiwan) were financially devastated in 1990s due to the unregulated financial and currency flow from the major international financial agents. Millions of private and public employees in those countries lost their jobs and their human and social interests were sacrificed. Public Administration in those countries could not effectively respond to financial devastation, because global financial problems were beyond

SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)**129/154****SUBMITTED TEXT**

15 WORDS

90% MATCHING TEXT

15 WORDS

to be interdependent in handling domestic and international issues. The emerging contemporary issues like environmental

SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)**130/154****SUBMITTED TEXT**

12 WORDS

95% MATCHING TEXT

12 WORDS

ecological protection and war on terror cannot be controlled within national boundaries.

SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)

131/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	33 WORDS	97% MATCHING TEXT	33 WORDS
<p>countries to have more benefits from globalisation than others in spite of the fact plural social and political systems limit a proactive role of Public Administration. Public Administration in Western European and North American countries</p>				
SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)				
132/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	56 WORDS	59% MATCHING TEXT	56 WORDS
<p>significantly streamlined numerous areas including budget, personnel and entire organisations by privatising, outsourcing, 263 deregulating or restructuring government functions and services and has become more efficient, effective, productive, responsive and transparent. This helps those countries to maintain strong economic, financial and trade systems. So they have some advantages with regard to multi-national or transnational corporations and global supranational or nongovernmental organisations. It</p>				
SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)				
133/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	53 WORDS	81% MATCHING TEXT	53 WORDS
<p>countries to have far less benefits from globalisation than others, because Public Administration systems and governance in those countries are more likely to be determined by unstable political structure and behaviour, underdeveloped economic system, poor technology, weak infrastructure and poor education. Poor nations have considerable disadvantage in the global marketplace due to fewer resources, few skilled manpower,</p>				
SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)				
134/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	84% MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS
<p>technology and fewer information-based tangible products beyond public administration systems. Moreover, poor nations and their citizens are unilaterally under the influence of</p>				
SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)				

135/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	58 WORDS	71% MATCHING TEXT	58 WORDS
<p>wealthy nations whose national interests and corporate interests are generally fulfilled at the expense of the interests of the economically and technologically disadvantaged nations. In this situation the autonomy of public administration and the role of public administration as responding to global forces are likely to be limited. Both developed and developing countries have been attempting to streamline public bureaucracies by privatising, downsizing</p>				
SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)				
136/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	66% MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS
<p>government and government businesses are generally described as the new way of governance, government by the market, new public management, sharing power, slimming of state,</p>				
SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)				
137/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	94% MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
<p>NPM) has the most significant impact on reshaping Public Administration to cope with the challenges of globalisation. The</p>				
SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)				
138/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	66% MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS
<p>due to constant pressure of globalisation. Public sector organisations are now under immense worldwide pressures to enhance their productivity by increasing efficiency. Public bureaucracies are</p>				
SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)				

139/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
<p>government is the answer to the present administrative malaise. Efficiency and productivity, the hallmark of entrepreneurial government are</p> <p>SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)</p>					
140/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>to facilitate better delivery of services. (4) Changing Role of Bureaucracy :</p> <p>SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)</p>					
141/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	66%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
<p>intervention in the economic sector, thus implying a reduced role for the bureaucracy in the process of development.</p> <p>SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)</p>					
142/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS
<p>efficient Public Administration. It is the process of building bridges between the state and the society at large through effective and people-oriented mechanisms of administration. The concept of good governance</p> <p>SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)</p>					
143/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS
<p>is to have a strong state with an expanded agenda, is to have a strong State with an expanded agenda,</p> <p>W https://www.analogeducation.in/al-major/uploads/1214317642Administrative%20Theory%20_%202.pdf</p>					
144/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS
<p>defined Good Governance as a public service that is efficient, a judicial system that is reliable and an administration that is accountable to</p> <p>SA PRADEEP KUMAR. K Thesis.pdf (D111291848)</p>					

145/154**SUBMITTED TEXT**

27 WORDS

65% MATCHING TEXT

27 WORDS

E-governance : E-governance is the application of information technology IT to the process of government functioning, which ensures simple, moral, accountable, responsive and transparent (SMART) governance. The speed and

SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)**146/154****SUBMITTED TEXT**

38 WORDS

57% MATCHING TEXT

38 WORDS

Empowering Citizens : Globalisation has seen the rise of people's active participation at local levels in areas, such as, women's empowerment, education, human rights, consumer rights, environment protection and decentralisation. So empowering citizens has been an important part of recent reform

SA PSC_2046.pdf (D164969680)**147/154****SUBMITTED TEXT**

27 WORDS

94% MATCHING TEXT

27 WORDS

be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shared by events occurring many miles away.

SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)**148/154****SUBMITTED TEXT**

19 WORDS

88% MATCHING TEXT

19 WORDS

pp 606-619. Kette, D. F.; "The Transformation of Governance, Devolution and the Role of Government", Public Administration Review, 60 (6),

SA DEVENDRA.PHD.2017.POL.SCI.RATHOD.docx (D28770946)

149/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	47 WORDS	70% MATCHING TEXT	47 WORDS
<p>policy tended towards, protectionion, with a strong emphasis on import substitution, industrialisation under state monitoring, state intervention at the macro level in all businesses, especially in labour and financial market, a large public sector alongside a feeble private sector, business regulations and central planning. Five-year Plans of India resembled central planning</p>				
SA sharnappa.Palekar.Political Sciene.2016.doc (D18302150)				
150/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	33 WORDS	66% MATCHING TEXT	33 WORDS
<p>public administration a fit instrument for carrying out social and economic policies of the government, to achieve social and economic goals of development and to make public administration responsive to the people. In 1962 the</p>				
SA sharnappa.Palekar.Political Sciene.2016.doc (D18302150)				
151/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	75% MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS
<p>the Soviet Union. Steel, mining, water, machine tools, telecommunications, insurance, electric plants etc were effectively nationalised in the mid-1950s. Elaborate licences, regulations and accompanying red tape, commonly known as licence raj, were required to set up</p>				
SA sharnappa.Palekar.Political Sciene.2016.doc (D18302150)				
152/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	77% MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS
<p>consumption among the poorest are staying stable, while the wealthiest generate consumption growth. Moreover, India's gross national product (GDP) growth became</p>				
SA sharnappa.Palekar.Political Sciene.2016.doc (D18302150)				







153/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	92% MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS
<p>failed to address employment growth, nutritional growth in terms of food intake in calories and also exports growth, thereby leading to a worsening level of current account deficit.</p>				
<p>SA sharnappa.Palekar.Political Sciene.2016.doc (D18302150)</p>				

154/154	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	84% MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS
<p>Goyal, Krishnan A., "Impact of Globalisation on Developing Countries with Special Reference to India," International Journal of Finance and Commerce, issue 5. Hettne B</p>				
<p>SA sharnappa.Palekar.Political Sciene.2016.doc (D18302150)</p>				

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[Post Graduate Political Science (PGPS)] N E T A J I S U B H A S O P E N U N I V E R S I T Y ? 9-21 ? (Systems Theory) 22-33 ? 34-45 ? 47-55 ? 59-69 ? 70-81 ? 82-90 ? 91-99 ? 103-124 ? 125-150 ? 151-189 ? 190-213 ? 217-227 ? 228-237 ? 238-247 ? 248-259 ? ? ? (Systems Theory) ? ? ? 8 ? 9 ? (Constructivism)

10 (Reformation) (Modernity) (Necessary evil) (Laise-faire liberalism) Two Treatises of Government 'Of conquest' (Natural Law) (Prudence) 'Confederative Republic' Perpetual Peace (1795)

11 ('spirit of commerce') The Great Illusion

12 (cumulative progress) (cognitive progress) (basic unit of analysis) (actor)

13 Democratic Peace Theory (Typology) Mark W. Zacher Richard A. Matthew (Republican Liberalism): (Liberal Peace) (Commercial Liberalism): (Military Liberalism): Zucher Matthew Bernard Brodie The Absolute Weapons John Herz International Politics in the Atomic Age John Muller Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolence of Major War (Cognitive Liberalism): (Neofunctionalism)

14 spill-over effect (Sociological Liberalism): (Institutional Liberalism): Regime English School Zecher Matthew (Ecological Liberalism) (New Liberalism) (Charles Kegley) (Woodrow Wilson) (Ernest Haas)

15 (Robert Keohane) (Joseph Nye) (Interdependence) (Francis Fukuyama) 'The End of History?' The National Interest (Andrew Moravsik) (Preferences) (Gerry Simpson)

16 (Utopian) (Strategic Calculations), International Organization Taking preferences seriously: a liberal theory of interenational politics' (Illiberal State) (Transgovernmentalism) (Anne-Marie Slaughter) A New World Order (Mature liberal democracies) (Responsibility to Protect) (John Ikenberry) (Anne-Marie Staughtar) Forging a World of Liberty under Law (Princeton Project)

17 (Balance of Power) (Neorealism) (Kenneth Waltz) (Unit) (Structure) (interaction) (means) (Variable) (Security Dilemma) (Agent-Structure) 'Liberal Coalitions'— 'War on Terror' (humanitarian intervention), — (austerity measures)

18 (priorities) (Neo-Neo Debate) (David Baldwin) (survival) (Internationa- tional Regime) (Absolute Gains) (Relative Gain)

19 (capabilities) (Political Economy) (Global Governance)

20 'Perpetual Peace'

21 1. Baylis, John, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens eds. The Globalization of World Politics (Oxford University Press), chapters 6 and 7. 2. Jackson, Robert and Georg Sorensen, Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches (Oxford University Press) chapter 4. 3. Kegley, Charles

89%

MATCHING BLOCK 1/18

W

Jr. ed., Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenges (New York

St. Martin's Press), chapters 1, 5 and 6. 4. Reus-Smit, Christian and Duncan Snidal eds. The Oxford Handbook of International Relations (Oxford University Press), chapters 13 and 14 5.

22 ? (Systems Theory) (Behavioral Revolution) (Kenneth Waltz) Theory of International Politics (Neorealism) (Structural Realism) System

23 (Jay S. Goodman) Back- ground 'The Concept of System in International Relations Theory' System (System-as-Description): (James Rosenau) (John Herz) (George Liska) (Morton Kaplan) (System-as-Explanation) (arrangement) (Unit) (Third Image), (Loose Bipolar System) (System-as Method) (Analytical concept) (Sub-system) (Charles MacClelland) (Organized Complexity) (Game Thoery) (Inis L. Claude) Power and International Relations

24 (Outcome) (Richard Rosecrance) Genral Systems Theory (GST) GST (Effect) (cause) (Input) (Output) (International System) (Joseph Frankel) (Environment) (Oran Young) (Concepts) (Unit), (Struc- ture), (Process) (Context)

25 (ASEAN) (Context) (Environment) 'context' 'Environment' (Dependent variable) (Independent variable) (Subordinate) (Structure) (Multipolar) (Regularities) (Process) (mode) (bilateral) (multilateral) (context) (stable) (Methodological) (Power) (possession), (moving forces), (Potential), (Actual), (Putative)

26 (Management of Power) (stability) (structural stability) (disturbances) (Equilibrium) (Dynamic Stability) (Change) (Unipolar) (Multipolar) System transformation (Morton Kaplan) System and Process in International Politics (Pattern)

27 (Model) (test) ('Balance of Power' System) (' ') (metaphoric character) (negotiate) (alliance) (Loose Bipolar System) (NATO) (Reglator) (Mediator) (Tight Bipolar System)

28 (Universal System) (Hierarchical System)— (Sub-system) (Confederation) (functional) Unit Veto System (Incredible first strike) (counter-value attack) (counter-force attack) (Escala- tion) 'Variantds of Six Models of the Internationl System' (Very Loose Bipolar System), (Detente) (Unstable Block System), (Incomplete Nuclear Diffusion System) (Richard Rosecrance) Action and Reac- tion in World Politics (input) (disruptor) (Regulator) (outcome) (Stantley Hoffman)

29 (Intellectual Construct) (Michael Sullivan) 'goal' 'Situation' A General Theory of International Relations (Foreign Policy Microsystem), (National State Macrosystem) (International Megasytem) (Kenneth Waltz) Theory of International Politics (Structure) (durable) (Peaceful) Theory of International Politics (Reductionist) (Hierarchical) (distribution of capabilities)

30 (Concepts) (Framework) 'Essential Rules' (Transformation) (identity) (variable) (essential national action) (Self-help system)—

31 (descriptive) (Normative) (fact) (norm) (laboratory) (Interest-based preferences) (system change) Eclectic (Abstract)

32 (Unipolar System) Man, State and War (Three images) (Level of Analysis) (Image I), (Image II) (Image III)— (J. David Singer) 'The Level of Analysis: Problem in International Relation' (holistic) (Complexity Theory) (self organization) (non-linear) (openness) (co-evolution)— (Heinz Eutau)

33 Unit Veto System 1. Bandyopadhyay, Jayantanuja, General Theory of International Relations (Allied Publishers), pp. 39-78 and pp. 218-221. 2. Booth. Ken and Steve Smith eds. International Relations Theory Today, (Polity Press). chapter 8 and 11. 3. Frankel, Joseph, Contemporary International Relations Theory and the Behaviour of States (Oxford University Press), pp. 33-41. 4. Goodman, Jay S. 'The Concept of "System" in International Relations Theory Today. Background vol. 8. no. 4. February 1965. 257-268. 5. Hoffman, Stanley ed. Contemporary Theory in International Relations (Prentice Hall), pp. 104-123. 6. Rosenau, James N ed. International Politics and Foreign Policy: A Reader in Research and Theory (The Free Press), chapter 27.

34 ? (World System Theory) (Critical Theory) (Neo-Marxist Theory) (North-South) (State-building)

35 Manifesto of the Communist Party Capital (Capital vol. 1, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977 Reprint, p. 425) Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism Finance Capital

36 Imperialism and World Economy (Level of analysis) Systemic (Action-Reaction) (cobweb model) Octopus

37 (Immanuel Wallerstein) The Modern World System (Unit) (World Empires), (World Economies) (core), (Periphery) (Semi-periphery) (unit)

38 (mini-system) (World Empire) (World Economy) (accumulation) (Anthony Brewer) BRICS (Transregional) (bargaining)

39 (Critical Theory) (Frankfurt School) ('new, unique and historically concrete combinations') (autonomy) (hegemony) ('spontaneous') (Culture Industry), (Superstructure) (Theories of Knowledge) (Emancipation) (communication) (Radical Democracy) (Robert Cox) (Andrew Linklater)

40 Problem-solving Theory (parameter)— Critical Theory (hegemony) 'Social Forces, States and World Orders' 'Theory is always for someone, and for some purpose'— (Emancipation) (Counter Hegemonic Bloc) (Bounded Community) (Politics of inclusion and exclusion) (Normative) (Emancipation)

41 (Dialogue) (Speech Community) (nominal) (universal ethics) (Why) (How) (Ought) (methodological) (Historical-sociological) (Modernity), (Enlightenment) (Globalization) ('Practical Philosophy') (Praxis) (Robert Keohane) (Reflectivist) (John Mearsheimer) (Christian Rues-Smith)

42 (Neo-Marxist Theories) (Andre Gunder Frank) (Dependency Theory) (Development of Underdevelopment) (Metropolis) (Satellite) (Sub-imperialism) (Walter Rodney) (Samir Amin) (Alex Callinicos), (Leo Panitch) (Peter Gowan)

43 (Fred Halliday) (Benne Teschke) (David Harvey) (Territorial Logic of Power)— (Capitalist Logic of Power) (Michael Hardt) (Antonio Negri) Empire (inside-outside) (de-centered) (deterritorialized) 'the multitude' 'multitude'

44 (Geopolitical deficiency) Theses on Feuerbach

45 1. Baylis, John, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens eds. The Globalization of World Politics (Oxford University Press), chapter 8. 2. Reus-Smit, Christian and Duncan Snidal eds. The Oxford Handbook of International Relations (Oxford University Press), chapters 9, 10, 19 and 20. 3. Smith Steve, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski eds International Relations Theory. Positivism and beyond (Cambridge University Press), chapter 13. 4.

46 ? (Structuralism) (post-modernity) (Post modernism) (theoretical) (conceptual) (methodological) (Real)

47 (given) (interrogate) (hidden) (meaning) (Anthony Burke) (Ferdinand de Saussure) (Signifier), (Signified), (Meaning) (Difference) (Jacques Derrida) (Deconstruction) (Rogue states)

48 (Dichotomy) (Discourse Analysis) (Power-knowledge) (nexus) (Michel Foucault) concept (Truth) (Practices), (Representations), (interpretation) (Regime of truth) (Counter Discourse) (Genealogy) (Discourse) (how) (why) (intertextuality) (Mikhail Bakhtin) (Julia Kristeva)

49 (Text) (neutralize) (James Der Derian) 'On Diplomacy' 'Anti-Diplomacy' (Michael Shapi) International/ Intertextual Relations (Richard Ashley) (R. B. J. Walker) Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory (Spatial) (Inside) (outside) (Temporal)

- 50 (historical construct) (Paul Keal) (William Connolly) (reality) (social construction) (Aaron Beers Sampson) (Kenneth Waltz) (Alexander Wendt) (status quo) (Emile Durkheim) (Objective Knowledge) (Positivism) (Paradigm) (Power Relations) The Poverty of Neo Realism (Narration) (data)
- 51 (Cosmopolitanism) (Communitarianism) (Judith Butler) (Self) (Campbell) (ethics of encounter) (humanitarian intervention), (War on Terror), (norm) (unsettled) (depoliticized)
- 52 (Lene Hansen) (Ernesto Laclau) The Achievements of Post- Structuralism (Representation) (agency), (Resistance) (subaltern) (marginalised) (Post colonialism) (International Political Sociology)
- 53 (Gender) (recovery), (War on Terror) (Paris School) (Private militia) (Didier Bigo) (alliance) (Insecurity) (binary) (security dilemma) (unit) (exceptionalism) (Walter Benjamin) (Giorgio Agamben) (counter terrorism policies) ('our private body has now become indistinguishable from our body politic')
- 54
- 55 1. Baylis, John, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens eds. The Globalization of World Politics (Oxford University Press), chapters 10 and 11. 2. Booth, Ken and Steve Smith eds. International Relations Theory Today (Polity Press), chapter 10. 3. Jackson, Robert and Georg Sorensen, Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches (Oxford University Press) chapter 9. 4. Peoples, Columba and Nick Vaughan-Williams, Critical Security Studies (Routledge), chapter 4. 5. Reus-Smit, Christian and Duncan Snidal eds. The Oxford Handbook of International Relations (Oxford University Press), chapters 21 and 22. 6. Smith Steve, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski eds. International Relations Theory. Positivism and beyond (Cambridge University Press), chapter 11.
- 56
- 57 ???????
- 58
- 59 ????? (isolationism)
- 60 (Containment policy) Pentagon Pentagon
- 61 ?? (protection-ism) (engagement) ?? (cost-benefit) ? Pentagon Pentagon Mohammed Farah Idid- Jean Bertrad Aristide Aristide
- 62 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) NAFTA NAFTA Ross Perrot Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Oslo Pact Oslo Pact Oslo Pact Pentagon (howkish) (Weapons of Mass Destruction-WMD)
- 63 WTO 'go it alone' World Trade Centre twin towers WTC Penagon 'War on terror'
- 64 Gulf War 'Axis of Evil' Weapons of Mss Destruction (WMDs) WMD
- 65 (Senator) 'dumb war' White House Core interest 'a revolutionary world' 'improbable, sometimes impossible things' 'interventionist policy' 'mutual respect' (Arab Spring)
- 66 'We simply don't have the leverage, we dont have the influence (or) the inclination to use military force.' SEAL SEAL
- 67 NATO Bilateral Security Agreement NATO EU Kyoto Protocol (ratify)
- 68 IMF World Bank
- 69 NAFTA WMD; PLO; NATO. 1. James F. Hoge, Gideon Rose, American Foreign Policy: Cases and Choices, Council of Foreign Relation, 2003 2. Ivan Eland, The Empire has no Clothes: US Foreign Policy Exposed, 2004. 3. F. Cameron, US Foreign After Cold War, Routledge 4. Bruce W. Jentleson, American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21st Century 5. Seymore Hersh, The Price of Power 6. Purusottam Bhattacharya and Anindyojoti Majumder, ed., Antaratik Samparker Ruprekha, Setu, 2007 (in Bengali)
- 70 ? EEC EEC EEC EU EU ?? EEC ? EU ? EU EEC EEC EEC
- 71 (Organization for European Economic Coopera- tion-OEEC) OEEC (Marshall Plan) OEEC (European Economic Community) OEEC radical
- 72 European Coal & Steel Community (ECSC) ECSC Jean Monnet ECSC ECSC EEC ECSC (BENELUX Governments) European Economic Community (EEC) European Atomic Energy Agency (EURATOM) EEC- EEC
- 73 EEC EEC EEC (Customs Union) EEC EEC EEC EEC European Council European Council Council European Council European Council Council Council European Union Council EEC
- 74 Council Council of European Union EEC European Commission ECSC
- 75 'College' European Parliament (quota) MEP "co decision' Court of Justice
- 76 EEC Customs Union EU Cusotms Union EU- EEC EEC EEC
- 77 EU E.U (European Political Co-operation-EPC)

- 78 (Common Foreign and Security Policy–FSP) CFSP CFPS (Common European Security and Defence–CESDP) (WTO)
79 E.U CFSP' European Federation
- 80 (Jean Monnet) EEC EU (Soviet bloc) (EU) EEC
- 81 1. Desmond Dinan, Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration, Palgrave Macmillan. 2. Richard Vaughan, Post-War Integration in Europe. 3. Stephen George and Ian Bache, Politics in the European Union, Oxford University Press. 4. Rajendra K Jain, ed. The European Union in a Changing World, Radiant Publishers. 5. Juliet Lodge, ed, European Union: The Community in Search of a Future, Macmillan. 6. Purusottam Bhattacharya and Anindyojoti Majumder, ed., Antarjatik Samparker Ruprekha, Setu, 2007 (in Bengali)
- 82 ? ? ? ? ? ? (Sun Yat-Sen) (Yuar Shi-Kai)
- 83 (Guomindang Party) (Red Army) (People's Republic of China) (Taiwan)
- 84 Cop Nor 'Ping Pong' 'Ping Pong Diplomacy'
- 85 'Great Leap Forward' 'Cultural Revolution' (NAM)
- 86 CPPCC National Committee Socialist Market Economy (SME) 'Closed Economy' TOW (anti-tank) HAWK (aircraft missiles) NPT Tiananmen Square
- 87 'Great Leap Forward' G.D.P 'Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution' SME GDP % % % (Super Power) (Li Peng)
- 88 'Treaty of Good Neighbourliness and Friendly Cooperatio' Shanghai Cooperation Oganizatioin (SCO) 'One China Policy' Non Prolifera- tion Treaty (NPT) \$124 billion \$466 billion World Trade Oganization (WTO) SCO BIRCS SAARC SAARC
- 89 ASEAN ASEAN 'Observer State' ASEAN+3, EAS, ASEAN - 10+1 Asean Regional Forum (ARF) 'South China Sea' 'Spratly Islands' 'Paracel Islands' 'South China Sea' Asia-Pacific BRICS, SCO, G-20, BRICS, SCO G-20,
- 90 1. Lampton David M., 'The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in he Era or Reform, 1978-2000', Stanford University Press, 2001. 2. Nau Henry R. & Ollapally Deepa M., 'Worldviews of Aspiring Powers: Demestic Foreign Policy Debates in China, Indian, Iran, Japan and Russia', Oxford University Press, 2012. 3. Sharif Shuja, 'Pragmatism in Chinese Foreign Policy', Contemporary Review, Vol. 289, No. 1684, Spring 2007. 4. Venkat Ramman, G., 'India in China's Foreign Policy', China: An Internatoinal Journal, Vol. 9, No. 2, September 2011. 5. Mosca Matthew W., 'From Frontier Poicy to Foreign Policy: The Question of India and the Transformation of Geopolitics in Qing China', Standford Univeristy Press, 2013 6. Lantegine Marc, 'Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introeuction', Routledge, New York, 2013.
- 91 ? ? ? ? (Cold War) G- 20, Shanghai Co-operation Organization (SCO), BRICs, Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
- 92 (Sphere of influence) 'Truman Doctrine' 'Marshall Plan' 'Molotov Plan' (Barlin Blockade) North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) 'Suez Crisis' ANZUS South East Asian Treaty Oganizatioin (SEATO, Middle East Defence Oganizatioin (MEDO, Baghdad Pact Warsaw Pact 'Cuban Missile Crisis'
- 93 (Detente) Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) Star Wars 'Evil Empire' 'New Thinking' Reykjavik Summit Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) Moscow Summit Strategic Arms Reductioni Talks (START)
- 94 Andrey Kozyrev, 'New Thinking' (Socialist) (democratic) 'rapprochement' 'Partnership' 'Atlanlicist' 'Pro-western' (Sr) 'Charter of Russian–American Partnership and Friednship' 'indivisibility of the security of North America and Europe' 'democracy, the supremacy of law... and support for human rights.' Kozyrev 'Supreme Soviet' Ministry of Foreign Affairs Interdepartmental Foreign Policy Commission, 'Security Council' CIS CIS 'Southern Periphery' CIS 'Unfiled Military Strategic Space' NATO
- 95 G-7, Oganizaion for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), NATO NATO 'real partnership in all directions' CIS 'Balance of Interest' Kozyrev Pavel Grachev Yevgeny Primakov Alexander Lebed Lebed Primakov Primakov CIS Kosovo NATO Grozny 'cease fire' (Cash infusion) 'Oligarchs' 'Oligarchy' Vladimir Putin
- 96 'Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation' (FPCRf) FPCRf GDP 6.4% (Second generation) 'renationaltionalization' Yukos Oil Company GDP 1.3% 'War on Terror' 'Stratetgic Offensive Reduction Treaty (SORT) 'Moscow Treaty' NATO
- 97 NATO 'Partnership For Peace (PFP) Programme' 'Individual Partnership Actions Plans (IPAPs)' 'Autonomous Republic of Crimea' 'Jasmine revolution' SCO, NATO-Russia Council, BRICS, Collective Security Treaty Oganization (CSTO), Commenwelath of Independent States (CIS), G-8, G-20, APEC, G-20
- 98 'New thinking'

99 1. Nalbandov Robert 'Not by Bread Alone: Russian Foreign Policy under Putin', Potomac Books, 2016. 2. Oliker Olga, Crane Keith, Schwartz Lower H., Yusupov Catherine, 'Russian Foreign Policy: Sources and Implications' Rand, 2009. 3. Emmanuelle Armandon, 'Popular Assessments of Ukraine's Relations with Russia and the European Union under Yanukovich', Demokratizatsiya, Vol. 21, No. 2, Spring 2013. 4. Mankoooff Jeffrey, 'Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power', Rowman and Littlefield publishing Group, Inc, Maryland, 2009. 5. Sergunin Alexander (ed.), 'Explaining Russian Foreign Policy Behavior: Theory and Practice', ibidem Press, Germany, 2016. 6. Kordonsky Simon, 'Socio-Economic Foundations of the Russian Post-Soviet Regime: The Resource-Based Economy and Estate-Based Social Structure of contemporary Russia', ibidem Press, Germany, April 2016.

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101 ? ? ? ?

102

103 ? ? ? ?

104 ? ? ? ? ? ? ?

105 Handbook of Political Science (Walter Carlsnaes) Barnard C Cohen Scott A. Harris Alexander Wendt Kenneth Waltz (Wandt 1999:11, in Carlsnaes: 2002, 331) Wendt Brain White (testing) (White, 1999:97, ibid, 331-333) (Schneider, 1997:332, ibid) 'Substantive Issues in International Relations' Oxford Handbook of International Relations 'Bridging the Subfield Boundaries' (Christian Reus-Smit and Snial, eds., 2008)

106 (Stuart, 2008:576) (Kenneth Waltz) (image) (agency) (group dynamics), (neuroscience) (evolutionary biology) (middle range theory)

107 (ibid, 576-77) (Jacobson & Zimmerman:3) (Definition and Nature of Foreign Policy) (Ernest Petric) ('an activity of the state which it fulfills its aims and interests within the international arena') (Vladimir Benko) (Peter Calvert) (empowered) (James N Rosenau) (Rodovan Vukadinovic)

108 (Cecil V Crabb) (Christopher Hill) (Steve, Smith, Amelia Hadfield, Tim Dunne) (Brockhaus Encyclopaedia) Petric, 2013:305)'

84%

MATCHING BLOCK 2/18

W

Foreign Policy consists of decision and actions which involve to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others' (

Frankel, 1963:1) (Petric, 3-5)

109 (ontological) (epistemological) public policy (plenipotentiary) (secret diplomacy) (Sir Harold Nicolson) 'mere hucksters in the diplomatic market, bartering the happiness of millions with a scented smile' (Scaman, 2002:1) realism (Hans J Morgenthau) (sub-field)

110 (Behavioral) (Snyder, Bruck and Sapin) (cybernetic)

111 datum Theory of International Relations (cognitive) innenpolitik innespolitik Realpolitik innenpolitik realpolitik (ontological) (epistemological) (interpretative perspective) (hermeneutics) matrix

112 Ontology Epistemology Holism Objectivism Interpretativism Individualism (actor) (Agency-based perspective) (Carlsnaes, 'Foreign Policy') realism, (signature argument) Navari raison d'e'tat Realpolitik (Navari, 1982:207)

113 Gideon Rose Innenpolitik Offensive Realism, Neo-classical Realism (variables) Offensive Realism Offensive Realism (John Mearsheimer)

114 (Table-2) ? ? ? ? Gideon Rose, 'Neoclassical Theories of Foreign Policy' (Neoliberal Institutionalism) (Stephen Krasner) After Hegemony (Hobson, 95-6)

115 (Axelrod) (Keohene) Organizational Process Perspective (top-down) (Graham T Allison) Essence of Decision

116 (instrumental rationality) (Groupthink) Psychological Cognitive Theory (operational codes), (Cognitive Mapping) (Attribution Theory) (Image Theory) (Deborah Larsen Prospect Theory:

117 Prospect Theory (reference point) learning theory (Bureaucratic Politics Approach) agency resultants (Sentional) where one stands depends on where one sits- Liberal Approach:

118 (bottom up) (sub-section) (ideational liberalism) (Approaches rooted in a Social-Institutional Perspective) (interpretational) (meta-theoretical) (discursive) The Culture of National Security (1959)

119 (Framework of Meaning) (discourses) (system of signification) (Approaches roote in a Interpretative Actor Perspective): verstehen bottom up (top down)
 120 bottom up Foreign Policy (Realism), (Liberalism) (Paradigm) (Table-3) (paradigm) (Theories) (Realism) (Liberalism) (Constructivism) (core beliefs) (instruments)
 121 regime (blind spots) 'One World, Rival Theories (Problems and Possibilities of Synthesis of the Conceptual Frameworks) (blinds spots) (explanation) (understanding)/
 122 (interpretation) (binary) erklaren verstehen positivism' Interpretativism 'reflexive sociology' top down bottom up (holism) (individualism) (innenpolitik) 'second order reversed' (meta-theoretical) (international), (dispositional) ? ? (Carlsnaes, 2002:331-49) (Summary)
 123 1. Carlsnaes, Walter, '

73% MATCHING BLOCK 3/18

W

Foreign Policy 1 , in Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A.Simmons, Handbook on International Relations (London,

Thousand Oaks , New Delhi:2002). 2. Snyder Jack, 'One World, Rival Theories', Foreign Policy 145 (November-December 2004): 52-62. 3. Petric, Ernest, Foreign Policy: From Conception to Diplomatic Practice (Leiden; Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2013). 4. Elman, Colin, 'Horses for Courses: 'Why No Realist Theories of Foreign Policies', 124 Security Studies 6 (1996): 7-53, cited in Carlsnaes, Keohan, Robert, ' Institutional Theory and the Realist Challenge after the Cold War', in Baldwin, Neorealism and Neoliberalism, cited in Carlsnaes. 5. Axelrod, Robert and Keohan, Robert O., 'Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions',

96% MATCHING BLOCK 4/18

W

in David Baldwin(ed.), Neorealism and Neoliberalism, The Contemporary Debate (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993),

cited in Carlsnaes,Walter, '

83% MATCHING BLOCK 6/18

W

Foreign Policy', in Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, Handbook of International Relations (London,

Thousand Oaks, New Delhi:2002). 6. Gourvitch,Peter, 'The Second Image Reversed : The International Sources of Domestic Policy', International Organization 32 (1978):881-912, cited in Carlsnaes, 'Foreign Policy'. 1. Bauman,Rainer,Rittberger, Volker,and Wagner, Wolfgang, 'Neorealist Foreign Policy Theory' in Volker Rittberger(ed.), German Foreign Policy Since Unification: Theories and Case Studies (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), cited in Walter Carlsnaes, 'Foreign Policy', in Fred 2. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, Handbook of Political Science,vol.6: Policies and Policymaking (Reading,M.A.:Addison-Wesley,1975). 3. Hollis,Martin and Smith,Steve, Explaining and Understanding Internatinal Relations (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990),cited in Carlsnaes. 4. Jacobson,Harold Karan and Zimmerman, William, The Shaping of Foreign Policy (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1969/2009). 5. Keohen Robert,Institutional Theory and the Realist Challenge after the Cold War', in Baldwin, Neorealism and Neoliberalism, cited in Carlsnaes. 6. Navari, Cornelia, ' Hobbes, and the "Hobbsean Tradition" in International Thought', Millenniumll:3(1982),207. 7. Walt, Stephen, 'Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power', in Michael E.Brown , Sean M.Lynn-Jones and Steven E.Millers(eds.), The Perils of Anarchy: Contemporary Realism and International Security (Cambiridge,Mass:MIT Press, 1995), cited by Carlsnaes. 8.

Wendt, Alexander, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). 125 ? ? ? ? ? ?
126 (

dependent variable) (given) Holsti 'Socio-economic and security needs are clearly related to geographical and topographical characteristics. Natural endowments are not distributed evenly around the world. Some states are richly endowed with resources (think of the billions of dollars of oil wealth in some of the small Arab states); others resource poor. Some states are relatively isolated or distant from the major centres of military power, and relatively free of security threats. This was the case of the United States in the nineteenth century and remains the case for some of the small South Pacific island states today. It is not difficult to expand at length on the opportunities, vulnerabilities, and constraints that geographic and topographic

127 characteristics have on different countries' security, welfare and autonomy problems (Holsti, 1995:256). Holsti (buffer-state)

128 Victor Cousin Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904) anthropogeographie Rudolph Kjellen (1862-1922) (Dougherty and Pfalzgraff, 1990: 59-64-05) Gerard Tuathail Kjellen lebensraum lebensraum

129 (vision) 'heartland' Karl Haushofer (encirclement) Nicholas J. Spykman, 'Geography and Foreign Policy' 'Geographic Objectives in Foreign Policy' 'The Geography of the Peace' (1944) Spykman Spykman Spykman Spykman

130 Spykman 'Geography does not argue. It simply is.' Spykman (time-scale) Spykman 'circumferential and transmarine' Spykman Spykman transatlantic

131 Hajo Holborn Spykman Geopolitik Spykman Spykman (Spykman, 2008: xi,xii,xv) Cohen, 2009: 22-23) Harold Sprout (1901-1980) Margaret Sprout (1903-2004) (psycho milieu) (Sprout, 1964: 35, 67-91) George Liska

132 Robert Holt John Turner Richard Merrit Polity (ibid., 70-1) Tuathail (Olympian)

133 Tuathail Mackinder 'God's-Eye-View' (Tuathail, 2003: 1-3) Holsti 'Co-prosperity Sphere'

134 OECD (Holsti, 1995:256) GDP 'boundary conditions within which such aid is to be sought and secured'

(Bandyopadhyay, 2000:48) 'Given that the United States is superpower whose foreign policy will have a major impact on the prospects for war and peace in twenty-first century, a better understanding of the polarizing role of ideology on its foreign is urgently needed' (Gries, 2014:9). OECD

135 Organization for Security and Cooperation (OSCE) "Because operations will likely be conducted with non-NATO nations, it would seem desirable to have the principle of humanitarian intervention or defense of values accepted at the widest possible level. The natural framework will be OSCE, which in theory units like-minded states committed to democracy...However, OSCE,...has excluded enforcement action from its array of possibilities, and had never conducted the peacekeeping missions that were agreed in 1992. The United States takes the view that if it was to participate in the peacekeeping, this would most likely have to be under NATO, even though on OSCE-led operation would have the advantage of Russia being an equal participant (Aguest borawski, 19:54). OSEC Lumsdaine- (Lumsdaine, in Pratt, 2003:64) (Zhao, 1996:62) 'micro-macro linkage approach'

136 (Oliker cited. 2009) (Gaullist) zero-sum 'Domestic economic growth offers only a partial explanation of (these) foreign policy goals' (Morse, 1973: 29-30) (Lewis, 1955), (Rostow, 1971, 1991) (Baro) GDP (Nursk) (1970:1) 'study of the dynamics of economic growth leads beyond the study of psychological and sociological determinants of these factors.' (Kaldor, 1955:1980) 'economic decision which determine the rate of growth and productivity of working fore and of capital should not be regarded as governed by strictly economic motives of human beings (Rostow, 1952:12)

137 (2000:50-30) 'It is a very good thing that China has a big population. Even if China multiplies her populations many times, she is fully capable of finding a solution.' 'With Many people Strength is Great' (cited in Shapiro, 2001:31) (Gurtov and Byong-Moo, 1997:21)

138 (Varma, 2004: 114-15) (CIA, n.d) OECD

139 Mowery Rosenberg (1995:3) Mowery Rosenberg 'The last candidate is technological progress. Was not the observed performance due to that stream of invention is that revolutionized the technique of production rather than to the businessman's hunt for profit? The answer is the negative. The carrying into effect of that those technological novelties was the essence of that hunt. And even in the inventing itself... was a function of the capitalist process which is responsible for the mental habits that will produce invention' (2013:110) output' 63-71)

151 ? innenpolitik ? (truism) ? ? ? ?

152 innenpolitik Handbook of Political Science 'It is fruitless to debate whether domestic politics really determines international relations, or the reverse. The answer to that questions is clearly "both, sometimes". The more interesting questions are "when?" and "How" (Putnam, 1988:427). 'Political Institutions'

153 'That secrecy in the operation of the foreign department ought not to be endured in England, being equally repugnant to that interests of liberty and those of peace'. (Holsti, 2004:3-4) Letters from the Mountains 'Injustice and fraud find protectors often; but never is the public one of them. It is here that the voice of the people is the voice of God (Millier, 1984:108)'

154 Federalist Papers 'As for myself, I do not hesitate to say that it is especially in the conduct of their foreign relations that democracies appear to be decidedly inferior to other governments' (all Holsti, 2004:5- 7) 'vox populi vox die' (Mrriam-Webster, 1999:560)

155 unmediated 'the mood' (mood) (Common Market) 'The First Principles of Government' 'extends to the most despotic and most military government'

156 Brest- Litovosk 'The great weapon is public opinion, and if we are wrong about it, the whole thing is wrong' (Frankel, 1971:70-72) 'Beginning in the late 60s or early 70s, television replaced newspapers as the American public's preferred souce of news and public affairs information. In the 1990s, cable television surpassed network television as the main source of continuous availability. The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press surveys showed appropriately 90 percent of Americans reported getting most of their news about 9/11 Operation Iraqi Freedom from television. Forty five percent cited cable television for 9/11 versus 50 percent who mentioned cable as their main source of news on the Iraqi War. Finally, the internet emerged as a major news source after 9/11. Five percent of Americans cited it as a main source of information about the terrorist attacks, a figure rose to 11 percent during Operation Iraqi Freedom. Variety and timeless were two of the most important reason American internet users gave for seeking information online (Larsen, 2004:20)'

157 'digital divide' 'the mere fact the Aljazeera.net is an Arabic language Web site has a profound influence on who read its pages and with which impact.' (Pew) (Larsen, 21-22) 'Today's Entertainment', 'Oprah Winfrey Chat' Danny Schechter 'It started with the Gulf War—the packaging of news, the graphics, the music, the classification of stories...Everybody benefited by saturation coverage. The more channels, the more sedated public will respond to this...If you can get an audience hooked, breathlessly awaiting every fresh disclousure with a recognizable cast of characters they can either love or hate, with a dramatic are and a certain coming down to a deadline, you have a winner in terms of building audience' (Baum, 2007:1) (Prime Time)

158 'bowling aone' 'many politically inattentive Americans actively avoid politics and foreign policy except what is covered by their soft news programs'. (heterogeneity) (ibid. 2-4) 'cascade model' propositions The public's actual opnions arise from framed information, from selected highlights of events, issues, problems, rather than from dire contact with the realities of foreign affairs. Elites for their part cannot know the full reality of public thinking and feeling, but must rely on selective interpretations that draw on news frames. Policy makers relentlessly conten to influence the very news frames that influence them (Emtman, 209:125) Public opionin is too important to be left by any government to find its own level.'

159 (Frankel, 1971:75-76) 'from a marketing point of veiw, you don't introduce new products in August' (Harold, 2007) (transnational) (Herrman and McChesney, 1997: 189-90) 'No blood for oil—was pushed to the margins in the mainstream press and found much beter expression in alternative papers'— 'Only there did one find police harassment of protesters as a significant news topic-reversing the enemy within frame—extended the discussion of the internal politics of the antiwar coalition as a movement with traditions and complexity. Alternative media were more likely to seek a broader context, which departed from the master narrative and to access voices otherwise marginalized'. (Hackett, 1997:158)

160 Jean-Louii de Lolme 'It is a fundmental principle with the English lawyers, that parliament can do everything except a woman a man or a man a woman' (Memories, 1779) 'All mischiefs and grievances, operations and remedies, that transcend the ordinary course of the laws, are within the reach of this extraordinary tribunal. It can change and create afresh even the Constitution of the kingdom, and of parliaments themselves, as was done by the Act of Union and the statues for triennial and septennial elections. It can, in short, do everything that is not naturally impossible to be done; and, therefore, some have not scrupled to call its power, by a figure rather too bold, the omnipotence of Parliament.' ? ? ? '...the United Kingdom has certain quasi federal specs. These are often missed...' 'for certain purpose the Isle of Man and the channel Islands are not part of the United Kingdom. Because of this, when the question of accession to the

161 European Common market arose, the Channel Islands conducted their own negotiations...they gave a mandate to the negotiators, but took their own view. Without their separate consent the British government could not have their authority to negotiate.' A Constitution for the Socialist commonwealth of Great Britain (1920) The New Despotism (1929) The passing of Parliament 'abdication of Parliament' The Law and the Constitution 'this preponderant power of the cabinet, even when there is minority government...is a condition affecting the role of parliament in all spheres, and not least in foreign affairs. It limits the role of Parliament fundamentally. Moreover, even within the ruling party, the isolation of the cabinet restricts the role of members of Parliament in policy-making.'

162 'Ponsonby rule' The English Constitution- 'The diplomatist, being a civil servant, is subject to the foreign secretary, being a member of the cabinet, is subject to the majority of the Parliament; being but a representative assembly, is a subject to the sovereign people.' Ponsonby rule (Browli, 1980:1-10) (Parlement francaise)- (Senate) (Jean Pierre Cot) 'no sector has been affected by the decline of parliament as much as foreign policy. The exercise of parliamentary control has, in effect, been deeply prejudiced in France, and this prejudice has worsened under the Fifth Republic, both with regard to the function of control over foreign policy and with respect to...judicial authorization' or 'ratification of treaties' through Art.53 of the French constitution...'

163 'In other words, parliamentary intervention is no longer justified by former criterion (the existence of treaty needing ratification in order to enter into force), but by a material one (the subject matter of international agreement)'. (Cot, 1980:11-17) ? ? ?

164 ? appropriations- CIA DCI (Rosati and Scott, 2011:314) accommodation, antagonism, quiescence Ambiguity
165 (Leyton-Brown, 1982-83: 59) (ibid., 60) House Committee on Energy and Commerce 'Bills have been introduced to tighten congressional control on covert operations, especially by requiring the president to notify Congress and members of the National Security Council. If the president decides to

166 authorize a cover action, he must prepare a written finding, distribute it to the proper parties, and take steps that all findings are preserved as official records. Findings are to be prospective, not retroactive. To prevent private parties from engaging in personal forays into foreign policy, Congress is considering amendments to strengthen the Neutrality Act. Enactment of new criminal penalties would remind executive officials and private citizens the violating congressional policy runs the risk of fines and jail sentences' (Fisher, 150-59) 'Congress changes the structure and procedures of decision making in the executive branch in order to influence the content of policy.' 'studies of Congress's role in foreign policy need to pay more attention to how members of Congress use procedural innovations to build their policy preferences into the policy-making process' (Lionsya, 1994:281-304). 'Congress influences policy through several indirect means; anticipated reactions, changes in the decision making process in the executive branch, and political grandstanding. Indeed, the same factors that frustrate congressional attempts to lead on foreign affairs encourage
167 legislators to use indirect means to influence policy. Attention to these indirect means suggests contrary to the argument made by pessimists, that Congress often exercises considerable influence over the substance of U.S. foreign policy' (Lindsay, 1992-93:607-09). 'Consultative Committee of Parliament on External Affairs' 'informal' (2000:161-63) (Sita Ramachandram, 1996:25)

168 (Frankel.: 81) 'I often think it's comical How nature always does contrive That every boy and every gal That's born into the world alive Is either a little Liberal Or else a little Conservative' (W. S. Gilbert, Lolanthe, 1882, Act 2) Progressive Alliance of the Socialist and Democrats

169 (Bale, 2011:172) 'There are smaller political parties and groups on the far left and far right of domestic EU political spectra (for example, the Communist Party in Portugal and Freedom Party in Austria), which hold more extreme views on foreign policy and EU issues.' CFSP' (Manners and Whitman, 2000:255) 'bipartisanship'

170 'Politics stops at the water's edge.' (McCormick) ? ? policy plan' (McCormick, 2010:473-88) 'The two important factors that may be expected to favor the achievement of bipartisan cooperation in foreign affairs are the non-ideological nature of American political parties and the absence of strict party discipline in Congress' (King, 1986:87)

171 SPD (Social Democratic Party) CDU/CSU (Christian Democratic Party of Germany and Christian Socialist Union of Bavaria) (1981:227-29) (Putnam, 1988: 434) 'Parliament and Government' Gesammetle Politische Schriften or Collected Political Miscellanies- 'which promotes ment with the outlook of officials (Bureaucrats) to positions where independent political responsibility is needed' (Beetham, 1985:78) normative theory (First Wave) (Richard

172 Neustadt) (Warner Schilling) (content) (Art) (logical corollary) ? (Neustadt) ? (Schilling) ? (blocking power)', ? (Hisman) ?

173 'politics stops at the water's age'- ? ? ? ? (Art, 1973: 467-72) (Thomas Kuhn) normal science'

174 'Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis (1971)- Rational Actor Model (RAM) Rational Actor Model Organizational Process Mode (OPM) Bureaucratic Politics Model (BPM) (frames of reference) 'Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications' OPM BPM RAM BPM BPM

175 'who did what to whom that yielded the action in question'. BPM BPM ? (standard operating procedures) ? 'where do you stand depends on where do you sit' - Mile's Law override BPM (White in Taylor, 1984: 153-55; Alden and Ammon, 2012:31-33) BPM

176 (1999:55) BPM ? "where you stand depends on where you sit" [] ? 'The sum of behavior of representatives of a government relevant to issue is rarely intended by any individual or group.' ? SOPs,

177 ? 'By reminding us of the President's need to anticipate the Congressional reactions that stem from the sharing of powers, corollary two makes us dubious of the unintended aspect of proposition two.'

178 slippage' slippage slippage slippage 'is inversely correlated with a Presidential commitment to make his decision stick', ABM system slippage MLF (Multilateral nuclear force) BPM 'it is necessary to examine the record of American foreign policy by issues area in order to determine the fit of the paradigm to the record.'

179 'non-decisions' SALT-I 'those have direct, immediate, clearly predicatable results for the structural set-up of institutions and for their long term prosperity-those decisions which we may call the 'bead and butter choices' relevant for the long-term competitive position of an institution.' BPM (Art, 472-86) BPM compelling (Krasner, 1972:160 and passim) RAM BPM (1976:434- 49) BPM

180 (American Hostage Rescue Mission) (Smith, 1984-85:9-25) (53-98) BPM ? 'the high morale and prestige of the British Civil Service, and its successful resistance to them by-

181 passing of its regular procedures by political channels, makes the problem of organizational inertial particularly acute for policy-makers in Britain' (Wallace cited by White, 1974:154) 'Anonymus Empire: A Study of the Lobby in Great Britain' 'foreign policy interest groups have increased exponentially...because such groups often form, lobby, and then disband, it is difficult to track their exact number at any given time.' (McCormick, 68-69) official unofficial Division of Current Information

182 Sub-type (unofficial) ? American federation of Labor'. ?

183 ? ? ? 'Foreign policy interest groups include some traditional lobbying groups, such as business groups, labor unions, and agricultural interests, with their principal focus on international trade issues (although increasingly these groups take stances on a broad array of other foreign policy concerns as well), and they now also include several newer groups that are active on foreign policy. These groups include religious communities, veteran organizations, academic think-tanks, ideological organizations (such as Americans for Democratic Action...AD), and single-issue interest groups (e.g. United Nations Association of the United States, Union of Concerned Scientists and Americans against Escalation in Iraq).'

184 (McCormick, 2012:68-85) (Wittkopf) ? ? ? ? ? ? ? American Israel Public Affairs Committee 'A lobby is a night flower', 'thrives in the dark and dies in the sun'

185 ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?

186

187 Gaul- 1. Art,

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190 ? Cybernetic ? ? ? situational, cognitive, psychological ?

