

Research Papers

WOMEN EMPOWERMENT TOWARDS THE STRENGTHENING OF INDIAN DEMOCRACY

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In the study the term women empowerment denotes equal role for women in every sphere of power: political, social, economic and cultural. Empowerment is concerned with bringing women to the power structure and giving them the liberty to exercise power independently without any external dominance or control. True empowerment asserts a real participation of women in decision making as well as its implementation in every sphere of life starting right from the family front. This paper seeks to establish the idea of the importance of women empowerment through parliamentary participation, using Kerala's Kudumbashree model as the core of our understanding.

The program, Kudumbashree, meaning "family prosperity" in Malayalam, the local language, was started in 1998 by the then-Communist government to fight poverty through female emancipation and the collaborative effort of local self-governments. It started with a few thousand women, but now Kudumbashree counts nearly 3.7 million women as members, who have collected a total of 16.9 billion rupees, or \$276.7 million, in the form of a thrift.

By providing grants and arranging low-cost loans, Kudumbashree encourages women to run their own businesses, which include taxi services, handicraft shops, schools for disabled children, homes for destitute families and small paper mills. Kudumbashree workers have been lauded both nationally and internationally for achieving community-based goals and efficiently harnessing the potential of women's participation in the work force, which until then had been largely untapped. In 2002, the program was recognized in a study by the United Nations Development Program and the

Indian government as one of the 20 best practices in India in governance.

Context : In the recent years, there has been a substantial rise in the idea of feminism, with a great number of women and even men, clamouring for equality and rights for the fairer sex. Empowerment of women has garnered more significance in the Indian context as women who were once confined to the boundary of the family and historically considered as species to be protected are now seeking, or rather demanding a change in roles and stereotypes. The real empowerment of women does not lie in the so called feminist slogans which confines itself to the middle class sensibilities.

EVOLUTION OF KUDUMBASHREE : The 73rd and 74th amendments paved way for the establishment of Local Governments with a view to have a decentralized and representative democracy. Our constitution being a perfect blend of various ideologies embraced the Gandhian ideology of Village empowerment and Grassroot democracy. Though the Directive Principles made a provision for the concept of a Panchayati Raj which subsequently evolved as a law in the 90's, most of the states marked dismal performance even after two decades in making the Panchayati Raj a meaningful institution in empowering the local public in decision making as well as its implementation. In this background the experiments done in Kerala since 1996 are highly significant. The decentralization of power made the Panchayat the centre of planning and implementation, thus making the direct participation of public in the local administration possible, dynamic and volatile.

'PEOPLES PLANNING CAMPAIGN: Peoples planning campaign introduced by the Left Government was an attempt to induce decentralized democracy and motivate public planning. It was an offshoot of the 9th Five Year Plan aiming to facilitate direct people's participation. The fundamental objective of 'Peoples planning' was to reinforce the mechanism of decentralization by allowing the local Governments to envision the development programmes of areas that fall under their respective jurisdiction. The 'Women Component Plan' is a very significant aspect of the above discussed initiative. This was incorporated to induce women's participation and empower them from the grassroot level. It was a difficult task as empowerment of women in its true sense essentially indicates negating certain attributes imposed on them by the society. As Dr Thomas Issac, a well known economist and former finance minister of Kerala who played a pivotal role in implementing Peoples Planning Campaign correctly points out " The women development programmes were constrained not only by financial and technical factors but moreover in terms of ideological perspective. These projects attempt to address the cultural and ideological issues related to women's status."

Local planning prioritizes the necessities of a region which is what was ignored in the centralized planning for years. Women, dalits and other weaker sections never had a say in deciding the project priorities. However, local planning ensures the representation of voices of these subjugated sections. It promotes the creative participation of each individual in the development; thus ensures the 'development' of the individual which Gandhi considered to be the ultimate achievement. Thus, local planning and panchayati raj tries to bridge the gap between social development and individual growth particularly that

of women. This has brought women from the kitchen to the forefront. The attention of society has been changed, the attitudes revolutionized and priorities went upside down with farming, small scale manufacturing particularly of food products, tailoring etc becoming central themes of development planning. While Kerala has a comparatively lesser GDP rate, the human welfare indices is relatively higher and even comparable to some of the Western countries.

Kudumbashree - an institution of ladies found shape in this background in Kerala and its decade long existence has proved that the institution has succeeded to a remarkable extent in empowering women economically, socially and politically.

THE CONCEPT : 'Kudumbashree' should be viewed as a pillar of strength of the Local governments of Kerala though it does not legally form part of the Local governments. Kudumbashree which was launched with a strong motive to alleviate poverty went on to become a women empowerment model. The institution is built around 2 critical components: Micro credit and entrepreneurship. Micro credit helps the institution to facilitate economic development of women by providing cost effective amenities and easy credit by pooling in the resources of the members. Kudumbashree encourages women to be small entrepreneurs by fostering them to start small scale business and manufacturing activities, farming, tailoring etc. These two components cannot really be put into separate water tight compartments. These two elements should be viewed as complements to each other working in full force for the grass root level empowerment, development and reinforcement of women.

Various activities of some of the Kudumbashree's of Kerala has been studied in detail to get a vivid picture of what goes into true empowerment and how Kudumbashree has made women an active participant of our democracy

thereby enshrining certain pre requisites for the existence of a democracy as a representative form of Government. Development of a state cannot be viewed in isolation from the development of women who form a crucial part of any state. Hence we view Kudumbashree as a significant initiative towards women empowerment and thus a major step in strengthening and developing a democratic state.

ACTIVITIES : Activities of more than 1, 50, 000 Kudumbashree's spread across the 15 districts of Kerala constituting 41 lakh members vary from small scale manufacturing and distribution confined to small villages to large scale manufacturing units, products of which are distributed throughout Kerala or outside.

While Kudumbashree Neighbourhood Groups in KANJIKUZHI panchayat in Allapuzha district revolutionized the farming sector with organic farming of vegetables , one Kudumbashree unit of KURAMPALA of Pandalam panchayat in Pathanamthitta district succeeded in marketing their food products throughout the district and slowly went on to become leading distributors in the southern part of Kerala. Discussion with the representatives of Kudumbashree at Kurampala gave us an impression of the management skills the women have developed and the confidence they have built in themselves. One of the modest Kudumbashrees with 17 members, the group did not have any fund to start with and being a very remote and backward area it was not easy for them to find external resources. However with the generous attitude of the banks particularly from the co-operative sector they could develop the required capital for a small , manufacturing unit. From a modest starting they have a decent sale turnover now and they target to achieve more success in the near future.

While discussing with representatives of KNHG in CHEMMANKADAVVU in Malapuram district which is one of the

backward districts of Kerala, it was revealed that the Muslim women who were more or less confined to their houses came out and actively participated in Kudumbashree units and created successful stories. Chemankaddavu Kudumbashree unit successfully ran a poultry farm for the last 8 years and the Kudumbashree at KOTTAKKAL again in Malapuram district successfully developed flower farming and its marketing. Both the Kudumbashrees predominantly consists of Muslim women and the success of these Kudumbashree's is particularly relevant as the district itself never witnessed women in the social front in large scale before 90's.

In all the above examples we have noticed that from the conceptual stage, fund raising to implementation of specific projects these were exclusively women's initiatives with no male presence felt in any of the activities. While Kudumbashree in Kurampala engaged some male labourers for distribution of their products, it was observed that the flower marketing in Kottakkal was completely managed by ladies. The ladies who lead the Kudumbashree in Kurampala subsequently became leaders of the society as a whole and found a voice in the political arena as some of them became members in the Local panchayat administration. This has in fact been the case with all the Kudumbashrees. One of the earlier Kudumbashree activist, Smt. Saraswati Amma from Kurampala is now one of the prominent members in Pandalam Panchayat committee. While interviewing her, she acknowledged the role of Kudumbashree in making her a self made leader. A school teacher by profession, Mrs Girija Kumari turned into a Kudumbashree activist in the early years of this century went on to become Zilla Panchayat member in 2008.

A housewife Shobana Kumari, from Pandalam who never had any experience in political or social activism became a Panchayat member. She gives all due credit to her activities under Kudumbashree since 2010.

As brought out by Smt. Manjula Bharati, a professor from TISS who heads the community college initiative started by Kudumbashree in association with TISS, in Mathrubhumi weekly dated 8th November 2015, the movements in certain adivasi areas succeeded in various kinds of developments such as Jeep service in Kuzhiyan settlement area, boat service in Avanampara settlement and health service in Potiyam settlement, scholarship to adivasi students, bus route to Adichapuzha settlement etc. A crime mapping was compiled by the Kudumbashree state level organization bringing out violence upon children in Kerala and various conferences were organized across the state to sensitize the public against the same. 'The community college' concept was also developed by Kudumbashree state level leadership establishing Michel Foucault's concept of power-knowledge nexus.

Besides farming and small manufacturing activities, members have also ventured into fields such as construction, driving, cafes, brand development — long seen as the preserve of men in Kerala.

IMPACT ; An all round development of women such as increase in Knowledge and awareness, skills both personal and technical, the immense growth in self confidence, realization of certain social responsibilities, involving women in decision making and its implementation, hardcore participation of women in public and political life is what KB Nidheesh a professor in Pondichery University attributes to Kudumbashree in his study on 'The changing process of Kerala women through Kudumbashree in Kerala'. The fact is evident from the activities of Kudumbashree and its impact on the present social environment of Kerala.

In the recently held election to the local bodies, 50 % of seats were reserved for women and it was noticed that almost all the women contestants who were in the fray were initiated to the social activism

with Kudumbashree Neighborhood Group. In this election, 13,000 women candidates contested more than 7000 of them won the election and now many of the local bodies are led by women. "The political parties in Kerala were finding it difficult to locate women candidates in the constituencies which were reserved for women earlier. But now there are so many women activists aspiring to become candidates. Kudumbashree movement can be credited for this" says P. Prasad, a political leader from Left Democratic Front during a personal talk. "Infact many of the women candidates contested and won against their male counterparts in so many panchayats which even a state like Kerala could not think of till the 90s. Kerala had produced some of the greatest political leaders like KR Gauri, Anna Chandy, Rosamma Punnuse etc. in early 20th century itself but massive women participation was not witnessed till 90s. Even in the Gram Panchayat activities women now play a dominant and significant role as has been established by Nidheesh's study.

During post 90s period, emergence of various movements in Kerala have witnessed presence of women activists who derived their strength from the Kudumbashree movement. In the post-liberalization workplaces it was observed that there were largely low-paid, overworked women, and women who were unfamiliar with or distrusting of, trade unions and unionisation. However with the establishment of Kudumbashree's there was a direct attack on a lot of prejudices that existed then. While Kudumbashree brought revolutionary changes in moral, political and socially field, women from Kudumbashree came to the forefront of many protests like Anti-Endo Sulfan struggle in the Kasargod district of Kerala, Anti Coke struggle of Plachimada Panchayat in Kozhikode and the very recent one being the Munnar struggle where women questioned the autocratic style of functioning of not only

the management but also that of Trade unions.. We don't by any means intend to suggest that Kudumbashree solely is responsible for these struggles. However no one can deny the contribution of Kudumbashree in instigating self confidence and an identity in every woman.

In the Munnar struggle against Kannan Devan plant which was initially deemed as 'Maoist influence' and then was said to be initiated by a 'Patriarchal force' clearly displays the genuine sense of wonder of our male chauvinistic society about how the women could gain such high amount of independence and strength. A lot of patriarchal trade unions were shamed when these women workers came up and asserted their demands against the capital forces operating there in.

Another major positive development is that women organizations like National Democratic Women Association under a particular political party that earlier remained subjugated by their male bosses reasserted their role as a feminist institution and quite often surpassed their political male counterparts and started responding to the women related issues without bothering about the parties views on same. Many a times it has been witnessed that women activists of different political parties unite against women oppression like it happened in case of the Munnar struggle.

The role of Kudumbashree as a financial institution is also noteworthy. Capacity of the poor women of the state in several areas has gone up considerably as they get loan from Kudumbashree leading to an economic empowerment of the poor women. The status of around 94% of women in their families have also improved after they became the members of Kudumbashree, according to a study conducted by Jacob John of the Kerala Development Society.

According to Manjula Bharati's study on Kudumbashree, In 2013- 14, Kudumbashree movement got Rs 743.28

crores as bank loan through 37000 neighbourhood groups. This shows a significant achievement. During this year 11,000 female master farmers were deployed in agricultural activities, 936 farmers facilitation centres were started with 150 block coordinators. 13000 group farming centres functioned during the year and 108 crores bank loan were distributed among them. Kudumbashree manufacturing units had a total of 4.51 crores trade through 1400 monthly market centres, 5.7 crores was achieved through special fares, 25.17 crores were achieved through 1500 festival fares. 8400 ladies were employed only through Goat scheme introduced by Kudumbashree in 142 gram panchayats and 5.98 crores were given through subsidy. Another significant achievement is the formation of an 'All women construction group' which successfully completed 74 houses in Kerala. These achievements establish the significance of Kudumbashree as a movement and its ability to transform the society through empowerment of women.

CRITIQUE : Though Kudumbashree has made significant achievements in bringing ladies to the social and political front, it will not be accurate to say that the movement has made fundamental changes in the male dominated value system and male dominated political establishment of the state. Even now Kerala remains male dominated in its power structure with majority of the women adhering to the same traditionally well built system. This is particularly evident from the fact that a state where 24% of the population is Muslim, the Muslim women still lead a life confined to the four walls of their houses. The Muslim league, one of the prominent political parties of the state could not even produce one single MLA till date. The religious fundamentalist group among Muslims argue that women should not be allowed to contest elections and the female population among the community failed to resist the fundamentalist views.

Even the progressive political parties like CPIM and CPI failed to provide equal opportunities to women. Kerala with 20 Parliamentary constituency has only 1 women MP at present.

Kudumbashree failed to bring in the required social change especially when Kerala has seen a gradual retreat from the progressive part that existed till the 80's. Highly acclaimed social organizations like Shashtra Sahitya Parishad and Kerala Rationalist Association etc lost its momentum in the 90's and the Kudumbashree failed to give any support to the lost social revolution though the victims to the growing backwardness in many of the cases are ladies.

Although levels of participation are high overall, some of the poorest and most marginalised women find it particularly difficult to achieve leadership roles within Kudumbashree groups, and some have difficulty accessing the programme altogether. Kudumbashree groups are also influenced by the local political context: they are closely linked with local council activities, but this can tie them into subservient roles with local elected representatives, rather than giving them an autonomous voice as has been asserted in a study conducted by Shihabhudeen N , Ph.D research scholar of the Cochin University of Science and Technology.

"Even in a state like Kerala which has witnessed revolutionary social reform movements in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century like Shri Narayana Movement, Vaikom satyagraha has started going backwards in the social front from 1980's and women and dalits were the worst affected victims. However the Kudumbashree movement could not make much advancement in the social reform movement, but in many places rather found strengthening the social stigmas because of the prejudices towards cast, communalism etc and hence the Kudumbashree movement could not achieve required success in the adivasi areas of Vayannad or backward areas

of Kasargod or Malapuram districts" says a prominent journalist from Kerala while also adding that " after conscious follow up , at present there around 1 lakh Kudumbashree members from the scheduled tribe community itself. However a lot more needs to be done in this regard".The Kudumbashree's reach is not yet adequate in adivasi areas, confirms Manjula Bharati report on Kudumbashree.

CONCLUSION : No denial can be raised to the fact that Kudumbashree has been a revolutionary initiative and has succeeded in getting the women of Kerala to the social forefront. The 'Bala Sabah' children wing of Kudumbashree is yet to find definite shape but is felt to be a very significant concept which can bring into revolutionary changes in the movement and hence in the society as a whole

The core issue of 'EMPOWERMENT' which has been left unaddressed throughout the country can be said to have found a reasonable answer in Kudumbashree. Empowerment should not be viewed as an accomplishment of a one day struggle. It's a continuous, long and dynamic process which starts from identifying the fundamental issues and tackling them right from the base . The institution Kudumbashree in our view has managed to empower women in its true sense by the way of fighting with certain ideological bondages, pulling women out of years of subjugation, and thereby giving them a voice in the Government and making them true holders of 'power'. 'Power', an attribute that has always been considered as 'masculine' was bestowed upon women in the Kudumbashree model, killing certain stereotypes and empowering them.

Sources

Primary Data :

Primary data have been sourced from

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The Political State: A Veritable Patronaage

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Politically speaking, the State is an organized community of people, including the citizen body which functions through the instrument of a Government. Such a government is generally the majority choice, such as in a Democracy like India, United Kingdom etc.

It is the State which takes up responsibility for people's quality of life, their education as well as economic opportunities to grow and improve. The role of the State lies in the welfare of the people and it becomes imperative that the State functions according to their wishes. Antagonistic feelings against the State can lead to chaos and anarchy in the society, law and order problems, aggression, secession, etc. There are two uses of the sovereign political authority. One is to ensure obedience to law and the second is to suppress violence and injustice. Yet, the most important function of the State is to adhere to law itself because its sovereign status does not exempt it from the purview of the law. Therefore all laws apply to the people, the governed, as also the Government. In this way, the State can set an example in subordinating its personal interests for the general good.

The classical concepts of the ties between the people and the State have been given to us by thinkers like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau. They explained the formation of civil society which in turn led to the creation of the State or the sovereign political authority. According to Hobbes, man in the pre-social state of nature was brutish, nasty, and selfish and there was constant conflict among the people. "Might is right" was the unwritten rule and thus, the stronger survived while the weaker perished. There was great bias and anarchy in the state of nature. Fear and self-interest were the dominant human sentiments.

There was no law, therefore, no

distinction between right and wrong, moral and immoral, justice and injustice. Force and fraud reigned people's lifestyle and the slogan was 'kill whom you can and take what you can'.

However, it was impossible for such a state to continue indefinitely, mainly because of two factors: rationality inherent in man as well as his fear of sudden, unexplained death. The people noticed the shortcomings of their lifestyle and thus, all men contracted among themselves to form a civil society which would ensure basic rights such as Life, Property to them.

But the governing body, the 'sovereign' as it came to be known, derived its authority from the people but was not subservient to them. The sovereign body was arbitrary and dictatorial in nature. The contract was for the people to obey the State, not the other way round. The people thus, had no right to protest against draconian laws and the sovereign's authority became unlimited, absolute and irrevocable.

In John Locke's state of nature though, man was controlled by natural laws. He was a gentleman who enjoyed his rights and allowed others their liberty to exercise the same rights.

Peace prevailed and there was no violence or constant fear of death. However, there were some inconveniences.

There was no established, written or fixed law. The state of nature in Locke's theory functioned largely on convention. Therefore, in the absence of an established law, every man became the interpreter of law. The variety of interpretation caused confusion.

In the absence of an executive body, every man executed the law and punished the violator. Man became his own judge in the dearth of a judicial system. The judges could not be fair and impartial; therefore the judgements were biased and partial.

Locke explains that these inconveniences were a result of the degenerating nature of men. Thus, to control these inconsistencies, men decided to enter a contract and create a civil government with a legislative, executive and judicial body. The fundamental duty of the government was to protect the basic rights of man. The civil society became the custodian of man's inherent rights and the Government was subservient to the people and served their welfare and progress.

Jean Jacques Rousseau analysed human nature and that is the pivot of his Social Contract Theory. According to Rousseau, man was essentially good, simple and he had 'perfect liberty' in the state of nature. There was no property and no industry, no impetus for progress. Man was as good as a savage animal. He was impulsive and the quality of foresight and planning, or ideas for development were stunted.

However, such a state of affairs had to evolve and Rousseau believed that the first man who thought to call a plot of land his own and if people believed him, that man was the true founder of civil society. Rousseau also posits that the 'general will', that is the will of the people, is the will of such an authority.

In conclusion of these theories, we can say that Hobbes, Locke as well as Rousseau strongly believed that the State is crucial for the protection and enforcement of man's basic rights. Through the hypothetical state of nature, they tried to prove that absolute liberty leads to chaos and arbitrary behaviour and men can and will take advantage of their liberties.

The aim and objective of this political organization remains the general development of society. Thus, it can be said that the State acts like a patron of the people. A patron is any person or institution that supports or encourages the activities of another organisation. The organization here is the civil society, the citizen body, the people from whom the institution that is the State derives

authority and becomes operational.

The ancient Greek city-state system is by far the best example of such a relationship between the governor and the governed. It saw the inter-mingling of politics and religion. It was in the medieval period that the Divine Rights' Theory had taken roots, explaining the authority of the monarch. This theory justified a monarch's power and authority, political legitimacy; people believed the king was the chosen representative of the Gods. Thus, the king was not subservient to any earthly power or entity. For some, especially those in the protestant countries, the Catholic Church too is subservient to this 'divine' authority. All royal decisions were considered to be the will of God and thus, the monarch became absolute. The people could not protest against such a king for that would be a sacrilegious act. Some people had more rights than others, some others not at all. It was a dictatorial political system with no provision for equality or liberty. Similarly, the ancient Greek political system embodied the convergence of religion and politics. Each polis had a separate God or Goddess. It was dedicated to the worship of one particular 'city-state patron God'. The people adhered to the religious authority of their city along with any other Gods or Goddesses from other states of their choice. For example, the Greek city of Athens worshipped Athena. She was the goddess of wisdom. Sparta on the other hand, worshipped Athena along with Apollo, the God of music, truth and prophecy who was widely acclaimed. Almost all elements of nature were captured and revered in the form of these deities. A small city-state, Corinth for example, had Poseidon, the lord of the Sea as its patron God.