191 Handbook of Political Science 'Policies and Policy Making' 'rational', 'rational-deductive' 'synoptic' (John Dewey) 'bounded rationality' 'satisficing' Administrative Behavior 'Models of Man: Social and Rational' (Charles E. Lindblom)

192 'The Science of "Muddling Through" 'Still Muddling, Not yet Through' The Policy Making Process 'marginal incrementalism' 'marginal incrementalism' The Strategy of Decision (obvert) 'nibbling' (Amitai Etzioni) 'Mixed Scanning: A "Third" Approach to Decision-making' incrementalist 'While mixed-scanning might miss areas, in which only a detailed camera could reveal trouble, it is less likely than incrementalism to obvious trouble spots in unfamiliar areas' (Etzioni, 1967: 388-89) 'mixed scanning' (Snyder, 1954) Rational Actor Model (RAM)

193 (vision) 'served to crystallize the ferment and provide guidance—if not legitimacy—for those who had become disenchanted with a world composed of abstract states with a mystical quest for single-cause explanation of objective reality' (Rosenau, cited in Taylor, 143) 'heuristic value' 'State X as actor is translated into its decision-makers as actors'

194 (Rational Actor Model) ? ? ? ? 'setting' setting- nonhuman nonhuman

195 (Snyder, 1954) 'hard shell' 'settings' filter- (intrastate) (third category) (military-industrial complex), (Hilsman)

196 situational context sub-processes' Cybernetic, (Robinson and Majak, cited in Taylor 152) Cybernetic (The Informational or Cybernetic Viewpoint) (Karl W. Deutsch) (mechanisms)

197 'But the really important memories are stored in the heads of the entire population, and in their culture and language' (prejudices) CIA

198 'probabilistic and combinatorial' 'pinball machine'; 'random walk model'; 'gambler's ruin' 'The making of foreign policy thus resembles a pinball machine. Each interest group, each agency, each important official, legislator, or national leader, is in the position of a pin, while the emerging decision resembles the end-point of the path of a still-ball bouncing down the board from pin to pin. Clearly, influence on the outcome of the game. But no one pin will determine the outcome. Only the distribution of the relevant pins on the board—for some of many pins may be so far out on the board as to be negligible—will determine the distribution of the outcomes. The distribution often can be predicted with fair some pins will be placed more strategically than others and on the average they will thus have a somewhat greater confidence for large number of runs, but for the single run—as for the single decision—even at best only some probability can be stated. To ask of a government of a large nation who "really" runs it—presumably from behind the scenes—is an "it" asking which pin "really" determines the outcome of the pinball game.' similar

199 combinatorial process, resembling some ways our pinball game, also may be going on in the mind of any individual political leader or decision maker. He is likely to receive many different messages from the outside world, all bearing on the decision he must make; and he may recall many different items from memory—both memories of facts and memories of preferences—which bear on his decision. No outside observer, nor indeed the decision maker himself, may be able to say which single item recalled from memory, decisively influenced the way in which he finally made up his mind, and the course of action he chose. 'Though it is difficult to predict the outcome of a single run on a pinball machine, it is not nearly so hard to predict the distribution of a series of such runs.' 'knowledge of the probability distribution of the decisions of a political leader, or of a political organization, a government, or a nation, is to know something about what we call their political 'character'; 'the basis of a rational strategy that could be pursued in regard to them in politics' trial and error feedback (purposive) Nerves of Government feedback 'load', 'lag' 'gain' 'lead' 'load' 'load' (receptors) (effectors) 'responsiveness fidelity', 'background notice'

200 'At all levels—among individuals, groups, and nations—the communication channels and messages direction them towards their goals are not the only ones that impinge on their behavior. Indeed several goals and several streams of messages from both without and within, may be competing for the limited available communication channels and for the time and the attention of the decision makers. Some of these coming inputs may be relatively random, and all of them may increase the confusion within the decision-making system and the overload on its channels, facilities, and personnel. This can result in making some part of its outputs relatively random, and hence, cause the whole input output cycle to be much less predictable in the distribution of its results.' randomness 'gambler's ruin'- 'gambler's ruin' chance 'with the greater resources can afford more accidents and mistakes, and still stay in the game, while the gambler with scant reserves, must be very skilful, and indeed very lucky, to survive.' 'random walk model'

201 random they can stay mindful of the imperfect knowledge and control and probable random elements among the actions taken by the other side ...' feedback load 'Models of probabilistic processes can do more for the understanding and making of foreign policy than furnish us with general philosophical advice', 'can tell us what initial facts, relationships, probabilities, and rates of change we need to know or need to estimate, what model of the process they imply, and, if the model should be reasonably realistic, what most-likely consequences ought to be expected and what less-likely-but-still-quite-possible alternative outcomes ought to be provided for' (Deutsch, 1989 : 81-96) (cognitive) Ole Holsti BPM Holsti BPM 'Whether or not a leader defines a situation as a 'Crisis', perhaps depends on at least in part on basic beliefs about the political universe and these will not always correspond to or be predictable from his role.' 'mind sets' Holsti 'Cognitive process model'

202 Holsti motivation Politics among Nations- 'setting' (Snyder in Rosenau, 247-53) (Holsti, 1976 : 24) (Operational Codes) : building blocks belief system 'The process of drawing inferences in light of logic and past experience that produces rational cognitive consistency also cause people fit incoming information into pre-existing beliefs and to preserve what they expect to be there' (Jervis, 1976 : 143) 'Actors must remember that both they and others are influenced by their expectations and fit incoming information into pre-existing images'

203 'because people underestimate the impact of established beliefs and predispositions, they are slower to change their minds than they think they are' 'the success of an actor's efforts to convince others to accept a desired image of him and his behavior will be in direct proportion to the degree to which this image is compatible with what others already believe' (Jervis, 4) 'psycho milieu 'operational milieu' (Sprout and Sprout, 1965 : 136) 'Instead of drawing conclusions regarding an individual's probable motivations and purposes, his environmental knowledge, and his intellectual processes linking purposes and knowledge, on the basis of assumptions as to the way people are likely on the average to behave in given social context, the cognitive behaviorist—be he narrative historian or systematic social scientist—undertakes to find out as precisely as is possible how specific persons actually did perceive and respond in particular contingencies' (ibid, 118) perceptions simulation (Taylor, 148-49) 'belief system'

204 (1962) 'The relationship of national images to international conflict is clear : decision-makers act upon their definition of the situation and their images of states—others as well as their own. These images are in turn dependent upon the decision-maker's belief system, and these may or not be accurate representations of 'reality'. Thus it has been suggested that international conflict is not between states, but rather between distorted images of states'. (evaluative) (Holsti, 1962 : 244, 246-47, passim) 'operational code' 'operational code' (structural-functionalist) 'Bureaucratic Structure and Personality' (Nathan Leites) The operational code of Politburo A Study of Bolshevism operational code

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The 'operational code' : A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision- making

Leites 'operational

205 code' 'operational code' (belief system) (instrumental) strategy Walker operational code operational code operational code (Walker, 1990 : 403-10) (schemas) (Deborah Welch Larson)

206 (metaconstruct) (analogies) shema (Milton Rokeach) 'operational code' (instrumental beliefs) schema 'It is an abstraction from experience with a subject, rather than a definition or collection of cases'. 'Schemas may differ from belief systems not only in organization but in content. Schemas include specific instances, exemplars, and analogies as well as the more abstract knowledge found in belief systems'. Screen Actors Guild (schemas) (Larson, 1994 : 17-21)

207 (Jerel Rosati) (cynical) (Zbigniew Brzezinski) (Cyrus Vance) 'image dissensus' (Rosati, 1988) (Cognitive Process Model : Policy Orientation and Back to Future for Inductive Complexity) (Schapiro and Bonham) : 'The choice of a cognitive process approach to foreign policy decision making is based only partly on the expectation that is a way to build a comprehensive theoretical framework which will allow us to explain and predict decision makers' responses to international events, including crisis decision-making and some situations that involve the dynamicity of planning and anticipation. A variety of theoretical orientations, perhaps even a personality trait approach, might also yield predictive accuracy. The choice of a cognitive process approach is related to our long-range goal for research—namely, recommendations for policy planning and execution in international politics'. back into the future,

208 'Essentially, then, it is by projecting past experience into future decisions that human being make decisions, and statesmen, in this respect, are not exceptions. Foreign policy decisions, like other human decisions, imply not only an abstraction from history, but also the making of 'predictions' - the assessment of probable outcomes.' 'to the extent ... an individual is more complex or differentiated in the way he views the power configuration in the international system, he is apt to consider a broader range of approaches to conflict management' (Bonham and Schapira, 1973 : 147-74) (decision units) decision-set 'separate individuals, group, or coalitions, which, if some or all concur, can

209 act for the government, but no one of which by itself has the ability to decide and force compliance on other, moreover, no overarching authoritative body exists in which all the necessary parties are members'. (predominant leader) single group regime

210 (vertical order) (Herman and Herman, 1989 : 363-73)

211 (rationalistic) mixed- scanning insights (cognitive mapping) operational codes Snyder scheme Richard Snyder Holsti Karl W. Deutsch

212 Synder Scheme box diagram (schema) Synder scheme 1. Deutsch, Karl, W., *The Analysis of International Relations* (New Delhi: Prentice-Hall of India Private Limited, 1989). 2. Etzioni, Amitai, 'Mixed-Scanning: A "Third" Approach to Decision-Making', *Public Administration Review* 27:5 (December 1967): 385-392. 3. Herman, Margaret, G., and Herman, Charles, F., 'Who Makes and How: An Empirical Inquiry', *International Studies Quarterly* 33:4 (December, 1989): 363-387. 4. Holsti, Ole, 'Foreign Policy making Viewed Cognitively', in

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218 Resenau F.S. Northedge 'The Nature of Foreign Policy'- James Rosenau

219 (political unit) Kenneth Waltz Roy C Macridis

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229 William Wallace Christopher Hill A. Appadurai (Issue area) Rosenau

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234 'The Accidental Prime Minister' (Trading State) SAARC

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238 ? ? ? ? ? (Consistency)

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- 246 (WTO) 'Five Interested Parties' G-20 (Connectivity without entanglement) (domestic consensus)
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- 248 ? ? ? ? ? (Bilateral Multilateral) BRICS SCO
- 249 SAARC SAARC (Richard Rosecrance 'The Trading State') (Core) (Periphery) (Look East) ASEAN
- 250 (Land locked country) Mahakali River water % %
- 251 LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam) (IPKE) LTTE SAARC BIMSTEC (beneficial bilateralism) (land locked) (Confidence Building Measures-BMS)
- 252 (Line of Actual Control) (ISI) NDA SAARC SAARC (isolationism)
- 253 BIMSTEC, BCIM Mekong-Ganga Cooperation ASEAN (Pro-active) 'Peace and Tranquillity Principles for relations Comprehensive Cooperation 'A shared vision for the 21st Century of China and India' Mcmohan Line 'conengagement'
- 254 Next step in strategic partnership process (NSSP), Open skies Agreement Civilian Nuclear Deal (ally) (indispensable partner) (estranged democracies) (natural allies)
- 255 Pokhran -II MIG-21 (worldview) Indo-Russian
- 256 Aviation Limited Cooperation Strategic Partnership Document (Joint working Group) (E.E.G.)
- 257 SAARC SAARC SAARC (observer) SAARC (European Neighbourhood Policy) (identity)
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PREFACE In the curricular structure introduced by this University for students for Post-Graduate degree programme, the opportunity to pursue Post-Graduate course in Subjects introduced by this University is equally available to all learners. Instead of being guided by any presumption about ability level, it would perhaps stand to reason if receptivity of a learner is judged in the course of the learning process. That would be entirely in keeping with the objectives of open education which does not believe in artificial differentiation. Keeping this in view, study materials of the Post-Graduate level in different subjects are being prepared on the basis of a well laid-out syllabus. The course structure combines the best elements in the approved syllabi of Central and State Universities in respective subjects. It has been so designed as to be upgradable with the addition of new information as well as results of fresh thinking and analysis. The accepted methodology of distance education has been followed in the preparation of these study materials. Co-operation in every form of experienced scholars is indispensable for a work of this kind. We, therefore, owe an enormous debt of gratitude to everyone whose tireless efforts went into the writing, editing and devising of proper lay-out of the materials. Practically speaking, their role amounts to an involvement in 'invisible teaching'. For whoever makes use of these study materials would virtually derive the benefit of learning under their collective care without each being seen by the other. The more a learner would seriously pursue these study materials, the easier it will be for him or her to reach out to larger horizons of a subject. Care has also been taken to make the language lucid and presentation attractive so that may be rated as quality self-learning materials. If anything remains still obscure or difficult to follow, arrangements are there to come to terms with them through the counselling sessions regularly available at the network of study centres set up by the University. Needless to add, a great deal of these efforts are still experimental—in fact, pioneering in certain areas, Naturally, there is every possibility of some lapse or deficiency here and there. However, these do admit of rectification and further improvement in due course. On the whole, therefore, these study materials are expected to evoke wider appreciation the more they receive serious attention of all concerned. Professor (Dr.) Subha Sankar Sarkar Vice-Chancellor

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9 Module–I West Asia Unit : 1 ??Arab Nationalism and Pan-Arabism Structure 1.0 Objectives 1.1 Arab Nationalism and Pan-Arabism 1.2 Historical Foundations of Arab Nationalism—al-Nahda 1.3 The Arab League 1.4 Nasserism 1.5 Zionism 1.6 The Palestine Issue and Arab Nationalism 1.7 The future of Arab Nationalism 1.8 Sample Questions 1.9 Suggested Reading 1.0 Objectives ? To distinguish between Arab nationalism and nationalisms of the Arab states ? To plot the development of Arab nationalism as a political movement ? To look at how the Arab League came into being ? To understand the reasons behind the rise of Zionism ? To situate the Palestine issue within the larger matrix of Arab nationalism 1.1 Arab Nationalism and Pan-Arabism Arab nationalism refers to an intellectual and political movement that had its origins in the early 20th century, in the Arab regions of the Ottoman Empire.

10 Emerging as a response to the centralising force of Turkish nationalism, protagonists of Arab nationalism maintained that the Arabic speaking people of the Empire together constituted one Arab nation, who were the successors of the glorious Arab civilisation of the first millennium, and believed themselves to be worthy of an existence distinct from, and not subjugated to, the Turkish people. By the time of the outbreak of the First World War, in anticipation of eventual Ottoman collapse, many of these protagonists were already working towards the eventual unification of all the Arabs in a single Arab state. However, not all Arab speaking regions were part of the Ottoman Empire. When Arab nationalism began to flourish, there emerged the idea that all the Arabic speaking people of the Fertile Crescent, the Arabian Peninsula, North Africa together constituted the Arab nation. This feeling of a larger solidarity of all the Arab speaking people - whether independent, living under Ottoman or any other rule - is referred to very loosely as pan-Arabism. Unlike the movement of Arab nationalism, pan-Arabism never really developed into a nationalistic movement with clearly political objectives, but it remains an undercurrent in the politics of West Asia feeding into the amorphous notion of Arab brotherhood. At the end of the First World War, creation of nation-states (Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Iraq and Trans-Jordan) by the British and French Mandatory powers creating/rewarding particularist national sentiments (Syrian, Iraqi, Egyptian) could be said to have thwarted Arab nationalism by redrawing the map of the Middle East. Yet, Arab Nationalism and (to a lesser extent) pan-Arabism have played a major role in the shaping of the politics of the Middle East and North Africa in the 20th century - functioning as a counter-discourse to question the legitimacy of incumbent governments who tend to justify their (often authoritarian) measures by invoking nationalism. It is not incorrect to say that despite its limited success in obtaining political power in the Arab World (except in its Ba'athist variant), Arab Nationalism is one of the more potent political movements of the 20th century.

11 1.2 Historical Foundations of Arab Nationalism—al-Nahda The origins of Arab Nationalism are to be sought in a complex of interrelated factors that obtained in the second half of the 19th century. Confronted with the expansionist Russian Empire with its superior military technology and organisation externally, and with rebellious Christian subjects in its European provinces internally, the Ottoman Empire was faced with an existential crisis around that time. The Ottoman state responded with the Tanzimat (Reforms) programme, which was designed to modernise the Empire in order to enable it to counter both internal and external threats. At one level, the Tanzimat involved a rigorous centralisation of the Empire, imposing Istanbul's control over issues that had historically been left to the provinces, thus fomenting disquiet among the provincials. Since the principal protagonists of the Tanzimat happened to be Turkish military officers, leaving the traditional provincial elites on the receiving end, the distance grew between the Turkish-speaking Court and the Arabic-speaking Provincials. At another level, the Tanzimat involved introduction of western education as a part of the overall programme of modernisation, which required adoption of advances made in industrial technology in 19th century Europe. The Ottomans, accordingly, allowed setting up of schools by French, British, German and American educationists in different parts of the Empire. Among the new ideas that began to spread as a consequence, the foremost was that of nationalism, riding high in Europe with the success of the emergence of the nation-states of Germany and Italy. Accordingly, Ottoman attempts at centralisation were largely informed by the newly emergent sense of Turkish nationalism, which valorised the Turkish language and identity over and above any of the component people of the empire. This invited a reaction from the provinces of the Empire clustering around the Arabic language. Arab Nationalism emerged in the background of the twin forces of centralisation and western education. As western education became a means of entering imperial service, Arabic speaking students entering such institutions

12 became exposed to the idea of nationalism. The idea of Islamic Civilisation in all its grandeur was being touted by the Ottomans, projecting themselves as its greatest champion. The Arabic-speaking intelligentsia in the provinces began to ask why did the glory fade away, and strongly condemn the Ottomans for “betraying Islam” and the Fatherland to the Christian West. Most interestingly, unlike at any other point of time in the past, the rapid expansion of Islam and the Islamic Civilisation in the first millennium was identified not with the religion alone, but also with the language - Arabic, and it began to be claimed that Islamic civilisation was actually Arab civilisation. Thus, for the first time in a very long while, the cultural identity of an ‘Arab’ emerged which was larger than the territorial Suri (Syriac), Misri (Egyptian), Baghdadi, Mosuli, Basrawi. Arabic language, culture and civilisation was depicted as being far superior to its Turkish counterpart, and although no demand was formulated for the overthrow of the Ottomans, Turkish national domination of the Empire was challenged in no uncertain terms. It needs to be understood, however, that Arab nationalism was not a mono-dimensional nationalist movement, accommodating as it did two strands of thinking at the very least. There were those among the Arab nationalists who, following Sati al-Husri (1880-1968) believed that Arabic speech (and the social and cultural values associated with it) constituted the material foundation of Arab Nationalism - this line of thinking came to be known as ‘Urbah. The protagonists of ‘Urbah were those who had a secularist approach to the question of Arab nationalism, and cut across sectarian lines hailing from among both Muslims and Christians. The other (and numerically more significant) strand of Arab nationalists followed thinkers like Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi and Shakib Arsalan in believing the glories of Arab Civilisation were inseparable from that of Islam, hence Arab nationhood need necessarily rest on Muslim brotherhood, which was capable of accommodating people across sectarian divides. Arab nationalism had a very clear class-dimension as well. When western education was introduced in the Arabic-speaking provinces of the Ottoman Empire, be it in the (independent-in-all-but-name) province of Misr (Egypt) or in 13 those of the Bilad al-Sam (including modern Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel- Palestine), Baghdad, Basra and Mosul, it was generally embraced by the upwardly-mobile middling classes of the society looking for government jobs (known by the label of Effendiyah), and hardly ever in the first generation by the traditional landed elite (Ashrafiya). The landed elite generally stood opposed to the modernisation of the Empire on account of their vested interests, and thus were keener on upholding their territorial particularist identities rather than the larger Arab identity. By contrast, the western educated effendiyah, who entered into public service (provincial administration as much as the military) as well as the emerging modernised sector of the economy and the public sphere in the urban areas of the Empire, travelling far-and-wide within the Empire, developed a keen sense of the Arabic identity, rising above regional particularism. The effendiyah were the principal protagonists of the idea that what was understood to be the glory of the Islamic civilisation was actually the glory of the Arabs. Over time the Arab Civilisation had lost its sheen as it became subordinated to the lesser people (such as the Turks), lying dormant with all their inherent promise as a great people. The Arab nationalists went on to argue that the Arabs needed only wake up from their stupor in order become great yet again. Accordingly, the 19th century cultural efflorescence that followed the rediscovery of the Arab heritage by the effendiyah was understood to be just such a recrudescence, and this phenomenon is referred to be al-Nahda (“the Awakening”), on the strength of which Arab nationalism was to flourish in the years that followed. By the turn of the century, the Mashriq (i.e. the East, the Ottoman domains of Levant and the Fertile Crescent and Egypt), the Maghreb (the West, i.e. the Arab regions of North Africa west of Egypt) and the Jazirah (the Peninsula, i.e. the Arabian Peninsula) began to be conceived of as one Arab world. The Arab Nationalist movement took a decidedly political stand in the aftermath of the Young Turk revolution of 1908, which was followed by a major drive towards political centralisation. Arab ashrafiyah resented the Young Turk centralisation agenda; the effendiyah did not mind centralisation, but resented the attempted Turkification of the empire. Accordingly, a number of platforms

14 emerged in the wake of the Young Turk revolution, such as al-Fatat, al-Ahd, which brought together people from both ashrafiah and effendiyah backgrounds, who were considering a separate Arab political space, if possible within the Empire, if necessary outside it. The principal centres of such platforms were Istanbul and Damascus (with Beirut a distant third). Although most of such secret societies were more concerned with their particularist identities, the idea of an "Arab Voice" was resonant enough to be noticed. The greatest fillip to Arab Nationalism came with the outbreak of the First World War, when Ottoman Turkey joined it on the side of the Central Powers. In retaliation, Britain declared Egypt (which was under its administrative supervision from 1882) formally a protectorate. Encouraged by the stirrings of Arab disquiet they tried to trigger an uprising in the Ottoman realms itself. The British authorities in Cairo encouraged the Mufti of Mecca, Sharif al-Hussain of the Hashemite clan and a direct descendant of the Prophet, to raise the banner of rebellion. Hussain was promised by Cairo that the Arab lands of the Ottoman Empire would be constituted into a Kingdom of Arabia. Upon sounding out the Arab political circles in Baghdad and Damascus, and finding that such a revolt would enjoy widespread support among the Arab political elite, Sharif Hussain launched the Arab Revolt in 1916. In what was to become the high-point of the movement during the war, the Arab Revolt prevailed in Hejaz (in which are situated Mecca and Medina) and liberated lands as far north as Damascus from Ottoman rule. With the Arab political and military elite from provinces as far afield as Basra, Baghdad and Damascus uniting behind the Hashemite banner, Arab Nationalism was on the verge of a veritable triumph when it was dealt a fatal blow. The British and the French carved out their respective spheres of influence by means of the secret Sykes-Picot understanding of 1916; the peace settlement at the end of the Great War instituted the basic premises of that understanding on the ground. Accordingly, it was resolved at the League of Nations that territorial nationalist aspirations of a more particular sort would be recognised over the larger Arab nationalist ones. The French were given the Mandate of training the people of the 15 province of Syria in the art of self-government - they took to the task by splitting the Christian-majority coastal region into the Republic of Lebanon and the Muslim-majority hinterland into the Republic of Syria. Given the Mandate over Mesopotamia, Britain put Basra, Mosul and Baghdad to create the Kingdom of Iraq, of which Sharif al-Hussain's son Faisal, the liberator of Damascus was made king. Palestine, detached from the province of Syria was split into two by the Mandatory power of the British. Abdullah, Faisal's brother was made the king of Trans-Jordan, in the lands to the East of the Jordan river. In the truncated Palestine to the West of the Jordan river, the British made a commitment to create a homeland for the Jews. The Arab Kingdom vanished into thin air without materialising as the Middle East was carved up into multiple Arab states. Despite the creation of the new Arab states, Arab nationalism not merely survived but also evolved into a relatively more potent force in course of the 20th century. The nation-states that came into being in the Arab world after Ottoman disintegration were dominated mostly by those sections of the effendiyah that were accommodated by the Mandatory authorities. The new political elites broadened the social basis of public education system in such a way that education became a major tool for upward social mobility. As more and more people began to gain access to education, levels of social aspiration also rose - with people moving from country to small town to larger towns, the economies of these newly formed states were not able to generate enough jobs to absorb all of these. Many of these newly educated people from upwardly mobile social groups thus went for state service, either the bureaucracy or the military. Resenting the extent of western domination enjoyed by the Western powers, these upwardly mobile groups developed radical political ideologies—Nasserite socialism in Egypt, Ba'athist nationalism in Syria and Iraq — which sought to reclaim political sovereignty for the Arabic-speaking people. The emergence of such radical political ideologies, running in tandem with (but theoretically distinct from) national mythologies being invented all around, was facilitated by another aftermath of Ottoman disintegration. For centuries the Ottoman political space allowed the Arabic-speaking lands of the Levant and the

16 eastern half of North Africa to function as a single economic unit, with commodities, labour and capital alike moving without ease. Ottoman disintegration and rise of new states resulted in the emergence of boundaries and restriction on movements of capital, labour and commodities that were unprecedented. Mercantile communities that had traded along centuries old networks suffered major reverses in new economic orders that were oriented towards their Mandatory/colonial masters (i.e. Syria and Lebanon towards France, Egypt, Iraq, Trans-Jordan and Palestine towards Britain). Victims of this kind of economic dislocation nurtured a deep-seated resentment towards the colonial economic order that the mandatory powers introduced in the Arab world, and began to favour the idea of a single Arab economic unit. More significantly, the political elite of the new states were no less resentful of western exploitation of their economies, and favoured reintegration of the Arab economic space to further their respective economic interests. Such diverse body of opinions fed into the rise of platforms like the Arab League in the first half of the 20th century. By the middle of the 20th century, on account of the amalgamation of these diverse strands, Arab nationalism emerged as structurally a more amorphous, but politically a more significant force than its pre-war avatar. (Frequently authoritarian) governments of the Middle Eastern countries generally tended to justify their often unpopular policies in the name of national interest, Arab nationalism proved to be a powerful counter-discourse for delegitimation of such measures (thus an action may be seen as serving the narrow interest of the Egyptian government, but it is not in the interest of the Arab people of Egypt). Indeed, Arab nationalism has not quite prevailed in the sense of creating a single sovereign political space of the Arabs, but it has served as the guiding force behind at least three Middle Eastern regimes - Nasserite Egypt and Ba'athist Syria and Iraq — in the last century.

1.3 The Arab League

The dismantling of the Ottoman Empire, and the rise of the successor-states of Lebanon and Syria (under French Mandatory authority), and Egypt (a British protectorate), Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan (under Mandate of Britain) served to completely fragment the economic space of Levant and North Africa. This region remained integrated as an economy for all practical purposes from the 7th century, despite the lack of any political unity for much of that period, largely on account of the network of merchants and the spatial mobility of the region's elite as well as of labour. However, when the British and the French acquired Mandatory authority in the Ottoman successor-states, they disrupted the centuries- old networks by hardening the frontiers between the states, introducing immigration and passport controls to regulate the flow of the people, and most importantly reorienting the economy of the respective states away from their neighbours and natural economic hinterlands and subordinating them to the corresponding metropolitan economy - thus, Syrian and Lebanese economies were aligned to that of France, while Palestine and Trans-Jordan were tagged on to Britain; the Mandate in Iraq was ended after the British put Emir Feisal (of the Arab Revolt days) on its throne, and the protectorate of Egypt was replaced by the Kingdom, but London retained an overweening presence over both. The disruption of the existing networks was not the only change that the post- Ottoman states experienced in the first half of the 20th century. The effendiyah-dominated nationalist elite of these successor-states concentrated on modernising their respective societies within the rubric of political control of western powers. While Egypt, erected as an independent Kingdom under British military tutelage, was the most advanced in its modernisation drive, Mandate Iraq and Syria had also begun to move in this direction early on. This modernisation drive included very basic mechanisation of production and introduction of public education along the lines of the West — two factors that generated a powerful impulse towards urbanisation. As the forces of modernisation began to gain ground in the region as a whole, the much larger but increasingly vulnerable traditional sector of economy came under tremendous pressure. The traditional sector came to generate a deep-seated resentment towards the colonial forces that the West came to signify, and also a kind of nostalgia for the vanished regional economic arena. As the Great Depression set in, the incremental economic weakening of the PGPS (P-VIII M 1-4) (Eng)—2

18 colonial powers all through the 1930s subverted the very basis on which the newly emergent modern sector of the region's economy rested. As the French economy began to be reconfigured around its colonial domains, and the British worked towards a system of imperial preference, nationalists in the Levantine states (particularly Iraq and Egypt) began to play around the idea of a closer integration of the region's economy as one way out of the economic morass of the 1930s. Alongside the economic predicament, there was also the question of Palestine [see later] that began to play on the minds of many Arabs as yet another evidence that the Western powers exploited the various differences among the Arabs to wield control over a region that they could not otherwise dominate. When World War II broke out, the Axis powers began to court the various Middle Eastern states to align with them. Like others in the colonised world, many Arab leaders also seriously considered chances of Axis victory being very high, and thus leaned towards them; typically others were wary of such a choice and were dithering. Fully aware of the uncertain nature of the situation, London took the initiative in rekindling hopes of a closer integration of the region when the British Secretary of State Anthony Eden acknowledged in May 1941 that the Arabs desire "a greater degree of unity than they now enjoy" and pledged full support for "any scheme that commands general approval." The Arabs, thus, were poised before a dilemma at the time of the outbreak of the World War II. There were the radical nationalists who wanted to do away with the particular nation-states and replace it with a single Arab nation-state, but the beneficiaries of each of the particular states were formidable enough to thwart any such attempts. The other option was to allow the nation-states to remain sovereign, but turn them into one political community, expressing an 'Arab public opinion.' This option was welcome to protagonists of sovereignty for the particular states as well, who sought such closer integration within the rubrics of a regional bloc - a phenomenon that was beginning to surface during the war and flourish after 1945. By 1943, as the Mandates of Syria and Lebanon had been dissolved with French defeat at the hands of Germany, the matter of reorganisation of the Levant 19 became an immediate issue. As bilateral and multilateral discussions began on initiatives from Amman, Cairo and Baghdad, several options surfaced. Emir Abdullah of Transjordan favoured an immediate reintegration of Greater Syria (Transjordan, Palestine, Syria and Lebanon) under the Hashemite crown (i.e. under him); the Nationalists who had taken power in Damascus liked the reintegration of Syria but not with a Hashemite at the helm; Saudi Arabia also was opposed to any enhancement of Hashemite power. Iraq's Prime Minister Nuri al- Said proposed instead a union of the whole Fertile Crescent (that is of Iraq with Greater Syria), but Cairo was completely opposed to Baghdad's prospective overshadowing of any Arab state. After a threadbare discussion of all the various options at Alexandria in September 1944, full political integration of all Arab states was completely ruled out for the time being by every state barring Syria. The Alexandria Protocols that were accordingly adopted provided for a League of Arab States to work towards a loose confederation satisfying both local and dynastic interests. The signatories of the Alexandria Protocols met at an Arab Conference in March 1944, and signed the Arab Pact, whereby the Arab League was formally constituted, with Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Transjordan as its founder-members [not Palestine, because it was not an Arab state]; Yemen joined the League two months later. The League set itself the mandate of facilitating agreements between member states, to coordinate political programmes of the signatories to promote cooperation, and to safeguard the sovereign authority of the states in pursuit of the general interests of the Arab countries. Members of the League were expected to desist from pursuing policies that were prejudicial to the interests of other League members. The League had a specific mandate in promoting cooperation among its members states in economic and financial matters (viz trade, customs, currency, industry), communications (viz. railways, roadways, aviation, navigation, post and telegraph), nationality and citizenship (viz. immigration control, execution of judgements, extradition), social welfare, health and above all matters of culture. Use of force for the settlement of disputes between members is prohibited, and

20 if a conflict were to emerge then unless the matter involves the integrity or sovereignty of a member state, the arbitration of the League would be binding on the parties concerned. Beginning with only six states, the Arab League today has twenty-two member states, spanning from Algeria in the west to Oman in the East. Functioning as a useful diplomatic platform among the Arab speaking countries, the body represents states as diverse in nature as Saudi Arabia and Djibouti, Sudan and the Comoros. From time to time member states are suspended for violation of the League's principles (viz that of Iraq after its invasion of Kuwait, of Syria in the light of the civil war that began after 2011 and of Yemen in 2015), but recognition of the League is generally considered to be a good diplomatic benchmark of legitimacy of authority (for instance the Transitional National Council was offered Libya's seat even before Gaddafi was completely defeated, and the opposition Free Syria forces were offered that of Syria during 2011-12).

1.4 Nasserism

Nasserism is an Arab nationalist political ideology based on the thinking of the former Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, which constituted a major influence on pan-Arab politics in the 1950s and 1960s, and continues to have significant resonance throughout the Arab World to this day. It fed into other nationalist movements during the 1970s as well. However, the scale of Egypt's defeat in the Six Day War of 1967 severely damaged the standing of Nasser, and the ideology associated with him. Nasserism combines nationalism with what is generally spoken of as "Arab socialism" — a political vision that speaks of a regulated economy in which the state plays a large role in allocating and redistributing resources, preventing any inequitable accumulation of wealth in private hands. Opposed ideologically both to Western capitalism, Arab socialism also developed as a rejection of communism, ostensibly because it was seen as incompatible with Arab traditions, and the religious underpinnings of Arab society. In truth Nasserism developed as a developmental discourse that chose to modernise the Egyptian economy independent of both the capitalist and the socialist blocs during the Cold War. As a consequence, Nasserists from the 1950s to the 1980s sought to prevent the rise of communism in the Arab World, and advocated harsh penalties for individuals and organisations identified as attempting to spread communism within the region. Nasserists espouse the cause of ending Western interference in Arab affairs, promoting solidarity among the developing world and Non-Aligned group of nations awareness about the modernisation, and industrialisation as means of keeping the West at bay. Nasser himself was opposed vehemently to Western imperialism, sharing the commonly held Arab view that Zionism was an extension of European colonialism on Arab soil. Although mindful of the Islamic and Christian heritage of the Arab World, (as with Ba'athism), Nasserism is largely a secular ideology usually espoused by the service and professional bourgeoisie in Egypt and elsewhere. This brought Nasserism into to direct conflict with Islamic oriented Arab political movements from the 1950s onwards, particularly the Muslim Brotherhood, targeting as they do similar social segments as the catchment areas of their ideology. Having been a revolutionary and dynamic movement with definite political and social goals as late as 1960s, the stagnation of Egypt's state-led development in the 1970s made Nasserism degenerate into a much less pronounced and distinct ideology. Arabs today are informed by Nasserism more in a general sense than actually espouse its specific ideals and objectives. Confined mostly to writers, intellectuals, and minor opposition parties, Nasserism has been overshadowed by the ascendancy of Islam as a social movement in Egypt, conforming to a general trend within Egypt and the Arab World of Arab nationalism being overshadowed, and even eclipsed, by political Islam. Ironically, while Nasser governed Egypt through a strictly authoritarian one-party system, with extreme limits on any form of political dissent, present-day Nasserists stress their support for democracy, explaining Nasser's autocratic excesses as necessary to implement his revolutionary policies — their democratic pretensions however remain to be properly tested.

22 1.5 Zionism Zionism emerged as a nationalist movement that worked till 1948 with the objective of establishing a Jewish national home in the land designated in the Bible as "Eretz Israel" (Lit. Land of Israel), where the historic Kingdom of the Jews, Judea and Samaria, used to be. The movement began in the 1890s in the light of the persecution of Jews in Europe (i.e. Ashkenazi Jews), which caused a huge outward migration of Jews, mostly from Eastern Europe (primarily Russia and Poland) but also from countries such as Germany, France and some parts of the Habsburg Empire. While an overwhelming majority of the emigrants (2 million between 1880 and 1914) headed for the USA, some European Jews began to argue that Jews should make it back to their promised land in and around Jerusalem, which was then a part of the Ottoman ruled Palestine. The aspiration for a national home in the land of Zion (the hill atop which the Old Temple of the Jews used to be situated) gave the movement its name, Zionism. There were a few reasons why the land of Palestine was chosen by the Zionists for their homeland. At an emotional level, the Jews believe that the land in and around Jerusalem (the Biblical valley of Canaan) had been promised to them by God, where the ancient Jewish kingdoms of Judea and Samaria used to stand. Roman expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem and destruction of the Jewish temple thereafter they overran the Jewish kingdoms, and in particular Jewish longing to return to Jerusalem had functioned as a focal point of Jewish identity across many centuries. Thus even though some Jews had actually made it back to the "promised land," others landed up in different parts of the Mediterranean world, travelling along networks of commerce and settling down among non- Jewish ('gentile') populations. The idea of the Promised Land was kept alive among the Diaspora Jews down the generations, helping preserve their distinctive identity. They remained in Europe despite never being accorded any respectability or legal status, but when the persecution aggravated to the point of elimination (as in the Anti-Semitic pogroms of Imperial Russia and popular anti-Semitism in Central and Western Europe), a large number of Jews decided to look for safer

23 domicile such as the Americas. The Zionist movement, under the leadership of Theodore Herzl, believed that in a world that was fast witnessing the rise of nation-states and national movements, the Jews were no longer safe to live in Diaspora among gentile populations, and should work towards their own national home. At a more pragmatic and political level, the movement chose Palestine as the site of its national home (not necessarily a sovereign state just yet) because Palestine under the Ottoman rulers was one of the few places in the world where a Jew was not persecuted on account of his Jewish identity, and thus could conceivably look at that land as his home. The Zionist movement was allowed to bring in a small number of immigrants into the Holy Lands every year by the Ottomans, who were careful to never let too many Jews come in at any one time. By the time of the outbreak of the Great War, an estimated 40,000 had already settled in the Holy Lands, which prompted the Zionist movement to lobby with powers during wartime seeking assurances of a definitive settlement of the homeland issue in return for their support. They got this assurance from the Balfour Declaration whereby London promised support for a Jewish national home (without compromising the interests of the other religious communities in the region), and upon gaining the Mandate for Palestine proceeded to fulfil their commitment by opening Palestine to Jewish immigration. In the decade that followed the opening up of Palestine to Jewish immigration, more than a 120,000 people came into the Holy Land who settled down on lands purchased by the Zionist organisations with funds mobilised from all over the world since 1896 for that purpose. Between 1929 and 1939, another 250,000 people arrived in Palestine, fleeing from persecution in Germany, but also elsewhere in Europe. The huge numbers of immigrants slowly began to transform the demographic composition of the Holy Lands. While this would have presumably caused trouble over the long term, the impact of the nature of Jewish settlements guaranteed conflict in the short and medium term as well. The Jewish immigrants, especially those settling in agricultural collectives - the Kibbutzim - set up their settlements adjacent to, or outside, existing townships in lands that were purchased from Arab

24 landlords, mostly those domiciled in distant locations as Damascus. After the creation of separate states of Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, many of the absentee landlords - who found themselves stranded in 'different countries' in the neighbourhood were actually keen to sell off their lands, which were then picked up by the Zionist organisations. Once the lands came into Jewish possession, they increasingly began to employ only Jewish labour to guarantee livelihood for all immigrants, dispossessing the Palestinian fellahin (landless peasantry), who were then forced to move into the towns looking for alternate means of livelihood. Among such dispossessed Palestinians a strong anti-Jewish sentiment began to grow which took to periodic outbursts of violence. The British authorities were always clear that the Balfour Declaration did not commit them to a separate state for the Jews, and thus after periodic violence they chose to clamp down on immigration - viz during 1929-33 and then 1939-45. The Zionists, accordingly, operated within the Mandate system as far as it was required, but were determined to establish a sovereign state for the Jews with or without British support. Thus, while leaders like Chaim Weizmann and David Ben Gurion were willing to negotiate for their space in the promised land, others like Ze'ev Jabotinsky prepared to fight both the Arabs and the British if necessary. By the time the World War II broke out, and London decided to restrict Jewish immigration, the Zionists had set up self-defence units (Haganah) and terrorist outfits (Palmach, Irgun, Stern Gang) to fight Arabs and protect the Jews in Palestine. By the time the war ended, it was quite clear that the Zionist movement was firmly entrenched in Palestine, and as the enormity of the Holocaust began to come out Western support for the creation of the state of Israel grew. The British decision to pull out of Palestine prompted the newly-founded UN to appoint a commission (UNSCOP) to look into the question. The UNSCOP tabled two different proposals - the majority proposed a partition of Palestine into a Jewish and Arab state each, with Jerusalem as an internationally administered free city; the minority proposed the creation of an undivided state of Palestine with self-governing Jewish and Arab regions, within a federal structure. The majority 25 proposal was carried in the UN in 1948, but the Palestinians and the Arab states refused to accept it. Thus, when in June 1948, the British finally pulled out and the Zionists declared the creation of the state of Israel in the land earmarked for it by UN, all of Palestine's Arab neighbours attacked the fledgling state in unison. After a bitter war, the fledgling state of Israel defeated its Arab neighbours, and ran over most of the land designated for the Arab state of Palestine as well. 1.6 The Palestine Issue and Arab Nationalism In a sense, the Palestinians were the biggest victims of Ottoman disintegration, and the Palestinian question highlights all the strengths and weaknesses of Arab nationalism, which found its strongest proponents among the Palestinians. The principal problem stemmed from the fact that Palestine had no experience as a political entity in historical memory when the Ottoman Empire disintegrated. Having for centuries been a part of the Bilad al-Sham, when the region of Palestine was dissociated from Syria and Lebanon, there was no regional particularism among the Arabic-speaking people of Palestine that could form the basis of any identity. It thus suited the British, with their commitment to the creation of a homeland for the Jews in Palestine, that while the land on the east bank of the Jordan river was made into the Emirate of Transjordan with their ally Abdullah as its Emir, the lands west of Jordan could be kept as a mandated land —not a state — for no one in specific. To start with, the Arab population of Palestine — who had enthusiastically joined the Arab Revolt — were advocates of the cause of a single Arab state; once sovereign Arab states came into being, the Arabic-speaking people of Palestine looked to their traditional leadership domiciled mostly outside in Palestine (principally, Syria) and began to solicit the creation of a Greater Syria. But gradually, as they began dealing with the Mandate authorities who classified their subjects as Jewish and non-Jewish, and they came to deal with Zionist as a nationalist force, the Arabic-speaking people of the land began to identify themselves as Palestinian Arabs, thereby staking their claim over the land of Palestine.

26 By the late-20s, as Jewish population in Palestine steadily increased dispossessing the Palestinians, while many moved to the adjacent towns, yet others began to move further afield into the neighbouring Arab states, viz. Egypt, Syria, and to a lesser extent, Iraq. Since all these fledgling states were undergoing a period of restructuring themselves, the influx of Palestinians was not particularly welcome straining as it did the state infrastructure in all these countries. There was additionally the recognition that the Palestinian plight was the outcome of western imperial designs on the region. These two factors made the critics of the nationalist incumbents in power in the Arab states identify the Palestinian issue as an "Arab" cause and mobilise the disaffected upwardly mobile middle and lower-middle classes behind its banner. The foremost among these critics were the Ikhwan al-Muslimin (the Muslim Brotherhood) founded by Hasan al-Banna in 1929, which has been the staunchest bulwark of the Palestinian cause outside Palestine. The identification of the Palestinian issue as an "Arab" issue prompted states such as Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Transjordan to attempt to mediate on their behalf with both the British and the Zionists. The huge influx of Palestinian refugees into the neighbouring Arab states during and after World War II ensured that none of Palestine's neighbours could willingly agree to the creation of a Jewish state without compromising both their own "Arab" credentials, as also the fragile balance in their own states that could be destroyed by flood of refugees. Hence, all the Arab states voted against the UNSCOP plan to partition Palestine, and Egypt, Syria, Transjordan and Iraq declared war on Israel the very day after the British pulled out. Even when they were trounced by the fledgling state of Israel, the belligerent Arab states refused to recognise the state of Israel pending the resolution of the Palestinian question. It is very suggestive that the definition of any "settlement" of the Palestinian issue involved the Palestinians' "right of return" to their own land, which is the official reason given for why none of the Arab states apart from Trans-Jordan happily accorded the Palestinians citizenship in their own "Arab" states. It can be argued that the unstated reason for such a position had more to do with the predicament of having Palestinians domiciled in

27 the neighbouring states, rather than any sense of Arab brotherhood. Clearly, brothers are more welcome if they stay in their own homes. Given the fact that the various Arab states of the Levant have stabilised over time, the chances of success of any Arab nationalist wave are very slim. The Palestine question would seem to be the only issue that appears to have genuine appeal among the people all across the Arab world, i.e. in the so-called "Arab Street." It is also perhaps the only issue, which has the capacity to unite the various Arab ruling elites behind a single political agenda, although presumably not always to the point of conflict. 1.7 The future of Arab Nationalism Despite the tortuous fortune of the notion of Arab nationalism, the concept continues to have some resonance in some quarters of West Asia and North Africa. The mere existence of the Arab League, the widespread antipathy towards Israel and the support for Palestine would seem to bring this out quite handsomely. Yet, for all practical purposes, the idea of Arab nationalism does not appear to have the kind of traction it did mid-20 th century. The idea of Arab nationalism flourished only towards the close of the 19 th century in opposition to the emergent Turkish nationalism, hoping to preserve the entire socio-cultural space of the Arabic language speaking intact by turning it into a political space as well. When the Ottoman Empire eventually disintegrated, particular nationalist interests had easily prevailed in establishing their political claims in the new nation-states that emerged, undermining the much larger territorial spread of Arab nationalism. In the century that followed, the nation- states deepened their roots to such an extent that considerable material interests have now come to be vested within such existing territorial dispensations. That is to say, the number of people who would benefit from the dismantling of the current dispensations is so considerable that any attempt against the particular nation-states would cause great disturbance and dislocation in the region. Hence, despite the occasional surges in the feelings of what often passes for Arab

28 nationalism, it is extremely unlikely for the idea of the nation-state in West Asia to be prevailed upon by the former. And yet, in a curious way, the hope of an eventual union of all the Arab peoples linger. The rise of the petroleum economy in the region - defined in terms of those not only selling oil, but also those exporting labour to the oil economies - has actually drawn together the various Arab (and non-Arab) peoples within a regional space. The 21st century Arab has a much better sense of the geographical and cultural space of the Arab world than earlier. As of now, the dynamics of the petroleum economy are firmly under the control of the oil exporters, but when the economy begins to slow down and questions about the legitimacy of the existing dispensations emerge, the foundations of the contemporary political dispensations are sure to be undermined. In such an eventuality, the idea of Arab nationalism could resurface to take on political Islam - the only other (and increasingly the more powerful) political ideology that can claim legitimacy in the eyes of people, and has the potential of embracing the entire post-Ottoman political space, overturning the century-old international order with respect only to the West Asian region.

1.8 Sample Questions Essay Type Questions 1. Why did Arab nationalism emerge in the closing years of the 19th century? 2. How did changing social background of the Arab society influence the trajectory of Arab nationalism? 3. How did the issue of Palestine influence the trajectory of Arab nationalism in the second half of the 20th century? Short Questions 1. Does the foundation of the Arab League mark the fulfilment of Arab nationalism or its defeat? 29 2. Give an account of the development of Zionism in the run-up to the birth of Israel in 1948. 3. Is it correct to argue that Arab nationalism has faded away completely? Very Short Questions 1. What is Nasserism? 2. What is Zionism? 3. What were the Alexandria Protocols? 1.9 Suggested Reading 1. Arthur Goldschmidt, jr and Lawrence Davidman, A Concise History of the Middle East, (Boulder, CO, Westview Press, 2006). 2. Reinhard Schulze, A Modern History of the Islamic World, (London, I.B.Tauris, 2000) 3. Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslim, Reeva S. Simon ed),

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MATCHING BLOCK 1/12

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metamorphosis.pdf (D154744117)

The Origins of Arab Nationalism (New York, Columbia University Press, 1991) 4. Adee Dawisha, Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) 5.

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MATCHING BLOCK 3/12

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metamorphosis.pdf (D154744117)

Weldon Mathews, Confronting an Empire, Building a Nation: Arab Nationalists and Popular Politics in Mandate Palestine, (London

and New York, I B Tauris, 2006)

30 Unit : 2 ??Religion and Politics in West Asia Structure 2.0 Objectives 2.1 Introduction 2.2 Islam & Politics in Turkey 2.3 Islam & Politics in Saudi Arabia 2.4 Islam & Politics in Egypt 2.5 Sample Questions 2.6 Suggested Reading 2.0 Objectives ? To indicate the connection between religion and politics in West Asia. ? To explore how social movement from below has changed the character of politics in Turkey. ? To show how Islam is used as an instrument of political legitimation in Sa'udi Arabia. ? To trace the evolution of Islam as a political language in Egypt. 2.1 Introduction It is frequently taken for granted that religion, (specifically, Islam) plays a major role in the politics of West Asia in a way that it does not in any other part of the modern world. It has been fairly widely believed by observers, such as the historian Bernard Lewis and the political scientist Samuel Huntington that the political dynamics of West Asia is somewhat different from most other regions - viz. at a time when people around the world have moved generally in the direction of democracy, West Asia has languished behind most. Scholars like Huntington

31 attribute such differential dynamics to cultural peculiarities of the various countries of this region, with particular emphasis being laid on those aspects of Islam that appear antithetical to the notion of popular sovereignty. As Lewis is often in the habit of reminding his readers, what "went wrong" in West Asia was that the people there have remained in the thrall of a religion that does not make room for the concept of popular sovereignty lest it conflicts with belief in the ultimate sovereignty of God. As frequently is the case with such generic or culture-specific approaches to the understanding of a people, or a region, they are based on assumptions that have much less substance than meets the eye. The peculiarities of the region are conditioned more by historical forces that have given them their modern shape, than by any cultural attributes that they happen to share. It is true that Islam appears to play a large role in the politics of West Asia, but such role is played not so much on account of religion itself (i.e. considerations about the faith) but on account of its instrumental value (i.e. as in political mobilisation, claims of political legitimacy, etc). In other words, there is no necessary connection between the faith of an individual and his political choice -an individual may be a devout and practising Muslim, and yet may not resort to Islam as a political instrument; nor is it necessary that all those who claim to be working in the cause of Islam are necessarily devout Muslims. The use of Islam is a tactical choice that people in West Asia have resorted to from time to time, which has generally proven useful, and occasionally decisive, in course of the 20th century. The use of Islam as a political instrument or ideology (which is generally referred to for the sake of convenience as political Islam) in West Asia in modern politics could be said to have begun towards the close of the 19th century. As the winds of modernisation began to blow in the beleaguered Ottoman Empire, the sections of the society which chose to conserve the existing dispensation and resist change attempted to legitimise their position in the name of the Islamic tradition. When the pre-war political and social order of the Ottomans gave way to completely new nation-states in the wake of the First World War (Turkey,

32 Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Transjordan), the ideas of territorial nationalism and economic modernisation were embraced by the new political elites that came to the helm. But the fragmentation of the traditional socio-economic space that this involved caused a lot of social dislocation as well, and thus elicited considerable resistance to the agenda of modernisation. Such resistance tended to be mobilised around the banner of Islam, an entity admittedly larger in scope than the fragments of the territorial nations — the politics of resistance in Ottoman successor states like Egypt, Syria and Turkey being good examples of this. With time, the political language of Islam has evolved from simply the catchment area for social conservatism and reactionary politics. It has been used as a political instrument both by ruling elites and opposition in different countries of West Asia in the 20th century, largely because being the professed religion of a majority of the people in the region it has the ability to cut through other divisions in society (such as class, sect, tribe, ethnicity). Some have sought to use it to attempt to unite the people of a country behind a single "core" around which the idea of the nation-state could congeal - the best example being the house of Ibn Sa'ud, who united a large swathe of territory divided along tribal lines behind the banner of Islam, exemplified in the dynasty's custodianship of the Harama'in (the two holy cities of Mecca and Median). Others have used Islam to challenge the very definition of their countries in territorial terms as a nation-state, and have tried to contest the idea of a non-sectarian territorial nation-state with a cultural nationalism where Islam is accorded equal if not greater status in the making of a nation - exemplified by much of the Islamist forces in countries like Turkey, Egypt, Iran and increasingly from the 1980s, Palestine. In some cases, the political experimentation with Islam has allowed its protagonists to gain and exercise political authority to the exclusion of others (viz. Sa'udi Arabia, Islamic Republic of Iran). Elsewhere protagonists of political Islam have had to jostle with those opposed to it, occasionally coming out triumphant (as in contemporary Turkey) occasionally not (viz. Egypt), and sometimes vacillating in between (as in Lebanon and Syria). In some of these

33 cases political Islam has come in the form of a social movement from below (as in Lebanon, Turkey and Egypt); elsewhere they may have seized power at an opportune moment (viz. Islamic Republic of Iran), but have held power since then with a grim determination. It is thus important to understand that there is no unilinear correlation between religion and politics in West Asia. The structural and historical dynamics of the component regions have taken the various countries each along their own particular trajectories. In the sections that follow, we would look at three such case studies : Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. 2.2 Islam and Politics in Turkey The question of the role played by Islam in politics has dominated the political discourse in Turkey from the mid-19th century. Repeatedly worsted in the battlefield by European powers (principally Russia), some members of ruling establishment in the Ottoman Empire had tried to modernise it, introducing a series of reforms known collectively as the tanzimat. Central to the assumptions of the reform agenda was the idea that the material superiority of the western countries was on account of their mastery of natural sciences, which the Ottomans would also have to master in order to survive. The programme of modernisation of the empire involved a complete transformation of the society and the economy, and was thus thwarted by vested interests in both, rallying under the banner of Islamic tradition. Having failed to modernise, the Ottoman Empire collapsed in course of the First World War. After being shorn of all its Arab provinces by the treaty of Sevres, the Turkish successor-state came into being under the leadership of Kemal Ataturk driving out Allied forces of occupation. Forged in the battlefield, this definitive Kemalist brand of Turkish nationalism was formulated almost entirely on ethno-linguistic Turkish identity, which abolished the Caliphate (i.e. the titular claim of the Ottoman Sultan to the spiritual leadership of the Sunni Muslims of the world) in March 1924, emphasising the definitively ethno- linguistic character of the newly instituted Republic of Turkey (November 1923). PGPS (P-VIII M 1-4) (Eng)—3

34 The Kemalist regime drew its principal support from the upwardly mobile middle and lower middle classes of Turkey (from which Kemal himself hailed), who had benefited from the introduction of western education in the Ottoman Empire, and had found in the civilian bureaucracy and the military both means of livelihood and social status. Accordingly they resumed the task of modernisation of the state begun during Ottoman era, but thwarted yet again by a combination of landed notables and traditionalist vested interests the regime they embarked on an assault on the social bases of traditionalism itself. Since the traditionalist forces of mercantile and landed interests generally mobilised public opinion in the name of Islam, the Kemalist regime decided upon complete secularisation of the public sphere of the Republic of Turkey. In 1925, the traditional headgear - the fez - which bore symbols of social and sectarian distinctions was outlawed, and the European hat was introduced in its stead; the Gregorian calendar replaced the Islamic calendar in 1926; the Dervish orders, which represented the more popular variety of Islam that traditionalists often aligned with, were progressively dissolved; most significantly, the Shari'ah was replaced with secular civil (inspired by the Swiss), criminal (Italian) and commercial (Italian and German) codes. This was followed up by the abandonment of the Perso-Arabic alphabet for writing Turkish and its replacement by a new Turkish alphabet derived from the Latin one. Despite such aggressive attempts at secularisation by the Kemalist regime, Islam could not be fully eliminated from the scope of public life. The secular educational institutions were mostly limited to the urban areas of Turkey, and failed to penetrate the countryside in any big way. This was partly due to resistance from the traditionalists, but also because of the failure of economic modernisation to generate enough economic opportunities in the interwar period - the usefulness of the new educational system was not immediately apparent to a largely illiterate body of peasantry and other country people. The little downward percolation of western education that happened in the interwar period in the countryside was owing to the energy of those among the country-folk who

35 had received education upon joining the army, and were eager to instruct their fellow country-folk upon returning home. In the post-1945 era, shortage of capital — the biggest obstacle to the industrialisation and modernisation of Turkish economy - was overcome with massive capital infusions under the Marshall plan. This transformed the countryside by mechanising Turkish agriculture in course of the 1950s and '60s, rendering uncompetitive those poor and marginal farmers who were unable to keep up with such mechanisation. Pushed out of the agrarian economy, such small and marginal farmers often left the rural areas looking for better job opportunities in the towns, which were slowly becoming better destinations for those in search of a livelihood. The decade of the '60s, thus proved to be a period of great social turmoil and economic stagnation for Turkey, allowing the gradual strengthening of what had begun as a very weak and insipid communist movement and Turkey's urban underclass — to the point where Turkish military considered it imperative to stage a coup to prevent sliding into the communist axis. The '60s was also the time when the Islamist alternative began to acquire its momentum. Failure of western education to penetrate the Turkish countryside did not mean that the country-folk were completely bereft of opportunities of education. Once 'modern' education began to be pushed as the key to employment in the modernising economy, the same religious orders that had earlier resisted the introduction of western education now began to adapt Islamic learning with those subjects that gave modern education the competitive edge in the job market - viz geography, history, mathematics and the natural sciences. The role played by the Nursi order of the Naqshbandi Sufis was particularly notable in this regard. When the town-ward migrations began, a kind of culture clash followed as people of deeply traditional backgrounds were confronted with a society that was highly secularised. With migrant children and youth feeling alienated from both their traditionalist setting as well as the society around them, they began to drift towards left-wing radicalism. The problem acquired alarming proportions particularly in the Anatolian region, as the casualty rates proved pretty high 36 between alcohol and drug use and left-wing politics. Attempts were undertaken to stem this rot, the most noticeable and successful one being the Gülen movement, which began from the Anatolian province of Konya and then spread elsewhere. These attempts emerged typically in the form of reading circles where participants were given Islamic reading materials to bind them close as a community., and also providing middling and working class youth with support for academic subjects, opening before them the doors of higher education for the first time. The Islamisation of the Turkish social space on account of the works of the Gülen, Nursi and other such movements gave politics claiming to articulate Islamic values a toehold in Turkish politics. In the 1970s, regional economy of the Middle East transformed all around Turkey with the spectacular rise in petroleum prices. As demand for manufactured goods shot up in the neighbourhood, powered by petrodollars and remittances, the largely state-controlled Turkish industrial sector failed to respond to this expansion in demand, although the private sector refused to miss the opportunity that came their way. Thus demand for skilled labour grew in regions other than the traditional industrial areas, especially in the regions like Konya, and the Gülen educational venture went quite a distance in making available that skilled labour, unlike the state educational institutions. The need for political representation by this ascendant petty bourgeois and artisanal class brought into being the Milli Görüş (National Outlook) movement of Necmettin Erbakan, speaking for the homogeneous Muslim base of farmers and conservative petty-bourgeois shopkeepers, and about the underdevelopment of Anatolia. Erbakan's discourse was class-based, criticising Kemalist ideology as "alien" and economic policies as "alienating," favouring instead modernisation (industrialisation, better health care, technological improvements) through Turko- Islamic values. Erbakan's economic agenda solicited state-leadership in heavy industry and generous economic credit and machinery support to small and middle-size companies, reducing the scale of western penetration of Turkish economy by means of joint-ventures with Istanbul-based industrialists.

37 Turkey, however, was not immediately in a position to take advantage of the changing economic landscape around it, and thus began to experience a lot of disquiet. Considerable street violence was witnessed between left-wing radicals and right-wing nationalist forces, occasioning two military coups in 1971 and 1980. Given the spectacular successes of the socialist camp in the 1970s worldwide, and major reverses for the US-led western bloc culminating in the Islamic Revolution of Iran, the Turkish military came around to the opinion that socialist insurgency posed a much greater threat to the Republic, and decided to go soft towards the votaries of Islamisation. This is why, by 1983, faced with an economic crisis Ankara embarked on liberalisation under the deeply religious Prime Minister Turgut Ozal (closely associated with the Nursi order) and his Motherland Party, in economics and generally as well. This opened up massive opportunities as private capital and entrepreneurship was allowed a free-run. However, capital was not easily accessible for those outside the charmed circle of Turkey's highly secularised and urban elite; it was particularly difficult for a large section of small entrepreneurs (especially those in the provinces) to gain access to capital that was necessary for their business to expand. A number of initiatives resulted from this need. One of the more important of these was the support Gülen provided. To start with, informal networks for capital mobilisation, by means of setting up financial cooperatives that made available capital for those associated with the movement on the Islam-sanctioned be-ribah (interest-free, ie. profit-sharing) basis. The success of the venture was so breathtaking that Ankara was persuaded to amend Turkish law to allow for Islamic banking. The Gülen movement then used its network to reach out to various Turkish expatriate communities in different parts of the world mobilising credit, particularly from Germany. With the capital thus mobilised, the economic landscape of the Anatolian backwaters of Turkey was transformed, generating a very strong stimulating effect in the economy as a whole, and giving birth to a new actor in Turkish politics, the Islamic bourgeoisie. The changing societal landscape gave a boost to Erbakan and his Milli Gorus movement who brought about something like a municipal revolution in the early

38 1990s. As the head of the newly formed Refah partisi (Welfare Party), Erbakan and his men began winning municipal elections with the agenda of making state resources available for the economic development of the emergent Islamic bourgeoisie. A building boom followed, bringing closely in its wake a massive improvement of the living conditions and municipal amenities alongside a veritable urban revolution. By mid-90s the Refah Partisi proved strong enough to emerge as principal challenger to the secular parties. Heady with victory, Erbakan decided to embark on an aggressive campaign of Islamising the social space, against the better advice of moderates like Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who favoured continuing the actual work of infrastructure development. Predictably, the secular establishment dominated by the military staged another coup in 1997 to take Erbakan out of the political run. Erdogan left the Refah with its moderates and set up the Adalet wa Kalkinima Party (Justice and Development Party), which has won decisive victories since then in general elections in 2002, 2007, 2011 and 2015.

2.3 Islam and Politics in Sa'udi Arabia

Quite a few countries in the Muslim world claim to be Islamic in their dispensation, (i.e. where Islamic jurisprudence is instituted as the law of the land), and a few of these actually proclaim that ultimate sovereign authority belongs only to Allah. But Sa'udi Arabia is probably the only country in the world which can rightly claim to have had Islam play a role in its very foundation. This does not mean that Saudi Arabia is any more or less Islamic in its belief or practice than any of the other Muslim countries. It merely implies that the profession of Islamic faith by the house of Ibn Sa'ud was instrumental in a decisive way in the foundation of the Sa'udi kingdom, an entity that never existed before the 20th century. Before the house of Ibn Sa'ud unified a large part of the Arabian peninsula, it had seen no centralised rule for more than a thousand years. Dominating a landscape that is primarily barren or deserts, with little or no land conducive to

39 agricultural activity capable of supporting large populations, the peninsula had resources neither to support sustained centralised rule, nor to attract any external power in the region. The coastal regions bordering the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf had bustling commercial activities to sustain them, but in the interior of the peninsula pastoral nomadism of the bedouin and marginal farming communities in and around the small patches of green and the oases, and the caravan traders that supplied such scattered settled communities comprised the whole range of economic life. Thus while Hejaz on the Red Sea coast, and the southern coast of the peninsula were coveted by external actors (the Ottomans, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British), the interior saw the rise and fall of short-lived emirates based in Nejd, Hasa and Asir, trying to form tribal confederations throughout the second millennium - each making war looking for resources, and each failing because of paucity of resources to hold on to power even after acquiring it. The house of Ibn Sa'ud had established two such emirates (1744-1818, 1824- 91) over a coalition of tribal confederations, which proved slightly more durable than most, on account of their alignment with the extremely puritanical Wahhabi sect. Followers of the 18th century thinker 'Abd al-Wahhab, the Wahhabi sect of the Hanbali school of law is among the most fiercely conservative among Sunni Muslims. The sect gained a strong following among the sparse and scattered hadar (settled) communities of the northern area of Nejd. The Wahhabis believed that most Muslims had deviated from the true Islamic practices, and that it was imperative on true Muslims to force others to abandon such corrupt practices. The missionary zeal that this provided the Wahhabi clergy provided them with a kind of moral authority, that made the very frugal way of life that was typical of the barren Nejd appear as a religious virtue. The house of Ibn Sa'ud aligned with this Wahhabi sect, and provided cover to the mutawwain (a class of religious figures of no great learning, who insist merely on the practice of the faith) in their attempts at 'Islamisation.' The Wahhabi link gave the Sa'udis a kind of legitimacy for political expansion, which allowed them even to run over the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina in Hejaz before the Ottomans recovered it. Even though the Sa'udi emirates were defeated and broken by first the Ottomans ruling Hejaz and then the house of al-Rashid in Nejd, the Sa'udi-Wahhabi link remained intact. The Sa'udi comeback in the politics of the peninsula began in 1902, as earlier with the support of the mutawwain, but even more importantly with the aid of subsidies from British India. The Raj had entered into political arrangements with virtually every Arab emir on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf in course of the 19th century, principally with an eye on containing piracy off the Gulf coast - the Sa'udis were no exception. As British relations with the Ottomans soured in the run-up to the First World War, the British authorities began to back Ibn Sa'ud to maintain a foothold in the peninsula in the event of war. The subsidies provided by the Raj gave the Sa'udis steady access to resources, which they deployed in mobilising a body drawn from bedouin warriors from all across the peninsular interior who were willing to follow the Wahhabi version of Islam - these were the formidable Ikhwan. Having run over most of the peninsula barring the Trucial emirates and the southern coast, the Sa'udis overran Hejaz in 1926, ousting Hussain, the Hashemite King of Hejaz, who had been propped up by the British as a reward for the Arab Revolt (see previous section). Having thus united most of peninsular Arabia under one rule, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was proclaimed in 1932. The house of Ibn Sa'ud forged the kingdom by right of conquest, but they have always been careful to derive legitimacy for their rule in their championship of Wahhabi variant of Islam. Having dispossessed Hussain, a direct descendant of the Prophet himself, the Sa'udis sought to establish their Islamic credentials not merely by upholding the Wahhabi Islam, but also by dint of their custodianship of the twin cities of Mecca and Medina - thus being entrusted with the proper and efficient management of not merely some of the holiest places in Islamic lore, but also of the Hajj, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca which is incumbent on every able-bodied Muslim at least once in his life. The kingdom accepts God alone as the sovereign authority, and has instituted the Wahhabi variant of Hanbali fiqh as

41 the foundational postulate of jurisprudence in the country. Islam was accorded this pivotal and definitive role in the shaping of the kingdom because it provided the glue that could hold together the numerous tribes (of which 26 are major); the Wahhabi variant of Islam was championed because the mutawwain and the Ikkwan alike had tamed much of the opposition from the various tribes by threatening them with jihad. It would be too simplistic to take the Islamic credentials of the kingdom at face value. The peninsula had never seen a kingdom in its entire history, and it was believed that while both emirate (imara) and sultanate (saltanat) were Islamic forms of government, a kingdom was not. This was in fact the argument raised by the Ikhwan during their rebellion in 1927, who favoured a loose confederation of emirates all over the peninsula, with strict implementation of the Wahhabi faith. The first king, 'Abd al-Aziz ibn Sa'ud, however was steadily working towards a resolute centralisation of political authority in his own hands, and successfully thwarted the challenge by the Ikhwan by deftly playing the tribal and subvention cards. Marrying into virtually all the tribal formations, and doling out cash transfers for the tribal leaders (provided by British subsidies till the 1930s), Ibn Sa'ud guaranteed that most of the tribal leadership would develop a stake in his survival, to the point of taking on the Ikhwan if it came to that. Money was being pumped into the clerical establishment as well, hence there were not many people who questioned the Islamic credentials of Ibn Sa'ud, particularly as he instituted the Wahhabi variant of Islam as the official dispensation. With the discovery of oil in the 1920s, and the beginning of commercial exploration of oil by the Americans in 1933, the Sa'udi state progressively acquired a kind of solidity as a rentier state that is often difficult to fathom. The earlier relationship of symbiotic dependence between the king and the tribal chieftains - viz. extraction of the social surplus by way of 'Islamic taxes' - was reduced to nothing as the Sa'udi state became incrementally independent of the traditional resources of its subjects during the 1940s and '50s, as the kingdom's income from oil exports began to rise. The tribal chiefs were now increasingly

42 dependent on the state for handouts, as the state's capacity for patronage increased exponentially — complete and unquestioning loyalty towards the kingdom was the price to be paid. The exponential growth of oil revenue in the 1950s, and then even more so in the 1960s have completely transformed the kingdom. As the kingdom grew in strength, military and financial, the house of Ibn Sa'ud deftly tempered the pace of the kingdom's entry into the modern era, so that the dislocation brought about by rapid change did not raise the call of "Islam in danger" and broke the kingdom up. The principal beneficiary of the oil boom, King Faysal, whose reign (1964- 75) coincided in the main with the oil boom, set the tone by allowing modernisation of technology but tight societal regulation. The significance of the traditional redistributive role of peninsular rulers went on a veritable overdrive, as huge subsidies were made available to loyal Sa'udi subjects -education, health, and social welfare was incrementally heavily subsidised; territorial subventions to the crown were phased out. Gradually attaining complete financial independence from their subjects, the state became less tolerant towards dissent around the same time. The unprecedented bounty provided by oil completely reworked Sa'udi house's relationship with the religious establishment as well. A major challenge before the Sa'udis was how to usher in modernity without offending the Islamic establishment, as was evident as early as 1926 when having taken Hejaz they debated whether the telegraph system was in accordance with Islam. When oil revenues began to pour in to start with, the house of Sa'ud began to distribute a large part of it among its allies in the Wahhabi clergy, who thus gradually developed an even greater stake than earlier in the Sa'udi establishment. With the coming of the oil boom, prodigiously large resources were pumped into the traditional Islamic seminarian infrastructure, encouraging Sa'udi subjects to take up Islamic learning, contrary to the drift towards modern education away from theological studies elsewhere in the world (including Iran). Since greater enrolment of students in the seminary circuit implied greater subsidies from the state, the clergy fully appreciated that they never had it this good - accordingly

43 the Sa'udi claim to be gallant champions of the Islamic way of life was amply demonstrated. Ever since the 70s, the house of Sa'ud has kept investing heavily in the kingdom's infrastructure, improving the communications, education, health and industrial capabilities of the kingdom, bringing about a veritable urban revolution as small settlements have been transformed into urban conurbations, large and small. The communication infrastructure set up around the t'ajj, and the complete overhauling of the cities of Mecca are considered spectacular by any standards if one compares them with even mid-20th century. Having already invested in the Islamic infrastructure to start with, making huge endowments to existing mosques, setting up new ones in the new towns that have come up (hence allowing the clergy to go looking for newer pastures), the house of Sa'ud pre-empted any accusations of deviation from the puritanism that was associated with the Wahhabi ideology. Having carefully nursed the Wahhabi Islamic establishment, the house of Sa'ud has virtually completely expunged any political space that may have existed in the kingdom for any secular language of politics. Thus, the voices of dissent that surfaced in the kingdom demanding popular sovereignty were hammered into silence throughout the 20th century - demands for even a constitution were dismissed by saying the Qur'an is the constitution. But as the oil boom petered out from the mid-1980s and the Sa'udi state curtailed some of its redistributive excesses, costs of living have begun to rise while economic opportunities have not expanded on account of tardy pace of modernisation of the country. Accordingly, discontent and disaffection has begun to surface once again. The focus of such discontent has generally been on the ostentatious and unIslamic lifestyle of the princes of the house of Sa'ud, and how the resources of the kingdom have not been equitably shared with its subjects. The Sa'udi royal house has always tried to thwart such attempts at questioning of their Islamic credentials by publicly embracing causes popularly identified as 'Islamic' (such as resistance to Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the 1980s). Sa'udi funding for the spread of Wahhabi school of thought elsewhere, such as training Muslims in madrassahs in post-

44 Soviet Central Asia and countries of South and South-East Asia, has often been motivated by the desire of 'exporting' such critics out of Sa'udi Arabia—Usama bin Laden being the most well known of such examples of exported critics before he turned to violence against the state. Since the political discourse has been deliberately Islamised by the ruling establishment, the opposition too has resorted to Islamic political discourse to prevent being stifled. Those sections of the Sa'udi society which had flourished on account of the oil boom had themselves invested in the Islamic establishment of the kingdom by setting up mosques and madrassahs. Such patronage won for them the support of a section of the 'ulema. When the boom years phased out, the clerical clients and their wealthy patrons demanded greater accountability from the government in the use of the kingdom's resources. Such social groups comprise the two organisations Committee for Defence of legitimate Rights (CDLR) and Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia (MIRA) that have dominated the discourse of the Islamic opposition in the kingdom in the 1990s. The relative success of the discourse of Islamic reform came from the time of the first Gulf War of 1991 (where Riyadh bankrolled US military endeavour), as Sa'udi finances acquired a dreadful shape. Going for the jugular, the opposition resumed its demand for constitutional checks on the government, leading to the first major concession from the crown - the promulgation of Basic Laws (described as an elaboration of rules that are derived from, but not covered in, the Qur'an). A steady slew of reforms have since then kept on coming, where demands earlier dismissed as unIslamic began to be steadily accommodated - constitution of a consultative council (al-Majlis al-Shoura) introduction of the elective principle at the level of municipal administration, and allowing women entry into the political arena (2015) happen to be important landmarks.

2.4 Islam and Politics in Egypt

Somewhat like Turkey, political Islam In Egypt has to confront with a very strong secular political tradition, and thus has developed as a strong social

45 movement from below. Unlike Sa'udi Arabia and Turkey, political Islam is yet to hold power for any length of time - the longest stint it had was during the presidency of Mohammad Mursi after the 2011 Tahrir Square revolution. Interestingly, therefore, the language of political Islam has evolved into the principal discourse of opposition in Egypt, and possibly the most evolved such language next only to the discourse of Islamic opposition to Iran before 1979. Egypt was the earliest among the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire to be exposed to the penetrative force of western colonial power, as also of the dynamics of modernisation unleashed by them. Under Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, Egypt began to drift away from its Ottoman links and gravitated closer to the western colonial orbit, to the extent that Britain imposed its military control over the land in 1882, and formally established a protectorate over it upon the outbreak of the First World War. Ever since 1882, however, British occupation was steadfastly resisted by a section of the Egyptian society, including those that favoured modernisation of Egypt. Under British occupation, the pace of modernisation picked up and accelerated the rise of a western educated middle class who were determined to modernise Egyptian economy but not keep the land colonised. Grouped under the nationalist Wafd party, these represented the forces of secular modernism similar to their Turkish counterparts. Having struggled against British colonial power, the Wafd nationalists compromised in the 1920s and 1930s by upholding an economic order where traditional landed elite and the urban professional and commercial middle class domination came at the price of not challenging vested western interests. The most crucial among such interests was the British strategic presence in the Suez Canal. This period of secular nationalism was dominated by a preoccupation about "building" the Egyptian nation, involving quite a bit of investment in educational infrastructure and industries that would not threaten western interests in Egypt. The changed economic landscape severely damaged the traditional economic sector, both on account of the fragmentation of the Ottoman economic space as also rise of a new economic elite as a handmaiden of western economic interests.

46 By the 1940s, Egypt had witnessed the rise of an educated middle and lower middle class of suburban and country origins who, in absence of any significant expansion of economic opportunities, found in the Egyptian military its only available vehicle of upward social mobility. This newly emerged class of educated military professionals was deeply resentful continued British influence in Egypt, which found its voice in the Free Officers coup under Nasser, who toppled the regime headed by King Farouk in 1953. Nasser not only ended urban middle class and traditional elite domination of Egyptian politics, to his credit, he also steered Egypt away from the ex-colonial orbit at the price even of a war (the Suez Crisis of 1956). When his attempts at mobilising capital from the international market failed, Nasser launched his famed project of Arab socialism. Deeply suspicious of the potentially subversive character of capital, he nationalised almost all major industrial ventures in Egypt. After the failure of Nasser's Arab socialist experiment, his successor President Sadat ushered in a new era (1970-81). A former associate of Nasser, Sadat in the 1970s launched the policy of *infitah* (opening up) of the Egyptian economy to industrial capitalism. He reduced the stakes of the Egyptian state in the industrial sector, allowing entry of private capital and even foreign capital. Nevertheless, he allowed companies run by the military to retain the predominant position they had come to acquire under Nasser. Mubarak continued with the policy of *infitah*, relaxing controls on private and foreign capital, yet allowing the military to continue its domination of the industrial landscape. He even defied the IMF's recommendation in the 1980s to reducing state military control over industry by merely handing over some civilian public sector undertakings to the military. He thus preserved the same balance in favour of capitalist forces albeit under strict regulation, allowing private capital to invest only in areas where it offers no substantive competition to the industrial ventures run by the military, and preventing the rise of any large private industrial conglomerate. This trend was reinforced by Mubarak's liberalisation of the Egyptian economy in the early 1990s.

47 However, the economic condition of Egypt has remained the soft underbelly of the regime, particularly in the background of the changing social character of the country. In course of the 20th century, Egyptian agriculture has steadily become moribund, pushing people out of the countryside and causing a veritable urban explosion. As industry failed to generate adequate employment opportunities and multiplier effects in the economy, they led to social tensions of the sort that culminated in the Nasserite revolution. Historically, Islam had been deployed by some traditionalist forces in Egypt, as elsewhere in the Middle East, from the very beginning of its encounter with western imperialism in the 19th century. But the phenomenon of political Islam that has come to challenge the existing political regimes in the Middle East is a distinctively 20th century phenomenon, responding to problems originating in the 20th century. The problem of overcrowding of cities, and the need to house, feed and provide for the swelling ranks of the urban masses resulted in the rise of the most influential symbol of political Islam in the 20th century, the Ikhwan al- Muslimin, founded by Hasan al-Banna in 1928. The Ikhwan was set up to cater to a social constituency of migrants from sub-urban and rural Egypt, either illiterate or educated within the traditional educational apparatus of madreshs, who had to take up low-skilled jobs in the modern economic sectors. The Ikhwan gained considerable influence beginning in the 1930s by opposing Jewish immigration into Palestine (following the Balfour Declaration of 1917), as a large number of Palestinians displaced by the growing Jewish settlements came to Egypt and threatened precisely the same social constituency that the Ikhwan catered to. Dismayed by the policy of the Egyptian government, both toward Palestine and its own country, the Ikhwan aided Nasser during the 1952 uprising. The repression unleashed by Nasser's regime resulted in the development of a militant dimension in the Ikhwan under Sayyid Qutb, beginning in the 1960s. The violence that erupted unleashed even harsher repression, resulting in the imprisonment and execution of Qutb himself. In 1967, Emergency Laws were introduced to stem the tide of rising Islamist militancy, that remained in force

48 intermittently till 2011. The repression continued under Sadat, even though Sadat occasionally relaxed the strictures on Islamists hoping to play them off against the left-wingers in Egyptian politics who were opposed to the infitah and meant to develop a stronger constituency among the underclass. This relaxation of the vigil eventually contributed to the assassination of Sadat by a soldier during a parade, as a retribution against his normalisation of ties with Israel. It was Mubarak who finally broke the back of the militant wing of the Ikhwan in the early 1990s with relentless repression, alternated with some space for the more moderate elements. Behind the cover of the Emergency Laws, Mubarak made it virtually impossible for the Ikhwan to operate with the kind of ease that characterised the closing years of Sadat's rule. Although the more militant elements among the Islamists functioned in the form of groups like the Gama'a al-Islamiyya and al-Jihad al-Islami, continuing to carry out sensational outrages like the killing of Coptic Christians and foreign tourists in Luxor in 1997, by the early 1990s the militant wing of the Ikhwan was a spent force for all practical purposes. This however did not mean that the Ikhwan itself was broken by Sadat and Mubarak. All through the militant phase, a large segment of the Ikhwan had continued to provide basic civic and social services (such as health, education, housing, livelihood, welfare for the indigent, infirm, widows and orphans, etc.) to the urban Egyptian underclass - services that should have been provided by the Egyptian state itself. In the 1980s, a new wave of Islamic movements began in the middling echelons of the Egyptian society, among the professionals returning from the Gulf states. Partially inspired by a stricter notion of the practice of Islam and of Islamic values dealing with a sense of entitlements of the faithful in an Islamic order, and partially determined to raise the standard of living of the people, such returning professionals began to interrogate the secularist and paternalistic dispensation of the Egyptian state. Joining the Ikhwan, this new generation of Islamic activists began to penetrate all professional associations (such as those of lawyers, doctors, engineers, academics) that the Egyptian state

49 allowed to exist, democratised the associations and successfully created a space for Islam in the public space. These associations became even more significant to the cause of a social revolution along Islamic lines when the regime allowed elections at various levels of local government in the 1990s, as a large number of outfits emerged without any formal affiliation with the Ikhwan, nevertheless pushing its larger social agenda. This coincided with a rearguard action mounted at al-Azhar by Gad al-Haq 'Ali Gad al-Haq, the Grand Mufti (1981-96), making Islam a powerful tool of opposition to the government. The Islamic University of al-Azhar used to be the major centre of Sunni learning for centuries on end, till it was nationalised during Nasserite rule. As the secularist state robbed al-Azhar of its intellectual autonomy, the prestige of al-Azhar began to decline somewhat even as new centres of Islamic learning began to emerge in Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, Zaytuna. To revive al-Azhar's prestige, Gad al-Haq launched an offensive in reinstating the traditionalist version of Islam at al-Azhar by appointing like-minded Islamic scholars, breaking free of the statist posture that had come to characterise the institution from 1960s. This resulted in an increasing number of occasions when al-Azhar has come out in opposition to directives of the state in a bid "to shield the society from evil and guiding it towards faith." Thus, the space opened up for Islam by civil society free from state control was broadened in its scope by the reassertion of al-Azhar. Civil society in Egypt began to be Islamised with the penetration of the Islamists, such as of the Ikhwan, in public offices, civil society organisations like social, cultural and professional associations, NGOs, print and electronic media, etc. Asef Bayat, an Iranian sociologist, calls this process 'Islamisation without an Islamic state'. He notices a 'decline of the core' i.e. militant wing of the Ikhwan and militant outfits like al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya, accompanied by the rise of a 'fragmented' Islamic space. The process of Islamisation could not be stopped because there was no frontal attack on the authority of the state, but the steady advances made by the Islamists were readily discernible. Bayat for instance shows PGPS (P-VIII M 1-4) (Eng)—4

50 that the health centres, educational and other public services run by Islamists in accordance with Islamic principles amounted virtually to a parallel authority in the relatively poorer southern part of the city of Cairo. This model of civil society organisations working among the underclass resulted in the creation of a virtual social security net for a large segment of the people. Such activities were depicted as being in consonance with the Islamic notion of al-fitr (charitable works). A corresponding growth in the media presence of public intellectuals and media personalities like Hasan Hanifa and ; Amr Khalid played an influential role in drawing even middle and upper class Egyptians into the ambit of this Islamic civil society. In 2011, when the Egyptian people rose up against the tyranny of Mubarak regime, the Islamists led by the Ikhwan were initially found to stand at a politically advantageous position, in the sense they were the only outfit with an organised apparatus left standing after years of repression. The election of Muhammad Mursi to the presidency of Egypt and a working majority on the floor of the house of the Egyptian parliament bore this out. But, the Egyptian society is deeply divided, as are Egyptian Islamists (the Ikhwan represents the urban constituency alone), and any attempt at a determined Islamisation of the public space was bound to be counter-productive - as it happened when in 2014 Mursi was overthrown and military rule was reinstalled with support of the secularists.

2.5 Sample Questions Essay Type
Questions 1. How do you account for the ascendancy of Islam in Turkish politics in the second half of the 20 th century?
2. Is it correct to say that the Sa'udi regime owes its power more to oil than it does to Islam?
3. Islam is witnessing a veritable social movement from below in contemporary Egypt, despite the contestation in its political arena. —
Comment.

51 Short Questions 1. What role has Wahhabism played in cementing the authority of the House of Ibn Sa'ud? 2. Why did secularism lose its attraction for the people in Turkey? 3. How do you account for the success of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt? Very Short Questions 1. How significant were tribal alliances in laying the foundations of Sa'udi power? 2. What role did the Islamic networks play in Turkey's urban revolution? 3. How has the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt evolved over time? 2.6 Suggested Reading 1. Reinhard Schulze, A Modern History of the Islamic World., (London, LB.Tauris, 2000) 2. Arthur Goldschmidt, A Brief History of Egypt, (New York, Facts on file, 2001) 3. Madawi al-Rashid, A history of Saudi Arabia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 4. Feroz Ahmad, Making of Modern Turkey, (London: Routledge, 1993) 5. Umut Azak, Islam and Secularism in Turkey; Kemalism, Religion and the Nation State, (London I.B. Tauris, 2010)

52 Unit : 3 ??The Politics of Oil in West Asia Structure 3.0 Objectives 3.1 Introduction 3.2 The Politics of oil in West Asia 3.3 Formation of OAPEC & its organisation 3.4 Oil & Politics since the 1970s 3.5 Sample Questions 3.6 Suggested Reading 3.0 Objectives ? To introduce the basics of the global trade in oil and the politics around it. ? To show how the market dominance shifted from the oil companies to the oil exporting countries. ? To discuss the role played by OAPEC in the global oil trade. ? To give a sense of the changes that have occurred in the oil market since the 1970s. 3.1 Introduction West Asia has a little over half of the proven global reserve of petroleum and natural gas, and accounts for more than half of the global production and export of oil and gas at present. This makes the region one of the pivots of the global economy, and makes stability in the region a pressing concern for global politics even for countries that do not belong to the neighbourhood. Accordingly, oil and gas have played a dual role in the politics of West Asia. The region has drawn the interest and attention of major powers from around the world whose primary interest is in ensuring steady supply of chief energy resources from West Asia.

53 Neither have the countries of West Asia been successful in ridding themselves of the external actors, because these are also essential in the region's ability to explore, extract and export its resources in the global market. Such persistent external presence has often decisively influenced the trajectories of development of the component countries of the region, and has frequently come in the way of organic growth of institutions in the region. But this has also made the outside world fairly, if only reluctantly, receptive towards the concerns of the people or governments of the region, which gives the West Asian countries a kind of leverage few other regions possess outside the developed world. 3.2 The Politics of Oil in West Asia Owing to the very nature of the oil industry, despite having nearly three- fifths of the global oil reserves, the oil rich countries of West Asia do not enjoy the kind of domination of the market as the figures would suggest. Oil was discovered in huge quantities in the early years of the 20th century in West Asia, but the technology required for exploration (i.e. the process by which oil is searched out), extraction (the process by which it is taken out from the underground or underwater deposits) and distribution (the process by which it is taken all around the world where it could be refined and then used) was of such an order that the western companies (mostly British, American, Dutch) were the only serious players in the business at the time oil was discovered in West Asia. Since then, a few non-European players have entered the field over a period of time (such as Sinopec and CNPC of China). Yet even then the oil majors, known collectively as Seven Sisters, continue to wield a disproportionate share of the global trade in oil. 1 The earliest use of oil as a major energy source for industrial economies began almost simultaneously in Europe and America, looking for substitute for 1 The seven companies that have come to constitute Seven Sisters have changed over time. Most of these companies have tended to be American - such as Exxon, Mobil, Caltech, Chevron, Texnaco, etc - which have often merged with other dominant players. The major non-American oil majors are British Petroleum and Royal Dutch Shell.

54 coal. With some of the major discoveries being made on American mainland, US companies had stolen an early edge in the global oil industry. The British oil industry had its first major break in the Kingdom of Persia, where it set up the Anglo-Persian Oil Corporation (later to become BP) which began exporting oil in 1913. The discovery of oil in Persia encouraged exploration elsewhere in the Persian Gulf as well, with the British leading such prospecting missions. By the time World War One came to a close in 1918 it was reasonably clear that the Ottoman region of Mesopotamia would have similar oil reserves, as would its southern-most appanage of Kuwait. The British acquired the Mandate for the Mesopotamian regions of Baghdad, Basra and Mosul, which they constituted into the kingdom of Iraq, and after detaching the emirate of Kuwait, over which they established their protectorate which was dissolved only in 1961 - both the newly constituted states were opened to exploration by an international consortium, the Turkish Petroleum Company (TPC), dominated by the British and the French. American Companies, however, keen on entering the oil arena in West Asia demanded to be included, and the European companies agreed that it made better sense to work together rather than against each other. Accordingly, on July 31, 1928, following the discovery of an immense oil field in Iraq, representatives from the APOC, Royal Dutch/Shell, the French Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (CFP, later Total), and the American consortium Near East Development Corporation (NEDC) signed the Red Line Agreement in Ostend, Belgium. Under the terms of the agreement, each of the four received a 23.75% share of all the crude oil produced by TPC, which was allowed to operate anywhere in the Middle East between the Suez Canal and Iran, with the exception of Kuwait. The most important feature of the Red Line Agreement, however, was its 'self-denying' clause. It stipulated that the participating companies would agree not to develop oilfields within the territory comprising the TPC unless they secured the support of the other members. The last clause was crucial. In seeking entry into the oil sector in West Asia, the most significant leverage enjoyed by the European and American companies

55 was the complete absence of the technology required for exploration in the region. Thus the initial exploration rights, such as those sought by the D'Arcy in Persia and Frank Holmes in Mesopotamia, were sought on very favourable terms for the companies, with only a pittance being offered by way of royalties in the event of eventual discovery and sale. Since none of the numerous emirates around the Gulf were particularly solvent, whatever payment was made initially by way of exploratory concessions (and thereafter royalties), made significant addition to the coffers of the states. The lion's share of the profits, after absorbing all costs, were retained by the oil companies. In such a lucrative business, the mere existence of competitors would have given the states fanning out such concessions much greater bargaining power. Accordingly, once the oil potential of the Gulf region became clear, the Red Line Agreement was signed precipitately to ensure the domination of the market by the oil majors continued in the foreseeable future. The Red Line arrangement made investment in West Asian oil phenomenally lucrative since oil reserves of the region were susceptible of much easier exploration (than say in the oilfields of North America and the Russian north), and therefore cheaper in terms of costs. Since the per unit cost of exploring, extracting and distribution in West Asia was significantly less than what it cost elsewhere, per unit returns on investment in West Asian oil could be kept very high indeed since the primary owners of the resources (the emirates and kingdoms farming these out) were being paid peanuts - Persia was being paid less than 5% of the gross profits for the first 20 years. But despite the Red Line arrangement, domination by the concerned oil majors proved open to two types of problems, it could not keep non-member companies from seeking concessions within the area covered by the TPC (which was renamed the Iraqi Petroleum Company in 1929). In 1928, Socal secured a concession to search for oil in Bahrain and, in 1933, they managed to gain another concession from the Saudi Government that encompassed the province of al-Hasa. In 1936, the Texas Oil Company purchased a 50% share within the California Arabian Standard Oil Company (the Saudi subsidiary of Socal, which was 56 renamed Aramco in 1944) in order to further develop Socal's concession within Saudi Arabia. The Red Line Agreement collapsed after Socal and Texaco invited Jersey Standard and Socony to join them as partners in Aramco in 1946, but the latter two were barred from doing so under the terms of the Red Line Agreement unless they invited the other members of the TPC to join them. Consequently, Jersey Standard and Socony joined the U.S. Government in pressuring the other members of the IPC to abrogate the terms of the Red Line Agreement, whose boundaries were now redrawn to exclude Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Bahrain, Egypt, Israel, and the western-half of Jordan. The second problem pertained to the share of royalties paid to the ruling dispensations in the area. The West Asian kingdoms, emirates and potentates had farmed out concessions for oil first because they had no idea of the existence of the reserves, or even their value, and then because they did not have the know-how. As Persian oil entered the global market, and oil was discovered in Iraq (1927), the ruling dispensations became aware of its promise. Tehran tried to negotiate its share of the royalties in 1933, and although it did not get as much as it hoped, the upward revision of its share was considerable enough to launch a programme of state-led industrial development and modernisation under Reza Shah Pahlavi. By the time World War Two came to an end, there was widespread awareness of how the oil companies were depriving the oil-rich countries of their rightful share of the proceeds of the oil trade, culminating in the abortive Iranian attempt at nationalisation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Corporation (AIOC, formerly APOC) in 1952-53. Although Iran's bid to establish control over the sale of Iranian oil failed, it made it clear that oil companies wielded disproportionately large influence in the global oil market. As the volume of Saudi and Iraqi oil exports began to grow, they too became mindful of this influence. The unilateral reduction of 10% of the price of Middle Eastern and Venezuelan oil in 1959 angered the oil exporting countries, particularly Saudi Arabia, because it reduced their corresponding royalties. A second such unilateral price cut in 1960 brought together Iran, Iraq,

57 Kuwait, Venezuela and Saudi Arabia to set up a cartel of oil exporting countries the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), later joined by Qatar (1961), Libya, (1962), and UAE (1967) among others. OPEC began to operate as an informal bargaining unit for oil-rich third-world countries, confining its activities till the mid-60s to gaining a larger share of the profits generated by oil companies and greater control over member production levels. In the early 1970s, the Arab members of OPEC, who came to organise themselves as the Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) began to exert economic and political strength, triggering a crisis that made the oil companies and importing nations suddenly confront a unified exporter bloc that had effectively wrested control over the supply of oil.

3.3 Formation of OAPEC and its organisation The basic idea behind the foundation of the OAPEC can be traced back to the oil blockade of 1967. On 5th June 1967, the Egyptian President Nasser fulminated against Israel's invasion of Egypt and Syria and Israel's support from the West at the beginning of the Six Day War, exhorting the Arab countries to use the "oil weapon". A day later the Arab oil exporting countries obliged, having decided to stop oil exports to those countries who militarily supported the Israelis in the ongoing war with its Arab neighbours. The Baghdad Resolution of 9th June was passed denying "Arab oil" directly or indirectly participating or supporting any aggression on any Arab territory. Although the blockade was imposed reluctantly (to avert public outrage in the Arab streets) and did not last very long (brought effectively to an end by the Khartoum Resolution of September 1, 1967), it made it clear that the Arab oil exporting states could use the supply of oil as a bargaining chip in the politics of oil. The 1967 oil embargo, ironically, was called upon by Arab countries that did not export any oil. While all Arab governments opposed Israel, the cost of attacking Israel with the oil weapon fell almost entirely on Arab oil exporters. This asymmetry made non-oil exporters much more enthusiastic about applying

58 the oil weapon than oil exporters. Traditionally, the oil rich Arab countries tended to be swamped by these in the Arab League. They resented losing income to non- Arab oil exporters, and control over their economies and foreign policies to mostly non-oil exporting Arab countries. They felt isolated in the OPEC as well where Venezuela and Iran tended to call the shots quite often, and gained from the Arab decision to not sell oil to the west by supplying some of the shortfall. However, an important lesson was learnt in 1967. Two months of cut-backs in oil production pushed oil prices upwards. Accordingly, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya set out to establish the Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) in 1968 to bring about tighter policy coordination among the Arab oil exporting nations. OAPEC was originally intended to be a conservative Arab political organization which, by restricting membership to countries whose main export was oil, would exclude governments seen as radical such as Egypt and Algeria. This organizational exclusivity was bolstered by an additional rule in the organization's charter requiring the three founders' approval of all new members. The original aim was to control the economic weapon of potential oil embargo and prevent its use caused by popular emotion. Iraq initially declined to join, preferring to work under the umbrella of the Arab League considering OAPEC too conservative. Equally the three founders considered Iraq too radical to be desirable as a member. However., by early 1972, the criteria for admission changed to oil being a significant source, rather than the principal source of revenue of a prospective member nation and Algeria (1970) , Iraq (1972), Syria (1972) and Egypt (1973) had been admitted alongside the oil-rich Bahrain (1970), Qatar (1970), and United Arab Emirates (1970). Consequently the OAPEC became a much more activist organization, contrary to the original intention. OAPEC flourished in tandem with OPEC as an organisation beginning in 1969, when after the Libyan revolution, the Muammar Gaddafi regime successfully revised its share of the royalties upwards, followed by Tehran achieving the same the next year. Other OPEC member countries began

59 following suit, opening negotiations aimed at establishing control of the producer countries over the oil majors. 1973 proved a turning point for the O.A.P.E.C. In October that year, the combined forces of Egypt and Syria launched an offensive against the state of Israel, later known as the Yom Kippur War. On 16 October, after President Nixon called upon the Congress to make available \$2.2 billion in aid to Israel, O.A.P.E.C. instituted an oil embargo on the United States. Kuwait hosted separate meetings of both O.A.P.E.C. and the Persian Gulf members of O.P.E.C. including Iran. O.A.P.E.C. resolved to cut oil production 5% monthly "until the Israeli forces are completely evacuated from all the Arab territories occupied in the June 1967 war." The embargo lasted for some five months before it was lifted in March 1974 after negotiations at the Washington Oil Summit. For the oil exporting countries, the embargo was the first instance of the exercise of their ability to leverage their production for political gains. These cuts nearly quadrupled the price of oil from \$2.90 a barrel before the embargo to \$11.65 a barrel in January 1974. In March 1974, amid disagreements within O.A.P.E.C. on how long to continue the punishment, the embargo was officially lifted. The higher oil prices, on the other hand, remained. A number of the member nations would use this sense of control to renegotiate the contracts they had made with the companies that had discovered and exploited their resources. This marked, in effect, the end of the era of control by oil majors, and the rise of ascendancy of the oil producing countries in its stead. There was an important factor that helped the Oil Price Revolution of 1973. The embargo of 1967 did not prove particularly effective against the western companies because they were by and large able to offset their production cut-backs in West Asia with increased production elsewhere, particularly in the Americas, and especially USA. But the closure of Suez Canal compelled oil tankers coming from the Gulf to make much longer journeys around Africa, vastly increasing transit time and costs. The closure of the canal created an effective tanker shortage with respect to oil shipments to Europe from the Gulf. This drove the prices upwards in an irreversible manner. By 1973, global demand for oil was increasing relentlessly, and US production had peaked by then. Hence, when the O.A.P.E.C. embargo kicked in, the industrial countries had no other direction to turn to looking for alternative supplies. The leverage that the oil producing countries had thus come to acquire proved to be qualitatively more significant than the one that the oil majors had enjoyed. Within a decade, virtually all the major oil producing countries of West Asia and elsewhere had established veritable sovereign control over both oil production and oil trade, beginning to enjoy the lion's share of the profits. 3.4 Oil and Politics since the 1970s Ironically the vastly increased revenues would prove addictive, and a unified O.A.P.E.C. oil embargo was never again possible. The exponential rise in the price of oil in the 1970s enabled most of the Middle Eastern rentier states not merely to remain independent of their people in seeking resources for running the state, it also enabled the states to spend lavishly in order to develop core constituencies of supporters behind the regimes as they became more authoritarian. Beginning in the 1970s, the share of government expenditure tended to rise between thirty and fifty per cent of the GDP of most of the Gulf states, reaching as high as 74% in Saudi Arabia in 1984. The only exception to this is the government of the UAE, spending on an average between 12 and 15% of GDP, which also happens to be the Gulf state where authoritarianism is least pronounced. The oil-rich states also began to provide the "substitution effect" required to stimulate the non-oil sector of the economy of these states, creating demand in real estate, construction, infrastructure development, etc. The citizenry of the oil-rich states are, in a way, given plenty of material advantages to encourage silence on matters dealing with the dispensation of power in the state. On account of such high expenditure, the room for manoeuvre of the West Asian oil exporting countries are much less than they were in the 1970s because of their dependence on high levels of revenue. The O.A.P.E.C., or indeed any other oil exporting country, would not be able to think of a kind of oil embargo without scaling down its own expenditures domestically.

61 The organisation has thus progressively lost its leverage to the OPEC, where much greater coordination has become possible through systematic attempts at pro-rationing (i.e. allocating its member states with specified production quotas) involving even non-Arab producers. The AOPEC began to lose its leverage progressively from the 1990s, as Iran - a major non-AOPEC producer - came back into the market after its war with Iraq through the 1980s, while supplies from Iraq - an AOPEC member - were interrupted by the two Gulf Wars and the sanctions regime in between. The pivotal force behind both OPEC and OAPEC, the kingdom of Sa'udi Arabia continues to exercise great leverage with respect to global oil prices. Riyadh, capable of producing over 10 million barrels per day produces much less, keeping its spare capacity intact. In case of a sudden surge in demand, the Sa'udis function as a swing producer and meet the excess demand with its spare productive capacity. This was one of the principal reasons of a kind of relative stability in global oil prices through the 1990s. As the rate of exhaustion of the proven reserves have outpaced discovery of new ones in most of the smaller Gulf States (viz. Bahrain, Qatar and Libya), OAPEC has progressively lost its effectiveness even as a bloc capable of affecting global supplies in the medium-to-long terms. Divisions within the OPEC have further contributed to weakening of both OPEC and OAPEC. In the 1990s, Iran (non-OAPEC) and Libya (OAPEC member) together pressed for less oil production looking for greater unit price, while Riyadh favoured higher oil production to keep the per unit cost low. In an even greater setback for the West Asian oil producing countries, the steady recovery of the Russian oil industry (after two decades of relative decline) and Moscow's outpacing of Riyadh as the largest exporter of oil and gas in the world, Sa'udis have lost their relative edge in the global oil market despite having much greater reserves. Even the return of Iraq to normal production schedule by 2017 and the prospective removal of sanctions against Iran is unlikely to offset the steady growth of non-OPEC and non-AOPEC oil producers like Russia, Perhaps the greatest blow to OPEC (and 62 AOPEC) domination of the global market in oil has been struck with the discovery of shale oil and the phenomenal reserves that USA has of these. This alone has pushed oil prices down globally by the largest margin since 1967, pushing down revenue of major oil producing countries of West Asia. In the light of all these factors driving the politics of oil in the beginning of the 21st century, it can be said without any fear of contradiction that OAPEC is extremely unlikely to regain the leverage it once enjoyed in the global oil trade in the early 1970s.

3.5 Sample Question Essay Type Questions

1. How do you account for the domination of the global market by the oil companies in the first half of the twentieth century?
2. Why did the oil exporting countries of the Arab world work towards the foundation of the OAPEC?
3. Do you notice any shift in the global market of oil since the 1970s?

Short Questions

1. Why did oil prices rise sharply between 1967 and 1973?
2. What is the Red Line Agreement? Why was it concluded?
3. What was the rationale behind Nasser's idea of 'oil blockade'? Why did the Sa'udis promote it after the Nasser era?

Very Short Questions

1. What is the OAPEC? Why was it needed over and above the OPEC?
2. What are the Seven Sisters?

63 3.6 Suggested Reading

1. Nicholas Parra, *Oil Politics : A modern history of Petroleum*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004)
2. Oystein Noreng, *Crude Power: Politics and the Oil Market*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007)
3. William Engdahl, *A Century of War Anglo-American Oil Politics and the New World Order*, (London, Pluto, 1992)
4. John M. Blai, *The Control of Oil* (New York, Pantheon Books, 1976)

64 Unit : 4 ? Politics of Regionalism and Regional Associations Structure

4.0 Objectives

4.1 Introduction

4.2 The Arab League

4.3 The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO)

4.4 Organisation of Islamic Cooperation/Conference (OIC)

4.5 The Gulf Cooperation Council

4.6 The Arab Cooperation Council

4.7 Sample Questions

4.8 Suggested Reading

4.0 Objectives ? To introduce the complexity of regionalism in West Asia. ? To discuss the evolution of the Arab League. ? To familiarise the reader with the nature and evolution of the PLO. ? To give a brief sketch of the QIC, GCC, and the ACC.