The monarch's religious authority was significant in ensuring people's adherence to rules, regulations and decrees. There was no room for dissent or constructive criticism. Not only did the system bring about undisputed adherence, it fortified the unity among people which further

reduced critical approaches towards the State.

However, in complete contrast of the above theory and political functioning, rose a nouveau concept, that of the Welfare State. Sociologist T.H Marshall considered a Welfare State to be a mixture of democracy, welfare and capitalism. It is a concept of Government that differs from State policy, the State playing a key role in protecting and promoting the general welfare of the people in social and economic sectors.

Welfare State is based on the principles of equality and opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth and State resources without any discrimination on the basis of race, creed, caste, gender, place of birth etc. It undertakes public responsibility for those who lack the minimal provisions for a good life. Social security is fundamental in this type of Government. Not only that, but a Welfare State also strives to provide education, health services and housing to the citizens.

It is the ideal sovereign authority that the social contract theories of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Rousseau tried to establish. It is created to enforce the basic rights of people. It replaced the Capitalist or Laissez-Faire system and one of its objectives is to control the evil effects of extreme capitalism, free market forces. A welfare state aims to safeguard man's interests against natural as well as social contingencies. A minimum standard of living has to be established and for that the State has to take planned, organized, deliberate and inclusive efforts.

Thus it is evident that there is a fundamental dichotomy between a dictatorship and a welfare State. The former believes in a one party rule. That party is necessarily led by one sovereign ruler, one leader, who holds absolute authority and control over the party as well as the country. The manifesto for the nation is subject to his/her discretion and may be changed without the consent of the people at large.

A welfare State however aims to achieve social welfare by providing minimum facilities for a good life, alleviation of poverty, hunger, unemployment. It also looks to bridging the gap between the rich and the poor, therefore establishing social and economic justice.

A dictatorship, a sovereign monarch holds no value for the opinion or wishes of the ruled or the governed but in a welfare state, a democratic political system guarantees certain basic rights such as Right to freedom of expression, association etc. These are rights against the State which allow people to dissent, to criticise and to bring about better governance.

Dictatorship embodies a totalitarian form of government which controls each and every aspect of human life and personality. Social, moral, religious, cultural, political, educational facets of life are concentrated in one fixed system. Such a system leaves no margin for individual liberty unlike in a democracy. A Welfare State establishes a democracy wherein certain basic freedoms are granted to the people for the development of their personality according to their individual capacities. Such liberties create a conducive environment for the fulfilment of the rights given by the State and the moral development of man. Thus, a democracy having ensured such liberties, simultaneously, creates an incentive for greater participation and obedience to Government policies and the Welfare State becomes a positive state, regarding itself as an instrument of service to the people rather than power politics. It looks after an individual from the cradle to the grave.

Dictators assume power often on cultural grounds. For example, Hitler proclaimed himself to be a descendant of the ancient Aryan stock. Similarly, the Italians claimed that they belonged to the race of the ancient Roman conqueror and that they had a divine mission to conquer the world. Thus, both Hitler and Mussolini elevated themselves to higher social positions. The

welfare state on the other hand accords equal importance to both the State and the individual.

A welfare state guarantees equal rights to all persons, without any discrimination. Economic justice is brought about by careful planning. All policies and programmes of the government are planned and not arbitrary. A dictatorship glorifies war and sacrifice in the name of patriotism and love for the State. The state is regarded as the march of God on earth. The state is considered to be the end and the individual a means to that end. "Nothing against the state, everything for the state, nothing outside the state" is the basic principle of dictatorship.

A study of the two political systems leads us to a crucial critical understanding. There is a great risk that a welfare state would give birth to a pauper-mentality among the people. Dependence on the State and special provisions, loss of capability etc. are commonly debated problems. For example: The reservation policy in India has become a tool in the hands of the politicians and the backward castes too do not wish to give up the tag of being backward and surge ahead without any reservations.

Dictatorship however does not even provide basic rights to the people, let alone an attempt to bring about equality in the society. The despotic rule reduces the quality of life and hampers the progress of individuals. It puts an end to individuality and personal evolution. Force is considered a necessary weapon in the execution of laws, violating in the process several human rights that we read about and profess today.

The divine rights theory made it imperative for the people to obey the rule of the monarch because he derived authority from the Gods they feared, respected and loved. The Welfare State though, separates the State and religion. These are two different entities, not to be held in consideration of each other. Secularism has become the defining

point of almost every State in the modern times with the exception of a few such as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia etc. India herself is a secular nation that is, having no official state religion. She holds equal respect for all religions and guarantees the freedom to all individuals, the freedom to profess, practice and propagate a religion of their choice, without any discrimination.

Under the garb of the divine rights' theory, the king became autocratic and he easily curbed all protests. Political power was concentrated in one body and as John Austin defined, law in the Greek city states became the command given by superior to inferior. There was no distinction between law and command. The latter implies a superior-subordinate relationship where the command is applicable only to the people and not the superior monarch whereas law in its essence applies to both the governor and the governed.

The citizen body turned into a faceless, mindless crowd which followed the rules and worshipped the word of 'God' as supreme.

Comparatively, the Welfare State allowed personal freedom. It welcomed criticism and looked to greater levels of improvement. Despite all the risks, it remains an ideal form of government and to incorporate it is a greater step towards development in any country. In a welfare State, the public sector becomes important, and the ruling party takes responsibility for the minimum standard of living of the citizens. If these duties are not performed by the Government, the people are empowered to replace it with a new Government. The Greek government's failure to resuscitate the economy and provide erstwhile social benefits to the citizens, calls for a strict action from the people to use the power of referendum to bring about change in the scenario.

Lastly, all men are born equal on account of being human beings. Nature does not differentiate any two individuals. However, persons on a natural equal footing find themselves separated due

to varied principles that give rise to relationships and dependencies that determine their duties towards others.

Thus, a government becomes indispensable. It works as the regulating factor between these varying transitions and finds equilibrium in the chaos. The social standing, the occupations, the intellectual levels and capacities make it necessary for a head to lead the society and bring about order in a vast transcending phenomenon.

The onus rests on the citizens as alert and conscientious obedience as well as active participation in political and public affairs makes a government, makes the State as a whole more efficient and citizen-friendly. The State is then empowered to perform all its functions adequately. Otherwise, the State which should be the source of peace and unity would suffer demer and opposition that would destroy it.

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State Repression through Extraordinary Laws

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Anand Teltumbde has noted that whilst during a state of Emergency, civil liberties and rights are suppressed by the State, these rights are granted back to citizens once the Emergency was lifted. However, he claims that “with ordinary laws, the dissenting people could be repressed perpetually” (Teltumbde, 2012).

These words hold true with the imposition of laws such as Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA), the National Security Act (NSA), the Maharashtra Control of Organised Crime Act, and so on and so forth. As soon as laws such as these have been implemented, or even conceptualised, opposition to them has been vociferous. Liberals and members of the Left have been quick to condemn them because they are detrimental to the growth and expansion of freedoms of individuals.

This paper argues that such laws are inherently repressive in nature and have been enacted in order to curtail the fundamental human rights of citizens, and also to persecute individuals on the basis of their political ideologies. In short, they are enacted to enable the State to control power and resources through repression. Furthermore, the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA) of 1967, along with its later amendments will primarily be used to highlight this repression.

Persecution under Extraordinary Laws in the Name of Combating Terror : It is interesting to note that the Terrorists and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA) and the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) were both repealed because it was widely recognised that these laws were being used to restrict the activities and control minority groups (Nair, 2009). However, when the UAPA was amended in 2004 and later in 2008, many of the

provisions of the earlier two acts were incorporated into its body, thereby making it one of the most draconian laws that post-colonial India has seen.

These amendments were incorporated as a means of taking a stand against terrorist activities. This begs the question, what is terrorism? Mariona Llobet Angli has noted that the aim of terrorism is to fill people with a sense of fear and terror, along with inflicting political violence. However, it continues to be an ambiguous term because it is used selectively. She notes that it is used indistinctly by certain groups to criminalise particular forces, and is manipulated by these groups in order to favour their own political interests (Angli, 2013, p. 18-19). Similarly, the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance was promulgated in India in 2001 after the 9/11 attacks on the Twin Towers in the United States. In 2002, this ordinance became a law. A global paranoia that swept the world pursuant to these attacks resulted in governments across the world promulgating and implementing anti-terror laws. A quick look into the history of people who have been persecuted under this law demonstrates the earlier assertion that like terrorism, laws created to combat terrorism are often used as political weapons. For example, the Gujarat government had charged 131 people under POTA, for being involved in the Godhra arson case. All of them were Muslims¹.

With regards to the UAPA, academicians such as G.N. Saibaba, activists such as Vernon Gonsalves, Arun Ferreria, Soni Sori and Binayak Sen have been arrested, to name a few. A common strand tying individuals such as these together, is that they have dared to speak up against atrocities committed against people, to voice their concerns over the failings of the State to provide citizens with the rights

and security they deserve. In his book, *Colours of the Cage*, Ferreira charts the story of his arrest under the UAPA, how he was labelled as a Maoist and the torture he faced whilst in custody. Ultimately, it was proved that all the charges against him had been fabricated and he was acquitted in all the cases slapped against him. His ultimate assertion was that under the UAPA, most people are arrested because of their political ideologies, which differ from that of the state (Ferreira, 2014).

Left wing extremism is therefore passed off as invoking terror, and a threat to national security, which therefore needs to be contained and punished. Hindu right wing groups, in contrast are given free license to continue committing dastardly acts of violence without strong repercussions, primarily owing to the fact that their activities are not ones that “invoke terror” or threaten “national security” (Singh, 2012). The demolition of the Babri Masjid, for example, unleashed a wave of fear and violence that has continued for years. Just as leftist ideologies, which the state so vehemently opposes, promote a political cause, this demolition made a politico-religious statement that has heavily impacted the safety and security of Hindus and Muslims alike, although more so the latter. The perpetrators of such an act of terror have till date not been persecuted.

Anushka Singh notes that the 2004 amendment to the UAPA adds a provision for the prosecution of “terrorist gangs”. She posits that under this provision, only members of a group that helped plan and carry out the attack are booked, whereas the organisation as a whole is not banned (Singh, 2012). Consequently, Hindutva groups who are implicated in terrorist activities are booked under this provision. It is evident here that terror is not what is being targeted under an extraordinary law such as UAPA. This paper does not condone violence caused by any faction. However, the ruling elite, in this case the State, manipulate the perception of

existing opposition to their policies and actions so as to make the public believe that this opposition is in fact dangerous to the security and integrity of the nation.

Mechanisms of Repression : In order to illustrate how this repression is reproduced and deemed acceptable by many in society, a detour towards Louis Althusser’s ideas of the Repressive State Apparatuses (henceforth abbreviated as RSA) and Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) is necessary.

The reproduction of labour power is essential to the functioning of the State, and this is ensured by providing the labour force with the material means with which it can reproduce itself, i.e., through wages (Althusser, 1971, p. 130). However, it is also imperative for the State to ensure the reproduction of submission to rules established by the existing ruling order (p. 132). This submission to rules and the conservation of State power, according to Althusser is obtained through two major mechanisms- the RSA and ISAs.

The State is regarded, in itself, as a machine of repression in traditional Marxian theory (p. 137). Althusser adds to this by demonstrating the ways in which the State is in fact repressive. The Repressive State Apparatuses include the government, the police, the army, prisons, etc. which are directly repressive and function primarily by force and coercion (p. 142-143, 145). Althusser spoke of the ISAs and RSAs enforcing capitalism, which to him, was the ruling ideology. In contemporary times, this can also be extended to a number of ruling ideologies that are held by those in power, i.e., the State. A law like UAPA grants free license to the RSAs to inflict violence on citizens of a nation so as to ensure conformity with the policies of the ruling elite. Certain provisions within the law make it particularly susceptible to abuse under the police- abuse which is legitimised through the law, and by extension, the government.

For example, one of the amendments to UAPA proposed in 2008 increases the pre-charge detention period to 180 days, if the prosecutor can show that after 90 days, the investigation has proceeded, but more time is needed (Nair, 2009). This pre-charge detention allows for a significant amount of torture to be inflicted on a detained individual. Arun Ferreira notes different methods of torture, one of which was to inject 20 ml of petrol in to the rectum of a detained suspect. Others involved a belt which would be deployed only on the palms of hands or soles of feet (Ferreira, 2014, p. 24-25). In this manner, a person would have to face severe pain but there would be no physical manifestations of it.

At this juncture it is essential to once again note that a majority of people who have been arrested or detained and tortured under this law have not been terrorists. They have been intellectuals, activists and common people who have challenged the actions and legitimacy of the State. In order for the State to continue exercising its power, these apparatuses are employed to quell any dissent against the State.

The ISAs, on the other hand have been defined as 'a certain number of realities which present themselves to the immediate observer in the form of distinct and specialised institutions'. ISAs can be legal, political, the family, education, cultural etc. (Althusser, 1971, p. 143). The difference between the RSA and ISAs is that although both employ the use of force and control over ideologies, the latter functions primarily through ideology (p. 145).

What is especially dangerous about the latter is the plurality of ISAs. By controlling the ideologies of the public, they control the public itself, dominating it under the ruling class ideology. To draw another example from Ferreira's life, Naresh Fernandes mentions in the foreword to Ferreira's book that newspapers (which form an essential part of the communications ISA)

splashed headlines about Arun Ferreira the "dreaded Naxalite" (Ferreira, 2014, p. ix). Regardless of the facts of the case or what his version of events were, the media was quick to sensationalise the story and inevitably further the State's interests in depicting this man as being involved in terrorist activities.

Another essential role played by the communications ISA is in creating an image of terrorism in the minds of the public. Taking off from the allegations against Ferreira, the Naxalite movement has been popularly perceived as being violent in nature, reinforcing the belief that these terrorist elements must be contained. No doubt the Maoists have been involved in violent activities, and the media is also quick to report the same. Newspapers, websites and TV news channels are prompt with their updates on who the Maoists have last targeted, and which areas have been attacked. However, there exists another side of this story that is not as well-known.

Nandini Sundar notes that "official" versions portray an organisation, Salwa Judum, as a people's movement in "Maoist affected" areas that seeks to liberate the locals from Naxalite control. Reality presents a rather different picture. Deaths attributed to members of Salwa Judum were simply not recognised by the government and the media. Sundar cites that the portrayal in the media is that of one-sided violence perpetrated by the Maoists. The scale of terror of the citizens, to which Salwa Judum contributed, has not been taken note of (Sundar, 2006). Arundhati Roy also speaks of Operation Green Hunt, which was started in 2009 as a clean-up mission by paramilitary forces against the terrors of the Maoist movement. However, this turned into a battleground between the Maoists and Salwa Judum and other unnamed government sponsored militias that unleashed even more violence in the region (Roy, 2015). Violence perpetrated by these groups is hardly ever brought to light. The

State capitalised on the ambiguous nature of the term “terrorism”, criminalised the Maoists alone, and blocked news of its misdeeds from the public through its control over the communications ISA. Furthermore, and this is essential, the dissipation of this one-sided information serves to perpetuate the belief that laws such as the UAPA, among many others, are necessary for the nation to maintain internal security and are enacted in the interest of citizens and are imperative to their protection.

The Interlinkage between Terrorism, Dissent and Ideology and Repression : Anand Teltumbde (2011) asserts that a majority of the people arrested as Maoists in Maharashtra are Dalits. The idea of Maoism is being used indiscriminately to criminalise dissent against the State by the Dalits and adivasis. Furthermore, he claims that because many of these people are imprisoned for three to four years and face brutal torture at the hands of the police, they come out as believers in the Maoist ideology, even if they never were, preceding their arrest.

Instances such as these result in a vicious cycle. The activities of the State intended to repress its citizens consequently lead to an increase in violent “terrorist” acts. This violence is used as a justification for the existence of laws such as the UAPA which have often played a role in creating the violence itself. This is not limited to any single community, but includes any set of people who have been marginalised and treated unequally by the State and have therefore resorted to violent means. What the larger public is then told by the State through a variety of mediums is that terrorist elements need to be contained in the name of national security and therefore anti-terror laws need to be implemented. Althusser himself has noted that the communications ISA enables conformity to the ruling ideology (or in this case the directives of the State) by “cramming every citizen with daily doses

of nationalism, chauvinism, liberalism, moralism etc. by means of the press, radio and television.” (Althusser, 1971, p. 154).

Conclusion

What has been demonstrated through the course of this paper is the convenient definition of terrorism and how it is manipulated to target certain groups of people. This serves to rationalise the enactment and implementation of extremely dangerous and oppressive laws such as the UAPA that enable the State to exercise control over the public and repress their civil liberties. The incidents of torture and illegal arrest among others are rampant under laws such as these. One can even argue, as Teltumbde has, that their use only serves to strengthen support for terror elements and perpetuates violence against common people. The conviction rate of such laws is abysmal. For example, the Terrorists and Disruptive Activities Act in October 1993 had a conviction rate of 0.81% according to the Union Home Ministry figures. The total number of detentions in contrast was spuriously high- 52,268 (Singh, 2007, p.104). Given the fact that such laws continue to be enacted despite the statistics is evidence enough to conclude that they are unnecessary and only serve to further the interests of the State as repressive apparatus.

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The State of the State: Whither Indian Democracy?

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The Chairman of the Indian Constituent Assembly, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar once said, "On 26th January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality... How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions?" And this peculiar contradiction of democracy is described by what Thomas Jefferson once said, "There is nothing more unequal than the equal treatment of unequals." As various Marxist critiques have stated, democracy has only served to exacerbate inequalities, and to summarise the Marxist viewpoint with a quote from Lenin (Lenin 1917), "Economic distinctions are not mitigated but aggravated and intensified under the freedom of 'democratic' capitalism." Parliamentarism does not eliminate, but lays bare the innate character even of the most democratic capitalist republics as merely representatives of a certain class. The modern nation state can said to have begun from the dual revolutions in the United States and France, and perhaps the character of the state in its most recent form can be said to be of the era post the world wars, and of the post-colonial period.

India draws its democratic tradition from across the world, and its preamble declares it to be a 'socialist sovereign secular democratic republic', as we are all aware, but perhaps more important is the declaration and reiteration of the French revolutionary slogan of 'liberty, equality and fraternity', with the addition of 'justice' to the triumvirate. In this paper I try and explore to what extent these ideals have been achieved, if at all.

67 years ago, when India gained independence, the problems that loomed over India were poverty, illiteracy, ill-health, gender and caste discrimination,

and religious oppression amongst other things. In theory Westminster democracy should have acted as a means for social change where elected representatives would slowly bring about improvements in their respective constituencies. But where do we stand today on any of these issues? In order to explore these themes, I feel it best to target the larger ideals in play, the loftily declared aims of liberty, equality, fraternity and justice.

To discuss the issues of the democratic ideal, and its failures and successes in India, it would be impossible for me to delve into every detail of every issue raised by democracy and its implementation, but instead I have tried to use representative examples of each ideal, taking those parts which I feel most suitably symbolise the whole, so that the misrepresentation that may arise from taking only a small section of an issue may be mitigated by the section typifying the issue at large.

1) LIBERTY

To define liberty would take a lot more than the short paper here, but to broadly say that it is the freedom granted to Indian citizens to practice activities and their fundamental rights within the framework of the Constitution and most importantly, not to impinge upon anyone else's right to liberty.

Often, the most and often primarily discussed of these fundamental liberties is the freedom of expression, and to bring this in line with the definition of liberty, John Stuart Mill argued that 'there ought to exist the fullest liberty of professing and discussing, as a matter of ethical conviction, any doctrine, however immoral it may be considered'

How far has India succeeded in this? To a certain degree, this is one of the areas where we have been mildly successful. No attacks of the nature of Charlie Hebdo and

no massive clampdowns on newspapers by the government occurs. However, India's relationship with freedom of expression has always been problematic. From 1951, and the case of *Romesh Thapar v. State of Madras*, the government has added caveats to ensure that the freedom of expression is applicable only until it infringes various issues, such as loosely definable phrases like 'public order', 'decency and morality', and 'sovereignty and integrity of India'. Various people have been censored or censured by the government by way of these murky definitions, from the Satanic Verses in 1988 to the forced withdrawal of Wendy Doniger's books on Hinduism, and most recently, the attacking of writer Perumal Murugan's works, causing him to subsequently retire from writing. Most of these constraints on the Freedom of Expression have not come from governments and other authorities (although their complicity in some acts is evident), but from advocacy groups, usually religious ones, often resorting to violence or demonstration until they 'win'. The era of the internet has made freedom of expression even more suspect, with section 66a of the IT act of 2000 defining the sending of 'offensive material' as a punishable offence, resulting in cases in the arresting of two Thane girls for their Facebook posts after the death of Bal Thackeray, and the arresting of a cartoonist by Mamata Banerjee.