4.1 Introduction In the post-1945 world politics, as international relations of countries tended to become truly global, multilateral diplomacy emerged as more effective in many respects in being able to rise above narrow particular differences among states, and confront more meaningfully problems that affect a number of states in a larger neighbourhood, i.e. a region. In this sense, West Asia as a region can be

65 said to have given the slip to a major feature of the evolution of international politics in the twentieth century. Middle Eastern countries are generally found to resort to highly traditional considerations revolving around the security of their individual states, despite the widely held perception that the various component states enjoy a degree of social, economic and cultural congruence rare in the modern world. In an age when security considerations have increasingly tended to transcend political boundaries, such resilience of statism and the relative neglect of any major drive for regional security does not sit easily with global developments. However, given the manner in which the region has evolved in the 20th century, such deviation in the trajectory would be comprehensible. As the integrative dynamics of shared geographical and cultural experience began to be reinforced by the emergence of a largely oil-driven economy in the second half of the twentieth century, more and more people and ideas began to move within, as much as to and from, the region. Inevitably attendant upon such infra-regional movements, the nature of threats to security and threat perceptions also tended to become trans-national and intra-regional in their character. Only in this sense has security become a regional concern meaningful in the West Asia. However, in view of the fact that many of the state frontiers within the region are not quite settled, states have historically been wary of any durable or extensive security cooperation with their neighbours over any extended period of time. Accordingly, regionalism has not penetrated very deep into the marrow of politics in West Asia. Regional associations have tended to remain fewer over the years than almost any other region in the world (perhaps barring Africa), and even when they have been set up, they have not had the kind of impact regional associations have had in most other regions of the world. One factor behind this could be the fact that the region has a higher concentration of regional actors of near-equal powers (Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia) - who are, thus, too strong to follow the lead of any other near-equal power, but not strong enough to lead them either. A second factor happens to be their relentless attempts to jostle with each other (P-VIII M 1-4) (Eng)—5

66 other for regional leadership (viz. between Egypt and Iraq in the 1950s and '60s, between Iraq and Iran, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Iran, etc). Hence, by means of a kind of inverted logic, regional associations in West Asia tend to be more effective and focussed the fewer members they have (viz. GCC), led by only of the regional actors, and begin to be less effective the larger the number of regional powers involved (viz. OIC). In the sections that follow, we would be looking at some of the organisations that have tried to bring together West Asian countries under the regional matrix. These are the Arab League, the PLO, GCC, OIC and Arab Cooperation Council. 4.2 The Arab League The Arab League is probably the only organisation that was motivated by a desire to keep the Arab political space together. Coming into being during World War II, the League was partly a response to the popular desire for keeping the Arab political space from being completely disintegrated, and thus hopes of Arab nationalism [See Unit 1] completely dashed, and partly an attempt at putting back the Arab economic space shattered by the rise of nation-states. Starting with only six members in 1945, the Arab League has expanded to have 22 members, and 4 observer states, from all over the Arab World. The League is a political organization which aims to help integrate its members economically, and purports to resolve issues among its member countries without having recourse to countries outside it, The Arab League had its origins in a series of initiatives that culminated in the Alexandria Protocols of 1944, which followed British encouragement for closer Arab cooperation during World War II. Confronted with the impending question of Palestine, where the creation of a Jewish state seemed a strong possibility at that date, the various Arab countries found in the plight of the Palestinians the clearest evidence that (outside) western powers could get away with anything in the Arab world so long as the Arabs were divided, The six

67 founder members (Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon) accordingly favoured the creation of a platform that would prevent just such division among the Arabs, and allow them to present a united front to the non-Arabs. They renounced violence for the settlement of conflicts between members and empowered League offices to mediate in such disputes, as well as in those with non-members. Signatories agreed to collaborate on military affairs. In 1950, the League introduced the principle of collective security into the Arab League, by concluding the Joint Defence and Economic Cooperation Treaty that made any act of aggression against a member state an act of aggression against all. One of the earliest issues before the League, which continues even today, was the question of Palestine. Shortly after it was set up, five of its six-founder members (all barring Saudi Arabia) entered into Palestine in defence of their fellow-Arabs, in a bid to overthrow the recently established state of Israel. Defeated by the fledgling Jewish state, the League remained wedded to the cause of Palestine, as hundreds of thousands of refugees began to leave Israel and Israeli occupied areas that the UN had designated for the Arab state of Palestine. At the Cairo Summit of 1964, the Arab League initiated the creation of an organisation representing the Palestinian people, the Palestinian National Council, which first gathered in East Jerusalem on 29 May 1964. The Palestinian Liberation Organization was founded during this meeting on 2 June 1964. Palestine was soon after admitted in to the Arab League, represented by the PLO, and continues to remain as a full-fledged member of the League despite not being a sovereign state. The Palestine issue dominated much of the dynamics of the League essentially for the first two decades of the League's existence, while the League's actions were dominated by Egypt. In 1967, when Israel embarked on pre-emptive action against Syria and Egypt, two League members, the rest of the League was faced with a quandary. The Egyptian President, Nasser, wanted the other

League members to embark on a total boycott of oil by League member countries to any power found aligned with Israel; the largest such Arab oil exporting country, Saudi Arabia was not particularly keen on the measure. In that year, the League issued the Khartoum Resolution, which enjoined its members on "no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with it." Members of the League have maintained an official boycott of Israeli goods and companies since 1948, but measuring the effects of the ban is difficult due to lax enforcement and limited trade flows. With Egypt's defeat in 1967, and the almost parallel rise of oil-rich states like Saudi Arabia and Libya since then, the character of the League steadily changed as it began to address issues of common Arab concern beyond the limits of the Palestine affair. The oil-exporting members of the Arab League did indeed enforce an oil embargo (the type that Nasser sought in 1967) in 1973, but that was driven as by their determination to assert control over oil prices against the western companies as by any solidarity with Egypt and Syria. When Egypt signed its separate peace in violation of the Khartoum Resolution, it was suspended (1979) at the initiative of Riyadh which emerged as the most influential member of the League. By the time Egypt was readmitted to the League (1989), the body had expanded its scope to focus more on economic and cultural integration than on political matters. Indeed, the League had provided the platform for many landmark documents promoting economic integration even before the change of leadership, viz, the Joint Arab Economic Action Charter, which outlines the principles for economic activities in the region; a common market had already been established in 1965. But economic and cultural considerations became the *raison d'être* of the League only since the 1973 through institutions such as the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO) and the Economic and Social Council of the Arab League, Council of Arab Economic Unity (CAEU). It has also played a role in shaping school curricula, advancing the role of women in the

69 Arab societies, promoting child welfare, encouraging youth and sports programs, preserving Arab cultural heritage and fostering cultural exchanges between the member states. Literacy campaigns have been launched, intellectual works reproduced and modern technical terminology is translated for the use within member states. The league encourages measures against crime and drug abuse, and deals with labour issues—particularly among the emigrant Arab workforce. The Arab League has progressively been limited to only such economic, cultural and social issues, and has little political clout for quite some time. Having no mechanism to compel members' compliance with its resolutions, the organization has been criticised as a "glorified debating society." The charter states that decisions reached by a majority "shall bind only those [states] that accept them," which places a premium on national sovereignty and limits the League's ability to take collective action. While some actions are taken under the aegis of the Arab League, they are executed only by a small faction - including its biggest success, ending the Lebanese civil war. The Ta'if agreement, generally claimed as an achievement of the League was more the product of Sa'udi initiatives than that of any League team. In recent times, growing tensions between the Sunni and Shi'i, exacerbated by wars in Syria and Iraq, are creating new fissures among Arabs. Even as the Arab League condemns the Sunni extremist group of ISIS, and Sunni powers such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Jordan, and the United Arab Emirates launch air strikes on the terrorist organization, few Arab countries are willing to coordinate efforts with the Iraqi government after it invited Iranian military advisers and deployed Tehran-funded Shi'i militias in its battle against ISIS.

4.3 The Palestine Liberation Organisation

At its first summit meeting in Cairo in 1964, the Arab League initiated the creation the Palestinian National Council, which convened in Jerusalem on 28 May 1964. Towards the close of deliberations at the Council, the Palestinian

70 Liberation Organisation was founded on 2 June 1964 with its stated goal as the liberation of Palestine through armed struggle. In the three decades since then, the PLO became the face of both the Palestinian people and their struggle before the -international community. With the conclusion of Oslo Accords, global attention having shifted to the Palestinian Authority, the PLO has faded from the international community's attention and is no longer believed to have the same resonance in Palestinian life, and thus in the politics of the region as well. Committed to the struggle for Palestinian independence and liberation, the PLO incorporated a range of generally secular ideologies of different Palestinian movements. It formally is an umbrella organization that includes numerous organizations of the resistance movement, political parties, and popular organizations both in occupied Palestine as well in the countries where the Palestinian diaspora were dispersed. From the beginning, the PLO was designed as a government in exile, with a parliament (Palestinian National Council or the PNC), chosen by the Palestinian people, as the highest authority in the PLO, and an executing government (Executive Council or EC) elected by the PNC. , The basic idea in the PLO's ideology, embedded in the Palestinian National Charter is that Zionists had unjustly expelled the Palestinians from Palestine and established a Jewish state claiming historic and Jewish ties with Palestine. They demanded that Palestinian refugees should be allowed to return to their homes. The PLO has always, above all, had the Palestinian people labelled as Arabs. This was as much a natural consequence of the fact that the PLO was an offshoot of the Arab League, as it was a tactical element, as to keep the backing of Arab states. Over the years, the Arab identity remained the stated nature of the Palestinian State. In its first five years the PLO was led by veteran Palestinian politicians from the Mandate era Ahmad Shiikeiri and Yahia Hammuda. In 1969, marking the rise of a new generation of politicians who had grown up outside Palestine, Yasser Arafat - founder of the FaTaH (Harkat al-Tahrir al-Filistiniyun or the Palestinian

71 Freedom Movement) became its Chairman, a position he held till his death in 2004). Under Arafat, the PLO promoted the option of armed struggle aiming at the physical extinction of Israel by means of waging a war of attrition against the Zionist state, carrying out high-profile guerrilla attacks. PLO's war of attrition was tacitly supported by the Arab governments in the neighbourhood that had to harbour the largest numbers of Palestinian refugees. Egypt was the most important patron of armed Palestinian struggle till the late 1960s, but in the post-Nasser era ascendancy of the PLO (and of Arafat with it) was on account of the guerrilla attacks it carried out suo moto from its bases in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. While terrorist outrages committed by other factions of the PLO happened to be more spectacular (Munich Olympic massacre, a spate of hijackings in the 1960s and 70s, etc), it was the guerilla operations of Arafat's Fatah faction staged from PLO's bases in Jordan that caused maximum damage to Israel. However, while PLO struggle did not lead to any immediate achievement of Palestinian objectives, its growing military stature created complications in the region itself, which often caused the neighbouring states to turn on the PLO instead. Thus Israeli attack on Egypt and Syria in 1967, and its occupation of Gaza and Golan Heights respectively was motivated by its desire to demolish PLO presence in those areas. These territorial losses played their part in gradually making the Arab hosts get less enthusiastic in encouraging the PLO. In 1971, when Jordan witnessed one such Israeli pre-emptive military strike inside its territory, the kingdom's attempts to tone down Palestinian activities from PLO bases resulted in a backlash so violent that King Hussain deemed it prudent to expel the PLO from Jordan. When the fugitive PLO guerrillas landed up in Lebanon, they were sucked up into the politics of the highly sectarian political space of the republic, resulting in the outbreak of the civil war in the country. By the 1980s, the PLO had exhausted its options of using the neighbourhood as a launch-pad for its conflict against Israel, and thus shifted its base to Tunis.

72 In the meantime, in a bid to undermine the secular Arab nationalist Fatah within the PLO, Israel allowed Islamic voluntary services outfits to operate in occupied- Palestine. By late 1980s, thus, a large number of Palestinians disgruntled with the Fatah began to seek an Islamist alternative which surfaced in the form of HAMAS (Islamic Resistance Movement) around the first Intifada. In 1987, when the intifada broke out in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, it caught the PLO by surprise, and the leadership abroad could only follow the developments on the ground. After Jordan proclaimed the administrative and legal separation of the West Bank from Jordan in 1988, the Palestine National Council adopted the Declaration of Independence in Algiers, proclaiming an independent State of Palestine largely in a bid to remain relevant in Palestinian politics. In a desperate bid to seize the initiative, Arafat declared that the PLO would support a political solution of the conflict with Israel, i.e. effectively the PLO recognized Israel's right to exist within pre-1967 borders, with the understanding that the Palestinians would be allowed to set up their own state in the West Bank and Gaza. Realising that while the PLO could be tackled abroad, crushing the intifada was not militarily possible, Tel Aviv was just as keen on peace. Accordingly, back channel talks were opened, which culminated in the Oslo Accords with Israel (August 1993), granting the Palestinians right to self-government on the Gaza Strip and the city of Jericho in the West Bank through the creation of the Palestinian Authority (PA). Yasser Arafat was appointed head of the Palestinian Authority and a timetable for elections was laid out. From the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993, negotiation and diplomacy became the only official policy of the PLO as much as the PA, despite the contrary disposition of the HAMAS. The Oslo Accords deliberately detached the Palestinian population in the occupied territories from the PLO and the Palestinians in exile by creating the PA. Although many in the PLO opposed the Oslo Agreements, the Executive Committee and the Central Council approved the Accords. It marked the beginning of the PLO's decline, as the PA came to replace the PLO as the prime

73 Palestinian political institution. Political factions within the PLO that had opposed the Oslo process were marginalized. Only during the Hamas-led PA Government in 2006-2007, the PLO resurfaced. The Palestine Liberation Organization was recognized by the Arab League as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and by the United Nations as "the representative of the Palestinian people." While the PLO was designated a terrorist organization by the United States in 1987 (and by Israel till 1991), most of the rest of the world recognized the PLO as the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people from the mid-1970s onwards (after the PLO's admission to the UN as an observer.) The United Nations General Assembly recognized the PLO as the "representative of the Palestinian people" in November 1974. It was later admitted as a full member of the of the Asia group in April 1986. After the Oslo Accords, while the PA has come to administer the Palestinians within the Israeli state, the PLO continues to speak for the Palestinian cause - that they are two distinct organisations became clear when the Hamas won control over the PA through electoral victory, but the Fatah- dominated PLO continued to represent it in the UN where it made a bid for full membership at the UN under the leadership of the Fatah Leader and PA President Mahmud Abbas. 4.4 Organisation of Islamic Cooperation/Conference (OIC) The Organisation of Islamic Conference, (renamed in 2012 to the Organisation of Islamic Coperation) is an international organisation founded in 1969, which has grown now to constitute of some 69 states. The organisation aspires to be "

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the collective voice of the Muslim World" and works to "safeguard and protect the interests of the Muslim world in the spirit of promoting international peace and harmony."

It counts among its members countries from the continents of Asia, Africa, Europe - not merely those that have the majority of its population following Islam as their faith, but even some that are not (such as Gabon which 74 has only 10% Muslims). India has the dubious distinction of being blocked by the QIC from membership or even observer status, despite having a larger Muslim population than most of the states of the region. In the 19th century, as the Ottoman Sultan was claimed to be the Caliph of the Sunni Muslims of the world, some Muslimsjihad aspired to ummah (the Muslim community as a whole regardless of the regions they happen to inhabit) to serve their common political, economic, and social interests. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the Caliphate after World War I eventually opened the question whether the global ummah ceases to exist in absence of its putative leadership. Islamic Conferences began to be organised in and around West Asia from the 1920s, with the first notable assembly taking place actually during the third such conference in Jerusalem (1931). An abortive political move in that direction was seen only after World War II, with a conference of political leaders in 1954, but it did not go anywhere. In the wake of the criminal arson perpetrated against the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, one of the holiest shrines in Islam, in August 1969, the Kings and Heads of State and Government of Islamic countries of decided to organize the First Islamic Conference, held in Rabat, Morocco, from September 22 to 25, 1969. The outcome of this Summit was the expression of their solidarity with the Palestinian people and their commitment to foster mutual economic, cultural and religious cooperation among Muslim countries of the world. The real drive behind the OIC came to be provided by the ascendant power of Sa'udi Arabia, a regime that deliberately derives its political legitimacy from its custodianship of the two holiest sites of Islam, Mecca and Medina. After Egypt and Syria lost the Six-Day War in 1967 Egypt mounted a major diplomatic offensive in the Arab League on how its oil-rich Arab neighbours had let it down by not putting together an oil blockade of Israel and its western allies. The Sa'udis responded by mobilising diplomatic capital gained from its organisation of the annual Hajj pilgrimage at the Rabat conference. In 1970, King Faisal of Saudi

75 Arabia convened in Jeddah the First Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, who decided to take steps for their own mutual international cooperation and create a forum for discussion about the main topics affecting the Muslim world. This forum would bring forth the Organization of the Islamic Conference, whose foundational platform -the Constitution of the OIC- was adopted in Jeddah in March 1972, and put into effect on February 28, 1973. According to its charter, the OIC aims to preserve Islamic social and economic values; promote solidarity amongst member states; increase cooperation in social, economic, cultural, scientific, and political areas; uphold international peace and security; and advance education, particularly in the fields of science and technology. As a multilateral diplomatic platform, the OIC has little impact of any substance outside the Muslim world, since its resolutions have tended to target only the Muslim countries. Within the OIC, contrary to the expectations of Riyadh, Sa'udi Arabia has not managed to dominate the organisation as other powers with comparable powers of economic patronage (such as Iran, Iraq, Libya) or historical claims of leadership among Muslim countries (Egypt, Turkey, Morocco, Oman) have challenged it as have countries with decent standing in the Muslim world such as Indonesia, Malaysia and Pakistan. Hence, a number of issues other than the status of Jerusalem have come to gain the attention of OIC at various points of time such as reintegration of the former Soviet states in Central Asia into the Muslim world. The OIC, addressing such issues as human rights, has increasingly become a force for change with moderation in the Muslim world. In August 1990, 45 foreign ministers of the OIC adopted the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam to serve as a guide for the member states in the matters of human rights in as much as they are compatible with the Shari'ah, or Qur'anic Law. By June 2008, the OIC conducted a formal revision of its charter to promote human rights, fundamental freedoms, and good governance in all member states removing any

76 mention of the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam. Within the revised charter, the OIC has chosen to support the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international law. As the organisation has kept on expanding (absorbing all the predominantly Muslim states of Africa and Asia barring India), the platform has progressively lost the character of a regional organisation and is now a supra-regional platform merely dominated by a major cluster of states from West Asia.

4.5 The Gulf Cooperation Council Set up in 1981 at Abu Dhabi,

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the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf,			

also known as the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) is a regional intergovernmental political and economic union consisting of all the Arab states of the Persian Gulf. Its member states are Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Sa'udi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. All the current member states are 20th century monarchies (except Oman, whose monarchy is of a much older vintage. Three of these states have constitutional monarchies (Qatar, Kuwait, and Bahrain), while two are theoretically absolute (Saudi Arabia and Oman) having no constitution instituted to impose a check on them; there is also a federal monarchy (the United Arab Emirates, comprising seven emirates). There have been discussions regarding the future membership of two more monarchies, viz. Jordan and Morocco, There is yet another proposal to include Yemen - should that happen, it would be the first republic to be inducted into the GCC. A 2011 proposal to transform the GCC into a "Gulf Union" with tighter economic, political and military coordination has been advanced by Saudi Arabia, in a bid to check the ascendancy of the Shi'i in the region with the aid of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Although initiatives for bringing the various Gulf monarchies under one umbrella organisation had come from the emirates of Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait as much as Sa'udi Arabia from the mid-1970s, the principal driver of the project

77 when it took off was, of course, Sa'udi Arabia. Faced with a series of developments that threatened the stability of the region (in particular its monarchies) - such as the Iranian revolution of 1979 and the outbreak of the Iran- Iraq war of 1980 - Riyadh gave a major diplomatic push to ensure the revolutionary impulses generated by Iran remain clear of the Gulf shores. From the early 1980s itself, GCC set about formulating regulations in various fields such as religion, finance, trade, customs, tourism, legislation, and administration. The basic intent behind this was to ensure that with burgeoning oil revenues in the hand of the state, public disaffection should be kept minimal by developing a standard in governance that was unprecedented in the region. The unstated purpose, however, was to make sure none of the monarchies would end up conceding more to the people than what the rest of the monarchies were prepared to at any given point of time. The GCC also undertook to promoting scientific and technical progress in industry, mining, agriculture, water and animal resources as means of economic diversification that would allow modernisation of the non-oil sector of their economies. This area has some of the fastest growing economies in the world, mostly due to a boom in oil and gas revenues coupled with a building and investment boom backed by decades of saved petroleum revenues. A major objective of the GCC was to set up a closely integrated economy in the Gulf region. A very important early step in this direction was taken with the elimination of customs duties between member states from March 1 1983, on all agricultural, animal, industrial, and natural resource products of national origin. In 1983 the GCC members accounted for only about 2% of their exports and 7% of their imports from within the group. Between then and 2003, the total volume of trade had increased nearly 10 times to stand at over \$20 billion. By 1998, the GCC began to look towards a customs union, the first phase of which was already in place by 2003. Despite a setback that delayed its launched, the common market for GCC

78 states came into operation in January 2008 with plans to realise a fully integrated single market. It eased the movement of goods and services. The 2009 financial crisis has slowed the complete integration of the regional market which was scheduled to become fully operational on 1 January 2015. In January 2015, the common market was further integrated, allowing full equality among GCC citizens to work in each others' government and private sectors, social insurance and retirement coverage, real estate ownership, capital movement, access to education, health and other social services in all member states. However, some barriers remained in the free movement of goods and services. The coordination of taxation systems, accounting standards and civil legislation is currently in progress. The GCC also launched common economic projects to promote and facilitate integration. The member states have cooperated in order to connect their power grids. A water connection project was launched and plans to be partly in use by 2020. The GCC also launched major rail projects in order to connect the peninsula., with around 40,000 kilometres of rail network across the GCC scheduled to be completed by 2018. Despite the progressive integration carried out by the GCC states, subtle tensions have tended to grow as states like UAE and Qatar come to the forum with their respective agenda. One of the more eagerly anticipated objectives of the GCC was its promise of a monetary union, using the new currency of Khaleeji, which if realised, the GCC monetary union would be the second largest supranational monetary union in the world, measured by GDP of the common- currency area.. Following the announcement, however, that the central bank for the monetary union would be located in Riyadh and not in the UAE, the UAE announced their withdrawal from the monetary union project in May 2009. In 2014, Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar and Saudi Arabia nevertheless took major steps to ensure the creation of a single currency. Qatar's support for the Muslim Brotherhood across the larger West Asia North Africa, Hamas and extremist Islamists in Libya during the Arab Spring have

79 caused tensions with other Arab states of the Persian Gulf, especially Riyadh. So much so that after the March 2014 meeting of the GCC, the UAE, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain recalled their ambassadors to Qatar. This indicated that the GCC was on the verge of a crisis linked to the emergence of distinct political blocs with conflicting interests. Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Bahrain were beginning to engage in a political struggle with Qatar, while Oman and Kuwait represent a non-aligned bloc within the GCC, In a sense the aerial operations by the GCC members Sa'udi Arabia, Bahrain, UAE, Qatar plus pending member Jordan, against the ISIS in Syria and against the allegedly Iran-backed Houthi rebels in Yemen has shown that the GCC can still work together. But Riyadh and Abu Dhabi are among the nations that oppose the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria, which Qatar has historically supported. The organisation can still fall out if the long- term strategic visions of their member states do not fall in line.

4.6 The Arab Cooperation Council Indeed the League had provided the platform for many landmark documents promoting. The Arab Cooperation Council (ACC) was founded in February 1989 by North Yemen, Iraq Jordan, and Egypt, The ACC was created partly in response to the four being left out of the GCC, and partly out of a desire to promote closer economic cooperation and integration to compete better with their GCC neighbours. The initiative came primarily from Cairo in an Egyptian bid to re-establish itself as the leading Arab state, taking on Riyadh which had marginalised it in Arab politics following its peace treaty with Israel. Thus, the ACC charter explicitly stated its objective of becoming a pan-Arab body by keeping its membership open to any Arab state wishing to join it, including those who happen to be members of the GCC. The ACC experiment, despite the high level of institutionalisation that characterised its brief tenure, could not survive the crisis that followed Iraq's 80 invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990. This failure has often been attributed to the lack of common geopolitical interests of the four members, being located in different parts of the Arab world (Egypt in North Africa, Jordan in the Levant, Iraq in the Gulf and North Yemen near the Arabian Sea), the absence of a true shared identity (beyond common status as Arab states), and tensions between Egypt and Iraq. Egyptian opposition to Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, joining the coalition that sent troops to Saudi Arabia and eventually liberated Kuwait, the chances of breathing any kind of life into the ACC were very slim.

4.7 Sample Questions Essay Type Questions 1. Is it correct to consider the PLO as the best platform representing the Palestinian cause? 2. Would you agree with the view that Saudi Arabia has definitively replaced Egypt as the principal Arab power in today's world? 3. How relevant are the OIC and the Arab League in the politics of the region in the light of their lack of any enforcement mechanism? Short Questions 1. How has the Arab League evolved over the years? 2. How has the GCC worked towards integration of the Arab states of the Persian Gulf? 3. Do you agree with the assessment that the Oslo Peace Process was started by PLO in order to stay relevant in the politics of Palestine? Very Short Questions 1. Why was the Arab Cooperation Council set up? Why did it fail? 2. Is the Arab League relevant as an organisation any more? 3. Is it correct to consider the OIC as a regional organisation?

81 4.8 Suggested Reading 1. Reinhard Schulze, A Modern History of the Islamic World, (London, I.B.Tauris, 2000) 2. Adeer

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83 Paper-VIII Politics & Society in Asia : Select Regions Module – II Central Asia Unit 1 The Central Asian Republics : Features Problems and Prospects Unit 2 Security & Geo Strategic issues in Central Asia Unit 3 Problems of Economic Transition Unit 4 Islam & Democracy in Central Asia

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85 Module–II Central Asia Unit : 1 ? The Central Asian Republics : Features Problems and Prospects Structure 1.0 Objectives 1.1 Introduction to Central Asia 1.2 Features of Central Asia 1.3 Problems of the Region 1.4 Future Prospects 1.5 Concluding Note 1.6 Summary 1.7 Sample Questions 1.8 Suggested Reading 1.0 Objectives

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Central Asia, central region of Asia, extending from the Caspian Sea in the west to the border of western China in the east, is bounded

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the north by Russia and on the south by Iran, Afghanistan and China. During the

Soviet era the region was directly governed and controlled by Moscow which took a new shape after the demise of the Soviet Union. The objective of the study is as follows : ? to make the readers familiar about Central Asia; ? to understand the important features of the Region; ? to discuss the key challenges and problems faced by the countries; ? to discuss future prospects of Central Asia

86 1.1 Introduction to Central Asia The Central Asian Sub-region is the territory of about 4 million square kilometers situated at the turn of Europe and Asia. It includes the following sovereign countries—Republic of Kazakhstan, Republic of Kyrgyzstan, Republic of Tajikistan, Republic of Turkmenistan and the Republic of Uzbekistan, which proclaimed their independence in 1991

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after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The total population of the Central Asian

region is more than 59 million people with an average density of 15 people per square kilometer. In the post-Soviet years, the Central Asian countries with their identical historical, social and religious traditions have faced a number of identical political, economic, social and environmental problems. The newly independent countries had to establish new institutes, approaches and working skills for functioning in conditions of the serious economic crisis. All countries searched for their ways of addressing many difficult problems/challenges which required new approaches to integration and coordination of activities at all levels. Throughout the Cold War, the land-locked Central Asian states remained isolated subjects of the Soviet Union. Their emergence as independent states ended a long period of Russian/Soviet domination and initiated a painful transition period characterized by multi-dimensional challenges. Initially for about one decade, the Central Asian states had to struggle with the legacy of the Soviet era. In fact, these five states (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan) gained independence much earlier than anyone had anticipated. Therefore, these states had to work hard to understand the most fundamental element of statehood. Several key questions remained unanswered : (i) What was the meaning and importance of state sovereignty; (ii) What was the cultural character of the states? (iii) Who would be its inhabitants? (iv) Who were their allies and rivals? (v) Would the states in future be best protected/secured through joining some kind of federation, confederation or union? (vi) What were the intentions and attitudes of the states surrounding them? (vii) What were the

87 immediate internal and external threats to their national existence? These were some of the complex questions to which they had no readymade answers. 1.2 Features of Central Asia The Central Asian republics had no history as nation states before 1992. During the Soviet era, economic policy and development strategies were determined in Moscow. The region was divided into five republics during Stalin's time which unleashed a new scenario for international tensions and distrust in spite of the common origins, religion and culture of the local nations. Tensions further grew out of territorial disputes; competition for control of natural resources; trade policy etc. Under the Soviet system each of the republics had little or no options to resolve these problems independently and in the process all the Central Asian republics became integral part of the Soviet system. It is important to note that none of the republics had anticipated the dissolution of the Soviet Union before its final months, and therefore all were unprepared for the severing of Soviet ties. All the countries faced unexpected challenges of nation building and transition from a centrally planned economy, which had begun in the late 1980s but had little influence on Central Asia before the Soviet economic system began to unravel in 1991. Attempts to maintain economic links by retaining the 'ruble' as a common currency in 1992-93 aggravated the problem of hyperinflation and were abandoned by the end of 1993. The decade—after the independence of Central Asian states - was dominated by nation-building, which was a slow process in countries where the main state institutions and the associated human capital had been controlled from Moscow. The national leaders tried to legitimize their authority and power by creating super-presidential regimes, in which the balance of power between executive and legislature was overwhelmingly weighed towards the former. In Tajikistan however, the bloody civil war dominated political developments until 1997 and finally by the end of the decade President Rahmonov had constructed a political system identical to rest of the four Central Asian countries.

88 In order to stand on their own feet, these countries followed divergent economic strategies. Despite similarities in culture, history, geography and economic structure, their transition from the Soviet centrally planned economic model ranged from the most rapidly liberalizing—the Kyrgyz republic—to the least reforming Turkmenistan. By the turn of the century, the Central Asian countries had created vastly different economic systems. Uzbekistan was doing well in the first decade after the dissolution of Soviet Union in respect of GDP performances but then in the next decade its performances have not been impressive. Kazakhstan, the other large economy in Central Asia, appeared to underperform in the 1990s due to large scale corruption; but in the next decade the country emerged as one of the best performing economies in the world. The economic performance of the other three states— Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan—has however been less impressive. Tajikistan is now one of the poorest countries in Asia with the tag of a failed state. Kyrgyzstan also follows suit, despite being praised by many economists during the 1990s for introducing market friendly reforms. The case of Turkmenistan is little different in the sense that on the one hand it has abundant energy resources and on the other hand the nature of regime remains opaque. Politically, the five Central Asian states had no history as nation states till the dissolution of the USSR. During the Soviet years, economic policy and development strategies were determined in Moscow by the central authority. None of the countries had anticipated the dissolution of the Soviet Union before its final months and all of them were unprepared for severing their ties with the USSR. All the five republics faced the uphill task of nation building. They suffered serious disruptions from the dissolution of the USSR. Demand-supply network collapsed. Soon the Ruble currency lost its credibility without any viable alternative. The five countries gradually became more differentiated as their governments introduced national strategies for transition to a market based economy. By the early twenty first century all the five countries completed the process of nation

89 building and the transition from central planning though the typology of market based economies varied substantially. During last two decades, economic gap among the five Central Asian states, which was already significant in 1990, has widened further. According to World Economic Development Indicators database, World Bank, GDP per capita in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in 1990 amounted to 35.6 percent and 41.8 percent of the GDP per capita in Kazakhstan in the same year. In 2011, Kyrgyzstan's GDP per capita was 18.3 percent of that to Kazakhstan's and Tajikistan's was 17.7 percent. Besides it, the combined size of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan's GDP as a portion of the region's GDP dropped from 13 percent in 1990 to 7 percent in 2011. There is no strong evidence to suggest that this trend will reverse in the coming years/decades. The Central Asian economies remain heavily dependent on very few export items. Aluminium occupies about more than half of Tajikistan's exports. Gold accounts for half of Kyrgyzstan's exports. Oil and gas heavily dominate the exports of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. This suggests a very critical situation for Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, given the volume of their main export items. Throughout the region, there is widening economic gap which is reflected in the increasing number of labour migrants from Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. According to a report, in 2008, remittances composed 49 percent of GDP in Tajikistan, 27 percent in Kyrgyzstan and 13 percent in Uzbekistan. United Nations World Population Prospects reported in 2010 that the largest population sector in Central Asia was teenagers. But the irony is that the Central Asian countries do not seem to be creating more jobs for these young generation people. This apart, cross-border exchanges among people of the region have become severely problematic due to complicated checkpoint controls, toughened visa requirements etc. Building a peaceful and secure region will require the new generations in Central Asia to develop deeper level of mutual exchanges rather than tighter border controls.

90 1.3 Problems of the Region The unexpected demise of the former USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) was undoubtedly one of the most astonishing geo-political events of the twentieth century, comparable only to the collapse of the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires during the First World War. The collapse of the USSR led to the emergence of Central Asia which changed the geo-political map of Asia, literally as well as figuratively. The events that unfolded in Central Asia since then have been conditioned by the following important factors : (a) Events unfolded within the Russian Federation and the political choices of its new leaders; (b) The strategic doctrine of the US administration, starting from George Bush to Barak Obama; (c) The role of China, Iran, Turkey and India; (d) Developments in Afghanistan and Pakistan; (e) The policies of the European Union towards Central Asia; & (f) The role of the countries like Japan and Korea which have a direct impact on the developments in Central Asia. The geo-strategic location and presence of rich natural resources in Central Asia have attracted countries like Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, India, Japan, Korea and others. The West particularly the US, has substantially increased its influence over these states. Given the geographical proximity, historical links and presence of Russian diasporas in Central Asia, Moscow considers the region vital to its national interests. Despite the fact that Russia is no longer a superpower, still it remains a major player in Central Asia and the world. Recent trends in Central Asia can be examined from three different perspectives—national, regional and external. The greatest challenge for the region is at the national level. The Republics have only been independent for two

91 and a half decades and the process of state building is yet to be over. The umbrella protection extended by the former Soviet Union and its legacy has by now disappeared. Nationalism and the growing adherence to Islam are the two important developments that have gained prominence in recent years. At the regional level, there has been little cooperation among the five Central Asian countries due to lack of trust among leaders of respective countries. Regional disintegration is more likely than countries seeking joint solutions for their shared problems. As far as foreign relations (external factor) are concerned, the Central Asian countries are inexperienced in the field. They are rich in energy resources and therefore external powers have sought to increase their influence in the region. The key external players are Russia, China and the United States who have already spread their influence to a significant level. This apart, Europe, India and Turkey have also taken keen interest in the region. China will be especially important in the region over the coming decades and the influence of Islamic states too will be a factor to watch. Noted scholar Allen Deletroz foresees the disintegration of the regional notion of Central Asia, linked to declining Russian influence, and he attaches more importance to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, two biggest states in the region. Marlene Laruelle, director of George Washington University's Central Asia Programme believes that the Central Asian regional notion is not sustainable and describes how the five states might each take a different path of development. The moot point is that the fates of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan will be decisive for the development of the region. Should one of these two countries fall into chaos, other countries like Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan would also stumble and the shock waves would be felt throughout the region, including Russia and China. If any one of them were to move towards the establishment of a state based on the rule of law, with more openness for people and business, these positive developments would boost the prospects of their smaller neighbours at least. Therefore, it is likely that in the coming years the region will be even less culturally and socially integrated than

92 it is today. Thus lack of regional integration will remain a major hindrance to the movement of people and goods. 1.4 Future Prospects The events in Afghanistan and Pakistan will have direct consequences on Central Asia, particularly on its most fragile states, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Jihadist elements will have safe heavens, who will receive training and combat experience there. These groups will easily flourish in the impoverished areas of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. One future trend could be that Chinese, Russian, Western and Islamic civilizations might clash with each other in Central Asia, just as Samuel Huntington had predicted about two decades ago. At the same time Francis Fukuyama could also be partly right in the sense the democracy appears to be the only model that could take the region forward. Environmental prospects in the region seem to be worrying because drought is likely to increase that could potentially lead to disasters. The partial disappearance of Aral Sea was a disaster in slow motion. In the economic field, the need to promote some form of economic union among the five republics is not so obvious at present, but integration is of great importance for the region's future. Closer integration among the states would allow for the creation of additional economic advantages for them and would promote economic growth and development. The countries would benefit through focusing on different areas as stated below : (a) Uncoordinated usage of water supply and pollution of rivers are serious issues which must be addressed immediately; (b) The establishment of economic ties and a common market are the most important steps for the integration of Central Asian states. The countries should focus on creating a framework for the exchange of goods within the region;

93 (c) The countries would benefit immensely out of the creation of a common agricultural market. It is important to preserve the traditional economic relationships on the delivery of agricultural products in these countries; (d) Together the countries could focus on the efficient use of fuel and energy resources. Central Asia's energy resources potential vastly exceeds those of other states. Efficient use of these resources could become a basis for economic development. There are prospects for the joint use and exporting of minerals and natural resources; (e) Establishment of a unified transport system would integrate the region further. In order to benefit from the advantages of its geographical position, the region has to make long-term investments in transport network development, as opposed to short-term investments; (f) The Central Asian states should focus on the establishment of modern communication facilities. Communication development is one of the key conditions for the integration of the Central Asian region into the global economy; (g) Development of a central bank and the establishment of a monetary union would serve to enhance the trade and economic cooperation of the region; (h) The creation of incentives for the rapid development of small and medium sized enterprise is in the interests of all Central Asian countries. Incentives for business development can include allowing for the free flow of capital. As stated earlier, such integration is advantageous for all states in Central Asia and this could become a factor in speeding up levels of economic development. By establishing a common market, the Central Asian states can participate as equal partners in other economic and trade alliances exert their influence on the current economic and political processes in the world and thus could emerge as a guarantor of political stability in Eurasia.

94 1.5 Concluding Note Central Asia is the core region of the Asian continent endowed with valuable untapped resources. In the immediate post Soviet years, all countries of the region faced numerous political, economic and other problems/challenges towards which they framed different strategies according to their need and ability. By the turn of the twentieth century, the Central Asian countries had formulated different strategies to achieve the immediate objectives - political independence and economic self sufficiency. 1.6 Summary From the mid nineteenth century, up to the end of twentieth century, Central Asia was part of the Russian empire and then the Soviet Union. The five Central Asian countries - Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan - gained independence in true sense of the term after the collapse of the Soviet Union in early 1990s. Since then, all the countries have faced numerous multidimensional challenges not necessarily similar in nature. However, over a period of time, they have successfully managed to move forward and it is expected that through mutual interdependence and cooperation with outside powers like the USA, China, Russia and India, Central Asia would be able to promote much needed political stability and economic development. 1.7 Sample Questions Essay Type Questions 1. Give an overview on the problems and prospects of the Central Asian states in the post-Soviet years. 2. Critically examine the important features of the Central Asian states. Short Notes 1. Comment in brief on the economics of Central Asia.

95 2. Briefly examine the role played by Russia and China in Central Asia in recent years. 1.9 Suggested Reading 1. William Shepherd (1923). Historical Atlas. New York, Henry Holt & Co. 2. Encyclopedia Britannica. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/102288/Central-Asia>. 3. Peter B. Golden (2011). Central Asia in World History. Oxford, Oxford University Press. 4. Suchandana Chatterjee. ed. (2014). Image of the Region in Eurasian Studies. New Delhi, K.W. Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

96 Unit : 2 ? Security and Geo-Strategic Issues in Central Asia Structure 2.0 Objectives 2.1 Introduction 2.2 Geo-strategic Saliency of Central Asia 2.3 Involvement of External Powers in Central Asian Matrix 2.4 Concluding Note 2.5 Summary 2.6 Sample Questions 2.7 Suggested Reading 2.0 Objectives Post-Soviet years witnessed the predominance of strategic and security issues in Central Asia. Mainly because of its geographical location and reserves of oil and natural gas in larger volume, Central Asia has drawn attention of major powers across the world at large. The objective of this study content is to focus on the following points : ? Importance of geographical location of Central Asia; ? Security scenario in Central Asia; ? Role of external powers; ? Strategies framed by the Central Asian countries 2.1 Introduction The emergence of five Central Asian states after the demise of the former USSR led to a strategic vacuum in the region. Many external powers from within

97 and outside the region sought to fill this gap. Central Asian states endeavoured to associate themselves with as many foreign powers and multilateral organisations as possible in order to define their new found independence and national identity. Engagements with the United States and European powers were considered to be a way to address their concerns about security and economic issues, in addition to emphasizing their newly acquired sovereignty. At the same time, it was extremely difficult for the Central Asian countries to break their traditional ties with Russia and the rest of the former Soviet Republics. This was due to a number of contextual factors besides the dominant factor of geographical proximity.

2.2 Geo-strategic Saliency of Central Asia

Central Asia is at the centre of the Eurasian landmass and historically the region has played a very important role for the traders and invaders. Central Asia is both a facilitator and inhibitor to outside players intending to realize their strategic ambitions. In geo-strategic terms, the region has been conceptualized as 'Greater Central Asia', a term that includes the five Central Asian states, Afghanistan and the Xinjiang region of China. In its extended geo-strategic construct, the region includes northern parts of Pakistan, the Khorasan province of Iran, Tatarstan in Russia and parts of northern India. In the early part of twentieth century, Halford Mackinder postulated his 'Heartland Theory' that dealt with the geo-political importance of the Eurasian heartland, bounded by the rivers Volga and Yangtse and the Himalayas in the south and the Arctic Ocean in the north. This theory highlighted the strategic importance of Central Asia. Former US National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski in his book *The Grand Chessboard*, published in 1997, termed the post-Soviet region as the 'Black Hole'. According to this theory, what happens to the distribution of power on the Eurasian continent will be of decisive importance to America's global primacy. Brzezinski also considered Uzbekistan as the linchpin of Central Asia, least vulnerable to Russian pressure, and its independence being critical to the survival of other Central Asian states. The geo-strategic importance of Central Asia could be underscored by two PGPS (P-VIII M 1-4) (Eng)—7

98 key factors : (a) Central Asia has become important because of the discovery of hydrocarbon reserves; and (b) it has become a major transportation hub for gas and oil pipelines and transportation/ communication corridors connecting China, Russia, Europe and Caucasus region, the Trans-Caspian region and the Indian Ocean. This apart, Afghanistan connects Central Asia and South Asia which is a strategic bridge of great geopolitical significance. Therefore, Central Asia and South Asia are connected geographically and strategically. Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan have common borders with Afghanistan. Afghanistan is the connecting bridge between the Indian subcontinent and resource-rich Central Asia, as well as the corridor to Iran and the Middle East. Thus, stability and peace in Afghanistan are a geostrategic imperative. Therefore, security and economic issues are the two most important components of the Central Asian states engagement with outside powers. The Central Asian states have joined a number of multilateral security and economic structures promoted by the major powers—US, Russia and China. The objectives of major powers are to promote their own politico-military security and economic agenda and absorb these nations into their direct spheres of influence. In contrast, the goal of Central Asian states is to strike a balance of power and ensure the best deal for themselves through exploiting the rivalry between the major powers. This apart, the Central Asian states consider such multilateral arrangements as the best way to maintain security and stability in the region. All the five states have been following policies that can be termed multi-faceted or multi-directional. The central Asian States consider the preservation of equilibrium between the major powers as the best way to advance their interests. Few scholars have however opined that the political leadership of the five states is looking for regime security rather than national security in its wider sense.

2.3 Involvement of External Powers in Central Asian Matrix

The United States and the European countries sought to absorb the Central Asian states into their orbit of influence through economic engagement and security cooperation through NATO's 'partnership for Peace Programme'. China

99 too embarked on a similar path to enhance its strategic presence in Central Asia after having solved boundary issues with Russia and the Central Asian neighbours. By the early 1990s, regional powers like Turkey, Iran and Pakistan were also in the fray in the region. With the end of Boris Yelstin's era and the emergence of assertive Russia under Vladimir Putin, Moscow began reorienting its policy towards Central Asia with a new vigor. One important strategic event that occurred in Central Asia was the US response to 9/11 terrorist attacks that took the form of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). The war against terrorism brought the United States and NATO closer to Central Asia. Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan granted permission to use their military bases to OEF forces. Other countries provided over-flight and miscellaneous support. Russia, China, India and the Central Asian countries welcomed the US initiative. In order to contain the rise of fundamentalism and terrorism, these countries did not raise any objections to US being granted air bases and logistical facilities in Central Asia. India was a late starter in the Central Asian region because of the fact that it was too much preoccupied with its internal economic difficulties, particularly after the introduction of economic reforms in the early 1990s. This apart, political instability also prevented India from taking major initiatives in Central Asia. Notwithstanding it, India recognized the importance of Central Asia as an area of strategic importance in conducting its foreign policy. The Annual Report of India's Ministry of Defence recognised Central Asia as an area of vital importance to New Delhi for different reasons : (a) because of geographical proximity; (b) because of historical and cultural factors & (c) because of the common challenges of extremism and terrorism. Prime Minister Mammohan Singh also emphasized on the need to go for constructive engagement with Central Asia. In fact, from India's foreign policy point of view, there is increasing demand for political, economic and defence engagements with Central Asia. It is important to note that the growth of Indian economy creates an ever growing demand for energy and natural resources to sustain with the present growth pattern. The discovery of large reserves of hydrocarbons and other 100 resources needed for economic growth makes the Central Asian region immensely attractive for forging a mutually beneficial cooperative relationship. These apart, similarity of views in the fight against terrorism, drug trafficking have further brought the two sides closer to each other. In the strategic field, there has been intense power play between Russia, US, China and other Western countries and India is left with little option but to focus on soft power approach towards the region. Role of the US : Immediately after the dissolution of the former USSR, the US Congress passed a Freedom Support Act (FSA) in 1992 to provide aid to the newly independent nations. In 1999, a 'Silk Road Strategy Act' that was modified in 2006, authorized economic aid, development of transportation and communication links and border controls. The Act also contained riders to promote democracy and create civil societies in Central Asia. The actual aim of the US government was to strengthen its influence in the wake of persisting Russian weakness in Central Asia and elsewhere. Another important objective was to involve the Central Asian states in Euro-Atlantic institutions and to foster their pro-Western orientations. The United States encouraged Central Asians' links with NATO, the European Union and the organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Towards the mid-1990s, the Central Asian nations had joined NATO's Partnership for Peace (PFP) Programme whereby a number of military training exercises were carried out in both the United States and Central Asia. Engagement with NATO provided a good opportunity before the Central Asian states to modernize their armed forces and their fight against drug trafficking, religious extremism, terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. This apart, Central Asia's engagements with NATO was a counterweight to their relations with Russia. In October 2001, after 9/11 incident, the United States offered to establish military bases in Central Asia to fight the Talibans. Thus the United States was in a position to strengthen its presence and influence in the region to a greater extent, though it did not go uncontested. In July 2005, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) urged all foreign forces to set a timeframe for withdrawal of their bases from the territory of SCO member

101 states. Kyrgyzstan demanded the vacation of its air base by the US but later on agreed to extend the lease with a manifold increases in the agreed sum. The United States concentrated in building energy and transport corridors that avoid Russia by going either south or west. Despite several constraints involved in the building of the oil pipeline from Baku (Azerbaijan) to Tbilisi (Georgia) to Ceyhan (Turkey), it was completed in May 2006. The BTC pipeline very well served the purpose and objective of the United States by way of reducing Russia's stronghold on the Central Asian Oil and gas pipeline network by providing an alternative route to Europe. Another US and EU supported proposal for the Nabucco gas pipeline is under examination, with a memorandum of understanding signed on July 13, 2009. Iran is also reportedly on board to sell gas to Europe. Richard Boucher, the US Assistant Secretary of State, on a visit to Kazakhstan in June 2007, convincingly argued that it would be more advantageous to deal with the European buyers, without interference by Russia. American energy officials also visited Turkmenistan and explored the prospects of gas export from the country.

Role of EU : As part of its greater engagement with Central Asia, the EU in June 2007 unveiled a new Central Asia Strategy for the period 2007-13 which focused on promoting political dialogue, trade and economic relations and cooperation in a variety of sectors. The programme also sought to promote good governance and democratic norms. The European Commission advised the EU to go for better engagements with the Central Asian countries in order to secure energy resources that are of permanent strategic importance. The European Commission plans to open offices in all the five Central Asian countries in the near future. Involvement of Russia : Boris Yeltsin's years led to the decline of Russian power in Central Asia because of internal dynamics and general withdrawal from the former Soviet republics. Vladimir Putin the next Russian President however rejected Yeltsin's policies and he embarked on the process of regaining its hold on Central Asia and the other former Soviet republics. Russia under Putin joined the Chinese-led SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organisation) and developed its own

102 security structure—the Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO). The CSTO is a well thought out strategy that aims to protect Russia's security, energy and transportation interests. Collective Rapid Reaction Force exercises are carried out to showcase Russia's resolve to protect the southern belt of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States). Similarly, the Russian air defence command carries out regular exercises to defend strategic air space over Central Asia. In fact, Russia's keen interests for promoting closer military ties with the Central Asian countries could be seen as an effort to safeguard Russian economic interests and its domination of the Central Asian energy sector. The China factor : China has expanded its presence in Central Asia through trade, energy deals, transport infrastructure, and the gradual widening of scope of the SCO to include both security and economics. In order to make gains in Central Asia, China has been cooperating with Russia though many Chinese scholars view Moscow's presence in the region a threat to Chinese interests. However, the sole objective of Sino-Russian cooperation is guided by the shared objective of offsetting US influence in Central Asia. In fact, the equation between Russia and China is based on complementarities of interests. While China needs Russian arms, technologies and natural resources; Russia needs China to balance the West. In other words, the level of Sino-Russian cooperation in Central Asia is shaped by the approach of the US and West toward the region. China has to manage its security relationship with Russia in order to protect its vulnerable northern and western flanks. Beijing sees the US presence in Central Asia as a part of a specific policy designed to constrain China's rising economic and military clout. Securing and stabilizing its periphery is central to China's plan for developing its western era. Enhancing its influence in Central Asian Muslim nations also helps China address its security concerns regarding separatist Muslim movements in Xinjiang. Therefore, preventing separatism, extremism and terrorism is China's key security concern. Through SCO, China carries out border management training and joint exercise with Central Asian armies. Beijing therefore supports the current political regimes in neighbouring Central Asia which reciprocate by acknowledging China as a regional power.