To take, as I am doing, representative examples, perhaps the other most suited example of the ideal of liberty is the right to freedom of religion, freedom of worship, whatever you may like to call it, incidentally, the second of FDR's Four Freedoms, the first being the right to freedom of speech.

The right to the freedom of religion is enshrined in the fundamental rights of the Constitution via Articles 15 and 25, stating that "all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to freely profess, practice, and propagate religion subject to public order, morality

and health"

India is also, by definition, a secular state, although not in the manner usually ascribed to the statement of secularism, or the French definition of *laïcité*, which means to imply the absence of all religious intervention in the state, and the absence of any government assistance to religion, which does not hold true in India, where secularism has been broadly defined to mean the acceptance and tolerance of all religions under a pluralistic banner.

So what can we use to define the presence of a freedom of religion in India? First and foremost, religious violence must be considered. If a person of a certain faith's life is under threat by virtue of belonging to the faith, then no freedom of religion can be said to exist whatsoever. Excluding, for the present, the brutal violence of Partition, Post-Independent India cannot be said to be a religiously intolerant state, more often than not, adding protections to religion's worst characteristics in order to maintain communal harmony, but often enough, violence has broken out across the country in the name of religion. With the presence of a secular leader at the helm, and the softening of India-Pakistan relations, independent India had a good head-start in maintaining religious peace until perhaps what is known as the turning point of 1961, with the Bhagalpur riots. The most famous and most violent of these almost always, in some tacit way, have the State's support. The 1984 Anti-Sikh Riots, the 1992 demolition of the Babri Masjid and its aftermath, and perhaps most infamously, the 2002 Gujarat Riots. The murders and the targeted killing of a certain section of the population on the basis of their religion aside, the part that made these all the more problematic, were the blind eye or the helping hand of the State power, and its inability to cope with the scenario. To use recent relevant statistics, during 2005-09, 648 people were killed and 11,278 injured in 4,030 incidents of communal violence. And perhaps more tellingly, in 2015, 287 communal incidents

were reported from across the country this year until May 31, as compared to 232 over the same period in 2014. The country, shaken at its secular foundations from the moment of its birth and Partition, has always had a shaky relationship with religious violence. However, increasing communal violence and intolerance can perhaps be attributed to the rise to power of the BJP, the Hindu nationalist party, the political wing of what is known as the Sangh Parivar, an organisation that has almost always seen its name involved in riots between Hindus and other faiths. It is not an uninformed declaration that the Sangh Parivar has been there to fan the flames of communal violence wherever they could have, but merely a study of the existing literature. Religious intolerance has increased to a point where it is resting on the fanatic, with the infamous Dadri Lynching of a man for supposedly eating beef (a practice associated with non-Hindus, or so they would like you to believe), murder on the accusation of 'love jihad', the murder of rationalists like Govind Pansare and Narendra Dabholkar, and most importantly, the culture of intolerance that has led many writers, social scientists and scientists to protest against the current government with the acceptance of fiery rhetoric from the ruling party's members, and vitriol spread by the Hindu Right, the same vitriol they've been trying to spread for years, but the difference now being their involvement with the State.

2) EQUALITY

The second declared pillar of the liberal democratic state, Equality. From the US Declaration of Independence (a tradition from which the Indian Constitution drew many tenets), that We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights. In the Indian Constitution, the right to equality is a fundamental right provided by Articles 14 to 18, ensuring equality before the law and protection,

against discrimination, untouchability and hereditary titles, and providing equal access to public services. But however, the proclamation of equality does not just restrict itself to the wordings of these rights, but more the principles of an equal society where there exists a harmony and lack of discrimination and more importantly, inequity between various classes, genders and castes.

So what would be our defining characteristics of equality? I think perhaps the best indicators would be the level of economic inequality, that factor upon which all other factors of equality are broadly dependent, as well as, for the India-specificity of it, the level of caste discrimination still prevalent today that manifests itself in socio-economic inequalities and sectional deprivation.

For economic inequality, there are the damning statistics that India today is home to the third largest numbers of dollar billionaires in the world but, at the same time, harbours within its borders a third of the world's poor and hungry, and that the Gini coefficient (the generally accepted universal indicator of inequality) has worsened in India between 1993 and 2009-10 going up from 33 to 37. India's 46 billionaires have a combined wealth of \$176 Billion and now, from 2014 data, India's top 1% has a 49% share in national wealth, and over the last 14 years, the richest top 1 per cent of people have gone from enjoying 58 times the wealth of the rest of the population to this gap between the rich and the poor widening to 95 times. Statistics like these, contrary to opinion, do not necessarily speak for themselves. Economic inequality like this suggests the need for redistribution of wealth, but this does not consider the reason for the development of these inequalities is the redistribution of wealth from the bottom upwards by the tax-breaks and the 'pro-business' moves of various governments, which have been paid for by cutting social spending programs, slowly hacking away at the foundations of a state that now

feels more and more unable to provide basic social security measures, leaving it incapable of solving the problem of economic inequality within the capitalist democratic framework.

If this is the economic base upon which society is built, and it is fraught with such troubling inequalities, how can we expect it to mitigate the various socio-cultural inequalities that were troubles built into India, which democracy was expected to slowly erase? To take only one example, that of caste, this pre-capitalist societal formation has not been mitigated by liberalisation, but only been exacerbated by it.

Hilary Mayell wrote in National Geographic in 2003 that "Every hour two Dalits are assaulted; every day three Dalit women are raped, two Dalits are murdered, and two Dalit homes are torched", Using statistics from the National Crime Reports Bureau (NCRB), Anand Teltumbde calculates that more than 80,000 dalits have been murdered, more than one lakh Dalit women have been raped and over 20 lakh Dalits have suffered one or the other crime during the six decades of our constitutional regime . A survey by the NCAER and the University of Maryland found that more than a quarter of Indians practice untouchability, nearing 54% of Brahmins, untouchability, not just caste discrimination. SC/ST regularly make less than their forward caste counterparts in similar jobs, both in the public and private sectors, the private sector being marginally worse and most importantly across the nation, lower castes have less access to education, healthcare and jobs.

The failure to tackle caste has been a problem that has dogged the Indian state and continues to do so, and for all its successes, the State in this regard has been unable to make any progress at all.

FRATERNITY

The third term of the triad, Fraternity is the hardest to analyse and the hardest to define, being seen as distinct from the other two, conferring a moral angle,

depending on the abstract concepts of community and harmony, and one that is seen preceding and succeeding the other two in its necessity.

So how can we define fraternity? Moreover, how does indicate the success of the fraternal spirit? I will define fraternity as its literal meaning, that of brotherhood, extending to a feeling of brotherhood across peoples and countries. To judge the success of the fraternal ideal, it is perhaps best to look at India's international relations over the years.

This is perhaps where India can claim to have had more successes than failures over the years. The success of Nehru's international push for diplomacy with the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and India's refusal to take sides during the Cold War, but instead, co-operate with both spheres led to India's widely respected role in world affairs. Just recently, when African leaders met Narendra Modi, they roundly praised Nehru and Indira Gandhi for their support to African nations. India collaborated with the world's superpowers extensively to develop its agricultural, educational and space programs. In terms of world conflict, India was often seen as an able arbitrator, referred to in the Vietnam War. The major conflicts India has been involved in, the Sino-Indian War and the Bangladesh War of Liberation, excluding various Indo-Pak conflicts, were not caused by the belligerence or bellicose nature of the government, but were complex issues. However, India has had its share of shortcomings here as well. Refusing to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty led to international isolation, but resulted in India becoming a nuclear-weapon-possessing nation, which has resulted in a tilting of Indian relations away from non-alignment towards the US, assisting the United States with the War on Terror. The inability to solve the international border disputes with Pakistan and China remains, although the blame does not lie with India solely on these issues. Another question arises from this, what of those foreigners

living in India? Do our fraternal feelings extend to them too? As studies have found, not so much. Many Africans living in India complain of racism on a daily basis, and are stigmatised by more than just fringe elements. Cases of violence have been registered from places like Bangalore to Ludhiana, with very little support and protection from the government or police. In a Washington Post report, India was found to be the most racist country on Earth, with more than 40% of people responding that they would not wish to live next to someone of a different ethnicity. And continuing with the theme of racism, the fraternal spirit in India sometimes seems to ignore a few people. Perhaps most importantly and visibly, those from the North East. People from the North-East of India have been forced to face discrimination for years on end, referred to as Chinese and made fun of for their 'non-Indian' features, as well as a growing number of deaths and suicides of students from the North-East. A recent study conducted by Jamia Millia Islamia's Centre for North East Studies and Policy Research with National Commission for Women (NCW) found that 60% of women from North East India, who have moved to major cities in India, faced racial harassments and discrimination. Often unacknowledged by those in power as well, there are strains of regional chauvinism that pervade certain areas, with often an anti-Bihari sentiment existing where Bihari labourers migrate to find work, the term Bihari has now entered the lexicon as a pejorative to denote an idiot, sometimes the sentiment manifesting itself in violence as well as the famous anti-South Indian rise to power of the Shiv Sena. The Fourth Pillar, a late Indian addition to the pillars of democracy, is Justice. Justice, as I hope to define, can perhaps be encapsulated by the achievement of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity by the democratic state, which would thereby lead to a just and equitable system. However, the inability of Indian democracy

to achieve the three aforementioned goals has resulted in the absence of the justice, economic, social and political, that was hoped to pervade the ordinary life of a citizen in India.

So what therefore, can we conclude to be the state of the Indian state? Having discussed the failures of the Indian state to eradicate, or in some cases even substantially alleviate, the problems that plagued it at its inception, can we really say that the Indian state has been a success? The country is not falling apart, elections go on, with some degree of peacefulness, leaders come and go, and as the old adage attributed to Mark Twain somewhat goes- 'If voting changed anything, it would be illegal', or perhaps, to put it more succinctly, as Lenin said, the essence of parliamentary democracy was 'to decide once every few years which members of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament'. To declare this as a self-evident truth would perhaps be misleading, but at the same time, it would be hard to argue against. Many parts of society still remain disadvantaged, discriminated against, deprived, and away from the echelons of power. Marx remarked that the state, an organ of class rule, perpetuated itself by the creation and maintenance of "order", allowing and legitimising the oppression of one class by another, and that the state which arises from society places itself above society. So where does Indian democracy go from here? When and how will the contradictions that the system seems unable to shake off, resolve themselves? Engels, said that the need for the state only arose from society's desire to maintain an organisation representative of the ruling class and its control of the means of production. And so, in his one words- As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection, as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon the present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from this struggle,

are removed, nothing more remains to be held in subjection — nothing necessitating a special coercive force, a state. The first act by which the state really comes forward as the representative of the whole of society — the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society — is also its last independent act as a state .

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Achilles' Heal Of The Greek State

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Humans cater to several political institutions in order to survive amidst numerous complexities of the society. Today, in the 21st century, almost all the countries have become self-governed and follow their own law of land depending on their varied histories and cultures. Countries have evolved with great pace since then resulting in socio-political and economic development of the world as a whole. Whilst this evolutionary process has occurred over centuries and still continues to do so, the traditional and basic idea of the existence of the state remains unmoved and static. The concept of state still proves to be the base around which other institutions like government, media are built. Though the current condition or status of the phenomenon of state has changed it still exists as a strong pillar in all societies irrespective of the nature of leadership followed. Traditionally, state referred to a central agency that controls the society. Man has always lived in groups. This feeling has led to the institution of family. All the members of family are interdependent. Many such families give rise to a society which is in turn controlled by the state. Hence, the existence of state is due to natural human instinct and not a consequence of purposeful planning. According to Aristotle, "A state is a community of some kind aiming at the highest good that is formed by a union of human beings who cannot exist without each other." (Aristotle).

Today, the world has developed structurally and functionally and has set up its own style of governance. India follows a Parliamentary form of Democracy and a multi-party system, currently a single party dominating the government, a unique position considering the political scenario in the country. United States, on the other hand, that follows a Presidential system, is on verge of electing their new

President in 2016. Communist China gives a tight tussle to the western world as far as economic standards are considered despite its authoritarian and restricted political ideology, less liberal than its Asian neighbours. European countries are facing a serious migration crisis leading to pressure on its strong countries like UK and Germany. Greece, a Southern European nation is suffering a major existential crisis. Its fiscal policy has completely self-destroyed its economy.

This particular Greek economic crisis has political as well as economic causes and implications. The European Union, with Euro as the common currency has been the major cause as countries with weak fiscal policies and inefficient government losing its relevance among the other European countries (Greece being one of them). This paper will focus on the above prevailing issue along with its related events. Greece, the nation from which politics as a discipline emerged, city-states evolved, civilizations came up and perished; today in its truest sense suffers from losing its continental as well as global relevance. How did this happen? In what way did the government lack to avoid the same? What can be its implications? These and many such questions will be brought into perspective in the sections to follow. Another substantial theory to be discussed is the linkage of the traditional state defined by Socrates, Aristotle and others with the present. The paper would enable one to know the condition of the state of Greece in different time period, specifically focussing on the role of state in the economy. The Greek crisis would be discussed at length with its important implications in the political sphere. As the theme suggests, it would be a critical analysis of the state chosen for research and its status-quo i.e. present condition

The basic premise of the traditional state

is that it comes before the institution of family. The state holds a strong hold towards the society in order to maintain a stable environment. It is a natural phenomenon that any individual cannot live their life in isolation. The society initiates basic interaction while the state brings rules and regulations, do's and don'ts, privileges and duties that enable each and every citizen to lead a better life. Therefore, it is the state that, in a way, controls its pupils who co-exist. The economy in this type of state is very primitive with clear distribution of responsibilities. The basic unit of this type of the state was the household. Let's understand how management of households has been explained. One important element that links the household to the economy is the art of getting wealth. Later, it speaks about how property plays a crucial role and without acquiring property no man can indeed live. Both these aspects indirectly give us a hint about how a man would be able to enrich his life by systematizing the basic requirements of the household. These are the explanations given by Aristotle while defining a state.

Aristotle explains his theory of state supremacy over one's family by the most apt example. He says, "since the whole is necessarily prior to its part, if the whole body be destroyed there will be no parts left except when there is an existence of an artificial limb; for when destroyed the hand will be no better than that. Things are no longer the same if their original quality changes with the same name." (Politics,...) The above explanation may seem to be the most simplistic way of understanding a state but its effect can be applied to biggest of the problems in the modern world. Another basic theory of Aristotle is of the assumption that the people of the state have nothing in common, an impossibility as the constitution is a community. He raises a question saying 'which is better: Our present condition or the proposed new order of society?' These and many

other such basic principles formed the pillar of what traditional state implied to the then Greek society. Though we call these 'traditional' explanations one can realize its relevance when compared to the current one. This remains open to any given state, of which we will be taking up Greece.

In order to know the role of the state in a better manner, we should first understand what the Greek Crisis exactly is. European Union is the union of 28 countries that have some common agreements as far as their governance and economic policy is concerned. In January 2002, Europe accepted Euro as its common currency. Since then, Greece's original currency 'drachma' stopped being circulated across the country. Though Greece was one of the smaller countries it proved to be a unique constituent trying to cope up with the other big countries. Since this event, Greece's economy, though unobtrusive, started faltering in its control over currency as well as its control over its national fiscal policy. This unnoticed phenomenon continued till 2008 when its flaws started revealing itself to other European countries. Years of boisteration came in front of the Greek public and the other dominating European nations like Germany and France. The huge uproar started in 2009 when George Papandreu became the Prime Minister and discovered the disturbing realities of Greece's problematic public debt.

Though the huge public debt and volatile currency situation seemed to be an economic issue, its real causes were completely political. It was the governments of European countries who were responsible for this crisis to occur. Hence, it is evident that the political situation in a state is never stable and depends on the way it is being run by the ruled. When we take into consideration the condition of a state, as the theme suggests, is therefore ever-changing. One would wonder about the reasons for the current situation of Greece, a country which once boasted about having

the strongest base as far as its political awakening and background is concerned. The systematically organized towns were the epitome of smooth governance in this country. In the modern era, a number of European countries deciding to come together to form a conglomeration has proven to be a downfall for Greece and many other smaller countries. The next section of the paper will be focussing on some of the significant generalizations that are the causes for where Greece stands today.

A] European Union and the 'Troika':

The EU was the outcome of the Second World War in order to encourage better trade relations and stability within Europe, which had suffered due to the consequences of the war. But this body was limited only to economic-related issues for trade collaboration among the countries. Gradually, the objectives and the areas of interest of this union shifted to politics. Announcing various policy changes for major developmental agendas, deliberating various conventions and meetings for unified agreements, monetary reforms etc. were some of the ways in which the European Union intended to maintain cooperation and smooth functioning. In spite of being the common continental body it took only monetary decisions. The fiscal decisions were left to the control of the country to decide. This is where the weaker economies like Greece, Portugal, Ireland and Italy were left on the wrong foot which led to complete change in the scenario of their countries. Slowly, their dependency on the EU and the dominating countries started increasing. Especially Greece became susceptible to this trickle-down effect because of their already wounded economy and lack of steps to improve the same. The other countries realized the critical condition and took immediate steps and hence they were less vulnerable than Greece. The difference between the approaches of the governments led to varied situations in

the respective countries. This particular aspect can be analysed as the consequence of a sloppy government that resulted in the unfavourable condition of Greece. The governments, unlike the state, are temporary bodies that are responsible for the betterment of the state they are ruling. They are completely responsible for the direction of their state they rule, towards gradual development or an eventual downfall. The state, on the other hand, is an abstract entity that will exist irrespective of any kind of situation. It is the government that establishes social order, controls the citizens residing in its territory and works for their welfare. Greece's government failed to implement the vital policies resulting in worse situation of the country.

The 'troika'- The International Monetary Fund, European Central Bank and the European Commission intervened in the crisis by trying several combinations to bail out Greece. Though it was the European authority trying to resolve the issue, it turned out to be a mere external factor which couldn't manage to change the scenario in Greece. The austerity measures suggested by the troika were not implemented well by the Greece government as they chose to favour the citizens instead. The conclusion that can be made from this event is that the government itself has to be proactive to uphold the position of its country at the international level. Irrespective of the amount of help provided by external organizations, the condition of any state is dependent on its government's policy towards its citizens. Only then will this electorally elected institution will be capable enough to make progress of the country.

B] Germany- Gratuitous donors?

Since its entry in the euro, Greece knew that it did not meet the debt conditions. Irrespective of this situation, it displayed falsified numbers in order to gain the entry. This resulted in a situation wherein

it was assumed that Greece was capable of taking debt. It started borrowing more and more from Germany which is considered the big basket among the European countries having a stable economy. Therefore, as a member of the Eurozone, Germany was compelled to provide those funds to Greece in spite of being cognisant of the Greek debt situation. Although it suggested a number of austerity measures for Greece to follow, the Greek government ignored its implementation. On the contrary, its government spent a huge amount on infrastructure, public sector and welfare schemes. The condition of the country changed within a matter of years. An observation that can be made from this particular event is that no country's government can consider the situation lightly because of its volatility. This again relates to the theme we are following about how the state of the state varies without prior caution or warning. It is completely in the control of the legitimate authority governing in the state that can limit the consequences in such an event. Germany as a stronger nation provided the required aid to its fellow country that needed help despite the moderate approach of Greece. It can also be stated as one of the disadvantages of the separation of monetary and fiscal responsibilities among the countries

C] Over –generous Greece: An unalterable blunder:

The austerity measures suggested by Germany were stringent to follow as the debt crisis was deep-rooted. It was on this promise that Germany lent money to Greece. The Greek government adopted several populist measures to silence its citizens which actually worsened the situation. Following were some of the irresponsible decisions that fuelled the crisis:

- i) Early retirement age
- ii) Low tax rates
- iii) Pension provisions
- iv) Unending borrowing

v) Faulty debt estimates

Due to such policies, Greece started losing control over its monetary base resulting in chaos. It was later that the Greek citizens realized how their country was suffering in actuality. One of the smoothest-running small economies had turned into a vulnerable economy, perhaps on the verge of losing its achieved significance. It was important that during such a situation, the Greek government work for a recovery through its fiscal and administrative autonomy provided by the European Union despite being a part of the same. It would not be an exaggeration to say that as an elected institution its government failed by underestimating the debt figures and providing huge favours to its citizens. It gave importance to the unproductive (retired/aged) section of the population by a splurge in their pension rates.

D] Ludicrous citizens

The Greek citizens equally shared the responsibility of maintaining the economic situation of the country. The demand for luxurious commodities and the flow of liquid money in the economy went on increasing due to which the government continued borrowing from Germany in order to suffice this demand. This interrelated chain of events resulted in the political upheaval in Greece. This tells us how crucial it is for the citizens to be significant contributors in the development of the country. Being one of the four elements of the state, population influences the state and its economy significantly.

These were the main causes of the Greek crisis. It is said to be one of the biggest economic breakdowns in history, similar to the one in 1929. The consequences of the crisis were openly seen in July 2015 when Germany demanded the exit of Greece from the Eurozone since it did not follow the austerity measures suggested. Despite two bail outs from the Troika the situation did not change. It was only after days of

continuous meetings that a consensus was reached by which the Greeks could remain to be a part of the Eurozone, of course with the same vulnerability and instability that could change its economic map at any stage in the future.