103 China is dependent on Russia and Central Asia's energy reserves to fuel its economic growth. China has built a 988 kilometers long pipeline from Atasu in Kazakhstan to Xinjiang designed to carry 10 million tons of oil annually. It also struck a deal with Kazakhstan, whereby she was granted access to vast reserves to Kazakh oil. China also signed a deal with Turkmenistan to supply 30 billion cubic meters of gas for a thirty year period from 2009 onwards. This development also opened the way for the China National Petroleum Corporation to enter into a production sharing agreement (PSA) to develop Turkmen gas fields. Chinese activities in the energy sector in Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan have broken Gazprom's domination of Central Asia. The upcoming Chinese-Kazakh pipeline structure will be linked with Iran along the Caspian Sea. Chinese pipeline from Turkmenistan is also being extended across the border to Iran. This will not only reduce China's dependence on energy shipped by sea but will advance the development in Xinjiang. China is also in the process of exploiting the rich hydropower potential of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan and is taking help from Kazakhstan to construct electric power stations and then send China electricity through the power grids. What is important to add is that China also controls the headwaters of the two rivers that supply water to Kazakhstan. This apart, under the aegis of the SCO, China has announced \$900 million worth of loans to Central Asian countries, all of them contingent on buying Chinese goods and services. As a result, the Central Asian countries remain worry of their big brother. Role of India : As part of their multi-directional policies, the Central Asian states have been developing their linkages to the south. The governments in Central Asia have been endeavouring to improve ties with New Delhi. Similarly, from India's point of view, Central Asia occupies a very important position keeping in mind the fact that in order to fuel its economic growth and advancement, New Delhi desperately needs uninterrupted supply of oil and natural gas in adequate quantity that could only be met by Central Asia. The Central Asian leaders expressed deep appreciation for India's secular political model that eschewed religious fundamentalism and expressed the desire for stronger ties with New Delhi. As things stand now, India's strategic approach towards Central Asia lies in the development of strong ties with all the countries of the to strengthen energy and security ties.

2.4 Concluding Note All the five countries—Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan—are often defined as passive observers of the rivalry between the major players namely, US, China and Russia in Central Asia. It is in fact similar to that of a conflict of great game between Great Britain and Tsarist Russia about a century ago. In this backdrop, strategic and security issues in Central Asia are of immense significance. All the Central Asian countries will have to work hard to deal with the challenges posed by the presence of external players in view of the fact that the region is endowed with unaccounted reserves of oil and natural gas extremely important from trade and economic points of view.

2.5 Summary Historically, Central Asia has played a very important role for the traders and invaders. Central Asia is both a facilitator and inhibitor to external players intending to realize their strategic ambitions. In the post-Soviet years, Central Asia gained prominence because of the discovery of hydrocarbon reserves. This apart, Central Asia emerged as a major transporation hub for gas and oil pipeline and transportation/communication corridors connecting China, Russia, Europe and Caucasus region, the Trans-Caspian region and the Indian Ocean.

2.6 Sample Questions Essay Type Questions 1. Discuss the key issues involved in Central Asian security and strategic matters.

105 2. Comment on the geo-strategic salience of Central Asia. 3. Examine the role of external powers in Central Asia in the post-Soviet years. Short Notes 1. Write a short note on the involvement of China in the strategic affairs of Central Asia. 2. Briefly discuss India's approach towards Central Asia in recent years. 2.7 Suggested Reading 1. Alexander Cooley. 2014. Great Game, Local Rules : The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia. Oxford, Oxford University Press. 2. Nirmala Joshi (ed.) 2010. Reconnecting India-Central Asia : Emerging Security and Economic Dimensions. Washington DC. Central Asia Caucasus Institute and the Silk Road Studies. 3. Suchandana Chatterjee (ed.) (2014). Image of the Region in Eurasian Studies. New Delhi, K.W. Publishers Pvt. Ltd. 4. Stephen J. Blank (ed.) 2013. Central Asia after 2014. United States Army War Colleges.

106 Unit : 3 ? Problems of Economic Transition Structure 3.0 Objectives 3.1 Introduction 3.2 Problems/Challenges of Economic Transition 3.3 Strategies Formulated by the Central Asian States 3.4 Concluding Note 3.5 Summary 3.6 Sample Questions 3.7 Suggested Reading 3.0 Objectives Central Asian states were physically unprepared to welcome independence in the aftermath of the fall of the former Soviet Union. They faced serious economic problems and challenges but did not have any readymade solutions to deal with them. In this backdrop, the objectives of this study material are as follows : ? To understand the nature of Central Asian economy. ? To identify the problems faced by the states. ? To discuss about the strategies formulated by the Central Asian states. 3.1 Introduction Since the late 1990s, Central Asia has emerged as one of the world's fastest growing regions. As far as geographical location of the region is concerned, it is comprised of small landlocked economies with no access to the sea for trade. Hence, its economic prospects are closely linked to international commodity prices. The region is endowed with high priced commodities like oil, gas, cotton and gold with reasonable infrastructure.

107 Energy : Central Asian economies have some of the world's largest energy reserves, which represent a strong basis for economic growth and it is an important source of revenue. It is estimated that Kazakhstan holds 65 years of oil reserves and 300 years of coal reserves. Turkmenistan a leading producer of natural gas holds gas reserves for more than 200 years, according to the present rate of production. Both Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have been endowed with rich water reserves whose most abundant potential resource is hydro-electricity. Agriculture : Central Asia has one of the largest arable land areas in the world and produced 25.6 tons of Wheat in 2008 that accounts to 4 percent of world's wheat production. Kazakhstan is the major producer of grain in the region, while cotton is the main export for Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. These countries benefitted immensely from world cotton prices prevailing in the first half of the 1990s. Tajikistan too has a strong potential for cotton production and export base. Other Commodities : Kazakhstan has significant reserves of minerals, iron and steel. Kyrgyzstan exports large quantities of gold. Kumtor goldmine is the eighth largest goldmine in the world. Tajikistan also has potential for aluminum production for export. 3.2 Problems/Challenges of Economic Transition Strategically, the region is positioned as a gateway between Europe and Asia and offers extensive potential for trade, investment and growth. All the economies have had a legacy of Soviet oriented socialist economic policies and have embarked on market-oriented reforms, trade openness and boosting private sector development. In the post-Soviet years, by and large, the Central Asian Republics (CARs) witnessed a period of prolonged slow and negative growth and rising incidence of poverty. The transition phase has met with enormous difficulties : disruption in production and marketing relations; end of economic support from the former Soviet Union; a nascent private sector; the lack of capital markets; lack of adequate institutions required for proper functioning of market economy and gaps in infrastructure.

108 In order to ensure efficient socio-economic development of the region, the Central Asian states went ahead with the creation of regional association. The first step in this direction was the creation of uniform economic space between the Republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan on April 30, 1994. Tajikistan followed suit and joined the group on March 26, 1998. Thus the Central Asian Economic Community (CAEC) came into being. Another parallel development was the fact that all the Central Asian states became members of the world Trade Organisation (WTO) and they entered free trade zone agreements with China. Beijing is the primary trading partner of all Central Asian countries. Many political parties in Central Asia expressed their desire and faith in a Chinese type authoritarian, nationalist model. The countries suffer from Sino-phobia. Russian influence in the economic affairs is restricted due to a variety of reasons. At the same time, India's influence in the region is also very limited. The United Arab Emirates (UAE), Korea and the South East Asian countries have come to be key partners of the Central Asian countries. USA and European Union's influence in the region is also moderate. During last three decades, the economic gap among the five Central Asian states, which was already very acute in 1990, widened further. GDP per capita in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in 1990 amounted to 35.6 percent and 41.8 percent of the GDP per capita in Kazakhstan in the same year. In 2011, Kyrgyzstan's GDP per capita was 18.3 percent of that of Kazakhstan. There seems to be no indication to suggest that this trend will reverse in the coming years. Besides it, the Central Asian economies remain heavily dependent on one or two export items. In fact, the widening gap in economic development is reflected in the increasing number of labour migrants from Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. According to one recent report, 208 remittances from migrant labour comprised 49 percent of GDP of Tajikistan, 27 percent of Kyrgyzstan and 13 percent of Uzbekistan. This trend is likely to continue. The discrepancy between energy-rich economies and more vulnerable economies would continue to widen in the coming decades which would have a negative impact on public services such as education and healthcare, as well as labour migration.

109 3.3 Strategies Formulated by the Central Asian States Despite having faced the above stated constraints and challenges, Central Asia seems to have turned around during last two decades. Economic growth—driven by high commodity prices of oil and natural gas and their ever growing demand in the world market; increasing inward investment; improved macroeconomic management and development of infrastructure—accelerated to historically unprecedented levels. Oil and gas sector led growth has stimulated the development of services sector and some manufacturing activities resulting in creation of new jobs and the subsequent reduction in poverty. There have been structural changes in the economies resulting in a shift towards production of industrial goods and minerals. Between 1997 and 2004, the share of industry in GDP rose in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan and remained constant in Turkmenistan. Among the non-oil producing countries, Tajikistan witnessed a rise in the share of industry in GDP but Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan witnessed a decline. By 2003, Kazakhstan had the largest manufacturing base while Kyrgyzstan had the smallest. The other three Republics fall in between these two extremes. The industrial recovery in the CARs is closely linked to the performance of manufactured exports that grew about 10 percent per year. Both oil and non-oil exporters had respectable manufactured export growth. While the oil exporting countries' achieved 11 percent target, the non-oil producing Republics achieved 7.8 percent. However, the structure of manufacturing and manufactured exports varies from country to country. Textiles and garments comprise over 80 percent of manufactured exports of Tajikistan and Turkmenistan and about 37 percent of Kyrgyzstan's manufactured exports. Kazakhstan's manufactured exports are primarily dominated by iron and steel with emphasis on chemicals and plastics as well as machinery and transport equipments. In case of Azerbaijan, it is a mix of iron and steel, chemicals and machinery. Since the late 1990s, an upturn in agriculture was visible in the non-oil exporting countries of the region—particularly Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan—110 arising mainly out of agricultural reforms along with high world prices for cotton and wheat. With regard to agricultural reforms, Kyrgyzstan focused on privatization of collective farms. Prices and quantity controls were largely removed, public monopolies dismantled and public investment in the irrigation system was increased. Uzbekistan, however, introduced limited agricultural reform. In order to strengthen food security, small garden plots to grow fruits and vegetables were granted to peasants in the early 1990s through Presidential Decree. Towards the late 1990s, privatization took the form of replacing agricultural cooperatives- 'shirkats'-with individual farmers who receive land leases which are conditional on using the land in accordance with state orders. State controls remains pervasive in Uzbekistan in the areas of agricultural purchasing, pricing, subsidies and distribution. There are however severe institutional constraints to future growth in Central Asia that need to be addressed. The list includes : a nascent private manufacturing sector with little or no exposure to international markets; under-developed banking and financial systems; a lack of modern technology and export marketing support institutions; inefficient regional energy market; high transport and transit costs due to land-locked geographical conditions and backdated transportation system; the lack of legal and regulatory system for a market economy and so on. The breach of existing interstate relations is still common throughout Central Asia, which causes significant damage to the economies of these countries. Even reorientation of external economic links to the world market could not improve the situation in production because of keen competition at the world market. Poverty is a common problem of the Central Asian countries. The income gap between rich and poor, characterized by social stratification, remains very high and continues to grow further. For instance in Kazakhstan, before the beginning of the transit period, the gap was four times in cash income between the richest 10 percent of the population and the poorest 10 percent. In 1998, this difference exceeded tenfold. 10 percent of the richest layer of the population received 27

111 percent of income, while 10 percent of the poorest population received only 2.3 percent of income. One of the key effects of poverty is environmental degradation, which could be observed both in rural areas and in cities of the sub-region. Due to poor living standards and rapid population growth, governments of Central Asian countries have been forced to compromise with the quality of environment in order to satisfy growing needs of the society. Resources are being used indiscriminately to satisfy needs of the present generation without taking into account the future needs. Natural resource depletion contributes to impoverishment of the population. This is a very urgent problem that needs utmost attention from the Central Asian governments as well as international financial institutions by working out appropriate political instruments. However, despite constraints, the Central Asian countries have been trying their best to perform. During 2000-2002, Turkmenistan achieved one of the highest economic growth rates in the world. The growth of gross domestic production in 2000 was 118.6 percent and in the years 2001, it went up to 120.4 percent. Gas extraction grew 2.3 folds during 2000-2002, oil 1.3 times, power generation 1.2 times. Besides, the main targets of agriculture, textile industry, and transport communication development outlined in the programme were considerably exceeded. Turkmenistan is the only country in Central Asia, where for more than 10 years, economic reforms took better shape. Economic potential of non-governmental sector also increased while taking into account environmental safety measures. Agriculture sector in Kazakhstan is growing slowly. 44 percent of its total population lives in rural areas and agriculture makes only 9 percent input in GDP. Grain production dropped from 30 million tons in 1992 to 6.5 million tons in 1998, a sharp 20 percent fall per year. During the period from 1998 to 2002, grain production however increased by 46 percent on an average. The cattle population decreased from 9 million in 1992 to 3.9 million in 1998.

112 In Kyrgyzstan, during reforms implementation period, GDP declined significantly that caused destabilization of its economy. The state investment activity was reduced to nil. It is noteworthy to mention that over the years the ratio of the state and private sectors of economy changed significantly. During the period from 1999 till 2003, the share of state economy declined from 17.3 percent to 14.9 percent, and in contrast the share of private sector increased from 82.7 percent to 85.1 percent. The fact is that agricultural production in Kyrgyzstan is highly dependent on unstable climate conditions and therefore the outcome is conjectural. In Tajikistan, the scenario is different from the rest of the four republics. The problem of poverty has been accelerated by external debt which impedes economic growth, reduces financing of social sphere and leads to deficiency of investments. Tajikistan was incurred a significant external debt of around US\$ 873.7 million that makes 42 percent of its GNP. Again the case of Uzbekistan is different from rest of the Central Asian republics. Primarily it is an agriculture based economy. It occupies the fourth position in the production of raw cotton, though gradually it declined. Central Asia is a landlocked region. It is surrounded by some of the world's fastest growing economies namely Russia, China and India. Keeping in mind this fact, the Central Asian policy makers have embarked on a number of initiatives. The Central Asia-China gas pipeline launched in 2003 is the first pipeline to bring Central Asian natural gas to China. The pipeline connects Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and China. Since independence, multilateral bodies and regional organizations have been active in promoting corridors which would boost economic cooperation in the region along with international trade and foreign investment. Asian Development Bank provided grant to upgrade one of the main transport arteries of the region, linking Kyrgyzstan with China and other Central Asian countries. This apart, the European Union's Transport Corridor linking Europe-Caucasus-Central Asia was launched in 1993.

113 FDI can play an important role in increasing both labour productivity and export performance through the import of technology, know-how and managerial expertise coupled with policies designed to facilitate the transfer of knowledge and technology between firms. It is important to note that FDI in Central Asia rose significantly over the years. The region has increasingly become the recipient of foreign investment from a number of countries including Russia and China. Inward investment flows are primarily on natural resources, but not exclusively. In Kazakhstan, other sectors such as construction, financial services, metallurgy and agribusiness have also become targets for FDI. In a nut shell, having gained independence in 1991, the Central Asian countries had to confront three major shocks : (i) the dissolution of the Soviet Union; (ii) the end of centrally planned command economic structures; and (iii) hyperinflation. As a result of these developments, throughout the 1990s the Central Asian countries experienced a significant economic downturn and faced major challenges to their competitiveness. Labour productivity, based on gross output—computed as gross domestic product over the number of people employed—declined by about 30 percent between 1992 and 2000. Since 2000 however GDP per employees across Central Asia has surged dramatically from an average of US\$ 859 in 2000 to US\$ 1410 in 2008. These figures show how the region turned around once it recovered from the shocks. It also reflects a significant reallocation of labour resources across the region, away from manufacturing sector towards the services sector on the one hand and toward agriculture on the other.

3.4 Concluding Note Finally, strategically located between East Asia and Europe and South Asia and Russia, Central Asia is rich in resources and faces tremendous opportunities, yet to be explored to its full potential. Since the outset of their transition to a market economy, the countries of the region have made visible progress toward decentralizing their economies, creating market institutions, expanding international links and intensifying efforts to diversify and increase production and trade. Due to good macroeconomic management, high commodity prices and strong foreign inflows, the region enjoyed near double digit growth on average during 2001-07. Then the global economic crisis took a toll on Central Asia, with average growth for the region declined from 5.7 percent in 2008 to 1.2 percent in 2009. However, two important energy exporters—Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan— have successfully weathered the global downturn reasonably well owing to limited linkages to international markets, long-term energy contracts, and supportive government policies. Then as the global demand for energy increased again, economies of these countries got a major boost. But the non energy exporters like Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan faced deteriorating living standards largely as a result of a sharp drop in remittances from and trade with Russia. Experts however predict that with a major boost to reform, economic potential of Central Asia can be developed more rapidly in the years to come by.

3.5 Summary All the five Central Asian states of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are still struggling with the process of transition to market economies. Once the process is completed, Central Asia could become a key trade and transit hub for Russia, China, India and the European Union that would also boost regional economic development.

3.6 Sample Questions
 Essay Type 1. Examine the process of economic transition in Central Asia in the post- Soviet years.
 2. Comment on the strategies formulated by the Central Asian states to promote socio-economic development of the region.
 Short Type 1. Briefly comment on the agricultural reforms introduced by Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan since late 1990s.
 115 2. What do you mean by the term 'economic gap' in respect of Central Asia?
 3.7 Suggested Reading
 1. Boris Z. Rumer. 1996. *Central Asia in Transition : Dilemmas of Political and Economic Development*. Armonk, New York, M.E. Sharpe.
 2. Pauline Jones Luong. 2004. *The Transformation of Central Asia : States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*. London, Cornell University Press.
 3. Millennium Development Goals Report : Turkmenistan (2003) UNDP p.7.
 4. Muradov, Bakhodiy & Ilkhamov, Alishar (2014 Oct) *Uzbekistan's Cotton Sector : Financial flows & Distribution of Resources*, Open Society Foundation, p.11.

116 Unit : 4 ? Islam and Democracy in Central Asia
 Structure
 4.0 Objectives
 4.1 Introduction
 4.2 Role of Politics in Islam
 4.3 Equation between Islam and Democracy in Central Asia
 4.4 Concluding Note
 4.5 Summary
 4.6 Sample Questions
 4.7 Suggested Reading
 4.0 Objectives The debate about democracy in Muslim societies has acquired an edge in recent years. Francis Fukuyama, the noted scholar, argued that the fundamental versions of Islam have been dominant in recent years that make the Muslim societies particularly resistant to modernity and democracy. Indonesian Islamist intellectual Mohammad Siddiq Al-Jawi states that 'Muslim community will evaluate democracy from the perspective of the Islamic faith' and will find that 'democratic freedoms are in sharp conflict with the freedoms found in Islam'. In this backdrop, the objective of this study is to focus on the following :
 ? To examine the status of democracy in Central Asia;
 ? To assess the nature of Islam in the region ;
 ? To understand the relations between Islam and democracy ;
 4.1 Introduction The tragedy of 9/11 and its aftermath focused the world's attention on Muslim politics. The New York episode provoked a number of hard questions about Islam

117 and the Muslim world. The then US President George W Bush described the attack on the World Trade Centre as an attack on human freedom that demonstrated a clash between militant intolerant Islam and the values of liberal societies, and between democracy and authoritarian regimes. This raised certain fundamental questions about the compatibility of Islam with democracy. In this backdrop, Zoya Hassan tries to find out answer of a pertinent question : 'Is democracy the exception rather than the norm in Muslim societies?' The Asian experience suggests that democracy can indeed work in different settings. According to Hasan, 'The success of India's democracy with a large Muslim population who are among its most enthusiastic participants shows that it can work, provided there is an emphasis on pluralism and equality'. What is important to note is that competitive and party-based elections are not a common feature of the politics of the Muslim world. Consequently, the dominant view is that the socio-political ethos of Islam as a religion of Muslim societies is responsible for this institutional deficit which prevents these societies from opting for democracy as a form of government. This perception has become more prominent in the context of the global war on terror in the post 9/11 period.

4.2 Role of Politics in Islam

In order to understand the equation between Islam and democracy, one has to ponder over the role of politics in Islam. 'Politics' is a subjective word, means many things to many people. The common definition of politics is the ability to achieve common good for the mankind. Since Islam as a religion pays great attention upon governance of peoples' lives, politics is already deeply rooted in its fundamental bases; though one can argue that the governance of religion is only for individual aspects of life which should not be mixed up with the governance of the community and states. Such argument is however unacceptable because of the fact that in Islam the well being of the Islamic community is very fundamental. From the very beginning, politics and governance has always played a major role. Within the framework of Quran, the Islamic definition of politics gives careful consideration to good organization around the principles of public

118 interest. In Arabic literature, Islam means a way of life. The very purpose of Islamic state is to remove 'evil' and to establish 'good', according to the laws of ALLAH expressed through Prophet Muhammad. The Islamic state must be based upon the idea of justice. The fundamental basis of the Islamic State of Republic should be based on Quran and therefore any form of tribalism or nationalism should be strongly condemned and be prevented. Thus, it can be safely stated that Islam is compatible with the concept of modern understanding of politics and statehood. Many theorists, immediately after the end of the cold war, came out with the idea of triumph of liberalism. The apparent victory of the liberal-capitalist ideology over Communism created a social, political and economic vacuum in those societies which were governed by socialist principles. Western liberal- capitalist model filled the vacuum created by the demise of the former USSR. Muslim world however did not accept any such theoretical justification which led to the emergence of the theory of 'clash of civilizations.' Many thinkers in the West denounced Islam as an obstacle to democracy. Analysis concerning the establishment of totalitarians system were completely denounced by the Muslims as baseless. It is in this backdrop, the write up would focus on the nature of relations between Islam and democracy in Central Asia. In response to the Western ideological expansion, the Islamic World came out with the novel idea of 'democracy' which is rooted in the Quran. The definition of western form of democracy essentially focuses on the ideas of government- 'of the people', 'by the people' and 'for the people' which came to be rejected by the Islamic movement because it goes against the fundamental basis of Islamic order of society. In the perception of the West, government is subordinated and subjugated to the people. The people have the right to remove the government from power if it desires so. The western concept of democracy puts the will of the people before the will of God. In Islam, the will of God gets the primary status, the creator and protector of everything. According to Islam, the human beings fulfill their aims and objectives only through serving God. The prophet represents the will of God and therefore he is above the people. This however does not imply that Islam is opposed to democracy and rule of law.

119 The Arabic word 'Islam' refers to submission to the will of God, though there is much disagreement within Islam about what that will is. In the post-9/11 period, there has been much debate in the West about whether Islamic and Western values are inherently in conflict, more particularly whether Islam is inherently hostile to democracy. In *The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order*, Samuel P. Huntington writes, "Muslims agree that a basic difference exists between their culture and Western culture". Huntington suggests that this 'basic difference' will lead to a violent clash with the Western civilization. According to him, "The underlying problem for the West is not Islamic fundamentalism. It is Islam." In Central Asia, Islamic revival was triggered by Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of glasnost in the late 1980s which was designed to address a completely different set of problems in the Soviet Union. Soon, however, glasnost became an officially endorsed policy instrument for expression of religious grievances. This eventually brought about a qualitative change in the orientation of the Soviet government toward religion. Central Asian Muslims demanded a fair share of religious freedom. The first series of Islamic protests in Central Asia occurred in December 1988 when spontaneous demonstrations of Uzbek students broke out in the Capital Tashkent. Some participants were reported to have raised green banners and read Koranic verses during the demonstrations. Immediately thereafter, a second public protest was carried out by Muslims in Tashkent to demand the resignation of the head mufti of the Religious Board of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Shamsidin Babakhanov, who was accused of gross violation of Islamic codes of conduct. Babakhanov's resignation put an end to nearly four decades of hereditary rule of the board by Babakhanov's family.

4.3 Equation between Islam and Democracy in Central Asia

With regard to democratic environment in the region, it could be stated that Central Asia is one of the world's most repressive regions. In fact, the region shows the least inclination towards democratization. The point is that the Central Asian countries are different from each other in many respects but none can be

120 labeled a democracy or even claim to have made substantial progress towards democratic practices. In 2007, the European Union adopted a strategy to promote democracy, human rights, rule of law and good governance in Central Asia. The EU initiated several projects focusing on good governance, parliamentary reform, capacity building for political parties etc., but so far the results have been discouraging. Other democracy promoters like UNDP also undertook a major initiative in exercising democracy promotion in the region with no suitable outcome. However, the 2010 changes in Kyrgyzstan offered a window of opportunity towards promoting democratic values in the country whereby it could easily be differentiated from rest of Central Asia. In this backdrop, in order to have a fair assessment on the democratic environment, rather than studying Central Asia in general, it would be necessary to focus on each one of the five countries separately. Kazakhstan has gone through a period of steep economic growth due to oil and gas exports, but very little has been done to build genuine democracy. Kazakhstan is by and large dependent on its president, Nursultan Nazarbayev. Over the last few years, Nazarbayev has mostly been concerned with enhancing his country's image by securing the chairmanship of Organization of the Islamic Conference in 2011. Kazakhstan's democratic prospects look bright in comparison with Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Freedom House labeled the two countries as being among the nine 'worst of worst' countries in the world. Uzbekistan has since inception developed itself as a police state led by President Islam Karimov. The country has problematic relations with all of its neighbours and has not been able to overcome its negative image following the 2005 Andijan events in which hundreds of protesters were killed. In Turkmenistan, President Gurbanguly Berdimukhamedov has created his own powerbase since he took control following the sudden death of President Saparmurat Niyazov in December 2006. Things have not changed much since then. One positive development is that even though the country lacks any independent civil society or political opposition, the President undertook an important step by allowing opposition candidates for the presidential election held in February 2013. Despite this development, Turkmenistan

121 remains one of the most isolated and repressive countries in the world, at par with Chad and North Korea. Kyrgyzstan experienced a second regime change in 2010 after the first one in 2005 when President Askar Akayev was removed by Kurmanbek Bakiyev in what has been described as a coup rather than a genuine popular revolt. When President Bakiyev turned authoritarian and was removed in April 2010 following popular protests, it was expected that a free civil society had emerged in a democratic set up. However, the ethnic violence in June 2010 in the south of the country impeded this development and rivalries between political parties became acute that threatened the already fragile state. Despite these setbacks the constitution was amended and Kyrgyzstan emerged, at least on paper, a parliamentary democracy. Tajikistan is led by authoritarian President Emomali Rahmon who took power on the back of an initiative to end the civil war in 1997. The country does have a genuine opposition party—the Islamic Renaissance Party—in parliament. Nonetheless tensions over the growth of Islam are rising in Tajikistan and the government has adopted a hardline approach towards different forms of opposition. This apart, the country is characterized by wide spread corruption as well as severe security threats. Corruption at the highest level has made its foundation shaky. In fact, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan are the two poorest countries of the region and they offer limited space for long-term democratization. Kazakhstan occasionally seems inclined to take small steps towards a more open society. External powers like US, EU and India can play an important role towards promoting and strengthening democracy in the region. The moot point is that democracy is seen by the leaders of Central Asia as a direct threat to their existence. The notion of democracy is at odds with the vested interests of the elites. They see democracy as a challenge to their position. Therefore, rather than focusing on democracy, the Central Asian leaders argue, focus should be on the threat to terrorism and radical Islam. Researchers however argue that Central Asia should also focus on the modern concept of security that includes poverty, lack of opportunity for the new

122 generation and inter-state tension that seem to be the foremost threat to the stability of the states. In other words, the biggest threats to the Central Asian people are the regimes themselves, which suppress the people and choose regime security over state and human security. 4.4 Concluding Note The Central Asian regimes have developed most of the institutions of democracy but lack democratic practice. For instance, the legal system is strong in black and white but in reality it is rarely implemented. These states are actually facade democracies. Parliament and a Judiciary with a basic division of power exist merely on paper. Institutions such as political parties and civil society have been created basically to satisfy western powers and give civilians a feeling of state building. The elites, in order to serve their own socio-political interests, have often played an important role in embedding Islam in politics. 4.5 Summary On the whole, the prospects for democratization in Central Asia are dim and security risks caused by instability are on the rise. Engagement of external powers with Central Asian societies is a better choice than sanctions and isolation. Pointed support towards democratization, promotion of human rights and increased people to people contact are need of the hour. Central Asia cannot be discarded as unfertile soil for democracy. Islam could play a very constructive role in this respect. 4.6 Sample Questions Essay Type Question 1. Discuss the role of Islam in Central Asian politics. 2. Critically examine the linkage between Islam and Democracy in Central Asia.

123 Short Type 1. Briefly comment on the socio-political ethos of Islam. 2. Comment on the statement : "Democracy is the exception rather than norm in Muslim societies". 3. What is the meaning of Islam? 4.7 Suggested Reading 1. Zoya Hassan (ed.). 2007, Democracy in Muslim Societies : The Asian Experience. Los Angeles, Sage Publications. 2. Surya Narain Yadav. 2010. Post-Soviet Dynamics of Central Asia. New Delhi, Jnanada Prakashan.

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125 Paper–VIII Politics & Society in Asia : Select Regions Module – III Asia Pacific Unit 1 The concept of the Asia Pacific Region and its significance in International Relations Unit 2 Authoritarianism, Civil-Military Relations and Prospects of Democratization in Select Pacific Countries—Indonesia, Philippines and South Korea Unit 3 Political Economy of Asia Pacific Region Unit 4 Ethnic Problems in the Asia Pacific Region

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127 Module–III Asia Pacific Unit : 1 ? The concept of the Asia Pacific Region and its significance in International Relations Structure 1.0 Objectives 1.1 The concept of the Asia Pacific 1.2 Basic features of the Asia Pacific 1.3 Political Systems 1.4 Economic Systems 1.5 Social & Cultural Systems 1.6 Significance of the Asia Pacific in International Relations 1.7 Points to Remember 1.8 Sample Questions 1.9 Suggested Reading 1.0 Objectives The present unit seeks to understand : ? The concept of the Asia Pacific. ? The essential features of the region of the Asia Pacific. ? A broad variety of political systems ranging from democratic to authoritarian as exists in the region yet retaining a subtle balance. ? The significance of the Asia Pacific in global affairs.

128 1.1 The Concept of the Asia Pacific The term Asia Pacific indicates a geographical area located mostly around the Western Pacific Ocean. It entails a number of areas like East Asia, South Asia, South East Asia and Oceania. It seems that over a period of time the concept has expanded to include Russia and some parts of the America, more to say, it includes some countries of the America that are located in the eastern coast of the Pacific Ocean. This claim is substantiated by the fact that the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, the APEC, includes member-countries of Canada, Peru, Chile, Mexico, Russia and the United States. To a certain extent it justifies the fact that Asia Pacific is more functional rather than mere geographical entities. But Asia Pacific is seen as a construct. In fact, there is a view that all regions whether East Asia or West Asia, Central Asia or South Asia are constructs. Such constructs are created by states to suit their own purposes and promote certain interests. Thus such constructs are neither strictly geographical nor rigid; perhaps they may become more functional and even notional depending on the context and objectives for which they are being conceived and applied. Asia Pacific as a region highlights the attempt to link Asia, precisely East Asia with the wider Pacific Region. It has been often realized that East Asia, or the Far East is limited geographically because it does not involve the Americas particularly the United States. In this context Asia Pacific is a construct that allows the United States to get involved in the matters of Asia. Given the fact that the United States cannot establish itself as an Asian state because of its geographical position, it needs to justify its non-receding interest in the region. The idea of the Asia Pacific gives the United States the avenue to remain involved with the affairs of Asia despite being a Pacific country. It is therefore evident that the construct of the Asia Pacific is supported by the United States because it is an enabling concept for that country. Some other Pacific countries like Canada, Australia, and New Zealand support the construct of the Asia Pacific because they have some interests in the Asian continent but at a lesser intensity than the United States. Similarly scholars feel that Japan's interest and support for the idea of the

129 Asia Pacific is because of its close relationship with the United States. Yet a more interesting explanation brings forward the fact that Japan would prefer multilateralisation of East Asian affairs that could help diffuse some unforeseen US-Japan relationship in the wider regional settings. The concept of the Asia Pacific has been juxtaposed against other existing or evolving constructs that has challenged the strategy of bridging Asia with the Pacific particularly the United States. It is understood that the Pacific Region will give no special reference to entire Asia; the regions that have been clubbed under the evolving construct of the Pacific Rim include the countries of Northeast and East Asia, Oceania and the Americas. Similarly, the construct of East Asia gives no space to the Pacific countries. The concept of East Asia was conceived in the late 1980s by Malaysia under the leadership of one of the most prominent Prime Ministers Mahathir Mohammed and furthered as a proposal for East Asia Economic Group (EAEG) in 1990. The concept of East Asia proposed an order bereft of western influence especially that of the United States. Although the proposal of the EAEG did not materialize, the 1997 economic crisis provided a scope to revitalize the Asian remedy to economic calamities like the Asian Crisis. The ASEAN + 3 (Japan, China and South Korea) was formed to instill economic confidence in the regional order of Asia. Subsequently in 2005, the East Asian Summit emerged with the inaugural summit in Kuala Lumpur. The East Asian Summit apart from being reflective of the economic health of the region is also reflective of the growing self-identity in East Asia. Thus, the strengthening of Asian identity through institutions like ASEAN, the EAS could be juxtaposed against the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation reiterate the construct of Asia Pacific under the garb of economic cooperation. This amply makes it clear that regional institutions and agencies play a prominent role in strengthening regional identity and strengthen the cause of such regional constructs like East Asia, Pacific Rim or the Asia Pacific. At present times Pacific Asia would include East Asia and some powers of the Pacific like the United States, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. East Asia is sub-divided into North East Asia and South East Asia. North East Asia includes PGPS (P-VIII M 1-4) (Eng)—9

130 China (including Hong Kong) Taiwan (claimed by China), Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Russia (Eastern part of Russia, adjacent to the Pacific) and Mongolia. Southeast Asia includes Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Thailand, Singapore and Vietnam. These countries are institutionally clubbed into the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN); East Timor though adjacent to Indonesia is not a part of the ASEAN. All the islands of South Pacific are considered a part of the Asia Pacific; these independent or self – governing island countries along with the two major countries of the South Pacific—Australia and New Zealand have formed the Pacific Island Forum. Going by the membership of the APEC, some Pacific seaboard countries of Latin America like Mexico, Chile and Peru are part of the Asia Pacific. At present, India is also considered as an emerging player in the Asia Pacific because of her critical position in South Asia, its emerging economy and its pivotal position in the Indian Ocean littorals.

1.2 Basic Features of the Asia Pacific

The Asia Pacific covers roughly 2.8 billion hectares of land approximately 22 percent of the global land area. This region covers a wide spectrum of climatic conditions from the northern temperate and boreal through the range of tropical and subtropical zones and back to temperature. The geographical features range from the high plateaus and mountains of Pakistan to the west and extending to the island countries of North Asia and the South Pacific; besides the Asia Pacific region incorporates conditions of moist tropical to arid and semiarid desert. As would be expected by this geography, the human and social dimensions of the Asia Pacific Region are equally diverse. The Asia Pacific Region included a total of 820 million hectares of forest and wooded lands, or approximately 16 percent of the global total. The approximate population of the region is more than 4.4 billion as calculated in 201, constituting 61% of the world's population. Economically, the region is expected to continue with its upward movement in terms of GDP growth though the basic thrust is on Asia's economic performance wherein a steady growth rate of 5.5% is predicted. The population number and

131 quality of the major powers of the Asia Pacific China, India, Japan, Russia, and the U.S stand to be transformed significantly. Impending changes will directly affect the ability of these states of argument power and extend influence internationally. Apart from the basic introduction to this region, it must be understood that Asia Pacific is a diverse region and unlike the European Union that despite its diversity, has some basic similarity in terms of political systems, economic systems, social and cultural systems and the underlying values. In order to understand the diversity of the Asia Pacific, it is necessary to look at these features.

1.3 Political Systems

Asia Pacific encompasses a broad variety of political systems ranging from democratic to authoritarian the entire spectrum between the two extremes consists of a subtle balancing of both democratic and authoritarian trends. This is evident in the major powers of the Asia Pacific. For instance the United States, Japan and India are considered as liberal democratic states. China on the other hand is a communist system; however now far from the ideology, the state derives its legitimacy from nationalism and a strong drive towards economic growth. The state maintains its statist orientation under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and is generally perceived to be authoritarian by the liberal orders; the Chinese state has other explanations for this. Even within the liberal order, if we consider Canada, Australia and New Zealand, along with India, they are all parliamentary systems and are thus different from the United States. However Canada and Australia are similar because they are all federations whereas India claims to be a Union of States. Several states of North East Asia and Southeast Asia also project themselves as liberal orders; some of them have undergone democratization in the contemporary times. For instance, while the countries of North East Asia like South Korea and Taiwan have begun democratization in the 1980s, some countries of South East Asia like Indonesia and Myanmar have undergone democratization in the late 1990s. With the end of the Soviet Union, it is understood that the state has undergone certain degree of

132 democratization yet the system retains some amount of authoritarian trends. Under the present leadership of President Putin, there may be some amount of strengthening of the authoritarian trends. Again it seems that North Korea is a state that has continued to remain an authoritarian system in the contemporary period. Otherwise reforms in communist countries like Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos have not ushered in complete liberal practices. Such has been the case in several South East Asian countries because they are in some cases ruled by single party or single-party dominated coalitions as has been the case in Singapore, Malaysia. In other instances they are ruled by dominant leaders with authoritarian dispositions even in monarchical systems or even in apparently democratic system like in Brunei, Indonesia, and Philippines. In some cases ethnic issues have become entangled with the political system complicating the politics and putting the stability in duress as had been the case in the Pacific Islands of Solomon Islands or Fiji. The various political systems of the Asia Pacific need to be understood in the light of the principles that guide them and the state practices that are prevalent in reality. Essentially declaring of democratic principles or democratization does not necessarily mean that it is transformed into effective governance and day to day activities of the administration.

1.4 Economic Systems

Most of the economic systems in the Asia Pacific are capitalist in nature and the communist states have undergone reforms and have embarked on a journey of market socialism. The two major capitalist economies in the Asia Pacific included the United States and Japan. The region is home to the Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs) also then known as the Asian Tigers. These were four in number—Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan. Some of these NICs have followed the Japanese model of the economic development. The United States is said to be the largest GDP (in current prices) slightly edging over China. Both the US and the Japanese economies have a strong and advanced industrial base but the US has a strong agricultural base also. The Japanese capitalist economy is more state-controlled than the United States. Japanese trade thus is projected

133 as protectionist despite its liberal orientation. This is evident in the agriculture sector wherein Japan restricts agricultural imports in order to protect rural society, even though this may imply that Japanese consumers pay higher prices for their agricultural product. In contrast irrespective of its protectionist inclinations, the US maintains its basic liberal orientation in the case of international trade. Other middle range capitalist economies like Canada, Australia are inspired by the US liberal economic order; New Zealand though a smaller sized economy also follows the US example. India is identified as an upcoming economy that is undergoing reforms in the recent but its liberalization process has been under state surveillance. It has its own share of economic problems that has hindered her smooth economic rise. The country is yet to expand her industrial base and still depends on the agricultural sector for her growth and earnings. China is now accepted not only a major Asian economy, but also a global one. China's GDP in terms of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) of recent has crossed that of the United States. It is an excellent example of market socialism undertaken in the post- Soviet era by the Chinese state under the continuous leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. At present, the Chinese economy is characterised by the presence of a prominent private sector, a contracting but effective state sector and also a large peasant-based subsistence production sector. China faces challenges of quick economic development like environmental issues, pressure of natural resources, challenge of ageing human factor to mention some of them. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia had undergone a radical transformation, moving from a centrally planned economy to a globally integrated market economy. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia had undergone a radical transformation, moving from a centrally planned economy to a globally integrated market economy. Corruption, administrative mismanagement have led to slow economic growth though Russia was labeled as a high-income economy by the World Bank in 2013 and the second in economic performance amongst the G20, countries, the projected growth rate for 2014 is just about 1%. At present the country faces a serious economic crisis with the Russian Ruble plummeting down.

134 In South East Asia some of the countries have developed following the capitalist trajectory until hit by the Asian financial crisis of the 1990s. Of the Southeast economies, the most advanced economy is Singapore with the highest standards of living in the region. It is still known as a hub of international finance as much a hub of transshipment. Four other economies that followed the capitalist trajectory were Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines but their exports mostly concentrated on agricultural production and some mineral resources. By the 1980s, the economies were doing remarkable well because of investments, but they took a major hit in the Asian economic meltdown, in the order of intensity—Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia. The recovery has been very slow and steady. In comparison the states that have undertaken reforms are the three communist states of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos and also Myanmar. Traditionally these countries have been identified as third world economies with large subsistence sectors and agricultural produce led export sectors. However with the reforms in these countries but reforms have allowed the private sectors function slowly and with great caution so as not to completely uninstall the dominant economic system. In contrast to the countries that have taken steps towards the reforms of their economy, however limited they maybe, North Korea continues to be an unreformed industrialised, centralized, command economy of the old communist version. In fact with the kind of political leadership that is in power, reforms towards liberalization are a far cry from reality. The Pacific Island economies are small and with an abundance of mineral resources, the economies have remained dependent on subsistence economies. Some exceptions are Hawai'i and Guam that have relatively developed economies. Most of the economies of the Pacific Island depend on their natural resources including the marine ones and their production base is also determined these resources. Despite of the diversity of the economies in terms of their strength and performance, the Asia Pacific has emerged on the global scenario and replaced Europe. The combined GDP of the APEC countries is approximately around 21 trillion dollars which is more than half of the world GDP. Besides Thus the significance of the Asia Pacific as an economic power zone is being realized.

135 1.5 Social and Cultural Systems The characteristics of the population in the Asia Pacific societies are determined by two things—first, by the nature and level advancement of the economy of the countries and second, by the ethnic composition of individual societies. As such, societies in the Asia Pacific are as diverse as the political and economic systems. The spectrum is broad and varied from advance urbanized societies with small rural population to large agriculture-based rural population with small urban elite confined to the cities. The first type would include, the United States, Japan, Canada, South Korea, Taiwan and Australia while the other kind would include countries like Bangladesh, Vietnam, Myanmar, Laos and Cambodia. Between these two extremes are several countries of the Asia Pacific who are developing and could not be confined to the typical archetype of the Third World. Instead they are more often known as the developing countries. Varied amongst themselves, these countries are characterised by a substantial peasant base along with emerging middle class depending on the extent of industrialization of the economy. Expansion of the industrial base leads to the establishment of a working class. Urbanisation attracts the rural population to migrate to the cities irrespective of the kind of employment scope that cities generate; it may lead to the creation of slums in the cities. Subsequently, a large lower middle class exists alongside a moderate middle class in cities of the developing countries. Such has been the case in countries like Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, China and India. Multi-ethnicity and multiculturalism marks the societies of the Asia Pacific. Again here, there are two dimensions to it, first, the issue of immigrant societies and second, the existence of minority population in several societies of the Asia Pacific. Immigrant societies like the United States, Canada and Australia are essentially multicultural because they have been home to different communities and races from other parts of the world especially Asia. However in New Zealand, the population is divided between immigrants from Europe and the local population of Maoris and Pacific Islanders. Demographic homogeneity is an

136 oxymoron in the sense that no country can have a complete homogenous population. In any case, considering the composition of the majority population of various countries, Japan and both the Koreas are considered homogenous societies. China has a majority of Han Chinese population while Muslims, Tibetans, and a number of ethnic groups in some provinces of the country constitute minority population. Interestingly Chinese are spread throughout South East Asia; in some places they are present in majority like in Singapore while in Indonesia, Malaysia and in Thailand they are known as ethnic minority. Interestingly, in Thailand, majority of the Thai are of Chinese origin but now they are known as Thais. Myanmar is home of several ethnic groups who are not only different from the lowland Burmans, they are also different from each other and strive to protect and maintain their identity. The differences between the Vietnamese and the hill people are not so stark. Indonesia is home to the majority Javanese but there are almost 300 indigenous ethnic minority groups that include Sundanese, Madurese, Bugis, Malay, Minangkabau. In certain portion of Southeast Asia Indians are also a minority but not a major minor groups as the Chinese; they are present in Malaysia, and in Myanmar. In contrast people of Indian origin are present in almost all the countries of South Asia. So also in some of the Pacific Islands especially in the Fiji islands wherein the simmering tension between the indigenous Fijians and the Fijians of the Indian origin affect the politics of the country. In case of the Pacific Islands like the Solomon Islands or Papua New Guinea, the peace and stability depends upon the relationship between the several tribal groups of these countries. When one looks at the cultural systems of the Asia Pacific, it is easy to relate them to the demographic plurality of the societies. Here cultural systems do not imply referring to living styles and patterns of various communities, rather it implies the values that underline the various societies of this region. The vast region of the Asia Pacific is a melting pot of a number of cultural systems inherited from various civilizations over a period of time. These contributing civilisations include both the Western and the Oriental, the Islamic and the Hindu civilisational influence. In terms of specific civilisational influences, as Huntington

137 had identified, the Western, Sinic, Japanese, Islamic, Indian, even the Russian Orthodox civilisational influences are to be noticed. However the presumption of clashes between these civilisations is not necessary. In the Asia Pacific, countries like the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand may seem to be home to the western civilisation and culture but the fact is that Western civilisation has been pervasive in large parts of the Asia Pacific —Latin America, South East Asia. This has been through imperialism in history and through the spread of technology, market and western values in the contemporary times; globalization has just hastened the process. At present western ideas some more in consonance with US social values and ideas but they are based on some of the basic tenets of Enlightenment like the rationality, scientific and secular outlook. This largely underlines the beliefs like the separation of the secular and the religious, the personal and the public and the belief in the rule of law, equality and liberty. Thus all the systems influenced by the Western values basically cater to the liberal democratic order that is preciously promoted and defended by the United States and the other western orders of the Asia Pacific. On the other hand perhaps the Oriental civilisational influences would include the Sinic, the Japanese and the Indian influences. Herein it is necessary to understand that Japan's influence had been conditioned and curtailed by its image as an imperial power. Though as an imperial power, Japan reached as far as South East Asia and the Indian subcontinent, but its cultural influence based on Shintoism seemed to be limited to Korea and Taiwan. In contrast the Sinic values and the Indic values based on Taoism, Confucianism and Hinduism, Buddhism respectively have had far more prominent influence on several countries of the Asia Pacific mostly East Asia and South East Asia. All these civilisational influences share a common perspective in integrating the whole life rather than creating spaces like the private and the public. Moreover these cultures are basically conservative because they do not encourage questioning and systemic changes. Islam also has enormous cultural influence in the region. Asia Pacific is home to the country with largest Muslim population country—Indonesia; in Malaysai

138 Muslims are majority, so to in the island country of Brunei. In other some other states of the region, Muslims are a minority in some of the Asian states of the Asia Pacific—Thailand, Myanmar, the Philippines, Cambodia and China. In the western orders of the Asia Pacific they have become a minority because of immigration, Islam bears a similarity with the Oriental value systems in believing in approach but deviates because Islam believes in integrating every aspect of life with religion, even politics. However a certain section of Islam believers have become more radicalized and that has had an effect on politics. Thus in Muslim- majority countries like Indonesia and Malaysia there is a drive to establish Islamic states and some identity based movements are fuelled by radical Islamic ideas like in Thailand. Yet large sections of Islamic populations are liberal in accepting that Islam needs to accept plurality and accept other religions, values and cultural systems. Not discounting the vast range of diversity evident in the political, economic, and socio-cultural systems of the Asia Pacific, there are some basic commonalities like the preference for democratic liberal values though the intensity and nature may differ from system of system. Again though capitalist mode of development has been accepted by a number of Asia Pacific economies, their nature differs. However what seems to have become a common feature and concern for the Asia Pacific is the continued interest and involvement of the United States in this region. As mentioned before, the entire construct of the Asia Pacific is propelled on US strategic interests in the region. The US involvement in the region makes the intra-state of the other major players even more relevant. Yet the question that remains is whether the contemporary international relations of the Asia Pacific is becoming more state centric making the regional organisations weak platforms for negotiations and communication? Perhaps one way to figure this is to understand the significance of the Asia Pacific in international relations.

1.6 Significance of the Asia Pacific in International Relations

The significance of the Asia Pacific in global affairs is becoming increasingly evident. Since the end of the second world war some parts of the Asia Pacific

139 became increasingly relevant for Cold war politics namely bloc politics. This significance of the Asia Pacific in world politics has been in consonance with the fact that the present Asia Pacific is organized after the Westphalia Model. Yet the history of the Asia Pacific (especially Asia) is previous to the modern Westphalia system. In earliest times, states were predated by kingdoms, but some kingdoms developed into empires and civilisations that spread their influence over large areas of their neighbourhood. Such great civilisations include the Chinese civilisations, the Indian civilisation and in a limited form the Japanese civilization. Thus interstate relationship in these regions largely moved along the lines of the influence of these large empires on the neighbouring regions and the paying of tributes by the subsidiaries to them. Chinese influence was largely cultural and civilisational and not essentially political. Therefore the influence of the Chinese civilisation spread to Japan, Korea, Vietnam and other parts of South East Asia. During the same period, Japan as a civilisation did not perhaps match up Chinese influence and remained largely confined to its borders. The Indic influence spread to South East Asia; yet the Chinese influence were clearly evident. The term Indo-China covering the mainland South East Asia is reflective of both the influences on the region. Yet it needs to be mentioned that at no point of time during the earlier periods did any one of these major states have complete influence over entire South East Asia. Moreover the ancient kingdoms of the South East Asia, in its international relations employed a form of the 'Mandala' theory that confined its major interstate relations within the neighbourhood and did not spread beyond a point. The spread of Islam to the Asia Pacific was limited mostly to the coastal areas through trade in South East Asia and there were no Islamic empires in the region. The introduction of western powers did not imply an immediate change of the international affairs of the region because the primary interests of the Europeans were trade and missionary work. One of the best ways of penetration without engaging in full scale political control was through the establishment of trading companies; in this way, European powers gained access to various countries of the Asia Pacific—Portugal got access to Indonesia, Malaysia and China (Macau).