When Aristotle and many other Greek thinkers contributed their entire lives for the discipline of politics, no one would have imagined such a situation in a country with most systematic societies consisting of politically aware citizens. This could be the best existing example on how time can change ideologies, governments, political scenarios and undoubtedly the attitude of the citizens too. The condition of a state cannot be stated within a specific time frame because real fundamental changes occur over a period of time that in turn affects the entire structure of the state. Going back to how the household has been explained on a larger scale can relate to what Greece has been experiencing in the past several years. The need for money to survive compelled the citizens to demand more money despite the increasing debt in the country. Since the retirement age was reduced the unemployment increased. Hence, it further set a downfall for the Greek government which was suffering the consequences of its own mistake of giving a leeway to its citizens.

Next aspect of Aristotle's state that connects us to the status-quo is the Destruction theory. Has Greece as a country remained the same? Though the country as a whole still remains in existence (meaning the concept of the state is never dissolved) its political instability completely dissects itself from being the same entity as before. Its complete turnover shows us how a state changes its nature in a different period. It tells us how government (temporary institution) can bring around changes that destructs or develops the state as a whole (permanently existing institution). Lastly, it can be stated that a state becomes what it wants; were the citizens of Greece satisfied with the way the country was running or were

they waiting for a change? The population forms a significant part of a state and hence the demands of the population can bring about that expected change in the society. The condition of a fairly stable state of a European country turned into a state with irresponsible government, demanding citizens and a weak country as a whole, thus losing its economic importance on the global map.

There is no single solution to the current condition of Greece. It is totally up to the Greek government and the Troika as to how they would bring in appropriate reforms in the monetary as well as administrative sections so that Greece can see a complete revival in the coming years. Economic standards of any country like the National Income, Employment, Inflation, labour reforms etc completely depend on the political institution of government and its policies. In this way, we can understand how government as an institution is the key factor in the evolution of the state. The temporary institution of government maintains the permanent institution of the state. The complicated issues of the modern world seem to have simplistic solutions conveniently set up in the past which have to be meticulously applied in order to achieve overall peace, solidarity and economic development in any given state or states. Though the concept of state is an imaginative concept, its foundation is the basis on which the world has made progress. As far as bringing back economic stability in Greece is concerned, it will happen only when Europe's monetary and fiscal powers combine. An introduction of 'United States of Europe' with pooling of all countries instead of a limited Eurozone is one of the most favourable solutions that could possibly resolve the problems of the entire continent as a whole.

Hundreds of economists, policy makers, educationists, research students have studied the possible explanations and solutions to this crisis, but the future of Greece will now be decided by the actions of the Greek government and its citizens,

with the help from the European Union. They will have to rightly prove the cause of initiating the Euro which is supposed to bring together the European nations for comprehensive economic development.

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Ancient Indian Ideas in Modern India?

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If a person goes through the Ancient Indian texts or the works of historians on Ancient Indian history, one would be surprised by the knowledge of our ancestors in various fields. Contrary to the general belief, Ancient India had developed political ideas and systems and these can be implemented in modern India in one way or another.

Through the Buddhist Scripture, AnguttaraNikaya, one learns about the Solasa-Mahajanapadas, i.e. 16 great states that flourished in the early 6th century B.C. In addition to these there were several small states too. Mahajanapadas are of two types, monarchies (rajyas) and republics also known as ganas or sanghas. Magadha, Kosala, Vatsa, Avanti (monarchies) and Vajji (republic) were the most powerful states among the Mahajanapadas. (Singh 261).

In the MahaparinibbanaSutta, there is an episode in which King Ajatasatru of Magadha decides to attack the prosperous Vajjian Republic. He sent his minister to Lord Buddha, to know the Lord's opinion. When Vassakara approached the Buddha and conveyed the King's message, the venerable Ananda (disciple) was fanning the exalted one (Singh 268). Upinder Singh in her book describes the conversation as follows:

The Buddha asked him whether he had heard that the vajjians frequently called public meetings of their clan. Ananda replied he had heard that this was so. The Buddha said, 'So long, Ananda as the Vajjians meet together in concord, and rise in concord and carry out their undertakings in concord- so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians as established in former days- So long as they honour and esteem and revere and

support the Vajjian elders, and consider it a duty to be attentive to their words, so long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction, so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian shrines in town or country, and do not allow the proper offerings and rites as formerly given and performed to fall into disuse, so long as the rightful protection, defence and support shall be fully provided for Arahants [monks who had attained enlightenment] among them, so that Arahants from a distance may enter their realm, and live there in ease-as long as they do all these things the Vajjians can be expected not to decline, but to prosper'. Then Buddha said to Vassakara: 'When I was once staying, Oh Brahmana, at Vesali at the Sarandada shrine, I taught the Vajjians these conditions of welfare; and as long as these conditions shall continue to exist among them, we may expect them not to decline, but to prosper.' (268)

The Vajji is considered to have included eight confederate clans of whom the old Videhas, the Lichchhavis, Jnatrikas and the Vajjis were the important members (Raychaudhuri 106). Vassakara got an important hint from the conditions of welfare that was stated by Buddha. Vassakara realized that the Vajjians cannot be defeated by direct combat. King Ajatasatru can only win the battle with diplomacy or breaking up their alliance (Singh 278). They were not only prosperous but also a powerful state. And by what Buddha said it is clear that the vajjians know these conditions of welfare and as long as they follow it they cannot be defeated. He then realized, their weakest point is internal dissension as holding public meetings, listening to the words of the elders, acting according to ancient institutions and not abrogating anything already enacted (which is kind of similar

to saying to follow the constitution [as all types of institutions has some rules and regulations] as established by our ancestors) and concord are affected if there are disagreements and fights within. It affects the functioning of government, as everyone is busy fighting, to reach a decision. There is no unity. Realizing this, Ajatasatru sent Vassakara on an undercover mission to slowly create dissension within their ranks. The strategy succeeded. It is said in Buddhist tradition that when Ajatsatru finally attacked, they were busy quarrelling amongst themselves on how to conduct their defense, that Ajatsatru was able to defeat them (Singh 272). However from various sources it is understood that this war prolonged for more than 16 years (Raychaudhuri 189). Thus defeat was not as easy as it seems. Internal dissension is still the weakest point of modern republics. One of the demerit of parliamentary democracy is slow process and discontinuance of policies, and internal dissensions, can to some extent be attributed to the cause of this problem. The 2015 monsoon session of Parliament is an example of how internal dissension can slow down the process of Parliament (rather in this case it almost stopped the functioning of the parliament). This is the weakest point on which Buddha, and Narada have warned against and gave them suggestions on how to avoid them. On the other hand, Kautiliya suggested several crooked methods by which internal feuds can be intensified. (Altekar 128-129).

The Republics of Ancient India is certainly not same as the modern world, but similar. Power was vested not in the whole body of the citizens but in an aristocratic class. But republic means a state, where the sovereign power vests, in a group of persons, more or less numerous. Thus Sparta, Athens, Rome and Poland have all been described as republics, though none of them possessed full democratic character. In republics of Ancient Greece and Rome, the franchise was confined to small minority. Similar

examples can be sought in 20th century where the Negroes in USA and Women in France did not have franchise for a long period of time. Thus, Ganas of Ancient India were republics which were similar to Ancient Greece city-states (Altekar 111-113).

The constitutional machinery of bigger and smaller gana states were different. The bigger gana states were divided into provinces, each under a separate governor, probably recruited from the privileged class. The cities had their own government units, completely autonomous, and administered by their leading men. In the village councils of the hundreds of villages, the headman and bureaucracy may have been recruited from ruling class but the vast majority of members of village assembly must have come from all classes. The Central Assembly was vested with sovereignty in these republics. The members of the assembly belonged to the privileged order and no one who belonged to it by birth can be excluded. The assembly hall is called Santhagara. The assembly elected executives and military leaders. Generally speaking, they had complete control on the executives. According to Arthashastra the state tribunals can dismiss and punish the president or the members of executive council if they are found guilty of mismanagement of public funds or violating the ordinary rules of land. The Central Assemblies of the Republics controlled foreign affairs. They engaged with ambassadors and foreign princes, considered their proposal and decided the momentous issue of peace and war. On grave occasions the latter power was entrusted to a smaller body. Many assemblies, like the parliaments of modern age, were torn by party factions, the president has to remain impartial and restore a calm atmosphere to ensure a proper consideration of all points, otherwise he is subjected to furious criticisms from all parties (Altekar 124-129).

No political writers have described the

rules of procedure as far as debates and working of assemblies were concerned. But many historians consider that the rules of procedure of Buddhist sangha is modeled on the assemblies of Ganas (Altekar 130-131), which is very much probable as Buddha himself is from republican state of Sakya.

Buddhist Sangha

Buddha did not nominate a disciple as his successor. The monks who lived together were to elect their chief, sanghatthera. In every sangha, there were office bearers who were elected to perform functions like provision of food, building new monastery etc. No assembly was valid unless there is quorum (minimum no. of members that must be present in the assembly for the proceedings to be valid) (Luniya 180-181). There was an officer who allotted seats. Panini (Sanskrit grammarian) refers to gana-titha and sangha-titha, a person who completed the quorum in gana and sangha. The person who acted as a 'whip' to secure the quorum is called the ganapuraka. The sanghatthera i.e. the president, presided over the assembly and regulated its debate. He was to observe strict impartiality. The resolution was formally presented by its mover and then the debate followed. In Buddhist sangha, those in favour of proposal, kept silent while those who were against expressed dissent. But most probably in ganas just like modern India, both sides must have expressed vociferously. In Buddhist sangha, a motion was thrice proposed and passed (in ganas this may or may not have existed). Sometimes voting is done by the secret method (gulhaka), the whispering method (sakarnajapakam) and sometimes by open method (vivatakam). Voting tickets were the sticks of different colours and a person called salaka-grahaka collected them and counted by president. The votes were called chhandawhich meant free choice. Clerks must have kept records of its proceedings. Matters which were finally decided were not allowed to reopen

(Altekar 131-132). This is how the Buddhist sangha functioned in their assembly which is considered to be modeled on assemblies of Gana states, thus one can say that Gana assemblies functioned in a similar manner.

Vinaya Pitaka is the Buddhist scripture from which the sangha derives its rules of procedure. It is like a constitution as it mainly deals with the rules and regulations of the sangha. Buddha promulgated the rules for the future discipline of sangha. It also gives qualifications of office bearers, the major, minor offences and punishment for it. As Narada M. Thera says in his book : One who reads the Vinaya Pitika cannot but be impressed by the democratic constitution of the sangha, their holding of possessions in common, the exceptionally high moral standard of the bhikkus and the unsurpassed administrative abilities of Buddha who anticipated even the present parliamentary system. Lord Zetland writes; "And it may come as a surprise to many to learn that in the assemblies of the Buddhists in India two thousand and more years ago are to be found the rudiments of our own parliamentary practice of the present day." (272-273)

Buddha before his passing away gave the right of amendment. He said if the order wishes it can abolish all the lesser and minor precepts. It is a right representing great freedom for the sangha to change laws to suit their conduct (Khongchinda 213).

The Buddhist sangha is ruled by law and not by man. Buddha had given the sangha the Dhamma and Vinaya as the guiding principle based on which they guided their conduct. Every member of the Buddhist sangha has an equal right to lead the holy life for attaining Nibbana (the transcendent state, where there are no desires and suffering). The Buddhist sangha has people from various backgrounds but all had equal rights and subjected to the same laws. Fraternity and integrity is a feature found in the Buddhist sanghas. When it comes to property it has communist

feature, none possess private property and surplus is given to the public. Concord and unanimity is considered important by Buddha for the continuing of the sangha (Khongchinda 201-211). This same condition of welfare was given to the Vajjians as well.

Buddhist sangha has a democratic constitution and features. Rule of law, parliamentary democracy, principles of equality and fraternity are the features found in Buddhist sangha. The president of the assembly has the role of the speaker of modern parliament. Thus it would not be wrong to say that Buddhist sangha is the world's first democratic institution. The republics of ancient India had parliamentary form of democracy but in the words of A.S Altekar "Democracy was a reality only with reference to the small class of full-fledged citizens and not the whole population" (112). Equality was not there.

Buddha was a political philosopher. He has given origin of state theory which is similar to western social contract theory. According to him, a ruler must be virtuous. For him, more than the type of government, it is the type of ruler that mattered. And that is true even in present times. If the representatives of the people in a democratic government are not virtuous, even a democracy can fail. Buddha had given virtues of good ruler as well as the features of bad ruler. A person can find many political philosophies and ideas but it is scattered throughout the Buddhist scriptures. Similar is the case of other works in various epochs of Ancient India (like Mahabharata, Vedas, Panchtantra) except works like of Kautiliya's Arthashastra.

Non-violence is another principle that was born in India. Both Jainism and Buddhism had advocated this principle. Later on it was Gandhiji who had advocated non-violence, and practically India attained her independence through the principle of non-violence and yet, nowhere in the constitution of India this principle is

found significantly. Equality, fraternity found in Buddhist sangha, are the same principles that one finds in the preamble of Indian constitution. Parliamentary democracy is the very type of government that it practices and rule of law is the same legal principle what India follows today. Yet when one checks the sources of Indian constitution, one finds that the parliamentary form of government, role of the speaker, law making procedure & the idea of rule of law; all hail from the British constitution. The ideals of equality and fraternity are taken from the French constitution. There is no mention of India when these are home grown ideas and ideals. Even the right of amendment that is found in the constitution is present in Buddhist sangha.

Buddhism is just one part of the vast history of India. There are other sources through which one can derive political ideas or ideals. In fact the idea of rule of law was present in India even before the onset of Buddhism (the concept of dharma, dharmasastra, proves this fact). Another such feature that is present in India from the Vedic period to the modern era, is the village administration. Through literary sources and inscriptions of various historic periods, one comes to know that village administration level was almost always present in India and had been the pivot of administration. In fact they enjoyed more powers than the local bodies of modern times. Through inscriptions we come to know that there were village assemblies, village councils, executive members and various committees. Central government practiced just a general supervision and control over the village assemblies and their councils. It left initiatives to the village councils which gave them large powers (Altekar 243).

Despite India having a history of village governance, despite India being a country of villages, the constituent assembly did not create village administration units. Instead it just had been mentioned in Directive Principles and Government

of India had made several initiatives to develop the rural areas and set up committees (in 1957, 1985, 1986) to look into the extent of development and problems and suggest improvement. Finally in 1986, the committee recommended that local self government be constitutionally recognized. In the 73rd amendment act of 1992, the panchayats were finally created ("Local Self-government"). It took 42 years for village panchayats to be established in India.

Village governance is something that is born in India and the type of governance evolved in villages shows the values of that time. The continuance of village administration till date shows its importance. It shows how involvement of people in the decision making and administration of their village (even cities) is important for its development. A point that Ancient Indians had realized but the constitution makers missed out.

If one goes through the debates of constituent assembly, one realizes that they had indeed gone through Indian history, considered it and acknowledged it. There were in fact some members who have criticized the draft constitution, in one of the debates, that it does not have any Gandhian ideals, some said it did not have any ideas, systems or ideals of Indian origin, and that it was full of western origins. Others wanted village administration units to be incorporated in the constitution and some have criticized that the structure of government was over-centralized and another member wanted the non-violence ideal through which India gained independence to be given a chapter in the constitution ("Constituent Assembly"). But ultimately it did not happen. It was most probably because the society during the time of constituent assembly had gone through drastic changes. Fall of an empire, death of Mahatma Gandhi, partition of India, in addition to these, huge population, scarcity of food and resources, money problems, and there were many people and parties

who wanted to divide the country. Initially the constituent assembly did not have the intention of making centre stronger than state. But such people and partition was the reason of creation of strong central government.

One of the disadvantages in studying Ancient Polity of India is that we have disconnected data. It is like a puzzle which has missing pieces and therefore it cannot provide us minute details of government, power and administration of ancient period. But constituent assembly still could have taken ideas from Ancient India and if needed could have searched for systems that have actualized it in a way that fit the society of that time. For example, the Republics of India had parliamentary form of government, then let's say the idea of form of government and basic functioning is taken from India but the minute details are studied from British constitution, one could have said that parliamentary form of government is taken from Ancient Republics of India and British constitution. Similarly the ideal of equality if it was taken from Buddhism instead of French Constitution, one could have said it is of Indian origin. The point is we have taken something from other countries which was originally born in India way before other countries. The point is not about giving the heritage a word of mention but of acknowledging it, implementing it wherever possible and whatever ways and most importantly not letting the knowledge disappear. But they do not seem to have realized that implementation was possible. When we look at the composition of Republics, Buddhist sangha, the work of A.S Altekar 'State and government in Ancient India' and the various studies of researchers and historians shows that it is an undeniable fact that the Constituent Assembly of India could have incorporated some Indian ideas, ideals, or systems or philosophies.

Nonetheless this is true that Indian constitution is one of the best constitutions of the world. And they have never

undermined, neglected or disregarded the Indian history in the way the present society has, which is the saddest part of our country. Majority of people are not aware of the rich ancient history of our country and the sad part is, without knowing it they have undermined it, judged it and as well as have stereotypical notions, and look up to the west as their role models. Even Government of India till now has not done much significantly in this field. Implementation can be done in various forms (if we generally speak of ancient knowledge). Through education system i.e. teaching the ancient knowledge or maybe even incorporating something from past in the education system in such a way that fits the present society, applying ancient knowledge of medicines, more researches, excavations that could give more information and answers to the questions etc. As Peter F. Drucker said "Knowledge has to be improved, challenged and increased constantly or it vanishes." It would be a shame if this ancient land forgets its centuries old knowledge and wisdom.

"A people without the knowledge of their past history, origin and culture is like a tree without roots."

Marcus Garvey

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The Coverage of the State of the State

Neha Tetali, TYBMM

Abstract

'The State' [uncountable, singular] is defined as the government of a country.

Does one's perspective on the government of one's country form only on the basis of experience?

The lens through which we, citizens, look at the State is not completely moulded by us. It is shaped and coloured by a variety of factors. We judge the State based on our knowledge of it, which we collect from various sources of media. The media tells us what the State is supposed to do versus what it is doing. Thereby, it helps build that lens through which we view our Government.

This paper will explore the coverage of the State, its functions and performance analysis in mainstream print media. The media has always been credited with the power of sculpting and framing the opinions of millions through its columns. The paper seeks to understand how the role of the State is reflected by the media, thus mixing the streams of Political Science and Journalism.

The themes discussed are the prohibition of alcohol and of cow slaughter and how the media portrays these issues. The time periods discussed are from April to October 2014 and April to October 2015.

This study hopes to answer the question of how objective or biased the media is while covering the role of the State.

"Dispassionate objectivity is itself a real passion, for the real and for the truth."

Abraham Maslow

Objectivity in reporting is often the value most looked for when judging the way a news item is reported. Objectivity entails that the reporter must-

- not convey his/her own personal biases
- write in a neutral language without

the use of adjectives

- not characterize people or institutions as good or bad
- report all facts accurately.

One of the main functions of journalism as a whole is to report news objectively. But does this happen with every report and/or with every issue and/or with every type of journalism?

The type of journalism this paper looks at is political. Political Journalism is a branch of journalism that includes coverage of all features of politics and political science, ranging from civic issues to international politics.

Most of what constitutes news today is politics. Newspapers and magazines specifically, include a lot of debates and war of words between parties and national leaders. In this shower of controversial statements making headlines, the question is whether the media is forgetting to cover the actuality of politics in the first place, i.e., the role of the State and if the State is fulfilling what is enshrined in the Constitution. And if it is covering the aforementioned functions of the State, is it covering them objectively?

The State and its Functions

A Sociology portal of the United Kingdom defines the role of the modern State as "a set of organisations and institutions related to the function of government (how order is created and maintained)." The portal goes on to explain the State through its functions:

Practices:

- Maintaining order
- Forming Policy

Revenue:

- Generation
- Expenditure

Services:

- Indirect
- Direct

Representation:

- Internal
- External

These functions of the State are almost universal in nature. Their application to the Indian context though, is coloured by the Indian Constitution's vision for the State, which is explained below.

The Role of the Indian State

(as interpreted from the Constitution of India)

Articles 12 and 36 of the Constitution of India define the State as that which "includes the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India."

In 1947, when India gained independence, the exact role that the independent Indian State must perform wasn't defined yet. The Constitution makers were still in the process of drafting what was to be (and still is) the bible of the nation's machinery. Though not directly written, Part IV of the Constitution has some guidelines that propel the State towards a particular path and remind the State of its functions. It is through these 'Directive Principles of State Policy' that one can derive what the role of the State could be.

The Directive Principles of State Policy, often referred to as the "conscience of the Constitution", are non-justiciable or not legally enforceable recommendations to the State in legislative, executive and administrative matters. They give the State a direction to proceed in while framing policies by articulating the high values of the Constitution.

The chapter on the Directive Principles of State Policy lists the following in detail :
Goals of the State:

- Welfare of the people; Social, economic and political justice;
- Raising the standard of living; equitable distribution of resources;
- Promotion of international peace

Policies:

- Uniform civil code;
 - Prohibition of consumption of alcoholic liquor;
 - Promotion of cottage industries;
 - Prevention of slaughter of useful cattle;
 - Promotion of village Panchayats
- Non-justiciable rights:
- Adequate livelihood;
 - Equal pay for equal work for men and women;
 - Right against economic exploitation;
 - Right to work;

Early childhood care and education to children below the age of six years

This research paper focuses on two directive principles that determine state policy. The past few months have witnessed several policies framed and laws enacted with these two principles as the inspiration. The following few pages talk about how the media covered this aspect of the State's role. The two policies are:

Prohibition of consumption of alcoholic liquor

Prevention of slaughter of useful cattle
The study is done through one newspaper and one magazine chosen on the basis of them being representative of the genre of detailed reporting.

The Indian Express is studied here because of its 'vigorous investigative reporting' and 'spirited critical stance'. The Express is also chosen because of its historical significance in reporting the events of the nation (especially its stance during the Emergency, which determines the values of the publication) and its centrist view to news. The Express has also received several awards, both national and international.

The India Today is the magazine chosen here, because of the same reason. It started its publication during the Emergency and it soon gained a reputation of detailed analysis and lucid writing, thereby increasing its readership. It was the third most widely read magazine in the country with a readership of 16,34,000 in 2014.

Prohibition of consumption of alcoholic liquor

Part IV, Article 47: Duty of the State to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living and to improve public health

The State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties and, in particular, the State shall endeavor to bring about prohibition of the consumption except for medicinal purpose of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health.

Prohibition is thus enshrined in the Constitution . It is a state subject under the Seventh Schedule of the State List and hence, each state has a different prohibition law. Gujarat, Nagaland, Manipur and the Union Territory of Lakshadweep have banned the sale and consumption of alcohol. The state of Kerala has been in the news over the past year for prohibiting alcohol, but in a phased manner.

The following are some of The Indian Express' articles on prohibition:

IN FACT: Prohibition's intoxicating appeal for politicians

(August 20th, 2015)

Excerpt: "There is something intoxicating about total prohibition. Politicians promise it despite overwhelming evidence that it is difficult to enforce. Chief Minister Nitish Kumar of poll-bound Bihar recently indicated to a gathering of women his preference for prohibition. In 2014, Kerala decided to phase out sale of liquor over 10 years. Gujarat has had prohibition since the 1960s... Andhra Pradesh banned alcohol in 1994, but revoked the ban in 1997, claiming it had failed."

The article features in the 'Explained' series of The Indian Express, and gives a basic history of the issue, though the language is dotted with adjectives.

Past shows, Kerala tipplers have always had their way

(August 23rd 2014)

Excerpt: "In fact, after 418 bar hotels were

closed in April, the revenue of the Kerala State Beverages Corporation (Bev-co) grew by 21 per cent in the past four months... Chief Minister OommenChandy said all bars, except 16 five-star ones, will be closed by the end of 2014."

This article too reported while explaining. The style of writing is objective and loaded with facts. The reporter doesn't seem to be taking a stand.

The magazine, India Today, didn't have any article published which discussed the debate surrounding the alcohol ban. However, its website had some simple reports published in 2014 talking about the ban in brief, for instance, one of them had the following headline:

Kerala hotel, bar owners move Supreme Court against 'discriminatory' liquor policy

Overall, the newspaper treated the alcohol ban issue as something that was expected for a long time and finally happened. The issue was discussed in detail, especially with the history of alcohol prohibition in some of the articles. Several of the articles had adjectives in them, which is against the basic rule for reporting, since adjectives colour the story with bias. Some articles analysed the pros and cons of the bans and accurately discussed the debate. The Magazine studied here did not discuss the debate in any of its issues. It could probably mean that the magazine didn't think the debate was important enough to include it in their issues or analyse it. The fact that there was a blanket ban being imposed (in a phased manner) in some of the states didn't appeal as much to the editors as a 'national issue'.

Prevention of slaughter of useful cattle
Part IV, Article 48: Organisation of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

The State shall endeavour to organise agriculture and animal husbandry on modern and scientific lines and shall, in particular, take steps for preserving and improving the breeds, and prohibiting the slaughter, of cows and calves and other milch and draught cattle.

Prohibition of cow slaughter is thus contained in the Constitution. In 2005, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutional validity of anti-cow slaughter laws enacted by different states. State legislatures have exclusive power to legislate the prevention of slaughter, as listed out in Entry 15 of the State List of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution. It states "Preservation, protection and improvement of stock and prevention of animal diseases, veterinary training and practice" as one of the entries the states can legislate upon.

Today, 24 out of 29 states in India have various regulations prohibiting either the slaughter or sale of cows. In states like Maharashtra, cow slaughter is a very serious offence; it's non-bailable and can fetch up to 10 years in prison. Some states like Odisha and Goa ban cow slaughter but allow bullock slaughter with a certificate. The states with no restrictions on cow slaughter are Kerala, West Bengal, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim.

From the above, it is evident that the 'beef ban' imposed in some parts of the country over the last few months is constitutional.

The Indian Express (Mumbai edition) printed over 400 articles related to cow slaughter and beef consumption since February 2015 till mid-October 2015. Of these, 3 articles had the mention of Article 48 of the Constitution; a part of one of them is reproduced below:

Consider law to ban cow slaughter, Himachal HC tells Centre
(October 15th, 2015)

This article reported that the Himachal Pradesh High Court directed the Central government to consider enacting a law banning cow slaughter, beside imposing a total ban on sale, export and import of beef and beef-products in India within the next three months.

Excerpt: "Though no writ of mandamus can be issued to Government of India to enact a legislation to prohibit slaughtering of cow/calf and putting restrictions on

import and export of cow/calf, milch and other cattle or import and export of cow/calf, including sale of beef or beef products...However, in view of Article 48, 48-A and 51-A(g) of the Constitution, the Union of India (GoI) is directed to consider to enact the law prohibiting slaughtering of cow/calf, import or export of cow/calf, selling of beef or beef products, in its own wisdom at the national level, within a period of three months...," the bench said."

Another article published on April 21st, 2015 reported how the Bombay High Court defended the beef Ban in Maharashtra.

The rest of the articles have a flavour of bias in their reporting, for instance:

Beef Ban in Kashmir: A Hindutva Plan?
(September 11th, 2015)

Excerpt: "With Maharashtra at the back of the mind and the BJP a coalition partner in the J&K government, people see this as part of a "Hindutva plan" which could well mean more unrest in the Muslim areas of the valley."

The article is thus drawing a conclusion for the readers and not letting the latter do the job for themselves. The title of the article itself is raising a question with which bias the entire article will be read.

A more neutral article reporting on the status of J&K was printed on the same day:

J-K: Violent protests erupt in Valley after HC ban on beef

(September 11th, 2015)

Excerpt: "The slaughter of bovines and sale of beef is banned in Jammu and Kashmir since the pre-Partition era when the then princely state was ruled by the Dogra rulers... While the slaughter of bovines and the sale of beef were strictly banned in the Hindu majority areas of Jammu, beef was sold at many places in Muslim majority Kashmir."

This article does a fairly good job of reporting neutrally and as the above excerpt shows. It also talks about the history of the ban in brief.

Magazines too, covered the “beef theme” extensively. India Today, one of the leading English weeklies in the country, ran a detailed cover story in the October 19th, 2015 issue, specifically on ‘The Politics of Beef’ . It highlighted every aspect of the debate; detailing the history of the bans, talking about the recent Dadri lynching and it even had a short paragraph on the drafting of the Directive Principle on cow slaughter. For each of the claims that the bans are constitutional, the magazine defended what must be interpreted out of the constitution and how it is being misinterpreted for political reasons. An excerpt from the editorial by Aroon Purie: “Such moves might appear to be in sync with the Constitution, which enshrines opposition to cow slaughter as a directive principle of state policy and the reason why 14 states have banned the slaughter of cow and its progeny. But in doing so, the states have ignored the economic logic that lies at the heart of the debate... The narrow politics propelling the cow agenda and ethnic vigilantism puts roadblocks on Prime Minister Modi’s drive on development... It will only hurtle India towards an Age of Chaos.”

Overall, the newspaper studied (The Indian Express) gave the beef debate a very biased and one-sided coverage. Its articles focused more on the protest against the bans and against the government and elements of the other side of the story were often ignored in reporting. So much so, that there was hardly even a mention of Article 48 in news coverage. This was quite in contrast to the coverage on the alcohol ban; the latter being more neutral.

The magazine on the other hand (India Today), very clearly spelled out claims and counter claims and debated the issue from all aspects, including economic, legal and political. Its pages have detailed analyses and infographics with interesting facts.

Conclusion

The beef debate appears to be the most debated issue of current times. How the

media reflects the issue is how the masses form their opinions.

In the case of the alcohol prohibition issue, most of the news from the Express followed the principles of objectivity. The news:

- did not contain personal biases
- was written in a neutral language
- did not characterize institutions or people as bad
- reported all facts accurately

Therefore, in terms of covering the prohibition directive principle and the role of the State in prohibiting, the news seems to be very objective.

In the case of the beef and cow slaughter issue though, a majority of articles seem to be violating the objectivity principles; i.e.:

- the articles were biased (mostly against the ruling government)
- were written in a neutral language with no adjectives
- characterized the government and some national leaders as ‘bad’
- weren’t accurate- most of them skipped covering Article 48

The magazine articles, on the other hand, seem to be much more rounded and accurate and though they too classified institutions, they defended their stance with valid points.

Therefore, in terms of covering the cow slaughter, directive principle and the role of the State in it, the news seems to be somewhat biased.

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Rising threats to Africa's Sovereignty

Nicole Almeida & Renisha Mall (TYBA)

Abstract: This paper traces the sovereignty of African countries throughout the ages, the battles the continent is faced with and the slow destruction of the 'state-system'

in context with the neo-imperialistic state of affairs on the continent. While the Europeans fed on African resources to run their Industrial revolution and assert their economic supremacy, they also entrenched in the continent their own random borders, created animosity between tribes and fully executed the 'divide and rule' policy. Even after the decolonization process, the African continent still had to deal with the aftereffects of colonial rule. Left with the gift of being sovereign, various tribes and conflicting cultures that were bunched together to form the 'state', later warred against each other to take control of the state. The decolonization process was marked by civil war, genocides, dictatorial government and interventions by the super powers. No use was made of the autonomy that African states were left with as various states were either engaged with dealing with civil wars, or making bad policies or exploiting their resources in the best way to make maximum personal gains. International financial institutions failed to bring economic reforms in such politically unstable states. While the continent was in utter chaos, through all this commotion came globalization. Unfortunately, it didn't work that well for Africa like how it did for Asia. It worked so well for Asia and so bad for Africa, that today, Asian countries like China and India are using Africa to feed their growing economies and populations. Thus China and India have heavily invested in land and infrastructure. Economic investment on such a high degree makes political intervention inevitable. While globalization erases boundaries, the idea of 'state' in Africa is further killed as

its sovereignty is further reduced. Neo-imperialism is here, and the scramble for Africa unfortunately is ongoing.

Introduction

One of the features that best defines a state is sovereignty. Sovereignty was used as the basis for the Westphalian system of nation-states, where all nations would respect the sovereignty of each other, treat nation-states equally and refrain from territorial acquisitions and interventions in other states. Ironically, sovereignty also became the basis for the UN framework for humanitarian intervention (alias military intervention) i.e. the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). The term sovereignty was re-conceptualized to also include that states have the obligation to protect their citizens. According to the R2P, if the state in concern failed, an intervention would be necessary to protect the citizens. Sovereignty can be looked at in two ways. First, when the state is free from external control, and is not being dictated or heavily influenced by an external authority; And second, internal sovereignty, when the organized central body of the state, say the government for example, has supreme authority, control and autonomy within the boundaries of the state. It must be noted that sovereignty is never absolute, as it is inevitable for a state to be influenced by international relations. But why is sovereignty important? Sovereignty allows for a state to develop its own culture, economy relations with other countries and most of all identity. It increases the power of a state and helps it compete on the world stage. Today there exists 'failing states' i.e. states that are failing to provide basic facilities to its people and adhering to the basic responsibilities of sovereign states. This paper looks particularly at Africa, and why most of its states are failed

states, its battle with colonial rule, with diseases, with decade long civil wars, neo-imperialism and most of all its battle to retain sovereignty.

A Scramble in the Dark

The Sub-Saharan Africa was unknown to the Europeans. Investigation and discovery of what lay ahead beyond the coast line and towards the interiors of the continent was left to the Arab slave traders. The North and West Africa were parts of trade routes and thus were well known. As the 19th century progressed, the Europeans slowly started exploring the continent, which by the end of the century turned into the exploitation of the continent. Unfortunately, the first time Africa was integrated in the world market was due to slavery. African slaves became an important part of the labor in the American plantations. Fully fledged into exploration, the Europeans with their guns against the Africans, took over the continent in a storm. The Berlin Conference was held in 1884-85 to negotiate who got what of Africa. The European powers cut Africa and created borders pushing to the dark all ethical, linguistic and cultural aspects of the indigenous. They were Imperial Gods and it was theirs to decide how to slice the cake to satiate their nationalistic appetites. Clubbing people of different cultures under one administrative body ensured that a nationalistic feeling never arose. The divide and rule policy safeguarded that the colonizers stayed in power. Arbitrary colonial borders and gross colonial policies saved for the continent inescapable problems to deal with after independence. For example, it was the Belgians who rooted in the differences between the Tutsi and the Hutu. A divide was created as the Hutus were made the workforce while the Tutsi's were to assist the Belgians in their rule. After Independence, the cultural divide worsened and eventually led to the Rwanda genocide in 1994 killing thousands. Arbitrary boundaries have also

left some countries landlocked. Today, 12 African countries are landlocked and thus do not have access to sea or water ways. Transport within countries and intra state transport has always been a problem. Being landlocked effects the economic growth of countries as transport costs are always high. Take for example Burundi whose neighbors are Tanzania, Rwanda , the Democratic Republic of Congo and Kenya . The DRC was in a state of civil war till 2008. Rwanda and Burundi are tribally divide and have had standoffs right since independence. Kenya and Tanzania on which Burundi heavily relies on access to the coast have a pathetic transport set up. Burundi, apart from being landlocked is also resource-scarce: an unfortunate combination which slows economic growth. It must be noted that 30 % of Africa's population lives in landlocked and resource scarce countries while just 1% of the developing world excluding Africa lives in such countries (Collier, 2007). Some countries like Uganda and Burundi, which are both resource scarce and landlocked should not have been countries at all!

The Westphalian system did not exist beyond Europe during the age of exploration but by the end of the 20th Century, the concept of nation-state existed on every continent. The process of decolonization started after the Second World War and continued till the mid 70's. In Sudan, the British ruled the Arabs in the north and the Blacks in the south as separate colonies . They were combined only before Independence in 1956. In 2011, inerassable differences were accepted leading to South Sudan seceding from the north to form an Independent country. Independence was got through bloodshed in some countries while peacefully in some. Elements like education, effective leadership and political awareness created a sense of individuality and self-rule giving rise to the process of decolonization. Regardless, this could mark the time when African nations had the highest sovereignty. As the states

started to make their own history, their internal sovereignty slowly got disrupted as the continent was engulfed in civil war. The state of Africa after decolonization can not only be marked by civil war but also by bad governance, dictators and diseases.

With the coming of the 21st Century, the frequency of civil war on the continent has considerably declined. Just Libya, Mali, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, South Sudan and Congo have had civil wars in the 2000's. 40 % of South Saharan Africa has experienced a civil war at least once (Elbadawi, Sambains, 2000). Even though the civil wars have been reducing, they have long lasting economic and cultural repercussions. Tribal and ethnic conflicts have caused genocides, but they have not been the main trigger for civil war. Civil war in Africa is not due to ethnolinguistic fragmentation of its countries, but rather due to high levels of poverty, failed political institutions and economic dependence on natural resources (Elbadawi, Sambains, 2000). According to a study done by P. Collier in 2007, a typical low income country faces a risk of civil war of about 14% in any 5 year period. A percent added to growth reduces the percent of risk of civil war. Thus if a country grows at 2 %, the risk of civil war reduces from 14 % to 12 %. At the same time, civil wars tend to reduce the growth of a country by 2.3 %. Thus there exists an unmistakable correlation of civil war and economic growth. There exists a greater risk of civil war in a low income country who also have double than the average natural resources, and the risk increases if the natural resource is oil (Collier et. Al, 2003). Out of the 17 resource related conflicts that took place between 1990 -2002, 9 happened in Africa (Ross, 2003). The worst of all wars fought was the Angola Civil war from 1975-2002 where the oil financed the government against the rebels (UNITA) who were financed by diamonds. Natural resources have been an overall curse to the continent. It has had a negative effect on the economy in the following ways

I. When resources are suddenly discovered and exploited to the ultimate. The sudden rise in the exports leads to the appreciation of the currency of the country. Thus, the manufactured goods of the country become expensive abroad, leading to a drop in the demand of manufacturing goods.

II. The supply eventually drops too, and to some extent such industries die as labor is shifted to the extraction of resources. The country tends to become an importee of manufacturing goods, and the over exploitation of resources has a negative effect on the economy.

Let's take a look at governments on the scene of a resource-rich country. The President to Angola for example, Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, has been in power since 1979. Regardless of the fact the country has the second largest reserves of oil in the Sub-Saharan region, 68 % of the country lives below the poverty line. The President controls the economy and has focused on channeling funds into his own account, and made sure his family reaps all the benefits of Angola's oil reserves. Africa has dealt with and is dealing with corrupt and brutal dictators such as Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda. Somalia tops the list of the most corrupt countries in the world along with Sudan, South Sudan and Libya in the top ten. The overall standard of living is very low in most countries. The tragedy of the Ebola epidemic of 2014 killed an astonishing number of people in West Africa. Africa also has 70 % of the world's population who lives in AIDS. There is a dearth in the availability of basic requirements of living a healthy life like clean drinking water, shelter , non-violence and health facilities. The plight of the people continues even after assistance from the international community.

State of Imperialism in Africa

Globalization has been a product of

Imperialism. It is necessary to trace the development of this liberal temper, again a product of the western world. A liberal temper has been emerging in the minds of the people from the dawn of the Renaissance to the Americanization of world economy. England has been given undue credit for the emergence of liberalism. This concept has spread over the nation states, with America being the first to follow the theories in practice imbibing them from first liberal thinker, John Locke portraying that the right to life, liberty and property are inalienable rights. Today, this concept has spread over not applying to individuals but to states as a whole. The development and progress of the state has been the sole important objective that makes the government to capitalize and imperialize at the cost of the wellbeing of the following states.

Glen Ford, a Black Agenda Radio Commentator stated that 'Imperialism with a Black face has been fantastically successful in Africa.' He speaks about the emergence of 'neo-colonialism' in Africa. Colonialism, cold war and the debt crisis have brought in various changes in countries all around the world. In all these three areas, it has been the powerful west that has managed to bring about a powerful change in the country bringing it to a dependable and powerless state. Africa is one such country that suffers from the 'development of the underdevelopment' syndrome. This is also commonly known as the 'dependency theory'. Africa's crisis has been a result of the great explosion of capitalistic imperialism which is yet today being colonized for the interest of the west. Its rich mineral resources are dependent on external means of production all the time. There has been a lack of political will that has encouraged problems like poverty and instability. The oil shock of 1973 had divergent effects on the developing world. A large market had emerged for investment in the Middle East. There was a rise in the primary commodity prices during the rise in commodity inflation.

All the raw material producing countries were faced with the veritable collapse of commodity prices in the 1980s.

Neo-Colonialism - Structural Developmental Loans

By 1983-84, Africa started accepting the cohesive and tough measures of the structural development loans put forth by the World Bank and IMF. The balance of payment of many African countries deteriorated. African countries hoped on raising production levels by accelerating industrialization and transforming their economic structure. According to the UNECA (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa), from 1965- 75, African Economies grew on an average of 8%. Analyzing the situation as to why the economy couldn't function well, it was noticed that more than 1/7th of the African Economy lacked machinery and metal products. There was a wide dominance of Agro based industries. 65% value added income emerged from agriculture. In a 1993 study by UNIDO (United Nations Industrial Development Organization) of 23 countries in Africa, 43.5% continued to be accounted for food products, beverages and tobacco products.