140 Spain's access was limited to the Philippines and later Netherlands outdid Portugal and got access to Indonesia and Japan. The French and the British were interested in both the Far East and the Indian subcontinent. In the nineteenth century European interests moved towards acquisition of territory making international relations more competitive and prone to conflict. In Northeast Asia the western powers were gaining concessions in China and sooner various countries established their spheres of influences in different parts of the country— Hong Kong and the Yangtze Valley (Britain), Yunnan (France), Shantung Peninsula (Germany). Even Russia gained parts of Central Asia and Northern Manchuria became a Russian sphere of influence. The impact of western powers on Japan was somewhat different in the sense that they were not only able to resist competition of the western powers, by the nineteenth century Japan was in a position to compete with Russia and expand its influence on the neighbouring regions especially Korea and Japan. Subsequently Japan's rise as an ambitious power drew in into the Pacific war theatre in the 1930s and 1940s and identified it as an imperial state. South East Asia during the nineteenth century was home to intense imperial competition between Britain, France, Netherlands, Spain, the US, and Japan as the only Asian imperial power. In fact Japan offered its own brand of Asian identity under the banner of East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere and in many cases Japanese occupation worked as a platform for the advancement of independence. As the majority states became independent the region was soon immersed in Cold War. Around the same time the struggle between the nationalists and the communists in the China led to the victory of the latter and the birth of the Republic of China which was seen as a serious threat by the United States which had established a post-war relationship with Japan. The period from late 1940s to 1980s is the period of Cold War politics that affected the international politics of the Asia Pacific. The war between the two Koreas brought China into direct confrontation with the western powers. In particular US protection of Taiwan became a source of constant irritation between the United States & China. The PRC saw US support and protection of Taiwan 141 as unwarranted interference in the Chinese civil war. From the Chinese perspective, the United States was attempting "encirclement" of China. Subsequently the Vietnam War became a contending ground between the major powers —China, Soviet Union, and the US. The US took the full benefit of the emerging Sino-Soviet conflict and used the dynamics of power politics resulting in a strange alliance between the United States and China and the between the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Against this background, ASEAN emerged as a response to the perceived communist threat spreading in South East Asia; this later evolved into a successful regional organisation incorporating all the member states of the region. In the 1970s and the 1980s in South East Asia the Vietnam War attained new dimensions by involving Cambodia. In North East Asia, an evolving rapprochement between the US and China led to a solution of the Taiwan crisis through the "One China" principle declared in the Shanghai Communiqué. This also had implications for Japan; the country developed economically and looked forward to playing an international role encouraged by the US. However Japan's relationship with the neighbourhood remained complicated forcing the country to be cautious about its military role. As a successful economy, there was an increased opportunity for Japan to use aid as a tool of economic diplomacy. As a member of the G7, Japan's used its economic success to grow its relationship with South East Asia. Its economic success was used as a model for inspiring economic growth in the countries of South East Asia and other countries of the Asia Pacific. The result was the emergence of the Asian Tigers—South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore which experienced high growth rate based on high scale industrialization and high scale government support for export led growth strategy. On the other hand countries like North Korea, Myanmar experienced low growth rate as much as politically they remained authoritarian states bereft of democratic space. In the 1970s and the 1980s, regionalism evolved in South East Asia, yet issues of colonialism and the challenges of post colonial orders challenged the security and stability of different states of the region. In the 1970s East Timor was

142 forcefully occupied by the Indonesian forces and became independent in the 1990s after a long independence struggle. On the other hand, as a result of the post colonial will, many groups within South East Asian states saw themselves as separate nations and continue to struggle for their own rights and space in the mainstream. This in turn challenged the peace and internal security of the states. Since the 1990s the international order has undergone change and one of the most important developments is the emergence of Asia as a region of economic power and political salience. Asia along with the United States makes Asia Pacific an emerging player in global politics. The vital component in the region, prominence in international politics is the economic prowess it displays and the development potential it carries. Steady economic development (GDP predicted to grow at a 5% average in 2015-2016) coupled with the absence of any major wars of Cold War dimensions increases the possibility of the region sustaining its position as an important player in international relations. Much of this economic growth, peace and stability are pegged on China while other significant Asian states like, Japan, India and the Pacific state of Australia have their share of contributions. Even North Korea with all its negative image and nuclear arsenal will remain an important state for the overall peace and stability of the region. China's present stature in Asia and its implications for international politics is not only a concern for the Asian neighbours but a serious concern for the United States. In fact, US attention towards the Asia is largely China-focused. A huge array of US literature continues to strive to understand the dynamics of China as an Asian giant, perhaps a threshold global power. China's assertive position regarding its territorial and maritime disputes underlined with its military preparedness is not only a concern for the US but also intimidates the Asian countries especially the neighbours like Japan, India and some of the South East Asian countries. Its fearful and unsure neighbours of China scurrying for some form of reassurance from the United States and thus US finds some traditional friends in Asia in so far as the strategic balance of the region is concerned. The present US administration has designed a strategy for the

143 Asia Pacific—the Strategic Pivot Strategy. It recognises the need to build a strong relationship with the countries of Asia Pacific at every level possible and through various channels. Thus the US continues to push hard for economic integration of the Asian and Pacific economic through the APEC. Another arrangement, the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) aims to bring together economies from across the Pacific—developed and developing alike—into a single trading community. As the countries of South East Asia have not shown much interest in the TPP a separate arrangement has been designed to engage with the ASEAN through the ASEAN expanded Economic Engagement (ASEAN E3). Besides, the US has also launched the Lower Mekong Initiative in order to reduce the gap between the ASEAN states of that region. An emergent dimension of contemporary Asia Pacific is the question of the security of the maritime domain. The peace and security of the Pacific waters will hold key to the strategic balance of the region. Concepts like the Indo Pacific and the Indian Ocean Rim are increasingly relevant for the peace and security of the region involving regional and extra regional players. Prominent maritime disputes like the South China Sea and the East China Sea are a challenge to such peace and security. In this case the position and military potential of the disputants are of serious concern; China happens to be involved in both the major maritime disputes. Yet one cannot lose sight of the fact that the Asia Pacific Rim is also threatened by an array of non-traditional security threats like the piracy, terrorism, environmental degradation, natural calamities, and health hazards that forces even disputants to come on board together. The quest for energy resources and other natural resources including maritime ones is related to the security of the maritime domain. In fact the two energy hungry economies of Asia—China and India make them inevitable competitors but the United States and Japan are also in need for energy resources and are thus constantly worried about any serious trouble in the international waters. It will also hamper international trade that involves countries beyond this region. Countries of other continents also keep a watchful eye on the developments of the Asia Pacific making the region crucial to contemporary international politics.

144 1.7 Points to Remember ? Pacific Asia would include East Asia and some powers of the Pacific like the United States, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. East Asia is sub- divided into North East Asia and South East Asia. ? Asia Pacific is a construct/term conceived and popularized in international relations and particularly in area studies primarily by the United States and later used in area studies by many other countries. ? The region is not only diverse in terms of geographical terrain, climatic conditions and demography; it is also diverse in political systems, economic systems, ethnic profiles and even the value systems of the region. ? Yet there are attempts at forging regional identity through regional institutions like the ASEAN, APEC. ? Prior to the contemporary Westphalia state system the history of inter- state relationship showed strong contacts with the neighbouring region; most influences were civilisational —Chinese, Indian. ? The region has been witness to more than one Cold War conflict that began from the 1940s and continued till the 1990s; yet during the same period there were attempts to build regional identity like the ASEAN. ? The rise of the Asia Pacific as a prominent region is largely straddled on the economic growth of countries like China, Japan and the Asian Tigers. The US is trying its best integrate these large Asian economies with that of the Pacific ones through the APCE. ? In recent times the strategic significance of the Asia Pacific region has become more conspicuous with the growing significance of the maritime domain that features prolonged maritime disputes involving major states of the Asia Pacific. Yet there is ample scope for cooperation in dealing with non-traditional threats of the region.

145 1.8 Sample Questions Essay Type Questions 1. What are the basic considerations to keep in mind while introducing the Asia Pacific as a region? 2. Write in details about the basic features of the Asia Pacific. 3. How do you account for the continuing significance of the Asia Pacific as a region in International Relations? Short Questions 1. Analyse the nature of political system in the Asia Pacific. 2. Explain the economic system of the Asia Pacific region. Very Short Questions 1. Discuss the influence of politics of religion in the Asia Pacific region. 2. What are the major objectives of ASEAN ? 1.9 Suggested Readings 1. Vera Simone,

100%

MATCHING BLOCK 10/12

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147 Unit : 2 ? Authoritarianism, Civil-Military Relations and Prospects of Democratisation in Select Pacific Countries —Indonesia, Philippines and South Korea Structure 2.0 Objectives 2.1 Authoritarianism and Civil-Military relationship in the Asia Pacific 2.2 Indonesia 2.3 The Philippines 2.4 South Korea 2.5 Points to Remember 2.6 Sample Questions 2.7 Suggested Reading 2.0 Objectives The present chapter highlights on the following : ? The relationship between authoritarianism of the civil and military in the Asia Pacific. ? The reasons for the existence of long serving dictatorship in Indonesia. ? The combined role of the Armed Forces (APP) & civil Government in Philippines. ? The commendable economic progress made in Korea in the early years with largest military rule system—its gradual transition towards democratization.

148 2.1 Authoritarianism and Civil Military Relationship in the Asia Pacific The discussion on authoritarianism and civil military relationship in the Asia Pacific is primarily premised on the general understanding that liberal democratic state orders are the general norm. Liberal democratic states presuppose (deeply) entrenched liberal, democratic values and believe in the primacy of a civilian government that is well in control of the polity. However the case of civilian governments and authoritarian ones need not be a zero-sum-game in the sense that even civilian governments may show trends of authoritarianism, as has been the case in some states of the Asia Pacific. The idea of 'Asian Values' espoused by leaders of the East like the erstwhile Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohammed, has underscored the basic ethos of the development dictatorships of the Asia Pacific—Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore to name a few. However, these have been equated to authoritarianism in the Western orders because the East Asian democracies differ from their rather romanticized democratic ideals that celebrate individual liberty against government interventions. Many of the regimes in the Asia Pacific would prioritize the system to the individual and consider development of the community more important than individual gains and individual space. It has been widely argued that free market development precedes democracy and civil rights, as indeed it did in the West. But the point of difference had been expressed by the former Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew when he stated that he does not believe that democracy necessarily leads to development because what a country needs to develop is discipline more than democracy. Since the Asian crisis that hit some of the Asia Pacific, the role of the Asian values and development dictatorships in their ability to sustain economic growth and development has been severely criticised in favour of good governance; the late nineties saw the toppling of development dictatorships like in Indonesia and the tottering of the Malaysian pseudo-democratic order. Yet there are questions regarding the ability of some of the non-democratic regimes to sustain and

149 develop economically irrespective of severe criticisms regarding its standards of governance and the ability to provide its basic democratic space characteristic of liberal regimes. For example countries like China, Vietnam, Singapore and North Korea escaped the effects of the economic meltdown and continued to maintain their regimented political order. In fact China embraced elements of market capitalism and has emerged as one of the most profound economies of the region. On the other hand Singapore long emerged as one of the Asian Tigers under strong regimented governments and continues to be a leading economy of the region without altering its political orientation. Of recent Myanmar has embarked on a journey towards democratisation and embracing market reforms but has a long way to go. It only leaves North Korea as the only non-capitalist totalitarian regime. Again in some of these countries the military has substantial influence and continue to have their say irrespective of political reforms, like in Myanmar, China, Indonesia and Thailand. Thus the question of civil-military relationship becomes relevant to the viability of political stability. Several studies have focused on the elements of military's role in the Asia Pacific, most of them try to understand why and how the military continues to actively involved in the political regimes of the day. The military have been powerful actors in many of the autocracies of the region, but they differed to the extent to which roles were cast. While in countries like the Philippines the government was formally led by the civilians, in Myanmar, Thailand and South Korea, they were more directly involved. However, Indonesia for long was ruled by a civil-military coalition. It has been observed that in case of military led governments or mixed governments, civilians has to push to make space for themselves; in civilian led governments the civilian governments had been constantly working to prevent military impositions, make ways into domains strictly reserved for the army like the defence policies, the national security issues in order to prevent military adventurism and losing ground to them. Seemingly the threat of military interventions into the civilian political space always loomed large. The question that now receives attention is whether in the post democratic

150 transitions the civil-military relationship confine the military to its restricted role under the watchful eyes of the civilian government(s). Over the last two decades, some countries of the Asia Pacific have undergone democratisation during the third wave of democratisation. These countries include South Korea in Northeast and Indonesia, the Philippines in Southeast Asia. Civil military relationship in the emerging democracies in the Asia Pacific especially East Asia is characterised by overlapping as well as shared competencies and areas of contestations in responsibilities, and informal networking between the civilian elites and military officers. In these democracies the military had been a powerful actor and played a critical role in decision making as a shareholder in an elite coalition system. As a result the military had pervasive influence over not only defense matters but other issues too that included not only police work & developmental issues but also nation building. In many cases the authoritarian leadership relied on the military coercion to guarantee security of their regime and thwart the opposition. Thus in most of these countries the military imagined themselves as nation builders and warrantors of regime survival and general guarantors of the security and stability of the country. Thus military continued to hold stakes whether in civilian authoritarianism (Philippines), in military authoritarianism (South Korea) or in civilianized military rule (Indonesia). These three emergent democracies will be discussed in detail in the following part of the present section.

2.2 Indonesia

The military made an important contribution towards the nationalist movement of Indonesia by struggling against Dutch colonialism and earning its place in the nation building process of the country. Following two decades of civilian rule which had its weaknesses first under a phase of parliamentary democracy and Guided Democracy under Sukarno, the self proclaimed New Order regime set in gradually a military dominated political regime under the leadership of General Suharto from 1967-1998. Especially since the 1970s the military remained only second to the President not only dominating the defense and security related 151 decision making, but also in civilian administration. This was institutionalized by the concept of dwifungsi (dual function) and kekerayaan (the practice of promoting active military personnel to non-military duties). These gave military access to policy centers, decision making and administrative activities at all the levels of state bureaucracy. In the late 1970s differences between Suharto and the military began to grow wherein Suharto encouraged promotion, patronage and internal divisions within the military to create divisions and ensure his predominance in leadership. Within the parliamentary system Suharto successfully managed to circumscribe the military power by promoting Golkar the political party initially established for joint domination by the military and bureaucratic domination; they were being played against each other. With the partial civilianization of politics through the Golkar, military became even more dependent on Suharto to survive in politics. Corruption began to increase as the military became rent-seeking in order to gain access into cushy positions in politics. This ultimately made the military corrupt and involved in illicit activities. Military factionalism further strengthened Suharto's position as an arbitrator while he used them for repressing all forms of political oppositions and dissents—trade union, students, religious groups and media. During the reformasi (whereby Indonesia became democratic as fallout of the Asian crisis), the army had played a rather reserved role in using force against the anti-Suharto forces. This was instrumental in his forceful resignation. In the post- Suharto period since interim President Habibie, there has been demand for the gradual withdrawal of the military from politics and the increasing civilian control over them. However, Post-Suharto efforts to assert civilian control over the military and return it 'to the barracks' have enjoyed only mixed success. The military still continue to be a powerful player and successful civilian control is yet to be established. On the one hand, the 'dual-function' or the dwifungsi doctrine has been repudiated, also military representation in the legislatures and civilian bureaucracy has been abolished and the police have been removed from military control. On the other, the military has successfully resisted demands to dismantle

152 its territorial structure or to limit the scope of its business activities, which are critical for its funding, as the official defence budget is generally understood to cover only about a third of its total spending. Former President and former general Yudhoyono enjoyed a reputation as a military reformer, but his record in the military's division for social and political affairs and minister under Wahid and Megawati does not vouch unequivocally for his reformist credentials. There are several reasons for the inability to establish civilian control over the Indonesian Army even after reformasi. First is the involvement of the army in bringing about the downfall of Suharto making them party in deciding the post-Suharto leadership. Second, is the deep fragmentation and instability of the leadership in post democratic Indonesia that required the leaders to take constant support from the army; for instance, President Habibie or President Megawati Sukarnoputri never antagonized the army for need of their support. Third, the rise of radical religious forces and separatist challenges that plagued the country required the army to handle the security situation though at times it gave them license to create critical conditions like in East Timor. Fourth is the ability of the army to resist structural reforms that would harm their core interests; for instance, the military put up fierce opposition towards plans to reform the territorial command structure, and tried to circumvent government initiatives to take control of military businesses. In this context, the new President Joko Widodo is the first head of the state from both outside the military and the existing political elite to get the responsibility of running the country. Whether he can impose reforms that will further abate army's role in Indonesian politics is to be seen.

2.3 The Philippines

In comparison to Indonesia the army's role in nation building in the Philippines has been less accentuated. The Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) historically have been controlled by the Congress, the President, and the local oligarchs who exerted their influence over their appointments so as to use them as bargaining chips for political competition. Notwithstanding the fact that in Philippines the government has been more or less a civilian one, the army

153 considered itself the vanguard of the modern state ensuring security first against Communist subversion and later against the separatist movement in Southern Philippines. As the United States by means of its 1952 Defense Treaty provided for security against external aggression, the (AFP) focused basically on internal security, insurgency; consequently, it structured and trained itself on counter insurgency operations mostly. In context of the communist armed insurgency in the post-independence period, the army was involved in various political and social activities including decision making. Subsequently in the 1950s the army got involved in mushrooming joint civic-military projects wherein military officers were appointed in civilian posts of the government. The 1972 Martial Law further empowered the military. The political empowerment of the military continued to expand during Marcos regime as he became involved in military appointments. In a queer partnership with the AFP President Marcos recruited his relatives and friends to military posts which gave the army further way into governance. It encouraged factionalism, corruption and favouritism eroded military professionalism and the army failed to focus on counter insurgency. After the failed coup of General Ramos, and the uprising, the Aquino administration (braving several military coups) and its successor the Ramos administration concentrated on reinstating military professionalism. Both these regimes tried to establish liberal democratic order and establish civilian control over the military, mostly trying to swing AFP's orientation towards external security. It involved modernization of the army and equipments that was done mostly by the Ramos administration. Yet in 2001, the co-optation of the AFP by the succeeding Gloria Macapagal Arroyo regime in order to serve the movement of the opponent Estrada supporters converted her into a mere figurehead. The Arroyo administration undid the achievements created by her predecessor government and found it expedient to link the counter insurgency campaign with the country's development plans and policies. This move enabled the AFP to participate in the formulation of the national security policy, and to be a key player in 21st century Philippine politics. Another aspect of the renewed military civil administration alliance in the Philippines was the renewal of the US Philippines security

154 relationship which was done under US pressure; this further empowered the military and proved to be a critical component of the partnership between Arroyo administration and the AFP. It paved the way for the Philippines army to tread into civilian administrative domains. AFP's increasing involvement with the civilian administration has converted it into the dominant partner in the partnership to the extent that a senior military official commented that, the Philippine military has evolved into an institution which no longer subordinates itself unconditionally to its commander-in-chief. However the army has stopped short of a takeover from the civilian government because of a number of factors. First, because the army is aware that it will be unable to draw an alternative, viable framework of governance and national development. Second, the AFP is aware that the resistance power of the civil society and the civilian opposition in the Philippines will make it difficult for them to rule. Third, the attempt of a military take-over will annoy its most important and perhaps the only strategic ally the US—that the army would not like to risk. Thus it is prudent for the AFP to continue with the partnership with the civilian government. The present President Benigno Aquino III had mentioned in his electoral campaign to reduce the dominance of the army in civilian matters but during his tenure, he has stressed on the modernization of the military with a hope that the army will eliminate all forms of insurgent threats. Yet, with the rise of maritime disputes in the South China Sea, territorial defense has become increasingly important. Subsequently, the AFP's shift from internal security to territorial defense has gained momentum with the ascendancy of Benigno Aquino III to the Philippine presidency. This is supplemented by the drive towards modernization of the AFP. The underlying argument is that modernization of the army will arrest its involvement in the domestic politics of the country. So is the attempt to again orient the AFP towards territorial security; but so long internal threats remain, the army's involvement will not become totally oriented towards territorial security. To that extent the army will have some interest in the civilian administration. Moreover the army that has begun to believe that it is indispensable to the civilian government not as a subordinate but as a superior

155 partner, it will be an uphill task for Aquino Administration to restore civilian control over the military. Particularly so, because, insurgency in that country, has proven to be resilient in the past and the enormous resources involved in modernizing the ill-equipped AFP is not available with the government.

2.4 South Korea

The direct involvement of the army in Korean politics and government is especially concentrated within the period of 1961-1988. The involvement began in 1961 with the military intervention through a coup under the leadership of General Park Chung Hee. He came to power through the coup that usurped power from the Democrat Party, result of the 19th Revolution in 1960 against anti-communist dictatorship of Ree Syng Man. Later General Hee marginalized the ruling military junta and institutionalized a quasi-civilian presidency (Yushin System) with a strong military backup; the 1963 constitution endorsed this government. The Korean state under this regime made commendable economic progress but also became the largest military rule system; it resembled a garrison state. The country had a huge defense budget; almost 16 percent of the population joined the army. General Chung Lee recruited ex army generals at government positions and appointed army personnel to important administrative jobs including state enterprises and foreign policy. Subsequently jobs at the army proved to be the single most channel of upward mobility. The Yushin dictatorship was one of the most repressive leading to pro-democratic movements. The democratization movement of the early 1970s was different from that of the past since it became an all-out struggle against dictatorship against the repressive Yushin system. The assassination of Park Chung Hee was the result of the inevitable collision between the Park regime and the democratization movement which was preceded by years of confrontations and escalated tension between both parties under the Yushin system. General Chun was assassinated. After the Gwangju Popular Uprising neo-military forces elected their coup leader General Chun Doo Hwan

156 as the President of South Korea under the Yushin Constitution. He was the commander of the Defense Security Command who seized power in May 1980. He headed the Hanahoe or the Group One which was appointed to key positions within the security apparatus in during the closing years of the Park dictatorship. Unlike the Park regime, this was not a one-man dictatorship but a collective leadership of the Hanahoe faction. Duties were divided wherein the active members took control of the key military units and intelligence agencies while the retired members took over other vital positions like the Presidential secretariat, the ruling Democratic Justice and the general intelligence service. President Chun's regime continued to function under General Park's 1963 Constitution and after a stint of seven years the military found it necessary to establish a new Constitution in 1987 in order to ensure political stability. This was necessary in the face of the major demonstrations that were taking place when General Chun before his resignation, nominated Roh Tae Woo as his successor. Given a momentum for changing the movement for democracy turned into a massive popular uprising for democratization and it actually turned into a massive popular uprising in 1987 which was the June Democratic Uprising. The government under Roh Tae Woo resisted from imposing martial law so to prevent further antagonising the popular sentiment and moved on to political reforms. Subsequently the 1987 Constitution facilitated direct Presidential elections which Tae Woo won because of a split opposition. The aim was to democratize the military system to establish a quasi-civilian system as against direct institutional involvement of the military. This change was possible because unlike the militaries of Southeast Asia or even Latin America, the army of South Korea did not have uninhibited access to the various governmental resources—financial, institutional or technological. Moreover there were evident divisions between the have and the have-nots within the army in the sense that there were senior members of the army who did not get benefits like the Hanahoe faction. As a result there was not much united military stand against the opposition movement that took place in the 1987, In the end democratization movement forces lost the

157 presidential election which was the founding election for the first President after democratization. In conclusion the democratization movement successfully brought about a democratic transition in South Korea through the June Democratic Uprising but failed to take the initiative in establishing a democratic government Rather it provided an opportunity for remnants of the past dictatorial regime to come back to power legitimately. After democratization the conservative forces behind the Roh Tae Woo regime could return to power once more by winning over a prominent politician from a former democratic opposition party to their side. The result was the emergence of the Kim Young Sam. After ten years from the democratic transition in 1987 Kim Dae Jung was elected. President of South Korea in the presidential election held in December 1997. The Kim Dae Jung government was a very meaningful event because it was the first regime change by election brought about by a democratic opposition party. The difference with the 1987 elections was that candidature of Roh Tae Woo was on nomination by the Chun Doo Hwan. He could win because candidates from democratic opposition parties were divided. In this sense the democratic transition of 1987 was only a formal one. In contrast, the substantial transition to democracy came after a decade with the victory of the democratic opposition party in the 1997 presidential election. The Kim Dae Jung government and its successor government led by President Roh Moo Hyun had undertaken a number of initiatives towards democratic reforms-removing corruption, curtailing authoritarian practices and promoting human rights. Despite the progress of political democracy South Korean democracy is now faced with socio economic challenge; South Korean society is confronted with serious regional disparities and social conflicts. Since the financial crisis in 1997 in particular, the effect of economic growth has polarized. Such disparities and conflicts are further aggravated by the fact that unlike western countries, South Korea does not have a solid social welfare system and that is causing a great amount of dissatisfaction and discontentment amongst the people. Thus globalization while unleashing rapid economic growth is also pressures on democracy in terms of equitable growth and social security.

158 2.5 Points to Remember ? Various political regimes in the Asia Pacific show that civilian governments and authoritarian ones need not be a zero-sum-game in the sense that even civilian governments may show trends of authoritarianism. Likewise authoritarian governments may adopt certain limited liberal measures so as to ward off opposing forces. ? The concept of Asian Values that prioritize the system to the individual, underscore the development dictatorships of the Asia Pacific. However this has been equated to authoritarianism by western countries. ? The Asian Economic Crisis questioned development dictatorship in favour of good governance bringing several long serving dictatorships like Indonesia. Yet there are cases of apparently illiberal political systems that have not only survived the economic crisis but are showing high rates of economic growth post economic reforms. ? The military have been powerful actors in many of the autocracies of the region, but they differed to the extent to which roles were cast; while in countries like the Philippines the government was formally led by the civilians, in Myanmar, Thailand and South Korea, they were more directly involved, Indonesia for long was ruled by a civil-military coalition. ? The military had pervasive influence over not only defense matters but other issues too that included, police work, developmental issues but also nation building. In most of these countries the military imagined themselves as nation builders and warrantors of regime survival and general guarantors of the security and stability of the country. ? Civil military relationship in the emerging democracies of this region is characterised by overlapping as well as shared competencies and areas of contestations in responsibilities, and informal networking between the civilian elites and military officers. Such countries include –Indonesia, the Philippines and South Korea.

159 2.6 Sample Questions Essay Type Questions 1. Explain the causes of political authoritarianism in the region with the help of suitable examples. 2. Account for the growth of military involvement in politics in the regions. Use Indonesia and the Philippines as examples to substantiate your points. 3. What is the future of new democracies like the Philippines in the region? Justify your position. Short Questions 1. Explain the relationship between military and non military powers in the Asia Pacific. 2. Discuss the role played by Military in most of the countries of the Asia Pacific. Very Short Questions 1. Write a short note on 'Asian Values'. 2. Write a short note on Golden Party. 2.7 Suggested Readings 1. Vera Simone,

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The Asian Pacific : Political and Economic Development in a Global Context,

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160 4. Tanweer Fazal, Minority Nationalisms in South Asia, Routledge, 2013 5. Rajat Ganguly and Ian Macduff, Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism in South and Southeast Asia : Causes, Dynamics, Solutions, Sage Publications 2003. 6. Michael Edward Brown and Rajat Ganguly, Government Policies and Ethnic Relations in the Pacific, MIT Press, 1997. 7. Jocelyn Linnekin, Lin Poyer, Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific, University of Hawaii, 1990. 8. Paul Pickard and W. Jeffry Burroughs, Narrative and Multiplicity in Constructing Ethnic Identity, Temple University Press, 2000. 9. Douglas S. Massey, "The New Immigration and Ethnicity in the US", Population and Development Review, Vol. 21, No. 3, September 1995, pp. 631-652. 10. J. Jupp, "Immigration and Ethnicity" Australian Cultural History : The Journal of History of Culture in Australia, Vol 27, No, 2, 2009, pp. 157- 166. 11. Jupp, J 2009, 'Immigrant settlement, ethnic relations and multiculturalism in Australia', in John Highly, John Nieuwenhuysen with Stine Neerup (ed.), Nations of Immigrants : Australia and the USA Compared, Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham, UK, pp. 147-159.

161 Unit : 3 ? Political Economy of the Asia Pacific Structure 3.0 Objectives 3.1 Asia Pacific as a Vibrant Economic Region 3.2 Reasons behind the Economic Orientation 3.3 Challenge of Economic Growth 3.4 Points to Remember 3.5 Sample Questions 3.6 Suggested Reading 3.0 Objectives The present study helps us to know ? How far various economies of the Asia Pacific with their distinct characteristics may or may not complement their political beliefs ? How the economic orientations of the states are conditional by its historical experiences. ? How far ASEAN succeeded in reducing the gap between the developed & developing countries of the region? 3.1 Asia Pacific as a Vibrant Economic Region Asia Pacific as an economic region has been viewed as a vibrant economic region. Some would however like to point out that Asia Pacific as a single economic category is a misnomer because beneath this rubric lies varied forms of economies with their individual characteristics that may or may not complement the political systems. Alongside there are regional variations in terms of economic PGPS (P-VIII M 1-4) (Eng)—11

162 orientations and political beliefs. For instance, in North America and Australasia there has been much enthusiasm in adopting the neo-liberal agenda that is associated with the “Washington consensus” that emphasises on deregulation, privatization and market oriented reforms. In contrast most of the East Asian economies have retained the role of the state as an important player in the economic development of the countries. Even if there has been some liberalization, the state has remained central to the economic reforms. It sends a subtle message that East Asia has no preference for neo-liberal economic ideas. Very interestingly, such countries like China, Vietnam have been achieving remarkable economic growth under the stewardship of the state, Notwithstanding the economic slowdowns, the growth of the US economy still confounds the pessimists and Japan that began from a war-ravaged state has shown remarkable growth. Especially the ‘development state’ pioneered by Japan, that featured close cooperation between state agencies and business elites planned right from the beginnings of the post-war reconstruction, has become a successful model of non-western economic development; it occurred within the context of a form of ‘soft authoritarianism’ with the primacy of the state in almost all the aspects of governance.

3.2 Reasons behind the Economic Orientation

The economic orientation of these economies can be traced back to historical contexts of colonialism and the complicated geopolitical dynamics of the post war years, the Cold War. The introduction of the capitalist order, structures and relations introduced a sense of insecurity within the feudal ruling elite. The matter of fact was that with colonial expansion the breakdown of older social orders and the downfall of the political elites that dominated them was ultimately a function of economic change. The transformative impact of integration into an expanding global capitalist economy was to a large extent responsible for the growing distance from liberal or neoliberal orientation. During the Cold War the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union profoundly affected the wider geopolitics East Asia, subsequently, not only the development of

163 individual East Asian countries, the dynamics of the region as a whole were reflective of the emerging Cold War geopolitics. On the one hand, East Asia was internally divided along ideological lines, making the prospects for any overall regional identity and organization impossible. On the other, the political and economic development of the countries of the region was decisively shaped by this wider geopolitical context, encouraging the sort of state-led development and authoritarian politics that is such a distinctive feature of the region’s post-war trajectory. Overall the economic health shows that the rate of inflation is relatively low, despite rise in prices of commodity and fuel. Inflation in developing Asia-Pacific countries as a whole is projected at 4.8 per cent in 2014 against 5.0 per cent last year. The investments have been moderately increasing and trade steadily rising. The countries of Asia and the Pacific have a track record of success in international trade and foreign direct investment, which has been nurtured by global and regional production networks and global value chains, and supportive trade and transport connectivity. Since the 1994 Bogor Goals were set, trade barriers have continued to decrease, with average tariffs lower in all of the sub-regions of the Asia Pacific. Moreover, despite some protectionist sentiments in some parts of the region, the APEC economies adhere to their World Trade Organization (WTO) obligations; a number of development distastorships are now inducted in the WTO—China in 2001, Vietnam in 2007. Asia-Pacific’s economic dynamism, is driven primarily by individual economies, is expected to further intensify if the region effectively exploits its complementarities and diversity. Regionalism and integration is thus a very important component of the region— regional economic organisations have become important for the ASEAN and more reflective of the Asia Pacific economic regionalism—APEC.

3.3 Challenges of Economic Growth

At present the economies of the region are experiencing subdued economic growth and facing challenges to strong sustained economic growth. Structural constraints and lack of investment space are the primary reasons identified by the

164 United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP). The developing economies are predicted to have an average growth rate below 6 percent hovering somewhere around 5.8 percent. Trade-driven East and North-East Asia is expected to grow moderately at 4.1 percent in 2014 against 4.2 percent in 2013. Despite geographical challenges, Pacific island developing economies are projected to show a comparative growth at 4.9 per cent against 4.0 per cent last year. Growth forecast in South and South-West Asia is predicted to grow from 3.9 per cent in 2013 to 4.7 per cent in 2014. South-East Asia's economy is predicted to grow slower at 4.6 per cent from 4.9 per cent last year. Some of the prominent economies of the Asia Pacific show a slowdown than the previous year. China, India Indonesia and the Russian Federation are projected to grow at 7.5 5,5, 5,4 and 0.3 per cent, respectively, in 2014, compared to 7.7, 4.7, 5.8 and 1.3 per cent, respectively, in 2013. The two most growing and competing economies of the region namely China and the United States are not only related to each other, but also related to the overall health of the economy. There are apprehensions that the rising interest rates in the United States will reduce the consumer capacity of the US consumers, this will affect the Chinese economy that is highly dependent on exports, especially to the United States. If fact, China's high investment rate continues to build export capacity that may become idle if there is a serious recession in the United States. Both the countries are also aware of the trade related differences they have in terms of the increasing trade deficit wherein the US trade lobbies are increasingly questioning the benefits of free trade for the U.S., particularly with countries specializing in low-cost exports. An assortment of conditions are being attached to trade to stop the flow of cheap Chinese goods. Chinese enterprises and exporters have expressed great concerns over all kinds of technical barriers and other safeguard measures particularly against China's exports. In this context, APEC as a vehicle of economic integration could help address the trade anomalies between the major economies as well as provide the other countries to get comparative advantage through trade. One must take note of the

165 fact that originally, the APEC was designed as a community-building institution for general socio-economic cooperation, not an institution for trade negotiations. However, strengthening trade flows has always been an important part of its agenda. In this context, the Bogor Vision is extremely important as it aimed at voluntary and concerted process of liberalization rather than on the basis of binding commitments. To this day, this continues to be the accepted basis of APEC cooperation. Establishing a Free Trade Area is an essential precondition for the success of APEC as a regional economic community. Towards this direction, in 2006, the APEC leadership adopted a Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific (FTAAP) would be the most effective means for achieving the Bogor Goals. However it has argued that, the full benefits of an FTAAP cannot be realized without robust infrastructure to connect our region more efficiently. Unfortunately it has been realized that the current level of infrastructure investment in the region is inhibiting economic growth. The most important point is that a FTAAP would obviously require a different kind of APEC process, one involving formal negotiations and binding rather than voluntary commitments. The Asia Business Advisory Council (ABAC) has suggested certain concrete steps towards the realization of FTAAP such as developing a roadmap and conducting analytical work, building on the work done by APEC, ABAC and PECC, and recognizing the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP), Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) and Pacific Alliance (PA) as important building blocks towards an FTAAP. All these would be made possible if there is political will for a regional trade agreement is forthcoming. In this case, APEC could take lessons from the community building process within ASEAN. This regional group is not only earnestly progressing towards trade liberalization but also addressing the development gaps between its developed members the (ASEAN-6) and the Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam (CLMV) countries through the systematic Initiative for ASEAN Intergration (IAI) and the National Development Gap (NDG) processes. For the Asia Pacific, if not the economic community, the APEC must get a FTAAP in place to sustain the economic dynamism for the region; that seems to move at quite a sluggish pace with the failure of the Early Voluntary

166 Sectoral Liberalization (EVSL) and the snail-paced progress of the Bogor Goals. Meanwhile there is a tendency to encourage plurilateral trading agreements not China-ASEAN (CAFTA), ASEAN-Japan, ASEAN-Korea, and Chile-New-Zealand- Singapore-Brunei (TPSEP), to name a few. There is a need to link these PTAs because, they are seen as a fundamental departure from the original APEC vision. A multiplicity of preferential trading agreements in the Asia-Pacific region gives rise to complex patterns of preference, discrimination and exclusion, and is a recipe for fragmentation of regional markets and trading relationship, thereby denying APEC economies and their businesses the full efficiencies region. 3.4 Points to Remember ? The concept of an Asia Pacific economy is a misnomer because within the region, there are various economics of the Asia Pacific which have their own characteristics and may or may not complement their political beliefs. ? In overall it seems that economies of North America and Australasia have been much enthusiastic in adopting the neo-liberal agenda pursuing trade liberalization. The economies of East Asia in contrast have retained the role of the state in their economic development. Some of these states have done remarkably well under the supervision of the state—Vietnam, China and Japan. ? Much of the economic orientation(s) of the states have been conditioned by its historical experiences. Colonialism conditioned a natural distance from liberal ideas. Subsequently the Cold War shaped the political economic context of East Asia, encouraging the sort of state-led development and authoritarian politics that is such a distinctive a feature of the region’s post-war trajectory. ? At present, Asia Pacific is considered to be a vibrant economic region but the growth is subdued and restrained due to structural constraints and inadequate investment. In order to overcome this, multilateral trade

167 arrangements seem to be necessary. The basic dynamics of multilateral trading arrangements seem to be deregulation and gradual intergration. ? The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation is the multilateral trading arrangement that hopes to give benefit to the bigger economies like the United States and China as well as the smaller and developing economies on the basis of comparative advantage in trade. ? APEC is yet to attain its goal of integration of regional trade but the establishment and the successful functioning of the Free Trade Area of the Asia Pacific, i.e. the FTAAP is a stepping stone towards achieving a liberal multilateral trading system. Meanwhile ASEAN has set an example in achieving certain objectives in reducing the development gaps between the developed and developing countries of that region. 3.5 Sample Questions Essay Type Questions 1. Discuss the emerging importance of the Asia Pacific as a regional political economy. 2. Analyse the nature of economy in Asia Pacific region. 3. Explain the constraints that has challenged the economic development of the Asia Pacific region. Short Questions 1. Discuss the role of APEC in the region. 2. What is Trans Pacific Partnership? Very Short Questions 1. Write short notes on WTO. 2. What do you mean by FTAAP ? 168 3.6 Suggested Readings 1. Vera Simone,

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The Asian Pacific : Political and Economic Development in a Global Context,

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169 Unit : 4 ? Ethnic Problems in Asia—Pacific Region Structure 4.0 Objectives 4.1 Ethnicity in the Asia Pacific 4.2 Ethnicity in South Asia 4.3 Ethnic issues in South East Asia 4.4 Pacific Islands 4.5 Points to Remember 4.5 Sample Questions 4.6 Suggested Reading 4.0 Objectives The study seeks to analyse the following : ? How ethnic groups around the Asia Pacific strives to retain their identity? ? How the various dynamics of inter-ethnic relationship further complicates the situation and may lead to political instability? ? How the political and Social systems in South Asia respond to country ethnic conflicts? ? How the politics and economy propelled on the praxis of ethnicity in the Pacific Islands? 4.1 Ethnicity in the Asia Pacific The question of ethnicity in the Asia Pacific is a rather complex one for the simple reasons that it covers both Asia and the Pacific. The nature of ethnicity and related dynamics of Asia are not exactly similar to that of the Pacific. Yet they

170 bear similarity in the fact that both Asia and the Pacific region are home to a number of ethnic communities and groups ; most of them are not only conscious of their identity; they often strive to create their own space within the mainstream social milieu of the country. The drive for self-conscious existence along the lines of Anderson's imagined communities sometimes have converted into politically conscious movement for gaining some territorial space also. Often these activities are associated with ethno nationalism. There are other angles to the question of ethnicity wherein it has been noticed (and therefore argued) that most of the societies with discrete ethnic segments, with dissimilar and antithetical cultural values and political goals will create such pressures that attempts at responsive, democratic, or alliance-based government will tend to degenerate into political instability and disintegration. Such has been the case in several countries of South and Southeast Asia—Malaysia, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Fiji to name some of them. Besides, the people of the Pacific communities are not only aware of their cultural distinctiveness; they continue to maintain it. The issue of migration is closely linked with the issue of ethnic identity in various countries of the Asia Pacific like the United States and Australia. Each of these areas deserves separate attention but for the purview of this discussion, a synoptic overview of these areas will be provided. 4.2 Ethnicity in South Asia Ethnic heterogeneity is the most common feature of the demographic profiles of South Asia. Populations are divided along language, religion, caste, race, and tribal affiliations. Inter racial relationships tend to be competitive in some cases & can even be conflict-prone. Consequently, political and social systems have become adapted to this complex demographic maze and institutional strategies have been used to counter and curtail ethnic conflicts that pose a challenge to the internal security of a country. Some western scholars like the Tatu Vanhanen have tried to devise ways to figure out which of the countries of South Asia are ethnically more(or most) heterogeneous. Taking into account racial, national/ linguistic, and old religious divisions, it has been found that India is ethnically the

171 most heterogeneous South Asian country (EH 128). For Afghanistan and Bhutan, EH is 90, for Nepal 60, Sri Lanka 57, and Pakistan 55. Bangladesh is ethnically the most homogeneous country (EH only 19). The parameters of ethnic heterogeneity vary on the basis of different parameters. For instance though in Afghanistan, Afghans are said to be homogenous, the tribe, language, and religious sect divide the population into many territorially separate groups, Pashtuns dominate some parts while other tribes and sects like the Tajiks, the Hazaras, the Uzbeks and Turkmen dominate different parts of Afghanistan. Though the majority are Muslims, Sunni Muslims, but Hazaras and a part of Tajiks are Shiite Muslims. In the racially homogenous country of Bangladesh, homogeneity is based on linguistics and culture, and Bengalis are the dominant race. Bengali is the dominant language (99%). Muslims constitute a large majority of the population (88%) and Hindus constitute the most significant religious minority. The tribal hill peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tract (1%) are separated from the Bengali Muslims by race, language, and religion. Bhutan is both racially, linguistically, and religiously divided country. Constituting approximately (70%) of the population the Mongoloids or Indo-Mongoloids are the two major ethno-linguistic groups of the native Bhutanese (the Drukpas). Sarchops in eastern Bhutan are the earliest inhabitants migrated from north-east India and north Burma. So they are Indo-Mongoloids. The Ngalongs migrating from Tibet brought Buddhism with them. They became the rulers subduing the Sarchops and integrating them through conversion of Buddhism and inter- marriages. The Ngalongs speak Dzongkha, a dialect of the Tibetan, and the Sarchops speak several different dialects of non-Tibetan origin. The Nepali- speaking minority lives in the six southern districts. They are mixed Caucasoids and by religion Hindus. They started to settle in southern Bhutan in significant numbers after about 1880. Although Pakistan is considered a racially homogenous (Caucasoids) country and religiously nearly homogeneous country, languages divide the population of Pakistan into five major ethnic groups : Punjabis (48%), Sindhis, Pashtuns, Baluchs, and Mujahirs. Each of them, except Mujahirs (Urdu- speaking refugees from India after the 1947 partition), occupies a separate

172 territory. Islam is the dominant religion (97%), but there are small Hindu and Christian minorities. India's population is divided by race, language, religion, caste, and tribe into numerous and partly overlapping ethnic groups. Racially the population is divided into, Negritos, Proto-Australoids, Mongoloids (further sub-divided into Palau-Mongoloids and Tibeto Mongoloids), the Mediterraneans, the Western Brachycephals (further sub-divided into Alpinism and the Dinarics). Language divides the Indian population into many large and small territorially concentrated minorities. Although Hindi (30%) is designated as the official language, it is prevalent in some Indian states; other regional languages are also popular. Although India is home to other religious communities like Buddhism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, the most important religious communities are the Hindus (83%) and the Muslim minority (11%). Caste divides the Hindu population into thousands of endogamous caste groups. The members of the Scheduled Castes are separated from the caste Hindus by their "untouchability," and they constitute approximately 16 percent of the population. Besides, there are several tribal groups in different parts of the country. The Scheduled Tribes constitute approximately 8 percent of the population. The nature of ethnic cleavages differs from country to country, but they have caused serious problems of various kinds in all countries, including ethnic discrimination, communal riots, separatist movements, rebellions, terrorism, and civil wars. Scholars find South Asia as one of the few regions of the world experiencing ethnic dissonance. At least three countries of this region—India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka have been facing critical ethnic challenges since their independence. In fact Pakistan broke up because of internal ethnic feud and Bangladesh was born by means of external intervention. India has the highest number of ethnic movements in this region because of the complex social fabric that cuts across language, caste, and religion. Now the role of state and administrative institutions in mitigating the demands for separate identity and space expressed through ethno nationalism depends on the ability of such institutions to adapt to the growing demands and reason out with what seems at ethnic nepotisms. It could be assumed that democratic institutions providing

173 representation to all important groups are better adapted to satisfy the requirements to ethnic nepotism than autocratic institutions based on the dominance of one particular group. However, that does not explain the number and intensity of the ethnic secessionist challenges in India where both the state structure and the political system has evolved in response to the social fabric of the country. The matter of fact is that ethnic movements in South Asia are conditioned by the historical legacies of the pre-colonial states and societies; they continue to exert their influence on the contemporary ethnic groups, directly or indirectly, on their demands and struggles. For instance, the claims of pre-colonial Tamil separatists of the existence of Tamil rule at least in Northern Sri Lanka provided them the legitimacy for a claim over that part and creation of separate Tamil Eelam. On a similar line but based on a different historical basis, the Sinhalese claim to an uninterrupted occupation of the land for as long as twenty five centuries underpins their determination to resist partition demanded by what they regard a group of immigrants with at best a claim to having a tributary Tamil state. In addition, the pre-colonial tribal or feudal structure of some of these societies has also been one source of conflict between contemporary states of South Asia and such ethnic groups who feel that their traditional autonomy and privileges, and exclusive claim to material resources. This is grounded on the assumption that the undisturbed power, were being taken away from them either by the state or the immigrants from other areas and states and belonging to other ethnic groups. This provokes resistance and the drive for autonomy or independence. The post colonial state structure has only further aggravated this demand premised on a sense of overall deprivation (social, economic and political) that reifies the apprehension of internal colonialism. As a reaction to this perception of internal colonialism, some of the deprived ethnic groups and regions are stirred by the same consciousness and concepts of nationalism, self-determination. This does not look justified in the eyes of the state, they usually tended to treat ethnic stirring as law and order problems and frequently viewed ethno-nationalism amounting treachery or disloyalty to existing state and thus opted for coercive-repressive responses to it.

174 4.3 Ethnicity in South East Asia Ethnic issues in South East Asia are complicated and varied. In terms of ethnic composition, South East Asia bears a similarity with South Asia because of its heterogeneity; the region is characterised by enormous ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. Some scholars like Gerard Clarke make a distinction between ethnic minorities and indigenous people though he mentions that ethnic minorities are again categorized on the basis of ethnicity (culture) and language and on the basis of religion. Indigenous people are the descendants of the earliest known inhabitants of a territory. Ethnic minorities in contrast are generally settler populations with more recent links to a territory (often stretching back hundreds of years), who share a common identity with groups in at least one other country. In the Philippines, for instance, the Moro Muslims of Mindanao are considered an ethnic minority, with strong bonds to religious and cultural communities in the neighbouring states of Malaysia and Indonesia. In Malaysia, distinctions are drawn between the Orang Asli, the original aborigines of peninsular Malaysia and the Dayaks in the Eastern Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak, who share a common ethnic identity with groups in Kalimantan, the Indonesian-controlled territory on the island of Borneo. Notwithstanding this distinction often governments collapse the two into the generic term of ethnic minorities, such has been case in Vietnam where the indigenous Khmers are not recognised as different from the majority Kinhs. In fact, in mainland Southeast Asia, many ethnic minorities are closely associated through cultural or linguistic affinities with groups (minorities or majorities) in other states and are thus seen as 'foreigners' to varying extents by governments and dominant populations alike. Such has been the situation for the Hmong in Southern China, Vietnam, Laos and Thailand, the Chams of Vietnam and Cambodia and the Nagas in Myanmar. These people are regarded by states as ethnic minorities, distinct from the dominant majority ethnic groups and smaller groups officially regarded as autochthonous (indigenous), even where they are autochthonous to a specific part of the national territory. Again distinction between ethno-linguistic and religious minorities is also clear, although again there is considerable overlap. In other cases, religious

175 identity overlaps considerably with ethnic and/or linguistic identity, for instance the Moro Muslims of the Southern Philippines. In certain cases the state has tried to suppress religious identity by subsuming them with majority identities thus instigating the drive to protect the identity. That has been the case in some Communist states of Southeast Asia like Vietnam where the denial of religious freedom to the Buddhists have led to a religious activism. Distinct religious tensions have also been noticeable in Indonesia in the post independent period. Throughout South East Asia, the ethnic Chinese are better off economically than the majority or dominant population and in many cases they are well organized both socially and politically. In Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore and to a lesser extent in the Philippines, Vietnam and Thailand, Chinese are more assimilated, and they dominate the private sector. Consequently, they have benefited enormously from the economic growth of recent decades. Yet inspite of their economic fortune, the Chinese have suffered politically and culturally. In Indonesia and Malaysia especially, economic success has led to resentment on the part of majority populations, often leading to violence, and attempts by governments to curb their relative economic power. As policy manifestations governments devised policies to distinguish Chinese from the majority Pribumi in Indonesia or Bumiputra in Malaysia, have a strong cultural resonance. Further the resentment against the Chinese in Indonesia has again become overt and many Chinese people were killed and their businesses looted in late 1997 and in 1998 after the severe economic downturn throughout South East Asia. The process of nation building remains incomplete because, in many cases, governments continue to face significant dilemmas in building stable nation- states. Post colonial states treaded along the lines of colonial policies thus institutionalising ethnic tensions. In such cases, ethnic and cultural diversity has traditionally been seen as a threat to national unity and to social cohesion, and post-independence governments have sought to weld from this diversity a uniform national identity. Such has been the problem of assimilating the ethnic minorities of Myanmar, Indonesia, Thailand, and Cambodia. At least in three cases the movements have become largely militarized to the level of insurgency in

176 Thailand, in Myanmar and until recently in the Philippines and not to mention, the Papua ethnic low intensity conflict. Their activities create are suspect of terrorism and have created the ground for external intervention in certain cases as in the Philippines. There is a growing opinion that to contain the tide of growing ethnic violence and associated terrorist activities not only through military and police action, but through promoting development that benefits ethnic minorities and indigenous communities. Fortunately, since the 80s and 90s some of the governments of Southeast Asia have become more democratic and are expected to become more sensitive to the plight of minority groups. Economic growth, coupled with the expansion of the activities of the civil society has resulted in the emergence of organisations that represent or support ethnic minorities or indigenous people. Nonetheless, the 'globalisation' of economic, political and social structures continues to assume societies as homogenous units and to marginalise minority groups. In this context, civil society actors alike still have a lot to do as they strive to redefine the nation-state to accommodate the region's ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples.