Africa's poor economic performance can be attributed to the fact that the agricultural sector is not widely developed. Agriculture sector still continues to be an important sector of income. Agriculture's share in the GDP ranges from 28% to 59%. Agriculture development depends on the weather conditions, new technologies and various intensive marketing techniques. But owing to its tropical climate, given that the soil, weather conditions and increase in the number of droughts, famines and floods has been a major setback to the economy. According to the Food and Agricultural Organization of the UN, there are 6 climatic zones each having its own peculiar problem. The deserts in Africa account for 17% of the total land, the semi arid zones account for 8%, the dry humid zones account for

11%, the moist sub humid zone accounts for 20% and the humid zone accounts for 14%. Dry season months accounts for 10 months a year. Unfortunately, the vast humid area of Africa is acidic and highly leached. This calls for high level project of soil improvement programs. On the other hand, the population density is equally low giving rise to labor shortages and the consequent high labor costs are constraints in bringing successful improvements in agriculture output. One solution to this problem comes from making inter-migration laws flexible. However, the geographical determinism that illustrates the regional stratification of the continent, i.e., Mediterranean and arid North Africa, Sudano-Sahelian Africa, Humid and Sub-Humid Africa, Sub-Humid and Mountain East Africa and Sub-humid and Semi-arid Southern Africa bring in a lot of traditional and habitant rights. Population always acts like a double edged sword, owing to the large scale destruction of rain forests and environmental degradation. 600 million acres of land has been lost due to overgrazing. Wood as a source of fuel calls for the uncultivated land to be afforested but cannot be rendered possible as the uncultivated land is often used for grazing. In some areas in Africa, deforestation rates exceed afforestation rates by a factor of 30:1. In other areas, the problem ranges from poor water supply and good quality water for irrigation. Despite its size, the price distribution also varies. In 1998, an annual report showed that well over 66% of the continent's export earnings are dependent on 6 to 7 commodities with coffee and cotton accounting for more than 50% of the total export earnings. In Nigeria, for example, the price of imported maize was mere \$315 a ton while the locally grown maize costed \$1200 a ton. All these has led to serious disability in the field of agriculture and economic development.

Rise of 'Neo-colonizers'- India and China

Thus, Africa is lacking effective political leadership and bringing in partial powers

to the state. At the same time, Africa did not benefit from the perks of Globalization the way Asian countries like China and India did. Before the world was globalized, firms did not enter countries in Asia nor in Africa because of the political, economic risks and lack of Economies of Agglomerations. These factors outweighed the availability of cheap labor in developing countries. Firms rather set up production units in places where the risk was low and where other firms had already set up units in order to reap benefits of economies of agglomeration. Economies of Agglomeration are the gains that firms obtain (or a reduction in input costs) by locating itself to one another. Thus when the firms are set up near one another, their profits increased as their production costs decreased. It must be noted that developed countries had high minimum wages while developing countries had low minimum wages. In the 90's, China and India were building their service and manufacturing sector, thus building economies of agglomeration. They now had economies of agglomeration and a low minimum wage: a good mix for a producing unit. This, coupled with the relaxation of otherwise stringent government policies, made Asia the new place to relocate firms. Africa was overlooked, unnoticed and lost in the start of the new decade of Globalization. Today Asian countries look at Africa to feed their economies, literally.

Ineffective leadership has made it a breeding ground for developing countries to develop at the cost of the defected policies. The Guardian (3 July, 2009) called such countries 'Neo-colonizers'. Since the food crisis in 2007-08, China has been searching for agricultural land in Africa. Calling it the 'New Scramble for Africa', nearly 2.5m hectares (6.2m acres) of farmland in just five sub-Saharan countries have been bought or rented in the past five years at a total cost of \$920m (£563m). Large chunks of cultivable land is being brought by India, South Korea,

America and several oil-rich Arab countries who cannot produce their own food. The Economist reported 'Cornering foreign fields: the Chinese and Arabs are buying poor countries' (21 May, 2009) where China has been accused of robbing the land of the African farmers to such an extent that they had been responsible for the famine on the Horn of Africa. The amount of land holdings the Chinese government has in Africa is unclear due to the large amount of misreporting and the vast amount of Chinese agricultural technologies produced for the local market. A report published by the International Food Policy Research Institute in 2009 portrayed the statistics of the leased/sold out land of Africa. China secured 2.8 million hectares for biofuel oil palm plantation in the Democratic Republic of Congo and 10,000 hectares for rice.

India invested 4 billion dollars in agriculture including flower growing and sugar estates in Ethiopia. India has also been in the forefront in investments in the Dark Continent. In 2010, by the figures provided by the East African governments, 80 Indian Companies have invested 2.4 billion dollars in buying or leasing plantations in Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Senegal and Mozambique to grow food grains and cash crops for India. This is considered as a viable investment as the cost of agricultural production in Africa is half as that of India. Labour is cheap, no need of extra fertilizers and pesticides. India has small and fragmented land holdings which is not conducive for large scale production. African governments offer Indian farmers huge tracts of contiguous land on lease for 50 years and up to 99 hectares at very low prices. A land lease in Punjab would be about Rs. 40,000 a hectare but in Africa, it would be as less as Rs. 700. This is to say that for every one acre in Punjab, Indian investors can own 60 acre in Africa. This huge amount of land holdings is secured at the cost of the small farmers and hungry populations. There have been unequal

relations in landholdings brings in life threat of the native people. Since the state holds the land, the poor is pushed off the plot in favour of an investor without any calculation or compensation.

What is Africa today?

Sovereignty in Africa is experienced at the hands of the foreign investors which has been catering to the elite and corrupt few Africans with a strong base in the continent. Even developed countries like America and Europe face the challenges of the nation-state system with the rise of its Global tendencies to bring in profit maximization. Small countries in Africa have faced greater challenges with lack of political will and the increasing actualization of the dependency theory. Neo-Imperialism has given the ability to a third world country, struggling with its own development to bring in means of sustaining itself at the cost of other third world countries. This kind of development is strongly felt in Africa which is rising at the cost of the local people.

The African Nation has been brought to its knees with the growth in landholdings and capital in the hands of the outsiders. The state of the continent has become poor and miserable with insurgent groups like Boko Haram blaming the west for the poor condition in Africa. Foreign investment is always looked upon as creating jobs for the locals and improving living conditions with the rise in the GDP. However, such success stories are unheard in Africa. In Ethiopia, over 3 lakh families are displaced and only 20,000 are job holders. The indigenous Mazenger people of Gambela have been struggling to protect their ancient forest-covered lands along tributaries to the White Nile that have come into conflict with the lease given to the Indian company Vedanta Harvests Plc., which plans to clear their land and use it for a tea and spice plantation. Due to lack of political will, the residents have been facing a huge drawback. The Solidarity

movement for New Ethiopia (SMNE) stated that the locals were made aware only last minute that their ancient forests would be leased out to foreign companies. The Ethiopian President Girma Wolde-Giorgis went ahead with the plan announcing 3,000 hectares of forests being leased out in spite of resistance faced from the Environment Protection Authority of Ethiopia (EPAE). This move predicated that the forests would be wiped out in the next 50 years. This increases concerns about the environmental impact foreign investment would bring to the country. Even though measure have been taken to insure EIA (Environmental Impact Assessment) but who takes the assessment is not defined. E.g. The Ethiopian Minister of Agriculture and development gave 12 land rental contracts to 5 Indian Companies provided it would submit a report on its EIA. However, who would make the report was not authored. With water usage, each of the five contracts specified that the companies had the right to build dams, water boreholes and irrigation systems as they see fit. Karuturi Agro Products Plc. Included an additional clause that the company also had the right to "use irrigation water from rivers or ground water." However, there was no mention of payment for this water usage, the quantity of water to be used and over what period of time. None of the five contracts of the Indian companies mentioned labour laws or specified any wages or working conditions for their local employees.

Ghana, Tanzania, Kenya, Botswana are seen as better economic performers than the rest of the continent and are reminders that all is not finished for Africa. After colonization, the Africans were not trained in leadership or how to draft policies or built economies. Thus the decades following decolonization were extremely chaotic. Many leaders that emerged then are still leaders now or leaders today are from families of past leaders. African countries need a new set of political activism coupled with

sound economic policies for sustainable development rather than dynastic rulers with economic policies that benefit themselves. It is remarkable how issues in a particular country affect its neighbors on the continent. Just like Civil war spill offs there exist growth spill offs i.e. when an increase in the economy results in an increase in the economy of the neighbor. This for one to prosper all must prosper. Tribal, ethnic divides must be kept aside and trade within the continent may have a better edge than globalization. A focus on free flow of capital and labor, improvement of intra-state transport, diversification from a resource centric economy and creation of markets within the continent can drive African countries out of their 'failing state' nature. Whereas political change must come from within, the international community must focus on better intervention policies, regulate the usage of aid, and stress for better transparency especially in resource extraction by international companies in Africa. There is much to do, but change must be triggered within.

"When there is no enemy within, the enemy outside cannot harm you."- African proverb.

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Illegitimacy of the State

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The hypothesis of this paper is to establish the illegitimacy (or de-establish the legitimacy) of the state. The de-recognition of the state is a fundamental belief amongst those in the spectrum of the political left that identify themselves, wholly or partially, as anarchists. However, with the transition of most states from welfare and people oriented institutions to closet corporate entities, the questioning of the sanctity of power and authority of the state must be a conventional and widespread debate. Democratic states have begun to encroach on the private liberty of citizens in the name of national security - thus, violating the very principles they aim to (re)enforce, in their country and outside it. Countries that pride themselves on conducting free and fair elections do this on divisive grounds and also compromise on the quality of the elected representatives. The state's fall from grace has been a long time coming. This paper simply aims to discuss a few of its flaws and impositions in the form of principle based arguments.

Prior to deconstructing the legitimacy of the state, one would first have to define the state, due to its multifarious characteristics and evolution over the years. A succinct definition of the state, as worded by Andrew Heywood, would be as follows – 'the state can most simply be described as a political association that establishes sovereign jurisdiction within defined territorial borders and exercises authority through a set of permanent institutions'. (Heywood, 2015) The more accurate definition, however, would be that of Peter Kropotkin who says 'The State not only includes a power placed above society, but also a territorial concentration of many or even all functions of the life of society in the hands of the few' (Kropotkin, 1898) This definition also demarcates the concept

of 'state' from that of 'society', which will be useful in the near future. The state is an alien power; though it is of human construction, we have accepted it into normalcy due to its perennial presence since its existence. But let us remember, and let it be known, that humankind was not born by the state or into it; it was quite the opposite.

The 17th century philosophers Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, trace the origins of the state to what they call the 'the social contract'. According to this theory, individuals entered into a consensual contract to surrender a part of their rights to a form of governance in exchange for the safeguard of their lives, liberty and material possession, amongst other concerns. Ironically, Locke himself, in 'Two Treatises of Government', summed up the foolishness of this alleged action while commenting on Hobbes and Filmer: "This is to think that Men are so foolish that they take care to avoid what Mischiefs may be done them by Pole-Cats, or Foxes, but are content, nay think it Safety, to be devoured by Lions." He says so because in creating an institution like the state, men made themselves susceptible to far more danger and far greater oppression than what other men were capable of inflicting individually.

However, this deviation from logical thinking does not make the state illegal. What does is the fact that the concept of the state, even if agreed to by people who came together to agree to the social contract, simply cannot be innately binding on any of the subsequent generations. It simply is not consistent with any contract laws that we have gone to create within these very states, nor with logic. Why must the concept of a state be enforced on one by birth, in the form of citizenship? We, unlike our ancestors, have not been party to any social contract. We have not agreed

to its contents or its ratification. And yet, we are to surrender even the possibility to exercise our absolute freedom(s) to an entity we owe no allegiance too.

To quote Rousseau, "Even if each man could alienate himself, he could not alienate his children: they are born men and free; their liberty belongs to them, and no one but they has the right to dispose of it."

Therefore the state, regardless of its structure, is inherently and flagrantly oblivious to our most basic choice - our right to be party to it. It is, thus, a negation of itself.

Authority refers to the recognition of an individual, group or entity's right to issue orders, directives and commands and ones compliance with this will because of one's belief (in their right to do so). After having nullified the social contract that is imposed on us, or that we are coerced into, one can now make illegitimate the notion of the legal authority of the state.

Every state is authoritarian since it operates on the belief that its directives are to be blanketed on all its subjects. They do not possess legitimate authority, due to the lack of our consent, but are thought to do so by most of their subjects. Although, this claim is false, it is yet acted upon. The State possesses no legal, rational or legitimate authority to claim the rights which it claims and the majority of its subjects cede. Therefore, this makes the states position akin to that of a criminal, forcibly taking that which is not due to it by authority, on the basis of power.

One may seek to establish the legitimacy of the state (and its authority) as a majority of its subjects or citizens do agree to its form of control, thinking it to be justified. Here is where the concept of natural rights comes in. They are not rights given by nature but those that we possess by simply being born as human beings, as stated by Locke in the Second Treatise of Government and codified by Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence. One of these is the right of

(hu)man to property. It is not only property in the physical sense (like land), but also the ownership of oneself, which includes a personal right to freedom and well-being. For the construction of this argument we will, as of now, interpret property in a literal and comparatively commonplace manner - the right to land. This right is the foundation of the argument by which second generation refugees and immigrants are given citizenship to countries - because they were born there. However, if one is born within the confines of a country, one has to adhere to the pre decided freedoms, restrictions, governing systems, etc. or leave the land by ceding citizenship, if they find their qualms to be beyond the realms of change and can no longer live there. The individual is losing his natural right to his homeland because he/she is not in agreement with the manner of governance of the state. Therefore, there is no choice here - either a forced acceptance of the laws of the land, regardless of their nature, or a loss of the individual's natural right. This is a fundamental flaw in the existence and legitimacy of the state which supposedly works in the safeguarding of our rights.

Another argument used to prove the legitimacy of the state is the justification that it is accepted by the majority. It makes the flawed assumption that the "majority" would continue to want and need a state even if an alternative is available; one of which could be an anarchist society that operates on social institutions and cooperation as opposed to a centralized institution concentrated with power and feeble checks on the same.

The principal purpose of the early state, the reason for the initiation of the social contract and the duty of modern states, keeping in mind the direction where most modern states seem to be headed (i.e: their approximations of laissez fairism), is maintenance of public safety and order. Nicholas Walter states in his book 'About Anarchism', that the state is simply the political expression of the economic

structure, the representative of the people who own or control the wealth of the community. It is, thus, easy to conclude, looking at the demographics of modern states, that the people in question are the capitalists and the economic structure is capitalism.

In Hobbesian theory, ambition for personal "glory" and honour is cited as a major cause of the likelihood of conflict amongst individuals existing in the "state of nature". Rousseau, while accepting that this represented certain innate psychological dispositions, argued that their emergence to the forefront and their tendency to ignite conflicts is a product not of natural predilection for social Darwinism, competition and glory-seeking, but that of human social institutions and organisations encouraging specific types of behaviour and its associated lifestyles.

Therefore, the primary reason for the formation of the state and its existence, is a social construct. This social construct conveniently reinforces the need of the state by ceaselessly prolonging its relevance, despite the state's day to day functioning comprehensively failing to live up to the ethical, moral and legal ideals it professes - whether it is by eating away at the rights of the individual in the same of nation or simply being structurally ill-suited for adequate representation and choice.

Thus, the (social, political and economic) consequences of the existence of the state are also grounds to construct a case of its illegitimacy.

Godwin, using certain principles that are central to the discourse of Philosophical Anarchism adds weight to the hypothesis of this paper. His idea of human fallibility, as proposed in "Political Justice", compounds the impositions by the state. Since no one can be completely certain that their moral convictions are correct, no one is justified in imposing them on others - not even if they happen to be the majority. Some may argue that especially not then.

We must act on our independent beliefs, making all actions or laws by the state, impositions, as all would hinder some one or the other in some way. The state has no right whatsoever to arbitrarily form and impose its approximation of moral disposition and force individuals to jettison an innate and highly relative concept, for conformation to certain outward standards.

His principle of private judgment states that the convocation of a man's individual understanding is the only legitimate principle imposing on him the duty of adopting any species of conduct. The utilitarian nature of this principle translates to anarchism when put into the context of the state as government contracts (like citizenship and legislative acts and systems that we wholly or partially disagree with), subject us to behaviour contrary to our individual understanding; often whilst the contracts predate the procurement of our coerced consent. Therefore a person is party to these contracts yet she/he must not regard it as obligatory or binding at any time. Moreover, the decisions with respect to legislation are taken by majority vote. Those who find themselves in the ideological minority have to cede their right to private judgement in that scenario. Thus, law-making as a process becomes the monopoly of the opportune and ever-present, not an activity of order and justice.

The concept of the state, is therefore, based on the practice of limiting and regulating the personal rights, lives and freedoms of the individual for the (alleged) collective good of the masses. From the point of view of the individual, the state cannot stand for freedom, but simply a lack of it thereof. Thus we can infer that irrespective of the policy/action/dialogue in question, there will be a segment of the population opposing the same. The state simply universalizes highly abstract and relative concepts like justice, fairness, goodness, civilised behaviour, etc. These

concepts are essential composites in the argument for existence of institutions like the state. The point of contention is that why must some bear the imposition of other's conception of these ideals in codified laws; and if we must not, why then does the state exist? Moreover how can one legitimise an institution and claim its relevance on the basis of these abstract concepts? Especially since these very abstract concepts are simply a product of societal structures. How can they then be used to assess the need and validity of a societal structure that defines them?

Ending with a quote by Proudhon from 'General Idea of Revolution', p. 294:

"To be GOVERNED is to be kept in sight, inspected, spied upon, directed, law-driven, numbered, enrolled, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, estimated, valued, censured, commanded, by creatures who have neither the right, nor the wisdom, nor the virtue to do so . . . To be GOVERNED is to be at every operation, at every transaction, noted, registered, enrolled, taxed, stamped, measured, numbered, assessed, licensed, authorised, admonished, forbidden, reformed, corrected, punished. It is, under the pretext of public utility, and in the name of the general interest, to be placed under contribution, trained, ransomed, exploited, monopolised, extorted, squeezed, mystified, robbed; then, at the slightest resistance, the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, despised, harassed, tracked, abused, clubbed, disarmed, choked, imprisoned, judged, condemned, shot, deported, sacrificed, sold, betrayed; and, to crown it all, mocked, ridiculed, outraged, dishonoured. That is government; that is its justice; that is its morality."

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THE IMPACT OF ISIS ON THE NATION-STATE SYSTEM

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“Let the world know that we are living today in a new era”- Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi(ISIS Chief)

The above statement reflects the impact of ISIS on the nation state system. Through the various articles that have appeared in the ISIS mouthpiece Dabiq, we can gather that one of the major aims of ISIS is to replace the sentiment of nationalism or attachment to the nation states with religion and allegiance to religious customs and rituals of a particular religion (in this case Islam) as a major binding force for the common people. It is in this context that Baghdadi made the statement quoted above wherein he also rejected the concept of the nation state and sought to divide the world into two camps- the Islamic and the non- Islamic. The ascent of Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), the Islamist activist gathering that has grabbed a piece of area extending from northern Syria to focal Iraq, has struck agitation into the hearts and minds of pioneers far and wide. ISIS looks for a worldwide caliphate, as indicated by its purposeful publicity. Through this paper we aim to examine how ISIS has emerged as a challenge to the traditional nation states and the implications of the rise and expansion of ISIS. As mentioned earlier, the ISIS seeks to establish a Caliphate on a global scale. This essentially means the establishment of a group of theocratic states ruled by a single Islamic which would threaten the world order and the system of nation states. To what extent the ISIS succeeds in achieving its desired goal is a different question altogether. However, one can argue that instead of challenging the system of sovereign states, the ISIS is behaving very much like a state. As far as implications are concerned, the actions of the ISIS have already had a significant impact culturally, socially and geopolitically. The refugee crisis is,

to a large extent, due the war in Syria and this in turn has had a direct impact on the European countries thus establishing the fact that war and conflict cannot be limited to and is not the responsibility of a single nation or region alone. We would also examine the origin and subsequent growth of ISIS.

Evolution of the ISIS:

Due to the pandemonium in Syria and Iraq there has been a political and economic instability which has made way for these jihadi groups. The Islamic State in Iraq and al-sham (ISIS) has been the strongest and the largest group which has proved its might by forcefully invading expansive regions in Iraq and Syria. ISIS renamed itself as the Islamic State in 2014 after capturing Mosul (Mosul, is a city in northern Iraq, occupied since 10 June, 2014 by the Islamic State terrorist group.) ISIS has established its center in Syria and Iraq, but its roots lie in Jordan and Afghanistan since the year 1999. Since the past 16 years, the IS fighters have been protesting in the form of slogans, one of them which is “baqiya wa tatamadad” (lasting and expanding). To “Remain and Expand” is a strategic mission statement with two goals. First, it supports ISIS’s defense inside Iraq and Syria, and second, it seeks the literal expansion of the caliphate. For instance, IS’s predecessors have challenged militarily the American invasions in Afghanistan and Iraq. IS’s expansion in Iraq and Syria has benefited greatly from tremendous regional instability and the weakening of nation-state borders. By exploiting and exacerbating such conditions, IS has been able to gain military power, a multiplying international membership, and unprecedented financial resources. Now we shall trace the 16 years of the evolution of ISIS.

o Roots of IS from Jordan to Afghanistan (1999-2003)

Zarqawi was released from Jordan's al-Sawwaqa prison after serving only 5 years of a 15-year sentence as he was charged with the possession of weapons and being a part of the Bayat al-Imam—a militant group. Zarqawi then relocated to Afghanistan, where he made contact with al-Qaeda's leadership and established his own jihadi group called Jund al-Sham, which he renamed Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad (JTWJ) within a few months.

JTWJ, which primarily consisted of Palestinians and Jordanians, attracted international attention for its plot to attack popular tourist spots in December 1999. Zarqawi's JTWJ fought alongside the other 2 militant organisations- al-Qaeda and Taliban forces before eventually escaping to Iran in December 2001.

o Initiating Iraq's Insurgency (2003-2004)

In March 2003, when the US sent its military forces to invade Iraq, it was too late as Zarqawi had already set up its JTWJ base in Biyara in the Kurdish province of Sulaymaniya—which was targeted in the initial U.S.-led air campaign in March. JTWJ showed its strategic intent in August 2003 with three violent attacks.

JTWJ targeted all the coalition forces, but also had 3 other principal targets: the international community Zarqawi's traditional enemy of Jordan, and the Shia, which Zarqawi saw as a major threat to Sunni power in Iraq. Zarqawi believed his organization could take advantage of the resulting chaos to cast itself as the defender of the Sunni community and to usher in the establishment of an Islamic state.

o al-Qaeda Tensions and Iraq Consolidation : 2004-2006

After 8 months of constant negotiations, Zarqawi pledged allegiance to al-Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden. After this, JTWJ was known as Tanzim Qa'idat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn, often called al-Qaeda in

Iraq (AQI). Zarqawi's relationship with al-Qaeda was fraught with tension because of AQI's brutality and mass targeting of Shia civilians. While AQI wanted fast results through dramatic and unforgiving brutality, al-Qaeda, at least following the U.S. invasions, was adopting a more patient strategy. On 15 January 2006, AQI announced its merger with five other groups (Jaysh al-Ta'ifa al-Mansura, Saraya 'Ansar al-Tawhid, Saraya al-Jihad al-Islami, Saraya al-Ghuraba and Kataib al-Ahwal) to form Majlis Shura al-Mujahideenn (MSM), a coalition whose aim was to unite and better coordinate Iraq's jihadi insurgency. On 7th June 2006, Zarqawi died and this strengthened the organization. Within five days, AQI appointed Abu Hamza al-Muhajir (Abu Ayyub al-Masri) as its new leader, and four months later the MSM announced the establishment of al-Dawla al-Islamiya fi Iraq, or the Islamic State in Iraq (ISI), with a fully structured cabinet. Then, on 10 November, Masri pledged allegiance to ISI leader Hamid Dawud Muhammad Khalil al-Zawi (Abu Omar al-Baghdadi).

o 2007-2009: Governance Failure & the Sahwa

When ISI was established it was intended to represent a qualitative evolution whereby an extremist group transformed into a military-political group responsible for governing territory. By late 2006, it had reached financial self-sufficiency, raising \$70-200 million per year through a combination of ransoms, extortion, and oil smuggling. ISI proved unwilling to compromise its absolutist ideology. But by early 2007, locally formed tribal Sahwa (Awakening) councils had started effectively battling ISI regional control in Sunni territories of Iraq. Backed by U.S. and local security forces, these Sahwa militias—with their extensive local knowledge—proved effective at counterinsurgency. This shift in dynamics encouraged ISI to lash out against rival Sunni insurgent groups and minority

communities. Many of its foreign fighters left the country and sectarian violence decreased measurably. Targeted, intelligence-led strikes against ISI's leadership structure were complemented by a broader bottom-up fight, led by the Sahwa councils and backed by the U.S.-led coalition. Consequently, ISI suffered significantly during 2007-2009.

o 2009-2011: restructuring & recovery
While pressure on ISI continued through 2011, Sahwa efforts were completely shattered and weakened when the US military forces withdrew from Iraq between June 2009 to August 2010. The result was that it dramatically reduced the Sahwa role and boosted ISI's confidence and local recruitment. Nonetheless, the continued immense pressure forced ISI into a period of fast operational learning. In 2008, ISI came back on track with extensive structural reforms and rigorous focused training which made it a proper 'terrorist' organisation. Global expansion is a motif that ISIS desires to propagate at times when it is experiencing tactical losses. Therefore they shifted ISI's headquarters to the northern city of Mosul. By June 2010, ISI lured the people by offering larger salaries than the government and recruiting Sahwa members. ISI also sought to rebuild its senior leadership after many of its senior officials had been killed or captured. ISI carried out 3 of the largest and most significant attacks to strike central Baghdad since 2003, killing at least 382 people.

2011- mid-2014: Syria, Iraq, al-Qaeda, & a Caliphate

ISI's military operations geographically incorporated both southern Shia areas and the Kurdish north as it worked in the name of Sunnis. 47 senior ISI leaders were freed from death row when the ISI attacked on the Tikrit Tasfirat Prison. ISI has evolved significantly and has expanded to Syria and played an impeccable role during the civil war in Syria. ISI had maintained links in Syria since 2003, when recruitment

networks, facilitated by Syrian intelligence, funneled fighters from the Arab world into Iraq through Syria. By 2007, the U.S. government claimed that "85-90%" of foreign fighters in Iraq had come via Syria. Therefore, the emergence of a popular revolution in Syria in early 2011 attracted the attention of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, who sent his Ninawa operations chief, Abu Muhammad al-Jowlani, to Syria to establish an ISI front. In the following six months of 2012, Jabhat al-Nusra operated similar to ISI, but insisted it had no links to ISI or al-Qaeda, but by mid-January 2013 the group had led the seizure of two major military facilities in Northern Syria. On 9th April 2013, it was confirmed that Jabhat al-Nusra was an offshoot of ISIS. ISIS agenda to expand continued in Iraq as it consolidated Raqqa as its capital. ISIS forces exploited conditions in the Sunni heartland of Anbar to march into Fallujah and parts of Ramadi in January 2014. This was a strategic move to gradually expand in Anbar as it was along the Syrian border. To underline their accomplishments and goals, as well as to attract a wider following, ISIS issued a series of coordinated media releases marking the start of Ramadan. The most significant of these was an audio recording, released on June 29 in five languages, that announced the establishment of the caliphate. On the same day the group published videos titled "Breaking the Borders" and "The End of Sykes-Picot" that showed the physical destruction of a land barrier demarcating the Syria-Iraq border and a militant touring a captured Iraqi border post adjacent to Syria. A July 1 audio statement in which Baghdadi celebrated the caliphate's creation was followed by a July 5 video of his first public appearance as "Caliph."

o Islamic State of today (2015- future goals)

ISIS is a qualitative evolution of the Al-Qaeda and has recruited many young people through a series of interviews

with rigorous religious training. ISIS has considerable territorial control and it possesses a number of weapons systems and vehicles as well as an assortment of anti-tank guided missiles (ATGMs), anti-aircraft guns, and a small number of man-portable air-defense system. IS has long-implemented policies aimed at professionalizing its members. The number of training camps appears to have increased since 2013, and an examination of the groups' social media output reveals that IS has been operating such camps in most sizeable municipalities under its control, both in Syria and Iraq. IS military operations can generally be divided into two categories. The first is mass casualty urban attacks, normally targeting Shia, Alawi Muslims, and other minority groups, often in civilian areas. The other category of IS's military strategy can be described as a concerted campaign of attrition against military opponents' capabilities and morale. Despite widespread accusations that ISIS and the Syrian government have consciously coordinated operations, there has been no genuine evidence to substantiate this. IS is a "revolutionary actor" whose entire modus operandi is to "project a goal of radical political and social change." Therefore IS operates as a tightly controlled and bureaucratic organization. ISIS's internal operations is its effective use of social media and exploitation of international media attention. For example a video released by ISIS' Al-Furqan Media on 17 March 2014 was watched by over 56,000 YouTube users within 24 hours. Religious education and proselytizing is another key element of ISIS' religio-political governance. While ISIS's fundamental structure will always be that of a terrorist organisation, its expansion and objectives are more advanced than that, with an effective proto-state being built and defended across Syria and Iraq. organisation's five-step process—hijra (migration), jama'a (congregate), destabilizing taghut (tyrants), tamkin (consolidation), and khilafa (caliphate)—

has now been completed.

Now we shall list the implications of ISIS on the nation state system.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE ISIS

The ISIS has been led by radical Sunni hardliners and it is intensely sectarian in nature. It advocates the Salafi-Takfiri ideology which can tolerate non-believers or kafirs but not apostates. According to its ideology, anybody who claims to be a Muslim but does not follow and practice true Islam, as advocated by the Takfiris, is an apostate. A Takfiri is a Sunni Muslim who accuses another Muslim of apostasy while Takfir refers to the one who is accused. It is derived from the word Kafir and is described as when one who is, or claims to be a Muslim is declared impure. The worst forms of apostates according to the ISIS are the tawagits who have crossed all boundaries of Islam.

In fact one of the main reasons for the split between Jabhat al-Nusra and ISIS was the excessive anti-Shia outlook and the decision of the latter to openly declare a sectarian war. The Jabhat al-Nusra is another radical Sunni organization that appeared in Syria in 2012 and joined the ranks of the Al-Qaeda by the end of the year. Initially the Jabhat and ISIS cooperated with each other but by December 2013, the two were engaged in a fierce battle in Syria and the leader of Jabhat al-Nusra, Abu Mohammed al-Jawlani publicly denounced the ISIS and asserted that the two were completely separate entities.

Hence, the jihadist group's emphasis on sectarian thinking will widen divisions in Islamic society, including India which has the third largest population of Muslims in the world leading to unprecedented violence and bloodshed. The brazen display of Shite leanings and the perceived closeness of the Nouri al-Maliki to Iran, the Sunnis in Iraq became increasingly worried about their future. With the Sunnis becoming increasingly resentful about the short sightedness with which the Maliki government had handled the

extremists by using force and the Western pursuit of using the insurgency to topple the Assad government in Syria, there are strong chances of ISIS managing to retain their hold over the area it has captured.

It is clear that ISIS and its affiliates will be engaged in a long term war with the other groups over competing interests. The increasing influence of the ISIS and its ideology has led the regime backed mullahs to publicly denounce the views of ISIS as not being in conformity with those of Islam. In fact even the more radical outfits have dismissed the arguments of ISIS and declared its Caliphate as UnIslamic. However, with the success of the Shia'ite Islamic revolution in Iran, the Sunnis have also been longing for a similar revolution to take place and the ISIS feeds them with the hope that it is possible to redraw the map of the region. It has outrightly rejected the Sykes Picot agreement of 1916 which divided the Middle East into territories under the possession of the colonial powers which has led to the present State system in West Asia and said that the existing arrangement would be reversed. It remains to be seen how the people of the region who are already entrenched in the identities of Saudi, Iraqi, Jordanian, Syrian etc. would react to such statements.

The South Asian region is also of considerable interest to ISIS for reasons other than the fact that parts of the region fall under the map of the Caliphate. The predecessor of ISIS, the Al-Qaeda in Iraq drew a lot of its recruits from Zarqawi's network in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region and they were later merged with recruits from Iraq, Syria and its neighbours. Moreover, sectarianism in Pakistan and the Iran-Saudi power play in Afghanistan make the two countries highly receptive to the philosophy of the ISIS and its call to take up arms. In India too, Islam is the second largest religion making up about 14.6% of the country's population with about 177 million Muslims. Out of these Muslims in India, around 10% are Shias and according to some estimates

India has the third largest Shia population in the world after Iran, Pakistan and equal to that of Iraq.

According to Pew Research Center, in 2010 there were 49 Muslim-majority countries, with around 62% of the world's Muslims living in South and Southeast Asia. Almost one in three Muslims lives in South Asia: Pakistan (11.0%), India (10.9%), and Bangladesh (9.2%). On the other hand, while about 20% of Muslims live in Arab countries, Iraq and Syria together constitute just around 3 percent (Iraq - 1.9%, Syria - 1.3%).

Given the ISIS' motivation and its sectarian tendencies, it will be viewing South Asia as the largest pool of potential recruits (Sunnis), staying in close proximity of the largest concentration of potential targets (Shias and non-Muslims). The Shia Sunni divisions were so far lying dormant in India but since the emergence of ISIS, there have reportedly been thousands of visa applications by Shia Muslims to go to Iraq to defend their shrines and their places of worship. Some 30,000 Indian Shia Muslims have submitted their passports and are ready to travel to Iraq to defend Shiite holy shrines from the advancing Sunni Islamist insurgents by any means available. According to recruiters, a further 100,000 have pledged support.

"It was only a matter of time before the oppressive tawaghit of the Muslim world would begin to fall one by one to the swords of the mujahidin, who would raise the banner of tawhid, restore the hukm of Allah, direct the masses back to the prophetic manhaj of jihad and away from the corruption of democracy and nationalism, and unite them under one imam."

This excerpt taken from Abu Bakr al-Bagdadi's speech clearly denotes the ISIS' dislike of democracy and territorial nationalism. Hence ISIS urges Muslims from around the world to come and join its jihad. It is an ultra radical Salafist-Wahabist world view that guides the ISIS today and it appears to be much more

radical than even the ideology of the Al-Qaeda.

There's nothing novel or spectacular about the methods being adopted by the ISIS. However, what distinguishes the group is its focused attention on the Islamic ummah (nation) and its emphasis on cleansing Islamic society by getting rid of the apostates and toppling regimes there headed by tawaghits.

The ISIS is unambiguous about the global nature of its struggle. In a recent speech Baghdadi spoke about the persecution of Muslims in Myanmar and Philippines as well as the ban in France on wearing the veil and responded to allegations that it engages in terrorism. Since the military capacity of the ISIS to take over new territories is limited, it is directly appealing to Muslims all around the world to support the caliphate and rebel against their existing governments. As is well known, the ISIS has a large number of foreign fighters within its ranks. Due to its highly effective propaganda methods and brain washing techniques, the ISIS has indeed been able to attract several thousand foreign fighters. It also has a considerable amount of social media presence and recruits many potential targets by brainwashing them online. The indoctrination basically consists of feeding into the youth a sense of anger against the injustices meted out to Muslims all over the world and to join a global jihad to fulfill the divine will of God. The youth become vulnerable to this kind of extremist propaganda mainly due to the sense of alienation they feel as migrants in the foreign countries they live in (mainly European countries). They are often discriminated against or deprived in their adopted state especially since 9/11 when the sentiment of Islam phobia emerged and has only persisted since. Although global leaders have been declaring time and again that terrorism knows no religion, action on this front has been rather ineffective. It is also believed that the high rates of unemployment in the developed and developing countries and

the prevalence of racism have led many young people to join the ISIS. Whatever the cause, nothing justifies the act of joining a terror organization and indulging in the mindless killing of innocent civilians but to tackle the issue, the causes of the same need to be identified.

It is estimated that around 20,000 foreign fighters have travelled to Iraq and Syria since the fighting broke out in 2011. While there are no official figures, experts say that many are still fighting in the conflict zone while many others have returned home. There are approximately 5000 fighters from Europe with the most fighters leaving France, Germany and the UK. The UK has seen an estimated 700 jihadists travel to Syria and Iraq. The Asian continent has seen the most citizens travel to Syria and Iraq, with over 11,000 people estimated to be in the conflict zone. The countries with the most fighters in the conflict are Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Russia and France. One of the most well-known foreign fighter is Jihadi John, a UK national who appeared in the video showing the execution of journalist James Foley and other American and European hostages. ISIS propaganda and messaging is disproportionately slanted toward foreign fighters, both in its content and its target audience. Important ISIS messages are commonly released simultaneously in English, French, and German, then later translated into other languages, such as Russian, Indonesian, and Urdu. This has certainly worried the world leaders. A research paper published by the Soufan group in June 2014 concluded that the Syrian war is likely to be "an incubator for a new generation of terrorists," warning that the world will face years of terrorism as a result. Another important issue is dealing with the 'returnees' or the foreign fighters who return to their countries of citizenship. The authorities of these countries are becoming increasingly aware of the threat potential that these radicalized and battle-ready people pose. Since many Western and Arabian

countries have joined the fight against ISIS, the organization will be keen to carry the battle home to these countries as a means of retaliation.

The ISIS has systematically destroyed the ancient city of Palmyra which contained invaluable monuments and artifacts. The ISIS destroyed a 2000 year old temple in Palmyra which the United Nations Cultural organization has called a 'War Crime.' ISIS usually justifies destruction by claiming representative art to be idolatrous (therefore against Islam) and pre Islamic objects or structures as sacrilegious.

The discourse in India on the ISIS crisis has largely focused on the fate of the approximately 10,000 Indian workers in Iraq (besides the 46 nurses) and hundreds of thousands more in other Arab countries. The rise in oil prices to a nine-month high after the ISIS seized Mosul also grabbed attention as it raised the prospect of a disruption in supply from the world's sixth-largest oil producer. India imports 25 million tonnes of oil from Iraq every year, and is appreciably concerned regarding energy security and the impact of rising cost of oil on its economic growth. However, as explained above the emergence of ISIS has had far more serious consequences not just for India but for the international community as a whole. Infact, India has still not seen as many of its citizens migrate to Iraq/Syria as 'fighters' for the ISIS but a growing trend of radicalization is visible

The sudden surge of refugees to Europe is largely due to the war in Syria and Iraq. Due to years of political instability and inhuman living conditions in these two countries, people have been forced to migrate on rickety boats or even rafts to the more prosperous European countries. Nearly 12 million Syrians have been forced from their homes due to the fighting, half of them are children and about 51 percent of all refugees coming to Europe are from these countries. All of these refugees, especially the women and children are at a risk of being exploited

and abused. The children have been forced to quit school and face the risk of being malnourished and falling ill. Thousands have died while attempting to reach European shores safely. Overall, the response of the European countries have been less than satisfactory, with countries like Hungary taking a tough stand against the refugees and putting up barbed wires along its borders to prevent the refugees from entering while other countries like Germany have been more welcoming. It is important to integrate Muslims into the mainstream. Moreover, problems of economic deprivation and unemployment also need to be addressed. The US war against Iraq completely shattered and destroyed the country and plunged it into instability which gave ample space to groups like Al- Qaeda of Iraq to develop. The arbitrary division of the Middle East into nation states has led to simmering resentment among people in the region. Although the US and its allies have taken steps against the ISIS it is an obvious case of too little too late. The entire world community needs to take concerted action against such terror organizations. In the long run peace building and integration initiatives are required which are by no means an easy task to accomplish. But the immediate task is to limit the spread of ISIS and capture the territories it has taken over.

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How Culture Shapes The Political Landscape

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A mob of angry men with sticks and swords reached Mohammad Akhlaq's house in Bisara, near Dadri, Uttar Pradesh. The mob, within a short period of time, mauled all the family members present rendering Akhlaq dead and his son critically injured. The police later attributed the cause of this lynching to a rumour that the Akhlaq family had killed a cow and consumed its meat on Eid. What does this incident say about India, about us Indians? Was our society always like this? Was our state always like this? From the Vedic era to the virtual era, India has changed. Its society has changed. Thus inevitably, its political setups have changed and one of the prime influences has remained that of culture.

Culture is derived from the Latin word 'cultura' meaning, "to cultivate". It means something cultivated or ripened as opposed to raw or crude. In anthropology and sociology, culture generally refers to a way of life, or the ideas and habits that members of a community transmit from generation to generation. In this sense, culture, as Tylor (1871) defined it more than a century ago, "is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society." With the evolution of species from Homo erectus to Homo sapiens, humans formed a society and then created a structure to govern it. The unique history and practices of natives of each land has forged a community that is novel in comparison to other places. But in today's fast-paced world, new beliefs are evolving and are bringing small changes already. With globalization, the effect of changes in one part of the world is consequential to another part and therefore; we are moving towards becoming an inter-related political and economic institution. Thus, at this point in time a reflection on the hinges of

mankind has become essential. Therefore, this research paper seeks to explore the direct impact progress in culture has had and could possibly have on the governing bodies. This paper studies how the change in culture and society from the Paleolithic to the technological age has affected political institutions. It further explores such changes keeping in mind a cultural as well as a time frame. It also deals with how a culturally different nation has to adopt distinct principles that fall in line with their beliefs for the proper functioning of the State and as a way of evolution.

The importance of studying culture and society has been expressed across various social sciences, not only in terms of evolution of civilization but also in terms of its influence on the social, economic and political environment of humans. The structuralism and functionalism theory in sociology, for example, simply explains how society is a self-regulating system of inter-related elements with structured social relationships and observed regularities. Although over time, the functionalism theory has manifested itself in various forms, its essence remains the interest in relating a social element to another part or an aspect of the whole (Cancian 1968: 29). Thus, this theory not only suggests but also studies the influence of cultural aspects such as language, cuisine, and religion on any institution, be it a joint family or even a political party and thus explains the function of each of these elements with a reference to the cultural background. Functionalists believe that every social element has a positive or a negative contribution, to the operation of an institution or to disintegration and change.

The proclamation of Punjabi as the third official language in the Canadian Parliament is a positive effect of the increasing importance of Punjabi as a

language in the country. This ensured the smooth functioning of the Canadian administrative institutions, as Punjabi is the third most spoken language in the country. On the other hand, the fall of various dynasties in the past was caused due to negative contributions of social elements. For example, the Mughal Empire fell due to people wanting religious tolerance, an idea fuelled by the Sikhs and Marathas. The rise in their followers had a negative contribution, which led to the beginning of its disintegration. Even the creation of a separate state of Pakistan due to majority of the Muslims demanding it on the basis of Islam led to a major change and disintegration of undivided India.