4.4 Pacific Islands

Pacific Islands is a vast oceanic region; it covers all the islands ranging from the Arctic to South America and inclusive of Oceania where a number of inhabited islands are located. Especially in the Oceania, the region basically has three groups of islands—Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. Here it is necessary to clarify that there are many other islands located within the boundaries of the Pacific Ocean that are not considered part of Oceania. But the point of demography and ethnic plurality the islands of the Oceania are extremely relevant. In understanding the ethnic disposition of the region the three groups of islands are critical, Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. Melanesia consists of the island of New Guinea, the Bismarck and Louisiade archipelagos, the Admiralty Islands, and Bougainville Island (which make up the independent state of Maluku, Papua New Guinea), the Solomon Islands, the Santa Cruz Islands 177 (part of the Solomon Islands), New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands, Vanuatu (formerly New Hebrides), Fiji, Norfolk Island, and various smaller islands. Micronesia consists of the islands of Kiribati, Nauru, the Marianas (Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands), the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Palau, and the Federated States of Micronesia (Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae, all in the Caroline Islands). Polynesia consists of a triangle that is bound by the Hawaiian Island(s) in the north, New Zealand in the west, and Easter Island in the east. The rest of Polynesia comprises Samoan islands (American Samoa and Samoa), the Cook Islands, French Polynesia (Tahiti and The Society Islands, Marquesas Islands, Austral Islands, and The Tuamotu Archipelago), Niue Island, Tokelau and Tuvalu, Tonga, Wallis and Futuna, and Pitcairn Island. On the basis of the language spoken, the ethnic groups are divided into, the Austronesian Languages, the Aboriginal Languages Group and the Papuan Languages Group. Austronesian languages include the Oceanian languages, numbering about 2.3 million, who occupy Polynesia, Micronesia, and most of the smaller islands of Melanesia. The Papuan languages include about 7 million, and reside on the island on New Guinea and a few of the smaller islands of Melanesia located off the northeast coast of New Guinea. In Australia, the inhabitants of these islands are known as South Sea Islander, in neighbouring New Zealand they are known as Pacific Islanders. In the United States the people of Hawaii, Guam and Samoa are known as the Native Hawaiians, Guamanians or Chamorro and the Samoans respectively; The rest of the Pacific Islands dwellers known as Other Pacific Islanders. A substantial number of Pacific Islands' people live in these continents. The relationship between these non European outsiders and the mainland residents are also a widely researched topic and the governments of Australia, New Zealand and the United States respectively have made several legal and social steps to ensure their protection and position in that country. One also must make a mental note of the fact that, geographical location of the islands also created situations where societies have remained isolated and even within a single the group of islands like the Melanesians or the Polynesians, the inter-ethnic contacts were limited. Supra ethnic entities were very limited barring PGPS (P-VIII M 1-4) (Eng)—12

178 a few exceptions like Fiji, Tonga and Samoa. As such most of the Oceania region comprises of post colonial societies. The colonial lineage of every island state ensured that every state had to go through nationalist struggle, self-determination protectorate, and trusteeship, (either or all of these) that is deeply entrenched in their present day systems. Colonialism has introduced modern means of life in all aspects of existence yet the process of adaptation of these ethnic communities have not been complete, on the contrary they have become catalysts in the certain cases of conflicts manifesting in the political spheres. Yet not all the conflicts have their roots in the colonial legacy; inter-group animosities relating to long historical relations of subjugation and domination have continued to the present times. However colonial legacy is a determinant factor in post colonial conflicts especially where territorial boundaries were determined without paying any heed to the sentiments of the indigenous communities. Consequently Samoans are located as different political constituencies between the American Samoa and Western Samoa, Bougainvilleans are located more in Papua New Guinea and not in the Solomon Islands. Again the West Papuans who actually belong to the Melanesian Group are settled in Irian Jaya in Indonesia, thanks to the Dutch colony. Conflation of ethnic diversities in nation building projects inherited from colonialism hardly could modify the traditional sense of ethnicity. On the contrary, it sowed the seeds of future ethnic tensions between communities. Alongside the modification of the legal, political and ideational structure not only caused discontent within the native population, but also was one of the cause of tension between communities on issues like land ownership and farming rights. Subsequently politics and economy almost all in the Pacific Islands had been propelled on the praxis of ethnicity. This ethnic consciousness is based on racial identity, religious beliefs and practices, languages, kinship and historical ties reinforced by geographical insularity in certain cases. Such deeply rooted primordial ethnic ties have been responsible for the resurgence of ethnic nationalisms bringing to the forefront the priority of traditional allegiance and values. Ethnic nationalisms may be coterminous with the national boundaries of a state or sections or parts of it. This is more a

179 possibility wherein more than one ethnic group lives in a state. The question nationalist feeling in the case of the Pacific Islands are not based on an ideology rather on common racial, cultural and linguistic ties. However like elsewhere in the world states have been defined as political entities rather than a cultural entities. However in the Pacific Islands, there has been rarely a case where secessionism has actually created a state of post independence period. A desire to succeed through ethnic distinctiveness may have gained grounds as a movement, but it has not lead to the dismemberment of existing states. The argument has been that nationalisms based on ethnic consciousness is not possible neither desirable because with the many nationalisms found with liberated nationalism, there would be no nation with the capacity of operating the state apparatus. However there are countries within this region like Fiji that have seen protracted unrest and instability due to strained ethnic relationship that has affected the political future of the country. Struggles between Fijian people and Fijians of Indian origin has been the result of the colonial policy of bringing Indians as labourers as sugarcane plantation workers. The coup of the 1980s increased the insecurity of the Indian Fijian immigration leading to mass emigration and putting the Fiji economy into difficulty. The nation continued to face political crisis with frequent power changes and only in 2014 it had its first democratically elected government. The most protracted identity conflict is associated with the question of Bougainville. Bougainvilleans find themselves akin with the ethnicity of the Solomon Islands rather than the Papua New Guinea. Complicated further by land (especially the Panguna Copper Mines) and mining issues the Bougainvillean movement has gained revolutionary dimensions. A civil war ensued in the 1990s between the rebels and the New Papua Guinea Government wherein the relationship between the two countries of Solomon Islands and New Guinea deteriorated. Meanwhile the New Zealand brokered Autonomous Bougainville Government was established in 2000 but largely ignored by the popular leadership of the movement. There has been a split within the movement by those acquiring the support of the Western countries and the popular self proclaimed king Francis Ona. However, according to the peace

180 accord signed in 2001, the Bougainvilleans had been promised a referendum on independence from PNG within the next few years. As of January 2015, it has not been held. Some scholars like Graham Hassall are of the opinion that the movement for apparent secessionism is actually the reflection of the group's disaffection with the state rather than actual desire to secede. It also raises the issue of the kind of rights and advantages the state provides for these groups and the degree of their own democratisation. It is perhaps true that most of the states of the Pacific Island and Oceania region have attained a level democracy but it is not that there is a single model of democracy that will help to cater to the needs of the various ethnic entities and groups. The matter of fact is that most of these societies are rural and a western model of democracy superimposed on traditional governing bodies may not be able to strike the right balance. For instance when the traditional authority and legal systems coexist with modern systems, dilemma may rise on which one to prioritise; there is always a chance of clash of perspectives on particular issues like land rights and land ownership. Largely contested issues include warfare and reconciliation, i.e. conflict management, minority rights, the question of striking development and conflict and associated with the resource extraction. It is perhaps high time to realize that there are various dimensions to the ethnic issue and conflicts in the Oceania region, resolution to which will require the recognition of the ethnic groups. This needs looking beyond the western stereotypes of democratic governance tempered with the incorporation of traditional values. Since resources are scarce in many of these small islands, the governments must also be in a position to ensure egalitarian distribution. Over and above, the leadership in these island countries should not allow the traditional notions of distinctiveness to dilute national unity. In the Asia Pacific the major immigrant societies are located in the United States, in Australia and also in New Zealand. Locating the question of ethnicity and identity is an issue that has been discussed time and again. In the United States there is a slowly growing concern about the assimilation of the non-European and non-Hispanic immigrant communities into that Euro-American

181 culture that has evolved through several years of immigration. In addition there is a concern that the steady flow of immigrants is creating economic and societal pressures. Immigration to the United States can be divided into three phases—first phase is termed as the classic era (1901-1930), the second phase is known as the long hiatus (1931-1970) in response to restrictive domestic laws and third phase is the new regime that starts from the 1970 and continues till recent. During the first two periods the drive towards assimilation was steered by concepts like the melting pot thought, there were counter discourses of ethnic prejudice and discrimination and the economic struggle of immigrants both as a collective and in individual capacity. One of the basic reasons for immigration was the scope of economic opportunities that became even more evident after the Second World War. While the world was restricted the movements of the Europeans, the flow of migrant workforce from Central America continued especially in Mexico. During the Cold War migration was from West Europe while the East Europe remained shut from the capitalist world. The third phase, new regime migration saw a major influx of Asian migrants partly because of the amendment of the domestic legislation and partly because of the US failure in the Vietnam wars wherein Cambodian, Laotian and Hmong refugees moved into the United States. Thus the third and present phase of immigration also known as the new regime of immigration was marked by the huge immigration from Asia and Latin America. In this context, the question of identity and ethnic identity becomes very relevant. The first two generations of immigration saw a large number of disparate groups from Europe—Italians, Poles, Czechs and Russians, Hungarians and Lithuanians settle in the United States, they were not only different from earlier migrants from Western Europe but also different from each other in terms of their language, culture, rate of literacy etc. Over the years they got assimilated as generations continued to stay and intermarriage was common. The assimilation of the first two generation has been relatively easier. but what is feared that the assimilation of the third phase and new regime immigration is never likely to be completely successful because there is a continuous flow of migrants of non-

182 European origins. Consequently a lot of social stratification has taken place within these immigrant communities and a sense of ethnic lineage is present in certain groups and generations. It is apprehended that continuous migration not only produces a complex fragmented and often conflicting sense of ethnicity, it may not yield economic benefits as expected by migrants. It created further room for tension and animosity within the communities. Assimilation will of the new generation immigrants are further challenging because of the slowing of the US economy. Dissatisfaction may create further disaffection against the US system and the new generation of non-European Americans will try to find solace and quest for justice. In the contemporary US society new generation migrants not only stick together and unified through language and culture, they are even confined geographically to certain areas, regions, and localities. Moreover, it is important to remember that assimilation of homogenous ethnic entities were easier as with the European migrants, but with the heterogeneous Asian groups divided along the lines of culture, language and religion, the fragmentation of the migrant society will be an additional challenge for the US socio-political system. Australia is one of the countries that actively seek immigrant workers as well as settlers. What began in Sydney as a penal colony for the British after the loss of the United States, soon expanded into other settlements with the discovery of gold. This led to a fresh flow of immigrants from Europeans, North Americans and the Chinese. In response the White Australia policy controlled the formation of national identity by excluding people seen as too different. Officially it lasted from 1890s to the 1950s, but the elements of the policy survived until the 1970s. As the effects of the policy began to wear down the number of non-European migrants increased. In this case, the immigration policies were to achieve the individual assimilation of non-British immigrants and renounce their distinct cultures and lifestyles. Moreover, the task of creating bridges between new arrivals and mainstream communities and facilitating social engagement of migrants was largely left to ethnic organizations and bureaucracy. The subsequent introduction of multiculturalism was part of the recognition that the idea of assimilation is sociologically unrealistic. It was in response to the fact over the 183 years the increasing number of refugees from different parts of the world started moving in. The many events of the century caused many people to come to Australia for work or refuge. Australia's diversity really flourished in the 20th century. It does not necessarily imply that migration led to the loss of previous cultural identity in its entirety yet to sustain in a new country migrants have to make adjustments, learn new skills, and even retrain themselves in many socio-economic and political aspects of life. Marking a disjuncture from the British lineage of pushing for an ethnically homogenous nation Keating articulated that Australia is multicultural nation in Asia, signaling multiculturalism as an integral and essential characteristic of contemporary national identity. The current political debate has witnessed bouncing back of identity and citizenship issues of essentializing identities by expanding the scope of citizenship via recognized ethno religious identities. This is in context of the fact there is a growing concern and perhaps opposition to increasing high levels of immigration from Asia. In addition all the governments have been concerned about asylum seekers most of whom travel unauthorized and illegally. There are mandatory detention provisions for the unauthorized arrivals. Still there have been trial resettlement programmes of Sudanese refugees escaping civil war. Immigration is also now geared to the needs of the Australian labour market; 68% of all arrivals now come under the skilled migrant category of the permanent immigration program. In 2011-12, India (29,018) and China (25,509) were ahead of Australia's traditional source country for permanent migrants, the United Kingdom. India and China also fill the top two places in the temporary migration program. There is also the debate about guest workers. There are also concern about the discourse of ethnic distinctiveness especially in terms of ethno religious identity. Ethnic distinctions can be employed in a positive and culturally creative ways or in a negative and destructive spirit—the concern about growing Islamic fundamentalism. This has been reified by the recent terrorist attacks within the country. Australian citizenship developed as a social construction, rather than a formal political or legal category. Howard administration had reignited the identity debate talking about Australian values and legacies of the past, through

184 this the fondness for the imperial legacies and connections, shared by a large number of Australians is revived. Subsequently, Australian multiculturalism that sought to accommodate various ethnic and ethno religious communities is also being questioned. This is having a complicated effect on the social fabric. The various minority communities not only want a guarantee of the protection of their identity, they also want a recognition and existence of their contribution to the larger project of nationhood. The majority seems to be more inclined to get an overt commitment for Australia displayed through abandoning of their heritage. For the minority, it's a question of cultural rights and not the prerogative of the majority to give a verdict that would result in the loss of minority cultural values alongside the rights to inherit the same. The ethnic communities have but little option to negotiate their cultural identity with mainstream ones—there is a need to look beyond the sense of victimhood and denial and renegotiate their identity so as to strike a balance between traditional Australian values and their contemporary counterparts.

4.5 Points to Remember ? Ethnicity in the Asia Pacific is complex and varied. Different groups and communities spanning around Asia and the Pacific are self-conscious and strive to maintain their identity. ? The drive for maintaining identity is not only confined to the mind in the form of imagination, consciousness, as theorized in imagined communities but also manifests in the movement towards gaining physical ground. These activities give birth to ethno-nationalism. ? Ethnicity is complicated because the various dynamics in inter-ethnic relationship may create such pressures that attempts at responsive, democratic, or alliance-based government will tend to degenerate into political instability and disintegration. ? The issues of ethnicity is also associated with immigration; it has several effects on immigrant societies like the United States and Australia. Other 185 regions that need separate attention are South Asia, South East Asia, and the Oceania region. ? In South Asia populations are divided along the lines of language, religion, caste, race, and/or tribal affiliations. Inter-racial relationship(s) tend to be competitive in some cases, conflict-prone. Political and social systems have to respond to counter ethnic conflicts that pose a challenge to the internal security of a country. Some scholars and researchers find South Asia as one of the few regions of the world experiencing ethnic dissonance. ? Like South Asia, South East Asia is characterised by enormous ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. But here a distinction is made between ethnic minorities and indigenous people, but the ethnic minorities are again categorized on the basis of ethnicity (culture) and language and on the basis of religion. ? In South East Asia, the process of nation building remains incomplete, as ethnic and cultural diversity has traditionally been seen as a threat to national unity and to social cohesion. Post-independence governments have sought to weld from this diversity a uniform national identity. ? In the Pacific Island, Oceania region, the three groups of islands of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia are critical for understanding the ethnic disposition of the region. ? Politics and economy of almost all the Pacific Islands had been propelled on the praxis of ethnicity. The ethnic consciousness is based on racial identity, religious beliefs and practices, language, kinship and historical ties reinforced by geographical insularity in certain cases. ? Immigrant communities from Asia are a source of concern to the immigrant societies of both the United States and Australia. In United States the continuous entry of non-European and non-Hispanic migrants are seen as challenges to social assimilation. In Australia the challenge of 186 assimilation is also a concern and the country has become stricter about refugees. Now the policy of multiculturalism is being questioned.

4.6 Sample Questions Essay Type Questions 1. Provide an idea of the ethnic characteristics of South and South East Asia. 2. Explain how the politics and economy of the Pacific Islands are all rooted in the praxis of ethnicity. Short Questions 1. What are the present challenges of the immigrant societies like the United States and Australia? 2. Discuss how the population of Afghanistan is composed. Very Short Questions 1. Write a short note on Oceania. 2. What do you mean by new regime of immigration in the region ? 4.7 Suggested Readings 1. Vera Simone, *The Asia Pacific : Political and Economic Development in a Global Context*, Pearson, 2000 2. Giovanna Maria Dora Dore, et. al, *Incomplete Democracies in the Asia- Pacific : Evidence from Indonesia, Korea, the Philippines and Thailand*, Palgrave, Macmillan, 2014. 3. Vinod K. Aggarwal, *The Political Economy of the Asia Pacific*, Springer, 2011. 4. Tanweer Fazal, *Minority Nationalisms in South Asia*, Routledge, 2013

187 5. Rajat Ganguly and Ian Macduff, *Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism in South and Southeast Asia : Causes, Dynamics, Solutions*, Sage Publications 2003. 6. Michael Edward Brown and Rajat Ganguly, *Government Policies and Ethnic Relations in the Pacific*, MIT Press, 1997. 7. Jocelyn Linnekin, Lin Poyer, *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific*, University of Hawaii, 1990. 8. Paul Pickard and W. Jeffry Burroughs, *Narrative and Multiplicity in Constructing Ethnic Identity*, Temple University Press, 2000. 9. Douglas S. Massey, "The New Immigration and Ethnicity in the US", *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 21, No. 3, September 1995, pp. 631-652. 10. J. Jupp, "Immigration and Ethnicity" *Australian Cultural History : The Journal of History of Culture in Australia*, Vol 27, No, 2, 2009, pp. 157- 166. 11. Jupp, J 2009, 'Immigrant settlement, ethnic relations and multiculturalism in Australia', in John Highly, John Nieuwenhuysen with Stine Neerup (ed.), *Nations of Immigrants : Australia and the USA Compared*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham, UK, pp. 147-159.

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189 Paper–VIII Politics & Society in Asia : Select Regions Module – IV South East Asia Unit 1 State & Civil Society in South East Asia : An Overview Unit 2 Issues relating to the Chinese Immigrants in South East Asia : Case Studies of Malaysia and Singapore Unit 3 Society, Culture & Politics in Thailand & Myanmar Unit 4 Globalisation & Culture in South East Asia in the Post Cold War Era

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191 Module–IV South East Asia Unit : 1 ? State and Civil Society in South East Asia : An Overview Structure 1.0 Objectives

1.1 Introduction 1.2 State and Civil Society in South East Asia : An Overview 1.2.1 The nature of States in South East Asia 1.2.2 Civil Society in South East Asia 1.3 Sample Questions 1.4 Suggested Reading 1.0 Objectives The present text traces : ? The evolution of the states in the region, starting from the colonial period. ? The civil society groups & movements in South East Asia, along with the challenges that are being faced by them. ? The effects of globalization on civil society in the region.

1.1 Introduction This chapter studies the nature of state in South East Asia, its chief characteristics, its evolution from the colonial period to the globalized world and the challenges that it is facing from different quarters. Secondly, this chapter also deals with the civil society movements that have taken shape over the years in the region.

1.2 State and Civil Society in South East Asia : An Overview 1.2.1 The Nature of States in South East Asia Apart from Thailand, all the countries of South East Asia have experienced colonial rule. It was in the sixteenth century that the Europeans established their first footprints on the South East Asian soil. Like in many other parts of the world, South East Asia soon became a battlefield for the European powers to establish their colonial hegemony. In the year 1511, the Sultanate of Malacca was colonized by Portugal. By the year 1641, for the Dutch East India Company, the city of Batavia, that is, the present day Jakarta, became the main trading point. Spain got interested in the Philippines and its colonization began from 1560s onwards. On the other hand, for the British East India Company, Singapore remained the most important trading port. The first region that the British started colonizing in South East Asia was Penang. With the British occupying Malaya, Burma and the Borneo territories, France colonizing the Indo-China region and the Dutch and the Portuguese occupying the East Indies and the Portuguese Timor respectively, and as a result, by the second decade of the twentieth century, almost all the entire region was reeling under European colonial rule. After the Second World War, when the decolonization process was in full sway worldwide, the colonies of this region also started emerging as independent States. Indonesia was decolonized in 1945, Philippines in 1946, Burma in 1948, the Indochina States in 1954, Malaya in 1957, Brunei in 1983, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak in 1963. It is to be noted that Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak together formed the Federation of Malaysia in 1963 and unfortunately, Singapore left the Federation of Malaysia in 1965. Despite the continued legacy of the colonial rule, the South East Asian states have more or less been successful in establishing their 'relative resilience'. Barring the comparatively lower economic development of the Indo-China region, these states, such as Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore, have been architects of the East Asian miracle. Not only have these been successful in establishing economic growth, but also have maintained an appreciable degree of political

193 stability. On the economic front, the strategies of 'export-oriented economic diversification' and embracing of the dynamics of open economy, from their very inception have proved to be the prime driver of their economic growth. In the political arena, the political elite have been able to transform their character and strategies with changing times. From a phase of fragile or weak legitimacy, applying authoritarian means to attain power and to continue remaining in power, it has moved to a period of applying mild authoritarian rule and bureaucratic control and democratic procedures. The democratic legitimacy of the ruling elite of the region in the post-colonial period is a product of effectively balancing both these tendencies towards authoritarianism and moderate pluralism. Another characteristic feature of the South East Asian states is that, they have been able to maintain their historical continuity, because their geographical borders have existed since pre-colonial days and are not a product of the colonization process. The characteristics of the states in South East Asia have varied from country to country and from time to time. For instance, in Burma we find that the state has been used as an instrument of domination by the majority ethnic group, that is, the Burmans on the minority groups, such as the Shan, Kachin, Chin and Karen. Such a State, where the ethnic majority dominates, has been termed the 'ethnocratic state'. In countries such as Singapore, the state has adopted a 'corporatist' and pragmatic approach whereby the loyalty to the state is of paramount importance, rather than the loyalty to the race, culture or ethnic community. The bureaucrats and the technocrats are trained in impersonally promoting the interests of the State in Singapore. Again, in countries such as Thailand, the state has been accused of promoting differential degree of economic and social development in its core and peripheral areas, suppressing weaker ethnic communities. Finally, Malaysia provides the example of such a model of state, which has been trying to reach the goal of 'racial restructuring' under the aegis of the New Economic Policy, since 1971, after gaining from the experience of racial riots of 1969. Presently, the discriminatory policy of the Bumiputras against the non-Malay communities (mainly Indians) still exists in spite of Malaysian government's initiation of PGPS (P-VIII M 1-4) (Eng)—13

194 National Development Policy (NDP) since 1991, followed by the New Vision Policy. Even then, the dominance of the Bumiputras on the state and the Malay-Chinese skirmishes continue to remain. Thus the fact remains that Malaysia, as a democratic state has not yet been able to become ethnically-neutral in practice, in spite of its inclusive growth approach. The South East Asian states, after achieving independence, were extremely weak states, with marked ethnic divisions in the society, definite separatist tendencies of some of those ethnic groups, lack of infrastructure and internal communication, a single country federated into many parts and provinces, the threat of Communism looming large over them and low economic development. All these factors, initially contributed towards the adoption of authoritarian means by the ruling elites of these states, as it was felt that the western model of plural liberalism would not suit these countries. So, for fulfilling the economic necessity, countering the Chinese threat and managing the ethnic differences, etc were prime rationale for flourishing of the authoritarian regimes in South East Asian region. There was also a lack of unity and we-feeling among the states of South East Asia. It was often found that law and order problem makers of a country found safe haven in another. For instance, when the Muslim separatists were creating trouble for the Malaysian government, the government started persecuting them and these separatists fled the country and found support in Southern Thailand. Also, the members of the Communist Party of Malaya, found a safe haven in Thailand as well. Likewise, after the unification of Vietnam, the Communist leadership of this country introduced socialist transformation mainly in the Southern part of Vietnam. This process of socialist transformation made other communities like Chinese and Khmer uncomfortable to stay in Vietnam. As a result, a large number of Chinese and Khmer have taken shelter in nearby states of China, Thailand, and other parts of Southeast Asia. The countries of South East Asia often experienced many separatist movements over the years waged by different organizations, such as the Darul Islam, Aceh Merdeka and Organisasi Papua Merdeka in Indonesia, Le Ligue de Resistance Meo in Laos, Moro National Liberation Front and Moro Islamic

195 Liberation Front in Philippines and the Barisan Nasional Pembebasan Patan in Thailand, to name a few. As these states were weak, but at the same time strategically important, they have always attracted international attention and sometimes undue interference in their internal affairs. For example, Great Britain found itself concerned over and embroiled in Malaysia during the Malayan emergency period. The United States also had a stake, particularly for checking the progress of Communism in some of the countries of the region, during the Cold War period, such as in Vietnam, with which it was involved in a protracted war and also in Cambodia and Laos. The United States, also had 'tied' Philippines with itself as far as economic dependence of the latter on the former was concerned, stretching well beyond the period of decolonization. The chaos of Burma too invited international gaze on itself, with some countries supporting the military junta regime and some others imposing economic and other sanctions on the country, owing to human rights abuse by the state. Perhaps this is why, the states of this region have collectively realized the value of non-interference and the importance of maintaining sanctity of their sovereignty. As a regional grouping thus, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which was established in 1967, has made it obligatory to adhere to the idea of non-interference and to sign the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC), which is particularly significant for foreign players engaging with countries of the region. The South East Asian region, like any other region of the world is plagued by internal conflict, such as the Thai-Cambodia border problems which flared up recently, primarily because of the Preah Vihear temple, the problem between Myanmar and Thailand over the continued presence of Myanmar's refugees in Thailand, the dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia over gaining territorial sovereignty in the Ambalat block of the Celebes Sea seabed, the row between Malaysia and Singapore over the issue of water-sharing, and perhaps most importantly, the South China Sea dispute in which several countries such as, Vietnam, Philippines, Brunei, Malaysia, Indonesia, China, and India are involved, claiming their sovereignty, or right to peacefully engage in oil extraction, particularly from Spratly and Paracel islands. The prime reason behind the outbreak of this dispute remains the strategic importance of this area. Unfortunately,

196 this dispute has revealed the lack of unity among members of the ASEAN. For instance, while Thailand is friendly towards China on this issue, Vietnam is staunchly anti- China. However, by and large, the ASEAN has proved to be relatively more successful than the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), to maintain a better and congenial environment of cooperation and mutual understanding among themselves in order to prosper the region more cohesively.

1.2.2 Civil Society in South East Asia

In South East Asia, societies have traditionally believed in the concept of 'Devaraja' or God- King, that is, the King is a person who is ordained by the God Himself or he is an embodiment of God for guiding His children on earth. This idea legitimized the position of the King to an extent that made it problematic to question the deeds and intent of the King. It was generally believed that the King, being God Himself, can do no wrong. This made it possible to conceal several instances of injustice and exploitation behind the veil of legitimacy by divine royalty. This also severely affected the formation of civil society groups in the pre- colonial days besides creating a considerable social and psychological distance between the ruler and the ruled. It would not be possible to find the western pattern of civil society in South East Asian countries, particularly because these societies have followed a completely different trajectory to development and adhered to a dissimilar set of social values and norms as compared to the western societies. The colonial period, despite all the repression and exploitation, did succeed in bringing in the factors for giving birth the idea of civil society groups and movements, such as bringing in western education, making possible the flow of commodities and ideas across boundaries, making use of the press, providing encouragement to emigration and immigration of people across borders, particularly as cheap labor for the East India Company and other colonial powers. All these factors contributed towards the circulation of idea that the infallibility of the authority can be challenged, as and when necessary.

197 After the decolonization process, when these countries emerged independent, it became difficult for the civil society groups to exhibit their existence, on account of various internal socio-political factors. In fact, it is evident that in the 1950s and 1960s, most of these countries had ruling regimes which were military-backed or were under the spell of advancing wave of Communism, which severely restricted the growth of civil society by suppressing their voices against the then existing government. For example, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia were the ample instances of such countries with precarious conditions. In fact, this trend continued even in the 1970s and 1980s. An example can be cited in this context that President Marcos of Philippines, during his tenure resorted to hard-core authoritarianism and imposition of martial law, which throttled the voice of civil society in every sphere of its activity. However, this time the garb of divine legitimacy was of no help to Marcos and the ruling regime was pulled down in the mid-1980s, particularly owing to activities and strong protest movements organized by the civil society in the Philippines. Parallel to this, civil society groups started growing in other countries of the region, such as in Malaysia, Singapore, Laos and the like during 1990s. There was not only a phenomenal proliferation of Non-Governmental Organizations throughout the region but also, there grew an increasing level of national and international networking among these organizations. The civil society continued to consolidate itself with the increasing number of organized students' movement, women's movement, environmental and human rights movement, such as the Environmental Protection Society of Malaysia (EPSM), the Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (WALHI) in Indonesia working in the environment sector and the Society Against Family Violence (SAVE) in Singapore, to name a few successful groups. However, despite greater democratization in the region over the years, challenges to the civil society groups continued unabated. For instance, Malaysia banned a civil society movement of Al-Arqam, and in 2005, several human rights activists in the region were arrested under the Special Security Laws. Again, in 2012, just before the visit of US President Barack Obama to attend the ASEAN

198 Summit in Phnom Penh, groups of women staged a protest against the repressive measures and human rights abuses of the Cambodian government. The government in turn, retaliated by banning the protests and arresting some of the women activists and treated their activities as anti-national. Moreover, in the same year in Cambodia, a leading environmental activist was killed and this event sent severe shock-waves throughout the country. Meanwhile, the process of Globalization and Liberalization had created a severe impact in the political structure of all the countries of South East Asia. Along with the advent of this new global environment, the process of democratization became the core demand of the common people, which was hitherto neglected by the ruling elites of these countries. This public and international pressure forced many countries of South East Asia to accept the inevitability of instituting their demands for democratic reforms. As a result, some of the South East Asian countries have undergone several regime changes at very fast paces on the one hand, and creating problems for these civil rights groups to adapt and consolidate themselves on the other. For instance, in Cambodia, changes have taken place from an isolationist posture to hard-core authoritarianism and centralized command structure to neo-liberalism in the course of Globalization. Cambodia remains an example to be cited with, where it has faced genocide and protracted civil war which have hampered the growth of civil society movements by dismantling local communities and groups. Moreover, many of these Southeast Asian countries have opted for economic reforms, such as Doi Moi in Vietnam, New Economic Mechanism in Laos and these reforms, coupled with Globalization are not only opening up the borders, but also opening up the opportunities for organizational pluralism. However, on the one hand, foreign-based NGOs are helping in training, financing and infrastructure-building of the local NGOs, on the other hand, they are being criticized as instruments of foreign interference into local issues. At another level, there has been greater politicization of the civil society groups, which are now no longer fundamentally challenging the state or the ruling regime, but instead, working as a kind of mediator between the state

199 and its people, as was evident in Timor-Leste and the Aceh conflict mediation in Indonesia. In Philippines too, the Bantay Ceasefire Watch in Mindanao provides an example of a successful civil society movement, which contributed significantly to the mobilization and empowerment of the peripheral people in the society, thereby bringing in hopes of sustainable peace and development in the region. Effects of globalization also, gave birth to greater civil society mobilization in the region. Rural communities and their societal structures are being disrupted by the policies of forceful land eviction, in many Southeast Asian countries, such as Cambodia, to allow the projects of big Multi National Companies. These are stirring up civil society groups and significantly, at the forefront of these activities are groups of women. Interestingly enough, with an ever-growing scope of governmental activities, most of the regimes are now realizing the importance of co-opting the NGOs and Civil Society Organizations (CSO) in their societal and economic goals. These groups not only act as a channel of communication between the ruling regimes and the local people, but also help to channelize the demands and grievances of the communities, thereby acting as a safety-valve for the government. For instance, Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong encouraged the thriving of civil society groups for effective development and local-level political participation. As a result of this, Town Councils and Community Development Councils were established in Singapore. Even semi-democratic regimes are gradually engaging with the civil society groups. In Thailand, the civil society groups have proved to be strong enough to make their voices heard in the corridors of power on very important issues such as, during the drafting of the Constitution in 1997, many of the demands of civil society groups had to be incorporated, even by the government of military junta. Or for that matter, the civil society groups of Thailand were vociferous against the electoral frauds and against military coups, which were destabilizing the basic fabric of their society. But the centralized or command economy of the Indo-China states have restricted the proliferation of civil society groups since these societies and economies are being mostly directed by the government itself. As a

200 result, the potential of the civil society groups to play a meaningful role in the socio-economic domain of these countries is largely limited. However, the Association of South East Asian Nations, as an organization has been supporting the growth of civil society groups and movements in the region, and has founded important groups like, ASEAN Grassroots People's Assembly, ASEAN Civil Society Conference, ASEAN People's Forum and the Forum for Democracy and Cooperation, etc. The haze crisis in South East Asia brought the members of ASEAN to seek various international and foreign institutions, and NGOs' for aid, advice and funding. In Indonesia, the relationship between Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the state machinery has always shared a history of bitter relations. In the past, there has been little love lost between Indonesia's NGOs and Suharto's "New-Order" government, which traditionally spurned nongovernmental involvement in domestic and political matters. These NGOs on some environmental issues have categorically supported the rights of individuals and communities against the state and powerful interests and claimed to be the supporters of worker's rights for their criticism of governmental policies, and frequently pressured the Suharto government for greater political pluralism. The Indonesian officials, who treated these activities as "political activities", never accepted these activities of the NGOs. However, owing to international pressure and acknowledging the real need for pollution control and protection of environment, the Indonesian government in 1978 established the Ministry for Development Supervision and the Environment. The prime purpose of this Ministry was to promote the idea of an efficient, economically and environmentally sound development environment that would utilize and manage resources for sustainable development and improve the quality of the life. Unfortunately, this Ministry failed to perform its desired functions due to the non-cooperative outlook of the Suharto government and this resulted in a number of environmental NGOs mushrooming all over Indonesia. Among the NGOs, within Indonesia's domestic scene, SKEPHI (Sekretariat Kerjasama Palestarian Hutan Indonesia) and WAHLI (Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia) are the most important.

201 Established in 1980, WAHLI was a Jakarta based network of local and regional NGOs located throughout the Indonesian archipelago. This NGO, an umbrella group for a number of NGOs, gained a reputation for balancing advocacy and objective analysis in the 1980s, and it frequently put pressure on the Suharto government for larger political transparency. WAHLI's most dramatic challenge to Indonesia's President Suharto's development policies came in December 1988, when this NGO led a suit against PT Inti Indorayon Utama Ltd., a pulp and rayon factory based on northern Sumatra and backed by Suharto's eldest son, along with several government ministers for compensation for damages caused by the factory's unchecked pollution and deforestation of the surrounding area. Although, the WAHLI lost the suit against the government, this event represented a moral victory for the NGOs and the environmentalists of Indonesia. Even in allowing the suit to proceed, the Indonesian courts had acknowledged for the first time that an agency could represent the environment, or a community, that was not the central government itself. In fact, the WAHLI practically laid the ground work for future victories for the environment and the Indonesian people. Based on such background, the haze episodes in 1997 and 1998 brought many NGOs together and pressed (mainly by WAHLI) the Suharto government to police its own regulations. Activists in Kalimantan and elsewhere exposed the more flagrant violators and played a key role in delivering immediate relief measures, including the distribution of face masks and first aid for respiratory complaints. The outcry of various NGOs (mainly the WAHLI group) against the Suharto government and the exposure of corruption of military personnel (in 1980, 24 out of 34 local companies engaged in the timber business) in timber companies and Suharto's sons involvement in the International Timber Cooperation of Indonesia (34% share) was a categorical reason behind the fall of the Suharto's rule in 1998. Thus, the orchestration of NGOs and other interest groups in Indonesia posed a severe challenge to every aspect of ASEAN's character and modalities. The pressure from NGOs influenced the ASEAN members to take a major step

202 towards institutionalizing a regional environmental policy, and the establishment of an ASEAN Cooperation Plan on Trans boundary Pollution, was no doubt a major achievement of the NGOs in the South East Asian region. On 19 June 1998, the Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on the haze took place at Singapore. In this meeting, the ASEAN members finally accepted the role of NGOs in preventing the trans boundary haze pollution. Thus, acceptance of the role of the NGOs of the height of the haze crises considerably empowered the communities most suffered or threatened by forest fires to take up necessary preventive steps free from interference of the state machinery and from private interests. However, the acceptance of the positive role of NGOs also poses an additional problem for the newly enlarged ASEAN. The group presently incorporates states in which civil society is either underdeveloped (as in the case of Laos) or states dominated by elites who contest or reject outright the legitimacy of autonomous agencies in civil society (as in the case of Cambodia, Vietnam and Myanmar). If ASEAN modalities are to be modified to recognize NGOs as an essential actor within the domestic and regional policy community, a major divide might crop up between the old and new ASEAN states in future. In spite of this positive outlook, the countries of South East Asia have still to walk a long path of democratization before they can achieve an environment of peaceful cooperation with the government.

1.3 Sample Questions

Essay Type Questions

1. Discuss critically, the significance of civil society movements in South East Asia.
2. What do you think are the limitations that the civil society groups are facing in the region?

Short-Answer Type Questions

1. Highlight a few salient features of the nature of states in South East Asia.
2. What do you think are the effects of globalization on civil society groups in the region?

Very Short Questions

1. State the impact of separatist movements waged by different organization in South East Asia.
2. Write a short note on WAHLI.

1.4 Suggested Readings

1. David Brown, *The state and ethnic politics in South East Asia*, Routledge, London, 1994.
2. Leek Hock Guan (ed.), *Civil Society in South East Asia*, Institute of South East Asian Studies, Singapore, 2004.
3. Gabi Waibel, Judith Ehlert and Hart Nadav Feuer (eds.), *Southeast Asia and the Civil Society Gaze: Scoping a Contested Concept in Cambodia and Vietnam*, Routledge, London, 2013.
4. Michele Ford (ed.), *Social Activism in South East Asia*, Taylor Francis Ltd., United Kingdom, 2012.
5. Pierre P. Lize, "Civil Society and Regional Security: Tensions and Potentials in Post-Crisis South East Asia", *Contemporary South East Asia*, Vol.22, No.3, December 2000.

204 Unit : 2 ? Issue relating to the Chinese Immigrants in South East Asia : Case Studies of Malaysia and Singapore
Structure 2.0 Objectives 2.1 Introduction 2.2 Issue Relating to the Chinese Immigrants in South East Asia : Case Studies of Malaysia and Singapore 2.2.1 Chinese Immigration in Malaysia 2.2.2 Racial Riots and the New Economic Policy 2.2.3 Malaysia in the aftermath of the New Economic Policy 2.2.4 The Chinese in Singapore 2.3 Sample Questions 2.4 Suggested Reading 2.0 Objectives The present chapters helps us : ? To study the process of advent of Chinese in the region. ? To analyze the conditions of the Chinese in Malaysia & Singapore. ? To evaluate the impact of several government policies such as the New Economic Policy & the National Development Policy on the racial matrix of the region. 2.1 Introduction In the annals of South East Asian history, this region was always dominated by extra- regional and colonial powers for centuries together. As a result, the 205 demographic configuration of most of the countries of South East Asia changes its socio-economic dynamics time and again. In this context, Malaysia and Singapore are not exceptions at all. In Malaysia, the Chinese over the years remain nearly two-fifth of the total population, whereas in Singapore, the Chinese represent nearly four-fifth of the total population. 2.2 Issue Relating to the Chinese Immigrants in South East Asia : Case Studies of Malaysia and Singapore 2.2.1 Chinese Immigration in Malaysia It is true that the Chinese immigration to the Southeast Asian region dates back to the pre- colonial days, but, the actual momentum picked up only during the colonial period, particularly to areas such as, the Malaya region which was experiencing the British rule. Before the colonial period, the Chinese did have trading contacts with the region, but it was largely of a limited nature. Even when, the Dutch settled in Malaya, they did not follow a policy of encouraging immigration of foreigners. It was only after the British started settling in the peninsula from 1786 onwards, that the influx of foreigners, such as the Chinese and the Indians was encouraged. The rationale behind such an encouragement was that the British needed cheap labor for the construction of railways in the peninsula, which the British needed for the smooth transportation of the raw materials that they procured from the region. Cheap labor was also required in the plantation sector that was being set up by them in the newly established colonies. The people of China, who immigrated to this region, were particularly the natives of Kwantung, Kwangsi and Fukien region. Over- population and lack of economic opportunities in these regions were major factors that forced them to migrate to the neighboring Malaysian region, which was similar to China in climatic conditions. The assumption that the British encouraged immigration of foreigners can be substantiated by the fact that between 1909 and 1940, nearly sixteen million Chinese and Indians arrived in Malaya. It is also said, that there was a definite role played by Koxinga, the anti-Manchu pirate behind the immigration of Chinese to this region. Once, Koxinga landed on the shore of Fukien, primarily to refuel his stocks and also to humiliate the Manchu government. The people of 206 the region were also against the Manchu dynasty. The Manchu government, reacted by cutting the supply lines of Koxinga in the region by forcefully driving away people of the region to about thirty miles deep on the coasts of Kwantung, Fukien and Chekiang. But in this zone, intentionally the villages were burnt and the crops were shed by the government. This ruthless treatment met out to the people by the Manchu dynasty forced the victims to flee to Malaysia for their survival and better livelihood. When the people started emigrating from China, the Manchu government was largely indifferent towards them. Even when the Chinese were being slaughtered by some of the colonial governments in the Southeast region, such as, by the Dutch in Batavia in 1740, the Manchu dynasty was least interested in demanding justice for them. The major reason behind this apathetic attitude was that in China, it was generally believed that the living beings should protect and look after the spirits of their ancestors, and should never leave their native places. Despite this prevalent custom, those who emigrated, were mostly considered to be inferior and thus, were relegated in their social status. However, the Chinese who landed in the Southeast Asian region proved to be the most hard- working and dedicated race in pursuit of greener pastures. The Chinese slowly started dominating the economic sphere in Malaysia, particularly the industrial and plantation sectors, such as in the tin industry, the sugar plantations and the rubber estates, whereas the Bhumiputras or the sons of the soil were mostly concentrated in the traditional agricultural sectors. Interestingly enough, it would be wrong to assume that the Chinese, who arrived in Malaysia, were a homogeneous group. They comprised several linguistic and regional groups, such as, Chaozhou, Fujian, Guangdong, Hainan, Kejia, Fuzhou, and Guangxi. The British colonization had a direct impact on the socio- economic and political sectors of Malaysia. From an economy which was heavily dependent on subsistence agriculture, it was rapidly converted into an export- oriented economy for the benefit of the colonizers. It is to be noted in this context that before the advent of the British in Malaysia, tin and timber remained a natural product used by the indigenous people in nominal and traditional ways as a means of their daily livelihood. However, with reference to rubber plantations, it was exclusively initiated by the British rulers for their own economic prosperity. Thus, tin and rubber remained the two main pillars of

207 the Malayan economy during the entire period of British colonial domination. As a result, tin, rubber and timber were products that were exported by them to the outside world. With the unwillingness of the Malays to leave their traditional agricultural occupation, the European colonizers made use of the immigrant Chinese and Indians as effective labor force in the new sectors. The colonizers too, welcomed the compartmentalization of society along racial – occupational lines with minimum mutual interaction. The Chinese were favored as the most enterprising community. Thus the colonial education policy too, was shaped in such a manner to accrue the maximum advantage to the Chinese and Indians and minimum to the Malays. Thus immediately after independence, in terms of household incomes, administrative and managerial workers, dentists, architects, engineers, accountants and the like, the Chinese made up the majority of the total numbers. The division of the society along racial lines became so prominent that several political parties cropped up during the decolonization period in Malaysia, each attempting to defend the best interests of their respective community. This resulted in the formation of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) and the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) for the Chinese, the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) and the Partai Islam (PAS) for the Malays, and the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) for Indians were established as a platform for each community. The British continued to follow the 'divide and rule' policy to keep these political parties divided on racial lines, so as not to allow any united rebellion against the British. Thus, when they formulated the 'Malayan Union' Plan, the Malayan aristocracy was infuriated as this Plan did not give the hegemonic political power to the Malays. Instead, it favored the multi- ethnic bourgeoisie class, aimed to strip the Malayan Sultans of their powers and privileges and wanted to open up the Malayan citizenship to non- Malays as well. In fact, as a mark of protest against the Malayan Union Plan; the UMNO was formed in March 1946 to safeguard Malayan interests. This was followed by the Malayan Federation proposal which wanted to pacify the Malays by putting forth a huge challenge to the Chinese citizenship rights in Malaysia. This triggered the strengthening of the Malayan Communist Party which was set up in 1930s in the aftermath of the Great Depression, for safeguarding the interests of the working

208 class, particularly the Chinese class. Gradually it emerged to be a very strong political force, with even an organized armed wing during the Second World War. Another political faction which was formed in 1947 to protect the Chinese commercial interests was the Malayan Chinese Association. This group was formed as a parallel organization to the MCP. The MCA had the encouragement of British government behind their activities as an analogous bourgeoisie commercial association of the Chinese. The Chinese businessmen had earlier tried to form organizations such as, the Straits Chinese British Association and the Chinese Chambers of Commerce, but their dreams got a concrete shape with the establishment of the MCA. The economic disparity mainly between the Bumiputras and the Chinese within the Malaysian society is clearly evident from the Table below :

Year	1957	1970	Community	Malay	All household	Rural households	Urban households
Chinese	27.4	27.5	All households	27.4	25.2	24.6	29.4
Indian	35.7	40.2	All households	35.7	44.8	31.8	31.5
Other	32.7	38.8	All households	32.7	70.5	65.9	74.9
Malay	70.5	65.9	Rural households	74.9	70.3	32.7	38.8

Source : Y. Ikemoto, "Income Distribution in Malaysia: 1957-80", The Developing Economics, Vol. XXIII, No. 4, 1985, pp.347-67.

209 The complexity of the poverty problem arising from the above table clearly displays that the bulk of the poor consisted of Malays, compared to the non- Malays. During the years 1957 to 1970, there was a reduction in the incidence of poverty among the Malays, although they remained at the bottom of the ladder. In 1970, 65.9 percent of the Malays were poor, compared to only 27.5 and 40.2 percent of the Chinese and Indians respectively. Besides, poverty incidence was more serious in the rural than in the urban areas. Furthermore, in 1970, the average monthly per capita income of the Chinese community approximated M 68 dollars, whereas that of the Indians and the Malays approximated M 57 and M 34 dollars respectively. Table–2 Percentage Distribution of Households by Income and Race in Peninsular Malaysia, 1970

Monthly income range (\$)	Malays	Chinese	Indians	Other
1-99	40.3	8.3	11.6	25.0
100-199	33.7	25.0	39.3	12.5
200-399	18.3	38.0	31.3	12.5
400-699	5.3	17.0	10.7	12.5
700-1499	2.0	9.2	5.3	12.5
1500-2999	0.4	2.2	0.9	12.5
3000 or more	Negligible	0.3	0.9	12.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Mid-term Review of the Second Malaysia Plan: 1971-75, Government Printer, Kuala Lumpur, 1973, p.3. Besides this, Table : 2 shown above clearly exhibits that in 1970, as much as 40.3 percent of Malay households in Peninsular Malaysia had a monthly income of less than M 100 dollars, whereas 74 percent had a monthly income of less that M 200 dollars. Among the Chinese community, only 8.3 percent of all households PGPS (P-VIII M 1-4) (Eng)—14

210 had a monthly income of less than M 100 dollars and 33.3 percent had a monthly income of less than M 200 dollars. Likewise, in the Indian community, only 11.6 percent had a monthly income of less than M 100 dollars, and 50.9 percent had a monthly income of less than M 200 dollars. This weak economic condition of the Malays as compared to that of the Chinese, Indians and other foreigners was mainly due to their poor participation in the industrial and commercial sectors. Further, with respect to average income, the inequality was clearly evident among different communities in 1970 with the position of Malays remaining the most subdued.