Robert Merton, a sociologist and a functionalist distinguished between latent and manifest functions within the framework of negative and positive effects of social elements. Manifest functions refer to those consequences of social elements that are intended to occur and are recognized by the participants as it being so. While, latent functions refer to those consequences that are neither intended nor recognized by social elements. Thus, the manifest function of the creation of a school is to provide quality education, however, its latent function may be a significant boost to the local economy. The manifest function of the creation of Jharkhand from Bihar was to answer the people's demands and movements who largely had a tribal origin. Its latent function may be easier governance for the state government. Hence functionalism as a perspective looks at the consequences of social actions, institutions, customs, and practices. This functionalist analysis can be used to understand various cultural implications of historical incidents and texts in the India. It can help trace the changes in the state and its administration, owing to cultural and societal changes. How the political scene in India changed from being home to few of the greatest dynasties to being the world's largest democracy.

One of the oldest references that can be found to study such a change are the Vedas and Upanishads. The Vedas and the Upanishads entail concepts such as 'Rajya' or State and 'Rajan' or Leader along with mentioning the importance of the higher Hindu castes in the political setup. At this point, the spread of Buddhism provided people with a simpler and equal alternative to spirituality. The strict Hindu culture practiced prior to the Mauryan dynasty began to change as more and more people adopted Buddhism. The rise of Buddhist culture served as a catalyst for the monarchy to change from tyrannical to righteous and benevolent. Hence the change in culture led to a positive function, changing the political setup, ensuring adjustment and adaptation. Moving on, under the Mughals, who were organized based on feudalism; various political moves were consequences of cultural changes. The abolition of Jazziya (a tax levied on non-Muslims) by Emperor Akbar was a reflection of the population's thoughts where new religions were being professed. However, towards the decline of the empire, missionaries from other religions were barred from entering the state. The rise of Sikh and Maratha culture, had more people adopting and professing it, which turned out to be a negative function as the consequence of these cultural changes led to the disintegration and fall of the Mughal empire.

Around this time, the British Imperial Regime was getting stronger by building colonies across the globe. The entry of the British in many countries changed their cultural, social, political and economic scene. With regard to such widespread colonization, Louis Hartz, an American political scientist gave the Fragment Theory, by way of which he explained the long-lasting effects of colonization on various different states. The theory's applicability to India could be considered on the lines of its applicability to South Africa. Hartz sees the process of colonization as separation from its

European whole and then behaving as an isolated fragment with particular ideological tendencies. Unlike other nations, South Africa and similarly India would be considered as dual-fragment cultures as the new European culture was introduced to a society where founding traditions were already present. The theory professes that these fragments become absolutes and universes in their own with a strong tendency to get hardened to or fixed to fragment values. These values contribute to the basic foundation of those fragments. The dual fragment idea referred to the fragment adopting the new values and culture and in the long run, adapting to these fixed values. However, there are contradictions present as in the case of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Dal established in 1925 to protect the Indian Hindutva values from the Anglicisation of our culture.

But it was seen in the long run in India, what began as a trade enterprise, went further to rule the country for over two hundred years. The introduction of western political values, culture, education, religious values, transport facilities, administrative values and methods had a long lasting impact on the British Indian fragment. As the educated class of Indians grew and the hunger for freedom heightened among the masses, the freedom struggle served a negative function with respect to the imperial regime as well as the unity of the state. The consequence was a new India without the East Punjab, Sind, Balochistan, East Pakistan and West Pakistan which formed a separate Islamic State. This new India had adopted various 'fixed fragment values' such as architecture, trade, sport and importantly, the entire law making procedure, the parliamentary form of government, the cabinet system and the superiority of the Lok Sabha (popular house) over the Rajya Sabha. Hence, it becomes clear that with a transition in social practices, corresponding changes do occur in the political setup as well.

However, it is to be noted that common religion cannot form the sole basis for the creation of a State as in the case of Pakistan. In spite of having a common religion, the East and the West Pakistan had troubles on account of cultural disparities. The Governor General Mohammad Ali Jinnah declared that "Urdu, and only Urdu" would be the federal language of Pakistan but the native language in East Bengal was Bengali. Adding to this, the political differences led to the Bangladeshi war of Independence and ultimately the formation of Bangladesh as a separate country from Pakistan.

The influence culture has borne all over the world can also be traced in the political systems of countries like Japan, America and United Kingdom. The Japanese culture promotes values of conformism and group loyalty. They believe in keeping the group well-being in consideration while taking decisions. On the other hand, the culture in United States advocates individualism and encourages disagreement and debate. This stark difference between these two countries can also be reflected in their political systems. In United States, during presidential elections, representatives of the two largest parties engage in a debate which serves as an important indicator to the voting decisions of the public. These debates are not constitutionally mandated but it is now a de facto election process. Whereas, in Japan, Prime Ministers rise to their position because of their amicability and skills at consensus building. They seldom rise to power because of the strength of their personality or the force of their ideas.

In United Kingdom, one million people gathered to witness the celebration of the royal wedding. The idea of having an imperial position simply based on hierarchy would have been considered unreasonable otherwise, but for them, it is what brings them together. According to the polling data from Ipsos Mori in 2011, three quarters of population want Britain to remain a monarchy. This reflects the

culture in United Kingdom which reveres its traditions and prizes the empire which had reached great heights.

Laws in India have also been modified to suit the prevailing culture. There are many religions in India and they form a unique part in this diverse country. To protect the individuality of each culture, there are different personal laws to govern Hindus, Muslims, Christians and followers of other religions. For example, the Christian Family Law which has distinct laws on marriage, divorce or guardianship. Also, prior to 1956, Hindus were governed by property laws, which had no coherence and varied from region to region and in some cases within the same region, from caste to caste. The Mitakshara School of succession, which was prevalent in most of North India, believed in the exclusive domain of male heirs. In contrast, the Dayabhaga system did not recognize inheritance rights by birth and did not give the sons the right till the father's death. At the other extreme was the Marumakkattayam law, prevalent in Kerala, traced the lineage of succession through the female line. The Hindu Succession Act was enacted in June 17, 1956. This Act gave only the male successor absolute property and the females had limited estate. This instigated states having matriarchal societies to make their own laws, like in the case of Kerala. But with the growth of the idea of equality and a growing shift from the typical patriarchal culture, the Hindu Succession Act had to be amended to include females as equal beneficiaries.

From the above analysis, it can be said that culture has shaped our political institutions over the years. Even in an unrealistic situation like 'Ram Rajya', the society is immensely chaste, pure and free of subjugation. Today, with the influx of modernised ideas from the West a wave of liberalisation is flowing, citizens are administering their rights through the 'none of the above' option to vote and are reaping the benefits of increased

transparency by Right To Information, 2005. But there is still some progress left to be made in India, homosexual intercourse is a criminal offence under section 377 of the Penal Code as it is considered immoral in the Indian culture. Nevertheless, as there is increasing influence from the Western society legalisation of gay marriages in India too could become a possibility. Some positive indicators include, the Supreme Court has identified the transgenders as a third gender, also, a transgender got appointed as police officer and Kerala introduced its own transgender policy. Thus, it can also be said that with globalisation, the distinction between cultures is reducing and the world could one day become a single global village with a similar harmonious political system best suited for that particular time.

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Sharing The Promised Land

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Introduction

After the last shots were fired in Berlin in 1945, the USSR and the USA became diametrically opposed to each other and rose to dominate world politics for the next four and a half decades. The once Mighty British Empire receded from the forefront to play second fiddle to this new bi-polar world order. The War had devastated Britain to a point where it found itself unable to hold on to its colonial possessions, many of which were experiencing nationalistic freedom movements.

It's against this backdrop that Britain, decided to leave its mandate of Palestine and preferred to have the U.N. mediate the conflict between the Jews and the Arabs. When the last of the British boots left, David Ben-Gurion proclaimed the establishment of the state of Israel and went on to become its first Prime Minister. Since Britain had already made it clear that the Palestinian issue would be taken up by the United Nations, on November 29th 1947, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 181, which partitioned the former British mandate of Palestine into two separate states, one for the Jews and the other for the Arabs. The land was 'roughly' divided equally between the two new states. The Jews accepted the partition and went on to create an organised machinery of Government for their soon to be State. But the Palestinian Arab leadership, along with several Arab nations rejected it.

The Arab nations of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon with volunteers and troops from other Arab nations formed a coalition and invaded the territory that once formed British Palestine on the very day that the State of Israel was proclaimed. It ended when the United Nations brokered a cease-fire, with the Israelis gaining more territory and with Egypt and Jordan

holding on to the Gaza and the West Bank. Israel survived but it wasn't to be the end of conflicts.

Then came the Six Day War of 1967. Noting that its Arab neighbours were mobilising for another War, Israel launched a pre-emptive strike which crippled the Arab forces and subsequently handed Israel a land-slide victory. It was a humiliating decimation for the Arabs, who hoped that this war would vanquish the Jewish State once and for all and would undo the damages done in 1948. But the Arabs, led by Egypt weren't completely out of the game yet.

Fast-track to 1973, the Yom-Kippur War when the Arabs led by Egypt, attacked Israel on Yom Kippur, one of the holiest days for the Jews. This was a surprise attack which almost drove the Israelis to the sea. But Israel held on to its ground and an American sponsored peace brought Egypt and Israel to the negotiating table. It can probably be termed as one of the most monumental events in the history of that region, as Egypt, the country which had led the other Arab Nations all this while on the path to destroy Israel, recognised the right of the Jewish State to exist and shook hands over a lasting peace. It would not be wrong to speculate that after this peace between Israel and Egypt, not many Arab countries had the stomach to lead the struggle to annihilate Israel.

This was the last major full scale inter-state war for Israel.

But the pestilential conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians persists today and often, peace in Israel-Palestine is construed to be a forlorn hope. This paper analyses the available peace options that the Israelis and Palestinians have on the table and compromises available.

Status quo Solution

The peace negotiations between the

Israelis and Palestinians which began in 1991 eventually culminated to a peace agreement called the 'Oslo Accords'.

The Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) led by Yasser Arafat recognised Israel's right to exist and denounced violence, a tool they had so often used against the state of Israel. In return, Israel allowed the formation of the Palestinian National Authority, or simply known as Palestinian Authority (P.A.) which is a semi-autonomous government which governed sections of the West Bank, as demarcated by the 'Oslo Accords'.

This was a step towards a proper peace between the two peoples. The P.A. is meant to represent the interests and aspirations of the Palestinians and work together with the Israelis.

But as of today, whatever the Oslo Accord is and what it aimed to achieve has been half-driven to the ground. Mahmoud Abbas, the President of the P.A. in his address to the U.N. General Assembly recently, declared that the Oslo Accords was no longer binding on them. The Oslo Accords was meant to bring peace, but instead, the Status Quo that now prevails between Israel and Palestine has caused an umpteen number of problems. As one reads this, there is speculation that the recent spate of stabbings against Jews perpetrated by Palestinian citizens might culminate to a 'Third Intifada' (Palestinian Uprising).

The Status Quo refers to the present situation whereby Israel is a full-fledged state and the Palestinians have a semi-autonomous government whose territory it governs has borders which are at best blurry and are increasingly being dotted by Israeli settlements. To keep things the way they are will bring further problems both to the Israelis and Palestinians. The Zionist Union, the second largest party in Israel has proposed an end to the status quo and to finalise Israel's borders. Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's Prime Minister, reaffirmed his commitment to a two state solution and end the status quo,

though he did remark that he opposed the idea of a Palestinian State. But that was during his election campaign and he would probably brush off the remark as a political exigent. So, we can conclude that there is no dire lack of political initiative. Right wing groups and parties who prefer a status quo solution for now are probably hoping that the settlements would gain more steam so that the Israelis could claim more Palestinian land. But it is imperative to understand that more illegal Israeli settlements would only endanger Israel's security more. Today, several attacks perpetrated against Israel are from individual Palestinians along with organised terror attacks. Growing encroachment of Israeli settlements is one of the main reasons for this general feeling of animosity against Israel.

The present situation lends credit to the fact that a status quo in the long run will have no merit. It will only lead to more violence on both sides of the aisle. The status quo doesn't give the Palestinians a proper government apparatus to govern themselves and makes it easier for the Israeli government to intervene whenever it thinks it's convenient to do so, without having any responsibility towards the Palestinians. This in turn will only add fuel to the rhetoric propagated by extremists and mobilise Palestinian as well as World Opinion against Israel. The kind of problems which the Status Quo has brought up will not be solved militarily.

The Status Quo should only be a transitional period before the Israelis and Palestinians can find a solid middle ground to solve their problems and not a solution itself.

One State Solution

This solution has been on the table for quite some time now and has garnered support, across the aisle and has been seriously considered as the end all to the major conflict, both by the Jews and the Arabs. Some Members of the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) as well as the

Palestinian Authority, the autonomous governing body established in Gaza and some regions of the West Bank, as a result of the Oslo Accords of 1993 have lent their support to this solution, a strong sign of bipartisanship.

But the biggest proponent of the 'One State Solution' is Reuven Rivlin, the current President of Israel. A one state solution would basically mean a state which comprises of present day Israel, along with the Palestinian governed lands of the West Bank and Gaza, a new and a Greater State of Israel that would stretch from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea.

This solution certainly has merit and credibility. It would be the quickest way to dissipate the animosity between the Jews and the Arabs, which has led to numerous fights and uprisings between the two peoples. Moreover, it would be a strong sign of unity between two, arguably, diametrically opposed people. And a strong unity between the two would help eliminate extremist elements, such as the Hamas in Gaza, which have been branded as one of the major obstacles to the peace process. When the Palestinian Authority, is willing to break bread with the Israeli government and create a single unified state, the Palestinians, who otherwise may support elements such as Hamas, would bring about a monumental shift, because if one had to choose between shedding blood and placing the future of their children at the altar of Hamas, and between a peaceful solution which would come close, if not completely to meeting their demands, the answer seems all too obvious.

But for all the grandiose and peaceful nature of this solution, I oppose it as not being the most viable solution because what may seem good and viable on paper, does not necessarily translate to practical success, especially in a complicated region like the Middle East and an even more complicated land like Israel.

The first and foremost question that arises is when a One State is indeed,

created, would it be a Jewish State, or not? Reuven Rivlin, as mentioned above, is a proponent of One State, where the non-Jewish minority would be given all the rights that are entitled to them as human beings. But, he is the proponent of establishing One Jewish State, and he is an ardent opponent of the concept of the Palestinian State. Would the Arabs be given proper rights? Yes. But would the State be a non-Jewish State? No. Any thinking individual with an inkling of the Israeli-Palestinian issue would realise that it would be vehemently opposed by a large section of Palestinians, if not a majority of them. This solution would be another dud in the peace process.

What if perhaps, Greater Israel was made a non-Jewish State in order to accommodate people of the entire state of Palestine, regardless of their religion? Then you've got angry Jews, right from the streets of Jerusalem to those of Tel Aviv. And they have every right to be so, after all, modern State of Israel was established as a Jewish State in 1948, the only Jewish State in the world, and continues to be so. It's like asking them to obliterate 67 years of hard-work and efforts to maintain a Jewish State under overwhelming odds. Even if a one united Jewish State was established, tallying up their populations together, Arab Muslims and Jews, would respectively occupy half of the population. Meaning, the Jews could lose a majority in their own very Jewish state and hence, destroy the Jewish identity of Israel.

Since we've come to the population aspect, the Jews and the Palestinians are almost evenly split. This means that the government could possibly be split between the two, especially because of their history of animosity. The Jews and the Arab Muslims are antithetical to each other when it comes to certain issues. I would pick up one, just to illustrate the impractical approach of this solution.

In the present State of Israel, there are provisions to allow the Jewish Diaspora to become citizens of Israel. This provision

has especially allowed European Jews to settle in Israel, with the rise of Anti-Semitic Rhetoric and attacks. Now, with the One united state, the Palestinians would demand the same provisions for the Palestinian Diaspora, especially for the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Hence, an analysis of only some of the problems of this solution, itself, highlights enough of the impractical nature of this solution.

Two State Solution

The Two State Solution espouses the creation of two separate, sovereign states for the Israelis and the Palestinians, whereby both the people live and pursue their aspirations within the security of their respective states, without the violence and instability and hence, come that much closer to putting an end to this pestilential conflict which has endured for 67 years.

Of all the solutions that the Israelis, Palestinians and the International Community have thought of and proposed, I believe this to be the most viable solution. Leaders and groups such as Barack Obama, the 44th President of the United States, the Zionist Union Party led by Isaac Herzog, which is the second largest party in Israel and Mahmoud Abbas, the President of the Palestinian Authority have voiced their support for such a solution.

Moreover, even other power blocs and organisations such as Russia, European Union and the United Nations are on board with this solution.

With the most imposing powers of the world- USA, Russia and the European Union pushing for a two state solution, it is not a distant reality to actually see it develop to fruition.

The borders between Israel and Palestine would have to be along the post 1967 war lines. There is no going back to the 1948 boundary lines where the Mandate of Palestine was roughly divided equally between the Jews and Arab Muslims. The 1948 Arab-Israeli war, the Six Day War of

1967 and the Yom Kippur War of 1973, all of which threatened the very existence of the Jewish State, are testimonies that the Israelis will and have cited the re-drawing of boundaries along pre 1967 lines would be completely unacceptable and will be a national security threat.

Hence, the very premise of the division of the two states would have to be along these geographical parameters. Israel has legitimate concerns over these border lines and while it should be more amiable in a situation for possible re-structuring of the border, it reserves the right to oppose anything that resembles the division of land along the boundaries of 1948. Negotiations of borders can always be deliberated upon in the negotiations and leaders from both the sides should be capable of finding a middle ground.

But once a feasible solution to the creation of the State of Palestine is reached, there must be a moral and legal binding on Israel to recognise and respect the boundaries of the new State of Palestine.

But while redrawing the map for the two state solution, the question of Jewish Settlers in the West Bank comes into the fray. After negotiations, if a Jewish settlement falls under the newly formed sovereign state of Palestine, the settlers should be given the choice to either live on and become citizens of Palestine, or move into Israel and its newly formed permanent borders.

When the state of Palestine is formed, it should be given the freedom to choose to be a theocratic state, just the way Israel is one. And just how Jews in Palestine are given the freedom to remain as citizens of a new country or return to Israel, Palestinians living in Israel should be given the freedom to be citizens of Israel or Palestine.

All in all, the creation of Two States would mean complete withdrawal of the Israeli government and its forces from the West Bank. However, concerns from the Israeli side that this could mean certain security implications, are not unwarranted.

Israel evacuated the Gaza Strip in 2005, as a part of its “Disengagement Plan” which can be seen as a step towards the peace process. But Hamas soon gained prominence and fought battles in Gaza in 2007 which knocked out its political opponents. And ever since, they have been raining rockets and carrying out terrorist activities in Israel. When the Israelis now pull out of West Bank, a repeat of Gaza cannot take place.

Hence, a mechanism to ensure that such an event does not occur should be established, which would be supported by a majority of the International Community. This is due to the fact that if a Gaza like situation happens, one can pretty much bid adieu to the Two State Solution.

To add to it all, the growing Jewish Settlements on the West Bank will be a big hurdle for this solution. The present Israeli Government led by Benjamin Netanyahu is a coalition, in which several right wing parties and elements are the crutches of this government. Hence, seeking a stop or a suspension of the building of these settlements will be a problem and even otherwise, the suspension of building settlements is highly unpopular among the Israelis.

All the more reason why the Two State solution must be tabled in the negotiations as soon as possible because the possible withdrawal of 400,000 Jewish settlers from the West Bank would be less of a monumental task than the withdrawal of a million of them.

Hence, a Palestinian State will consist most of the West Bank and the Gaza strip. The Gaza strip especially needs this because only when a proper peace is reached with a sovereign Palestinian State, will the Israeli blockade of Gaza be lifted because peace and prevention of terrorist activities can be guaranteed.

This plan is not without its demerits. But can it possibly serve as a long lasting peace between the Israelis and Palestinians in what has come to be known as one of the most contested lands today? I refrain

from giving a definite yes because we’re analysing an extremely complicated land and also a place which three major religions of the world, Islam, Christianity and Judaism consider as the ‘Holy Land’ and hence, the crunching of these three tectonic plates is almost inevitable

But is this solution, the closest solution to a Long term peace? To that question, it’s a definite yes. If one were to term it a bad solution, then it’s the best bad solution and in a region where “tinderbox” situations is the order of the day, it would be lucky to implement the two state solution on time. The Two State Solution could rip open new wounds which might have a ripple effect. But what we’re looking at is a long term solution, and immediate opposition should be expected from several quarters. It creates two sovereign states for two peoples, where each one will be able to live in freedom and with a national identity. In a situation where violence and problems arise, each one will be able to solve them within their respective states with clearly demarcated borders instead of having the conflict thrown at between these two peoples. Yes, it will be difficult but it will create a “Strategic Optimism” for both sides which, in time, will translate to a proper and lasting peace, not only for the millions in the present day, but for millions unborn.

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