2.2.2 Racial Riots and the New Economic Policy

After the British left Malaysia in 1957, the new government of Malaysia, under the aegis of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), continued to develop its economy by investing in primary commodity exports with some diversification into import-substitution industry. This new country, following the World Bank advice, encouraged the investment of foreign capital in the country. To make such investment alluring, the Malaysian government concentrated heavily in infrastructural projects (i.e. improved transport, land clearance schemes), subsidies or tariff protection schemes and, as a result, the local industries were mere offshoots of industrial establishments in the developed economies and their growth was determined by foreign markets, foreign investments, foreign technology and foreign experts. This type of industrialization, however, did not transform the local economy, since it did not possess its own strength or momentum. So, in the 1960s, the main obstruction was not the economic growth of Malaysia, but the fact that the distribution of the benefits was disorderly managed and the poor people, mainly the Malays, were getting poorer. Further, while the Malaysian Constitution did stress that the socio- economic development of the Malays was to be promoted, active government intervention in the economy to help the Malays was not properly implemented. Thus, growing inequality in the distribution of wealth largely increased gaps

211 between and among the rural and urban areas, races, classes and racial groups. These resulted in interclass and inter-ethnic tensions in the social structure of Malaysia. The weak economic condition of the Malays, in consort with the notable economic imbalance between the Malays and the Chinese was unsatisfactory for the Malays. As a result, strong criticism of the government's laissez-faire approach emerged from the Malays. For the Malays, the continuation of the colonial laissez-faire economic policy by the Alliance Government after independence in 1957 had only ensured the growth of the Chinese economic interests, but had failed to remove the plight of the Malays. In the opinion of the Malays, the Alliance Government was too friendly to Chinese interests and they felt that the government should speed up the upward mobility of the Malays in education, employment and economy to keep them abreast with the non-Malays. Besides this, after Malaysia gained independence in 1957, it was found that managing the pluralism in Malaysian society was emerging as the biggest challenge. The government was run by the Alliance. The Alliance was dominated by the Malay party, United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), and the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC). The opposition was predominantly made up of the Chinese Democratic Action Party (DAP). Each political party had sworn to mobilize support along racial communal lines during several previous elections (for example, in 1959 and 1964). What made the situation explosive was the fact that the frustration was almost equally evident within the Chinese ethnic group. The Chinese community also felt that the government was doing too much for the Malays and felt distressed. From their perspective, they felt that the government was biased towards the Malays, and this made them more vocal in criticizing the "Malay special rights" (Art.153 of the 1957 Constitution). The rising tension came to a peak with racial riots on 13 May, 1969. This racial riot continued for several days and claimed a number of lives. Officially, 196 people were dead, 9143 arrested and 753 buildings were

212 damaged. It was felt that the deep-seated suspicion in the minds of Chinese and Malays against each other was the prime reason behind the racial riots. The suspicion stemmed from a kind of insecurity of the Malays about their decreasing political and economic clout because of the emerging political opposition groups and gradual strengthening of the Chinese economic conditions in the socio-economic fabric of Malaysia. The Chinese too feared that their way of life, their culture, and their freedom was being jeopardized by the Malay majority. It appeared that the racial riots marked a major turning point in Malaysia's development policy as they paved the way for the advent of affirmative action policies in favour of the Malays. It was also realized by the government that political stability and national unity were contingent upon the elimination of poverty among the ethnic Malays who constituted the major electoral base of the government. This resulted in the introduction of NEP in 1971, in the context of the Second Malaysia Plan (1970-75), as part of the 20 years Perspective Plan (1970-90). There were two specific objectives of the NEP: (a) Eradicating poverty by raising income levels and increasing employment opportunities for all Malaysians, irrespective of race, (b) Accelerating the process of restructuring Malaysian society to correct economic imbalance, so as to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function. The approach of the NEP to overcome the perceived socio-economic imbalances in society was by giving preferential treatment to the Malays and other indigenous people. The ultimate aim of the NEP was to achieve national unity and to foster nation-building. In effect, the NEP placed more emphasis on the underplayed feature of "Malay" economic advancement. In other words, the goal of the NEP was redistribution of wealth in favour of the Malays, so that ultimately the Chinese could not monopolize economic power. The main target of social restructuring under the NEP demanded a rise in Bumiputras participation in the ownership and management of the corporate sector of the economy from 2.4 percent in 1970 to 30 percent by 1990. The non-213 Malay [Chinese 27.2 percent, Indian 1: 1 percent in 1970] participation was to grow at the targeted rates of 12 percent per year to cover 40 percent of the share capital by 1990, and the share of foreign investors would fall from 63.3 percent to 30 percent during the same period. This kind of social reconstruction aimed through NEP was entrenched into the Second Malaysia Plan (1971-75), the main objective of which was to create "a viable and thriving Malay industrial and commercial community" and to accelerate the employment of Malays and the other indigenous people at all levels of manufacturing in tune with the racial composition of the population. To achieve these objectives, the NEP displayed restructuring of society at three levels: first, to increase the share of Bumiputra employment in the modern industrial sectors, secondly, to increase the Bumiputra share of corporate ownership and thirdly, to increase the number of Bumiputra entrepreneurs and managerial control. The New Economic Policy did help in uplifting the economic condition of the Bumiputras. However, it was also alleged that the policy was bringing in nepotism and corruption in the Malaysian polity and society in various ways. For instance, the poverty alleviation programs that were adopted, was specifically targeted towards the Bumiputras below the poverty line, despite the fact that it was supposed to be race-neutral. Several agencies, such as the MARA (Council of Trust for the Indigenous People) and Bank Negara were established, specifically to give easy credit to Malay entrepreneurs. Even in high-income generating job sectors, only the Malay people were encouraged. The Chinese knew that they did not have much political clout to influence the policy decisions. So, they had to adapt to the changing situation accordingly. However, the fact that affected Chinese the most was the growing importance on the Malay as the medium of instruction and intensification of Islamization in educational institutions, particularly in higher education. This can be gauged from the fact that in 1970, Malay enrolment in degree courses was 39.7 percent and Chinese enrolment was 49.2 percent. But in 1988, we find, the enrolment of the Malays increased to 63

214 percent, whereas the Chinese enrolment dipped to 29 percent. Even, the Chinese effort to set up the Merdeka University with Mandarin as the medium of instruction was thwarted by the Malaysian government with the UMNO as the dominant party. "Between 1970 and 1977 Malays gained 68 percent of the 162000 newly created jobs and by 1979-80 they comprised 93 percent of the new employees." 2.2.3 Malaysia in the aftermath of New Economic Policy The New Economic Policy continued to be operational till 1990. The New Economic Policy was soon replaced by the National Development Policy. The National Development Policy formed the core element of the Second Outline Perspective Plan in Malaysia. It was decided that the run period of the NDP would be ten years that is exactly half the run period of NEP so that an appraisal can be made after a shorter time frame. The NDP was formulated with the vision 2020 in mind. Vision 2020 was aimed at the achievement of national unity as the ultimate goal, correcting social and economic imbalances, ensuring political stability and economic growth. The NDP continued to uphold the basic premises and strategies of NEP. Apart from the stated goals of NEP, NDP aimed to; firstly, shift the focus of the anti-poverty strategy towards eradication of hardcore poverty and relative poverty as well. Secondly, to focus on employment and the rapid development of an active Bumiputra Commercial and Industrial Community (BCIC) as a more effective strategy to increase the meaningful participation of Bumiputra in the modern sectors of the economy. Thirdly, to rely more on the private sector to create greater opportunities for growth. Fourthly, emphasized more on Human Resources Development in the social structure of the entire country. In short, like the NEP, the NDP continued the policy of protective discrimination in favor of the Bumiputra in tune with Article 153 of the 1957 constitution of Malaysia which gives special treatment to Bumiputra. Though NDP talks of making efforts to increase the Bumiputra ownership in the society, 215 unlike the NEP, no particular time frame was mentioned to attain the equity restructuring target of at least 30 percent. To sum up, not only the Malaysian Constitution, but also the subsequent governmental policies in Malaysia have always favored the Bumiputra and attempted to increase the participation of the sons of soil in important sectors such as commercial and industrial sectors to counter the growing economic hegemony of the Chinese. The Chinese and Indian immigrants were favored by the British as colonizers, simply because, they proved to be the more disciplined and dynamic labor class. To undo the effects of colonization, the Bumiputra were favored by the government right since the attainment of independence in 1957, which continued more aggressively after the 1969 racial riots. The economic predominance of the Chinese in various sectors is still very much present even after the NEP and NDP, but the positive effects of the NEP and NDP on the Bumiputra are too glaring to be missed out. 2.2.4 The Chinese in Singapore Singapore was an important colony of the British Empire. It was founded in 1819 by Sir Stamford Raffles. Sir Raffles was the erstwhile Lieutenant of Java before it was reinstated to Holland. When the British acquired Singapore, it was an island mainly of swampy jungles. Raffles' concept of a port open to the traders of all nations, without restrictions, helped in its rapid growth and it soon outstripped Malacca and Penang and became the living commercial and strategic port of Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century. In 1824 the British East India Company also acquired Malacca from the Dutch by exchanging it for a British trading post in Sumatra. The three British Settlements- Penang, Singapore and Malacca - were administered from 1826 as the "Straits Settlements"; and where each of these three states was administered as crown colonies due to their strategic and first trade entrepot advantages. Britain

216 became increasingly involved in the social and political affairs of the neighbouring native Malay states. There was great economic development during the 19th century, first in tin mining, for which the labour was mainly provided by Chinese immigrants (who worked harder than the Malays), and later in rubber plantations. The plantation labour came largely from southern India. The mixture of races produced some difficulties, particularly owing to the vast numbers of Chinese, who now comprise more than three quarters that of Singapore. The first major documented influx of Chinese in the Strait Settlement of Singapore was around 1878 from nearby Malacca and Riau island regions, which were then reeling under the Dutch colonialism. But even before that, there was a substantial presence of local Chinese in Singapore. In 1866, out of hundred and seventy eight schooners, barques, brigs, junks and ships registered under the Act of Parliament belonging to Singapore, the local Chinese owned hundred and twenty, whereas only fifty eight were owned together by the Europeans, Indians and Malays. However, the actual momentum of Chinese immigration in Singapore picked up during the rule of the British. The British, as the ruler of Malaysia and Singapore, encouraged Chinese immigration into the region for cheap and efficient labor for their own economic prosperity. Also, for tapping the full potentials of trade and for augmenting the development of Singapore as the entrepot to the region, the British needed the Chinese labourer. With the development of Singapore as the global entrepot centre of the region, Chinese firms started taking full advantage of the sea and the modern European technology. There were established direct trading vessels between Singapore and Shanghai in mainland China and thus giving an opportunity to establish networks between the Chinese in the mainland and the Chinese born in Singapore. The Chinese penetration in Singapore over the years will be evident from the Table given below :

217 Table-1 Chinese Immigration in Singapore Year Total Population (According Total Number of Chinese to Census Reports) 1821 4724 1159 1823 10683 3317 1830 16834 6555 1850 52886 27988 1860 81734 50043 1931 567453 421821 1941 769216 599659 Source : Victor Purcell, The Chinese in Malaya, Oxford University Press, London, 1967. With the

influx of the Chinese in the archipelago, there cropped up severe law and order and societal problems in the initial days. There emerged dreaded secret societies, such as, 'Thian Thi Hui'. These secret societies are a direct by-product of Chinese culture. These societies have existed in China for many centuries. Initially, they started as religious or self-help associations, but later they became anti-dynastic groups and ultimately they degenerated into criminal organizations. The other problems that emerged with the arrival of Chinese were the manifold increase in opium production and consumption. In fact, it was estimated that half the revenue that the British derived from the archipelago was from opium and there also emerged the trouble of trafficking in Chinese women and girls. The Chinese who have immigrated into Singapore were not a monolithic group. It comprises mainly Hokkien, Teochew and Cantonese Chinese, who make up about 78 percent of the population, whereas the Malays comprise less than 15 percent of the total population and the rest were Indians and other communities. The Baba Chinese made up the greatest number of Chinese in Singapore followed by Hokkiens. The Hokkien merchants mainly migrated during the upheavals of

218 the Taiping Rebellion in the 1850s. Right from the very beginning, the administration of Singapore, under the tutelage of the British administrators, was concerned about creating a growth- driven economy and using the racial plurality as an advantage and not an impediment for the Singaporeans. For ensuring an equal treatment to all the races, it adopted four official languages-Malay, Mandarin, Tamil and English. However, to counter the numerical and socio- economic hegemony of the Chinese, the Malays like in Malaysia, were ensured special constitutional position in Singapore as well. The Malays, unlike the other races, also obtained free education in Singapore. In 1950s there were concerted efforts to promote the Malayan language as the national language, however, in the aftermath of Singapore's separation from Malaysia in 1965, English was promoted as the common language for official and other formal uses, for example as medium of instruction in schools to promote racial unity and integrity. Chinese free schools were mainly set up since the 1850s, however modern bilingual schools gradually started to be set up by end- nineteenth century through the help of local- born Chinese because the main problem that the Chinese immigrants and traders were facing was the lack of social respectability. The Chinese realized that what they needed was western education and eventually getting into the administrative jobs of the British. This coincided with the need of the British to recruit officials and interpreters. The Chinese diligently grabbed the opportunities and moved up the social ladder. On the other hand, the Straits Chinese monopolized the opium trade and opium farms even in faraway shores, going well beyond Thailand, Vietnam and China. This fetched huge revenue for the government besides, tin and rubber trade. After the separation of Singapore from Malaysia, Singapore emerged as a separate independent state in 1965. However, in spite of this new independent identity, the Chinese immigration for work continued unabated in Singapore. The only difference being moving beyond the areas from which traditionally immigrants have arrived from China to Singapore, that is from Fujian and

219 Guangdong region, immigration are also registered from Sichuan, Shanghai, Hunan, Zhejiang, Beijing, etc in contemporary times. To counter the growing spread of western culture and beliefs, the new government stressed on the Asian Values and started campaigning in 1978 to promote the Confucian values of discipline and reverence towards authority and in 1982 campaign was launched to uphold the Mandarin language. Perpetuation of the Singaporean unity of all races was promoted as the National Ideology, particularly under the leadership of Lee Kuan Yew, who asked the new immigrants to assimilate in the social fabric of Singapore. It is a fact that Islam in fanatic forms were never tolerated and endorsed by the Singapore government and over the years the administrators of Singapore are paying more obeisances to the Singaporean state rather than the ethnic affiliation. This unique configuration of ethnic understanding made the present Singapore as one of the prime attractive, cosmopolitan, and unique commercial focal point of reference in emerging global order.

2.3 Sample Questions Essay Type Questions 1. Critically analyze the New Economic Policy of Malaysia. 2. Discuss the situation at Singapore after its separation from Malaysia. Short-Answer Type Questions 1. Discuss the Chinese- Bumiputra dichotomy in Malaysia. 2. Analyze the situation in Malaysia in the aftermath of the New Economic Policy. Very Short Questions 1. What is the role of IBRD in Malaysia? 2. Write a short note on Chinese in Singapore.

220 2.4 Suggested Readings 1. Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Malaya*, Oxford University Press, London, 1967. 2. T. H. Silcock, *The Economy of Malaya*, Malaya Publishing House Limited, Singapore, 1954. 3. David Brown, *The state and ethnic politics in South East Asia*, Routledge, London, 1994. 4. Kalyani Bandopadhyay, *Political Economy of Non-Alignment: Indonesia and Malaysia*, South Asian Publishers, New Delhi, 1970. 5. K. S. Sandhu and A. Mani (eds.), *Indian Communities in Southeast Asia*, Institute of South East Asian Studies, Singapore, 1993. 6. Tridib Chakraborti, "Democracy and Development in Malaysia : A Case- Study of Malaysian Indians," In Anjali Ghosh et al (eds.), *Nationalism Democracy Development : Threats & Challenges in the Global Future*, ASIHS programme, Department of International Relations, Jadavpur University, Kolkata, 2007. 7. Tridib Chakraborti, "Minority underclass : Negating a Sociological Truism in Malaysia", in Lipi Ghosh and Ramkrishna Chatterjee (eds.), *Indian Diaspora in Asian and Pacific region : Culture, People Interaction*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur and New Delhi, 2004.

221 Unit : 3 ? Society, Culture and Politics in Thailand and Myanmar Structure 3.0 Objectives 3.1 Introduction 3.2 Society, Culture and Politics in Thailand and Myanmar 3.2.1 The Political scenario of Thailand 3.2.2 Thai Society and Culture 3.2.3 Society and Culture of Myanmar 3.2.4 Politics in Myanmar 3.3 Sample Questions 3.4 Suggested Reading 3.0 Objectives The objectives of the present unit are : ? To give us a basic idea of the prevalent societal structures, cultural norms & influences of these countries. ? To let us know a brief history of their political condition. 3.1 Introduction Thailand, or The Land of a Thousand Smiles, is officially known as the Kingdom of Thailand or Muang Thai or Prathet Thai, with Bangkok as its capital. Its currency is Baht, and the country has an area of 513,115 square kilometers, with population of over 67, 07,000. The main languages used in Thailand are Thai, Lao, Chinese, English and Malay. There are mainly three religions practised in the

222 country, namely, Theravada Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. Theravada Buddhists are predominant in the entire society, comprising about 95% of the population, whereas Muslims are about 4% of the total population. Thailand was previously known as Siam, and the founding date of the Kingdom of Siam is generally believed to be 1238 A.D. It experienced the Sukhotai period and then the Ayutthaya period before the establishment of Absolute Monarchy in 1870. But the Absolute Monarchy was overthrown by the People's Party in 1932 and the country became a constitutional monarchy. Myanmar, officially the Union of Myanmar, was previously known as Burma. It is known as the "rice bowl of the Far East". Its territory spreads over an area of 6, 76,553 square kilometers with Kyat as its currency. It has a population of over 54,164,262 as of July 2014 THAILAND 3.2 Society, Culture and Politics in Thailand and Myanmar 3.2.1 The Political Scenario of Thailand The decades of 1930s and 1940s were the periods of uncertainty and political turmoil with the Royalists, Nationalists and the Leftists getting embroiled in the tussle for the establishment of political power. In 1948, the Kingdom of Siam was renamed as the Kingdom of Thailand. In 1957, the military dictatorship in the kingdom commenced with the coup of Sarit. However, pressure started mounting on the military government as it started losing the popularity among the masses because of its high handedness and autocratic rule. The culmination of this growing dissent was the 1973 mass uprising against the military government, led particularly by the Communist Party. In 1974, there was a bloody military coup and the government was taken over by the military. By mid-1980s, the kingdom was consolidating its democratization process as in 1988 there was a democratic election, but suddenly in 1991, military junta overthrew the government of Chatchai, which was elected by the people of the Kingdom.

223 Amidst growing dissent against the military junta, the Peoples Constitution of Thailand was proclaimed on 11 October 1997. Efforts towards democratization once again started and in 2001, Thaksin Shinawatra's Thai Rak Thai Party won the General Elections. In 2005 again, Thaksin's party achieved its second landslide election victory. However, nepotism and corruption started plaguing Thaksin's government in its second term particularly after the Ratchada real estate deal of 2003 started coming to light and the People's Alliance for Democratic movement started assembling by early 2006. On 19 September 2006, military coup again occurs which toppled the Thaksin government, abrogated the Peoples Constitution of Thailand, outlawed the TRT party of Thaksin and banned its executives from contesting elections for next five years. In 2007, the military Junta drafted a new Constitution. On 21 October 2008, the Supreme Court sentenced Thaksin for a two year imprisonment for abuse of power particularly for the real estate deal. On 15 December of the same year, Abhisit Vejjajiva of the Democratic Party was elected as the Prime Minister of Thailand and Thaksin fled from the country. On 11 April 2009, pro-Thaksin demonstrators, calling themselves Red Shirt demonstrators, disrupted the ASEAN conference that was underway in Pattaya. The conference had to be cancelled and Prime Minister Abhisit had to declare an Emergency to allow for the safe exit of the delegates of the conference. Meanwhile in 2011, Thailand started getting embroiled in a border dispute with Cambodia, as both the countries were claiming their sovereignty over the Preah Vihear Promontory located on their borders. On the domestic front, Thailand held its next General Election on 3 July, 2011. Yingluck Shinawatra, the sister of former Prime Minister, Thaksin Shinawatra, became the Prime Minister. The border problem could be resolved only in late 2013, when in the month of November, The International Court of Justice remarked that a 1962 ruling gave Cambodia sovereignty over the Preah Vihear Promontory and Thailand must withdraw its armed forces from the border. By end 2013 itself, domestic pressure started mounting against Yingluck's government. As a result, once again the Kingdom fell in the grips of political

224 turmoil when, mass demonstrations began against Yingluck's government. The opposition resigned from Parliament, Yingluck Shinawatra dissolved the lower house of the Parliament and an Emergency Security Law was invoked on 25 November, 2013, in order to reduce further animosity at the domestic level. On 25 August, 2014, Thailand's Junta leader General Prayuth Chan-ocha became the next Prime Minister, but the entire political environment has not yet been pacified.

3.2.2 Thai Society and Culture

The Thai society and culture has been influenced hugely by the Chinese and Indian Culture. Theravada Buddhism perhaps wields the maximum influence in the Thai Society. Classical Thai paintings have almost always been influenced by the mural paintings that are most commonly found in Buddhist temples. These paintings mostly depict the events in the life of Lord Buddha. Thai architecture mostly centers around monuments, pagodas and temples and for their construction wood, stucco, lacquer work are very common. Chinese porcelain is also an oft-used item in Thai architecture. Parallel to it, we find Indian influence on their literature, when we observe how their epic, the Ramakian, is modeled on the Indian epic, the Ramayana. We see similar characters in both these literary pieces, such as the Hanuman. Very much similar to the 'Namaste' of Indians, the Thai people used 'Wai' to greet each other. As a mark of showing respect, they fold their palms together in a prayer – like manner. Their society is essentially hierarchic in nature and they have been taught to display reverence to the hierarchy. This is why the Royal family of the Thailand enjoys much respect from all quarters of the Thai society. The 'Wat' holds a very prominent position in the Thai society. A 'wat' is a Buddhist temple and Monastery combined together, and has traditionally been places for receiving and completing education, performing religious rites, social ceremonies and like. The Thai language is known as 'Phasa Thai'. These are predominantly monosyllable words and the alphabets have been created by the King Ramkhamhaeng the Great in 1283. It is said that the Sanskrit and Pali influence on these alphabets are explicitly displayed. But like the

225 Chinese language, the Thai words too have different tones. The same word with different tones may mean different objects. The society of Thailand is not at all homogeneous in character. The society and culture of the Northern Thailand is influenced greatly by the Burmese culture as Thailand shares its boundaries with Myanmar and Laos towards its North. In Western Thailand we find a kind of society which is quite isolated from the rest of the country by the large mountain range. However, the concentration of ethnic Thai majority is found in the central part of Thailand which has the greatest population density in the country and the capital of Thailand, Bangkok is situated in this region. The fact remains that within Thailand, the North and the Northeastern region of the country suffer from low economic development. The per capita income of the people of the region is comparatively low than the people residing in the other parts of the country. Two-thirds of the population of the country is made up of ethnic Thai groups and the remaining one-third is made up of Chinese, Vietnamese, Khmer, Hmong and others. In the Southern part of the country, the Islam factor remains very prominent. Therefore, beyond the overall similar tendencies in the Thai culture there is no one particular model that can be followed as the demographic composition of the country varies to a large extent owing to geographic conditions.

MYANMAR Myanmar's population is equivalent to 0.74 percent of the total world population. The population density in Myanmar is eighty people per square kilometer and thirty five percent of the total population is living in urban areas. The languages that are used are mainly Burmese, Karen and Shan. About eighty nine percent of the population is Theravada Buddhists. Christians comprise about four percent of the total population with predominantly Baptist Christians. Muslims and Hindus make up four and two percent of the population respectively and about one percent of the population is Animists. The hill tribes are mainly Animists. The population ratio of various ethnic communities in Myanmar is as follows : PGPS (P-VIII M 1-4) (Eng)—15

226 Table-1 Ethnic Communities in Myanmar Serial Numbers Communities Percentage of the Total Population
 1 Bamar 68.00
 2 Shan 9.00
 3 Kayin 7.00
 4 Rakhine 3.50
 5 Chinese 2.50
 6 Mon 2.00
 7 Kachin 1.50
 8 Indians 1.25
 9 Kayah 0.75
 10 Other Groups 4.50
 Source : Morten B. Pederson, Emily Rudland and Ronald James May (eds.), *Burma Myanmar: strong regime, weak state?*, Crawford House, Belair, 2000.

3.2.3 Society and Culture of Myanmar In Myanmar, there exist more than one hundred thirty five different ethnic communities, with each having its own culture, history and language. The majority Burman (Bamar) ethnic group makes up about two-thirds of the total population and more or less controls the military and the government. The minority ethnic nationalities of the remaining one-third population live mainly in the resource-rich border areas and hills of Burma, although many have been forcibly displaced from their homeland by the military-backed government and seized their land for development projects and resource exploitation. As a result, millions of people from these minority groups have become internally displaced people (IDPs) within Burma, or refugees in neighbouring countries. The seven largest minority nationalities in Burma are the Chin, the Kachin, the Karenni (sometimes called Kayah), the Karen (sometimes called Kayin), the Mon, the Rakhine, and the Shan. Burma is divided into seven states, each named after these

227 seven ethnic nationalities, and seven regions (formerly called divisions), which are mainly populated by the Bamar (Burmans). The Rohingya people are not recognized by the Myanmar government as an ethnic nationality of Burma, and thus they suffer from some of the most horrible bigotry and human rights abuses of all the people of Burma. It is estimated that the Rohingya population of Burma is nearly two million, living mainly in Rakhine State, and a large portion live as refugees in neighbouring countries mainly in Bangladesh. The Mon Kingdom and the Pyu Kingdom that were found in Burma in the first millennium and they popularized the religion of Buddhism in the country. But the original population of Burma was mainly Animists. There was an influx of Hindu and Muslim population in the country during the colonial period, particularly in Rangoon (presently Yangon) region. Christianity is largely restricted to the ethnic non-Buddhist communities, such as, the Karen, the Kachin and the Chin. These communities have consistently resisted the rule of the military junta and the Karens have involved themselves in one of the protracted civil wars against the government. However, in January 2004, the Karen National Union agreed to end hostilities against the military government. An important aspect of the Myanmar's society that has taken enormous proportions in the recent years is the conflict between Rakhine Buddhists and Rohingya Muslims. Rakhine region towards Bangladesh is Muslim-dominated and the two communities have got embroiled in serious skirmishes that has attracted international gaze in the country. Drawing from belief in the significance of 'Karma' prevalent in Hinduism, the people of Myanmar have a similar belief in 'hpon', that is, one's past deeds shape his present life. The society of Myanmar has most significantly been influenced by the Buddhist culture, rituals and belief. Societal and cultural influences from India and China are very much present in the daily lives of the common people in Myanmar. 'Mingalaba' is the name of the greeting of the traditional Burmese people and the Thingyan Water Festival is their most important festival, which is celebrated around April every year. The festival is celebrated with the belief that water washes away all the sins. Apart from this, 228 Kachin Manaw, Ananda Pagoda, Htamane, Kakku Pagoda, Elephant Dance and Hot Air Balloon festivals are celebrated with much grandeur. The people of Myanmar also celebrate Diwali like the Indians. Indian and Chinese dishes are quite popular in Myanmar. Chinese products have made much headway in challenging the indigenous products of daily use. There is also a growing enthusiasm among the local people to learn Chinese and Indian languages.

3.2.4 Policics in Myanmar

King Anawrahta founded the first unified state of Burma in 1057 in Pagan and Theravada Buddhism was adopted by him. Over the years, Burma experienced the Mongol dynasty, the Toungoo dynasty and the Konbaung dynasty. Following this, the British started conquering Burma in 1824 and the first Anglo- Burmese War broke out. At the end of the War, the Treaty of Yandabo was concluded by which the Arakan coastal strip was ceded to the British. Lower Burma was annexed in 1852 following the second Anglo- Burmese War. The conquering of Burma was completed in 1886 after the British captured Mandalay and made Burma a province of British India. Burma remained a part of British India till 1937, before British separated Burma from India and made it a separate colony. During the period of Second World War, in 1942, Japan (who was in the group of the opponents of Great Britain) invaded and occupied the British colony. However, in 1945 the British managed to liberate Burma from Japanese occupation. The British in their efforts towards liberating Burma got immense help at the local level from Aung San, who was the leader of the Anti- Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL). But, unfortunately in 1947, Aung San along with six members of his interim government was assassinated by U Saw. U Saw was his nationalist rival. Subsequently, U Nu, who was the Foreign Minister in the interim government, was asked to Head the AFPFL and the government. Burma acquired independence on 4 January 1948 and U Nu became the first Prime Minister. During the final years of the decade of 1950s, there was a split in the ruling AFPFL and a caretaker government led by Ne Win, the Army Chief, was established. In the 1960 general elections, U Nu's party won a landslide victory

229 but in 1962, Ne Win staged a military coup and ousted U Nu's faction from power. From 1962 to 2011, for forty nine years, Burma was ruled by the military junta. Ne Win dominated the government from 1962 to 1988, as the President and even after relinquishing the post, he continued to wield substantial influence over the government. Ne Win, during his tenure, introduced the 'Burmese Way To Socialism', by which he nationalized the economy of the country and established an one- party ruled state with Socialist Programme Party as the single political party of the state. In the meantime, in 1974, he proclaimed a new Constitution and established a People's Assembly as its head accompanied by other military leaders. In 1981, Ne Win relinquished his post and San Yu, another retired military general, became the President. Ne Win continued to exert extensive authority as the Chairman of the ruling Socialist Programme Party. Particularly from 1988, the simmering anti- government feelings flared up into major riots and severe demonstrations started against the political legitimacy of the then military junta. To counter such law and order problems, the ruling junta formed the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) which started arresting demonstrators and keeping them for long as political prisoners. Even the leader of the main opposition party, Aung San Suu Kyi of the National League for Democracy (NLD) was put under house arrest. She is the daughter of assassinated nationalist leader Aung San. In the general elections held in 1990, the NLD registered a landslide victory, but the government ignored the verdict of the people and continued with their military rule. In 1992, Than Shwe became the Chairman of the SLORC. In 1997, Burma was admitted to the ASEAN and the SLORC was renamed as the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC). The process towards democratization started in August 2003, when Khin Nyunt became the Prime Minister and he proposed to hold a Convention in 2004 for drafting a new Constitution. However, during this long period of the rule of military junta, international sanctioned was imposed mainly by the Western countries for the establishment of democratic government. In the meantime, hostilities between the government and the ethnic PGPS (P-VIII M 1-4) (Eng)—16 230 groups such as the Karen, the Kachin and the Shan rebel groups acutely flared up, which led to the continuance of international sanctions against Burma. International pressure towards speeding up the democratization process kept mounting day by day, as Aung San Suu Kyi was on and off kept in house arrest for long durations and demonstrators and NLD leaders were kept as political prisoners. So, when in May 2004, the Convention for drafting the new Constitution began, it was boycotted by the NLD as Aung San Suu Kyi continued to remain under house arrest at that time. The military junta has always been accused not only in the domestic front, but also in the international arena for abusing the rights of the people of Myanmar, such as by the International Committee of the Red Cross. The United States also put forth a resolution in January 2007 at the United Nations Security Council, urging Burma to stop torturing and harassing the opposition groups and leaders. But the resolution died an unfortunate death as China and Russia vetoed it. By mid 2008, the proposed new Constitution was revealed by the government, but it banned the opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi from holding office. Aung San Suu Kyi continued to remain under house arrest, but started talking to the military leaders. In the General Elections conducted in 2010, the main military- backed party, the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) claimed a landslide victory, but the opposition leaders were not ready to accept this verdict. Meanwhile, Aung San Suu Kyi was freed from house arrest immediately after the result of the election. In March 2011, Thein Sein was appointed as the new Prime Minister of the country. He tried to bring in some democratic reforms by freeing political prisoners and allowing trade unions and peaceful demonstrations, re- registering of NLD as a political party and competing in the elections and abolishing the censorship on the media, particularly print media. Though all these in helped in improving face of Myanmar in the international arena, Western countries such as the United States, still extends some sanctions on the country, as it believes that the human rights abuse is still very much present in this country. Thus, the present Myanmar government has now embarked on the road of democratization.

231 3.3 Sample Questions Essay Type Questions 1. Discuss the political scenario in Thailand. 2. Illustrate the present political situation in Myanmar. Short-Answer Type Questions 1. Give a brief overview of the Thai society. 2. Critically analyze the rule of military junta in Myanmar. Very Short Questions 1. Which country is known as the 'rice bowl of the Far East' & why? 2. Write a short note on the role of 'Wat' in a Thai society. 3.4 Suggested Readings 1. Morten B. Pederson, Emily Rudland and Ronald James May (eds.), *Burma Myanmar: strong regime, weak state?*, Crawford House, Belair, 2000. 2. Juliane Schober, *Modern Buddhist Conjunctures in Myanmar: Cultural Narratives, Colonial Legacies and Civil Society*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2011. 3. David I. Steinberg, *Burma : The State of Myanmar*, George University Press, Washington, D.C, 2001 4. Wendell Blanchard, *Thailand, Its People, Its Society, Its Culture*, HRAF Press, Connecticut, 1966 5. Arne Kislén, *Culture and Customs of Thailand*, Greenwood Publishing Group, California, 2004. 6. Pasuk Phongpaichit and Christopher John Baker, *Thailand: Economics and Politics*, OUP, London, 2002.

232 Unit : 4 ? Globalization and Culture in South East Asia in the Post Cold War Era Structure 4.0 Objectives 4.1 Introduction 4.2 Globalization and Culture in South East in the Post Cold War Era 4.2.1 Asian Values Debate 4.2.2 Growth of Islamic Fundamentalism in South East Asia 4.2.3 Struggle between Democracy and Authoritarian Rule 4.2.4 Alternative Discourses of South East Asia 4.3 Sample Questions 4.4 Suggested Reading 1.0 Objectives The main objectives are : ? To give us an analysis of the effect that the drawing of globalization had on the cultures & values of South East Asian countries. ? To give us an idea about the Asian Value Debate. ? To highlight the major challenges that have cropped up in the era of globalization in the countries of South east Asia. 4.1 Introduction The advent of globalization in South East Asia, particularly in the 1990s, brought with itself unbound flows of information, goods, capital, technology, cultures and values at the macro or the international level and tectonic changes at 233 the micro or local level too. It also brought unmatched economic interdependence, cross border capital movements and rapid technology transfer between the countries of South East Asia. Moreover, on the one hand, there grew substantial pressure on nation-states in South East Asia to conform to the western model of rule of law, stress on accountability and transparency. On the other hand, there grew several problems which were essentially intercontinental in nature, such as ethnic unrest, organized crime networks, large scale migration and the issue of displaced persons, etc. But in this context, our topic of analysis would be the emergence of an essentially western- dominated international culture as a direct effect of globalization in these traditional societies of South East Asia. The effort towards generalization of the western culture, through the instruments of globalization, has aroused concern about the erosion of national identity and traditional values in many South East Asian countries. It has been found that gradually villagers in these countries have initiated to leave their indigenous identity behind and are more attracted towards their national culture and customs to reach for a global identity. 4.2 Globalization and culture in South East in the Post cold war Era 4.2.1 Asian Values Debate The countries of South East Asia are not at all a homogeneous group, and have considerable differences of opinion when it comes to the question of how much the forces of globalization will be allowed to permeate their societies, particularly in the cultural sector. For example, some countries are deeply sensitive to films and music from Hollywood, while the others are not. Chinese films are welcomed in Thailand, but not in Malaysia. Similarly, except in Singapore, various attempts have been made with reference to policies and programs to reactivate national culture and identity with reference to globalization. Serious efforts have been initiated to strengthen national symbols and identity such as Buddhism, Islam, Confucian values, national flags, monarchy, armed forces, socialist ideology, meritocracy, etc. 234 Some have argued that there has been a revival of traditional values as a result of the uncertainties of social change and as cultures rub up against each other in the era of globalization. Whilst education, democracy and development may reflect a superficial Westernization, they can lead to a rediscovery of indigenous values, as cultural backlash. The more popular liberal view is that this process results in a dilution of cultural differences and the breakdown of traditional values and institutions as the volume of shared experiences and behavior increases sharply. As a generalized consequence of modernization- industrialization, urbanization, education, democratization—this is undeniable. East Asian leaders have sought to exploit the opportunities of this environment whilst resisting the globalizing culture which accompanies this process. This resulted in the debates on the Asian Values. The debate on this concept has been originated after Samuel. P. Huntington's book titled The Clash of Civilizations. In the early 1990s, the concept of Asian values has been advanced by various Asian political leaders, most notably Lee Kuan Yew and Mahathir Mohammed, who argued that certain Asian cultural values were the root of Asia's remarkable post- war success. These leaders maintained that in the political sphere, "Asian Values" supported the paternalistic brand of authoritarian government that they both practiced, while in the economic sphere these values supported a work ethic, savings, education and other practices conducive to economic growth. The Asian values are a kind of defense against Western way of life. It covers five ethics such as, humanity, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and faithfulness. These values are said to include work, good education, family-centeredness and gratitude or comprise culture, tradition, moral order, religion and way of thoughts. Also "Asian Values" believe in duties, rather than rights. They also viewed that the Western model is not easily exportable and not necessarily desirable. They pointed out that drugs, gangs, guns, endemic violent crime, unsafe streets and increased divorce rates have clearly made a sharp decline in family values in the Western world. However, some have interpreted the "Asian Values" as a philosophical and cultural alternative to Western approaches to questions of government, civil liberties, economic management and human rights. The idea in a brief account is

235 that there is an Asian way of doing things. By definition, the "Asian Values" differs from the Western way and denies the West any monopoly on the one right approach to the important issues. Many in the West have been severely reluctant to accept the notion of a different but equally valid set of values. At the extreme, they have seen no basis for an alternative viewpoint to Western thinking on the important question of what constitutes good governance and how best to protect human rights. They have considered these issues as universal; they have argued the solutions must also be universal. Thus, they have sought to promote Western liberal democracy and the protection of human rights through binding law as the goal to which countries, societies, and peoples should universally aspire. It is therefore around these two issues that the "Asian Values" Vs. "Western Values" debate has been most intense. For many in the Asian countries, the approach of the West is arrogant, provocative and basically another form of colonialism. Many in the West worry that "Asian Values" are a cover for oppressive governments. The situation has been aggravated by public and sometimes acrimonious exchanges between governments. The result has been undesirable friction between the countries involved. This has made it difficult for them to work together to address the perceived differences with both sides believing that they have nothing to learn from the other. For example, take the human rights issue. Human rights are universal, but cultural values differ. There is no one single approach to good governance or the protection of human liberties. This might come as a surprise to many from the West, who often take for granted that Western style democracy is what everyone should aspire to and that political, social and economic progress is measured in those terms. But others are not ready to see things in that manner. Just as Western commentators and politicians also expressed worry about human rights loopholes in Asian or other countries, so too from an Asian perspective there can be doubts about whether Western countries always deliver on good governance and social and economic freedom for their people in theory, but not in practice. Besides this, some Western scholars argue that the "Asian Values" remained the key factor of 236 the 1997 Financial Crisis. They argue that "Asian Values" created improper characters of economic and political patterns. They also argued that "Asian Values" hindered independent thinking and creativity and fostered authoritarian regime- for example, dictatorial governments in places such as China, Vietnam and Myanmar. Thus, we see that the debate on "Asian Values" have clearly emerged in the context of globalization. However, "Asian Values" in all their diversity have played a role in shaping the economic and political institutions in Asia, and have given Asian societies a very separate degree of social order than the developed countries of the West.

4.2.2 Growth of Islamic Fundamentalism in Southeast Asia

The emergence of Islamic fundamentalism has been treated as a major threat to the countries of Southeast Asia, which has taken challenging proportions particularly with the growth of the New World Order. Islam is said to have first arrived in the region in the fourteenth century by way of India. By the time it was introduced in areas of the region presently known as Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand, Islam got infused with elements of Indian Sufi mysticism. The result was that Islam had to adapt itself to the entrenched Hindu Buddhist traditions already in the region. Thus, the brand of Islam that was founded in Southeast Asia was essentially moderate in nature. However, in recent years the growth of Islamic fundamentalism or radicalism and its connection with various terrorist groups has emerged as a major political factor in South East Asia and invited external intervention like in the Philippines where the US started its operation against the Abu Sayyaf group. Leaders of Malaysia and Indonesia have already started to seriously ponder over the issue. It would be wise for them to rein in disruptive forces by restoring liberalism and tolerance, which were the hallmark of their societies. Islamic fundamentalism is not new in South East Asia. There have been instances earlier. An example is the Padri Movement of Indonesia. Islamic fundamentalism also appeared in Kelantan, North Malaysia and Southern Thailand. Today, the entire northern states are under the political control of Islamic fundamentalist parties. Its appearance in Indonesia

237 has been only in the recent past and especially after President Suharto's fall. The Jemaah Islamiyah of Indonesia, which is the most important Islamic terrorist organization in Southeast Asia, has links with the Al Qaeda but also has very important indigenous roots, which can be traced back to the Darul Islam of the 1940s. Similarly, Islamic fundamentalism has been too prominent in the Christian state of the Philippines, where Western tourists are being held hostages, by the extremist separatist, Abu Sayyaf, a splinter group of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). This Abu Sayyaf group is believed to have received millions of pesos in ransom, which they have used to buy weapons, and have linked up with the Al Qaeda. In the wake of September 11, thousands of Philippines troops and hundreds of American soldiers were deployed in the Southern island of Basilan, where the separatists were holding hostages. After several months of training and assistance, the Americans withdrew. However, the Abu Sayyaf continues to plague the South. The group was responsible for bomb attacks in the MILF and against the government which took place in February 15, 2003. Two hundreds, most rebel forces, died in the firefight, in which the military overran the rebel's stronghold in the Southern Philippine province of Cotabato. However, the moot question is why Islamic communities in Southeast Asia, long known for tolerance and liberalism, fell prey to the West Asian brand of Islamic fundamentalism? There is no doubt that Saudi and Gulf State's money have largely accelerated their fundamentalist activities. But regional economic disparities within the states remain an important reason behind their upsurge. It is from these economically backward regions that there has been a large outflow of young people to theological seminars in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia in the last 10-15 years. It has largely flourished because it became a tool in electoral politics in many countries of South East Asian. Therefore, the growth of transnational radical Islam and Islamic resurgence in South East Asia have converted Islam into a force of radical and violent revisionism and has greatly changed the image of Islam in South East Asia as a moderate and constructive force, as well as created political instability and regional chaos.

238 4.2.3 Struggle between Democracy and Authoritarian Rule The struggle between democracy and authoritarian rule in South East Asia has emerged as a major threat in the region specifically after the dawning of globalization and liberalization. The political structure of most of the South East Asian countries are followed either military rule, or quasi-democratic system or party dictatorship. Since the mid-1980's, the process of democratization has been appeared a major political force in Southeast Asia. The arguments that were made by the authoritarian regimes in this region have been that there was a connection between their high speed economic growth and their authoritarian political systems. The establishment of quasi-democratic structures in place of military rule, never altered the entire structure of the political system be is transparency, accountability and the rule of law. It also failed to protect minority rights within its so-called democratic structure. The outbreak of racial violence in March 2001 at Petaling Jaya Selantan squatter settlement between Indians and Malays had sent severe shock waves in the entire Malaysia and had put a big question mark about the hitherto pluralist structure of the Malaysian society. In the Philippines the struggle between Catholics and Muslims, which refueled perceptions of local alienation and deprivation by majority on minority, in Singapore the domination of People's Action Party in its so-called democratic institutions (e.g. a strong central bureaucracy and management of the political affairs through tricky means of conciliation and consensus-building, efficient manipulation of judiciary, the press etc.), clearly exhibited the absence of common democratic norms that are deeply prevalent in the Western democratic model. In Myanmar, the domination of ethnic Myanmarese on various ethnic indigenous communities through autocratic means, clearly and forcefully legitimize the existence of autocratic military junta. The Burmese military, though physically in control, has been morally bankrupt and fighting for survival, and thus unlikely to take the initiative in democratization. Although history is not always a reliable guide, the political system transformations in Burma and Indonesia, in the past, and presently in Cambodia, Laos, and again in Indonesia (after the fall of Suharto in 1996) have

239 been abrupt and severely violent. In Cambodia, after the peace keeping operation in 1993, democracy becomes an ongoing "war", rather than producing a national consensus on the path ahead. There may not be regular violent clashes, as they were previously. But unless there is more reconciliation between victors, runners- up and indeed the opposition, society and polity remain overall divided and this clearly obstructs national development of consensus and the process of democratization. In Thailand, after its long history of military rule, in 1992, the May events resulted in the fall of the Suchinda military dictatorship and started of the process which has since 'seen two powerful handovers of power from one parliamentary coalition to another.' The process of globalization, which accelerated since early 1990s, clearly generated the new wave of democratization and amply signaled many weaknesses of the authoritarian state. Among them - the absence of democratic norms and institutions and reliance on economic performance to sustain political legitimacy - are most important reasons. Although the importance of authoritarian ideology lost its momentum in the context of new global order, in its place the democratic revolution also unfortunately lost its steam in the last few years. In most of the South East Asian, the novelty of free elections, party competition, and separation of powers has worn off, to reveal several sources of discontent associated with the model of democracy after which insurgent elites patterned their systems of governance after ejecting authoritarian rule. Further, in South East Asian region, there is doubt whether the protection of the interests of minorities, be it ethnic, racial or religious, can be safeguarded under democracy, which by definition is the rule of the majority. It is not at all clear, for instance, if democratic rule has been an advance over authoritarian rule for the Muslims in Thailand, where a Thai majority holds sway. It is amply clear that 11 years of democracy has not resulted in significant political and economic gains for the Muslim in the Southern Philippines. So, the authoritarian regimes in South East Asia did not have a much worse record in terms of assuring minority rights than the democratic government. The debate between democracy and authoritarian rule and the debate within 240 democracies of the South East Asian countries have been convulsive in the regional politics of South East Asia. Besides this, with respect to other member states, the impact of the financial crisis of 1997 in Indonesia is of great consequence to other ASEAN members and to the nature of the association itself. The political reform in Indonesia as the 'positive' impact of the economic crisis had given new expectation for Indonesia as a democratic state. Furthermore, it is a fact that no universal values of democracy should be applied to all countries, and it seems that some ASEAN countries have become more democratic than others. Consequently, this may cause tensions between ASEAN members.

4.2.4 Alternative Discourses of Southeast Asia

The countries of South East Asia and especially the ASEAN members have faced diverse challenges since its establishment in 1967. From the time of its inception to the end of the cold war, ASEAN's main preoccupation has been with challenges to its security in terms of military threats. With the end of the cold war, as the military confrontation subsided, the challenges appear to come from other fronts, notably in the aspects of economic growth and cooperation. The East Asian Financial crisis was probably one of the greatest challenges faced by Southeast Asian countries. With the financial crisis, confidence in the Asian economic miracle has been severely shaken. Serious doubts have since cropped up in the region about the 'benefits' of rapid globalisation and economic interdependence. Globalization, which had been a significant phenomena in this region, has been blamed for exacerbating the contagious spread of the financial crisis from one country to the entire region. The effects of globalization are multifarious. The economic, political and security environment of South East Asian region has been shaped by globalization, so much so that it has become the framework on which business, the economy and government relations operate. Besides its nominal positive effects, globalization has also exhibited negative effects, as reflected in the contagion effect of the financial crisis. Therefore, the question now arises, whether any alternative model

241 against existing world order would be possible? The New World Order's (NWO) ideological and economic agendas are globalized laissez-faire capitalism, behind under the rhetoric of "free-trade" and "increased competitiveness". The so-called free trade treaties are not about trade, but about opening up the world's economic resources and labour pools to unregulated exploitation by the multinationals. The NWO's political and economic agendas are the removal of the state's importance in society and democracy. The main vehicle of the propaganda branch of the NWO is the global mass media with ownership increasingly centralized in a small number of corporate agencies. These news pool, entertainment and propaganda vendors provide a highly biased and selective interpretation of world events, aligned with interests and agendas of the NWO. However, the countries of Southeast Asia firmly believe that this NWO is : (i) Inherently socially amoral. Its only imperatives are the expansion of corporate power, the accumulation of poor's wealth and the establishment of a global political system that expedites those objectives; (ii) It is expansionist in character (iii) It is inherently anti-democratic in nature; (iv) It flatly opposes national sovereignty and clearly promotes unaccountable internationalism. As against this New World Order, the leaders of South East Asian countries in February 2000, at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Bangkok, categorically demanded a 'New Global Order'. In this meeting, Singapore Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, demanded that UNCTAD should produce a programme to shape more equitable trade and development policies at a time, when free trade and liberalization has been suffering a backlash from countries and groups left out of its benefits. Like Goh Chok Tong, the Malaysian Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohammed firmly demanded that developing countries should be allowed to participate in the global decision-making process in order to manage the pace and direction of liberalization and globalization.

242 In August 1996, at Manila, the countries of South East Asia in a meeting titled "Southeast Asia Beyond the year 2000 : A Statement of Vision," firmly pronounced the region's future path and endorsed certain principles as an alternative discourse in the context of New World Order. It emphasized for a "community building" mindset, which is a process of creating a new state of mind. It prescribed "a human agenda", which should be elevated to the top in the regional governments, individual and collective priorities and that successful implementation of 'a human agenda' should be considered the principle of achievements on the road to building a South East Asian Community in the 21 st century. These countries prescribed certain principles and they are : (i) Peace at all levels - international, regional and domestic; (ii) Physical and material well being - which means open market mechanism as an instruments of efficiency and distribution, without state intervention except where it is necessary to ensure fair play and to protect those who can't protect themselves. To achieve these agendas, it requires freedom of movement of goods and services, capital and labour, information and technology across the political boundaries within and outside the region; (iii) Need to protect the family institution; (iv) Need to safeguard and to enhance the dignity of the human person by the rule of law, traditional values, education and employment; (v) Need for strengthening the spirit of local community; (vi) Need for more just, equal, tolerant and caring societies; (vii) To promote greater social equity; (viii) Need to create harmony between man and nature; (ix) Imperative for generating "cultural synergy"; (x) Need for an open mind. Although, these concepts look rather utopian in nature, but these are the general outlooks of the South East Asian in the context of New World Order.

243 CONCLUSION The countries of South East Asia in the last four decades, through its regional organization i.e. ASEAN, have not only survived but have developed into an important force internationally. The existence of ASEAN has no doubt played a crucial role in strengthening regional peace and security and to protect the culture in South East Asia. ASEAN realizes that there are some differences between its members and in many aspects of life. However, these differences should not restrict the willingness of all ASEAN members to cooperate to achieve common goals based on the ASEAN fundamental principles. The countries of South East Asia, did suffer the 1997 Financial crises, but ultimately they prevailed on it.. Moreover, their common difficulties and struggles have strengthened cooperation, solidarity and cultural cohesiveness. In the context of new global order, the countries of South East Asia have responded by striving ever harder to remain attractive to foreign investors, without losing their culture in the context of globalization. Up to now, these trends can be seen as positive, in the context of expanding positive sum response to globalization. Besides this, the countries of South East Asia, through the ASEAN have recognized early on the growing world of interdependence. To this end, it set out to create linkages with other countries and regions, both with the developed and developing world. In other words, ASEAN’s response to global challenges has come not through national assertiveness, as countries might normally have reacted in the past, but by initiating greater regional integration and cooperation. Whether this new form of cohesiveness among the countries of South East Asia qualifies as a distinct paradigm apart from the dominant Western (US led) model on the one hand, and different from traditional South-South Cooperation, on the other, remains to be clearly observed.

4.3 Sample Questions Essay Type Questions 1. Is it true that the forces of globalization have brought greater democratization in the region? Explain.

244 2. Analyze critically the struggle between democratic and authoritarian forces in the region. Short-Answer Type Questions 1. Clearly analyze the Asian Values Debate. 2. How far do you think that the growth of Islamic fundamentalism in the region is a direct outfit of globalization? Very Short Questions 1. What was the major crisis faced by the South East Asian countries with the advent of globalization in the region. 2. Write a short note on ‘New Global Order’. 4.4 Suggested Readings 1. Tridib Chakraborti, “Emerging Threats in Southeast Asia in the Post- Cold War Era : Towards an Alternative Discourse,” in Partha Pratim Basu, Purushottam Bhattacharya, Rochona Das, Anjali Ghosh and Kanak Chandra Sarkar(eds.), State, Nation and Democracy: Alternative Global Futures, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2007. 2. David Brown, The state and ethnic politics in Southeast Asia, Routledge, London, 1994. 3. Tridib Chakraborti, “Terrorism and the ASEAN States: A Classificatory and Perspective Analysis,” in Omprakash Mishra and Sucheta Ghosh (eds.), Terrorism and low Intensity Conflict in South Asian Region, Manak Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2003. 4. Globalization and the new Realities, Selected Speeches of Dr. Mahathir Mohammed, Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn. Bhd, Selangor, Malaysia, 2002.

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<p>the collective voice of the Muslim World” and works to “safeguard and protect the interests of the Muslim world in the spirit of promoting international peace and harmony.”</p> <p>SA Albane COURTADE - Thesis - TOURISM2 - OCT15.pdf (D21061833)</p>				
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<p>the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf,</p> <p>SA Evolution of Saudi-Israeli Relations- Implications for Regional Order .pdf (D146070363)</p>				
6/12	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS
<p>Dawisha, Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century : From Triumph to Despair, (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 2003) 3.</p> <p>SA metamorphsis.pdf (D154744117)</p>				
7/12	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	98% MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS
<p>Central Asia, central region of Asia, extending from the Caspian Sea in the west to the border of western China in the east, is bounded</p> <p>W http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/102288/</p>		<p>Central Asia, central region of Asia, extending from the Caspian Sea in the west to the border of western China in the east. It is bounded</p>		

8/12	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	71% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
<p>after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The total population of the Central Asian</p> <p>SA Midterm MENA, Teofana Cepoi.pdf (D129855192)</p>				
9/12	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	90% MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
<p>the north by Russia and on the south by Iran, Afghanistan and China. During the</p> <p>W http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/102288/</p>				
10/12	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>The Asian Pacific : Political and Economic Development in a Global Context,</p> <p>W https://epdf.pub/encyclopedia-of-modern-asia08c59570e8b02473bc88928b72f30d2339802.html</p>				
11/12	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>The Asian Pacific : Political and Economic Development in a Global Context,</p> <p>W https://epdf.pub/encyclopedia-of-modern-asia08c59570e8b02473bc88928b72f30d2339802.html</p>				
12/12	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
<p>The Asian Pacific : Political and Economic Development in a Global Context,</p> <p>W https://epdf.pub/encyclopedia-of-modern-asia08c59570e8b02473bc88928b72f30d2339802.html</p>				