

JOURNAL OF POLITICS

An Annual Publication of the Department of Political Science, Dibrugarh University

Vol. XII, 2005

- LIVING ON THE EDGE OF FREEDOM
 - INDIA AND THE EAST ASIAN COMMUNITY CONCEPT
 - GLOBALIZATION AND HEALTH SECURITY
 - POLITICAL ECONOMY OF YOUTH ACTIVISM IN NORTHEAST INDIA
 - PUBLIC MANAGEMENT : A NEW FRONTIER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
 - SAID UN-SAID : FROM POLITICS TO THEORY
 - TRANSNATIONAL COOPERATION AND LIVELIHOOD SECURITY IN NORTH EAST INDIA
 - GLOBALIZATION AND INSECURITY IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM
 - GLOBALIZATION AND WOMEN'S SECURITY
 - SAARC AND INDIA-PAKISTAN
 - POLITICS OF GLOBALIZATION IN INDIA: THE CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES
 - HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN AN ANARCHICAL WORLD : A REGIME ANALYSIS
 - GLOBALIZATION AND ITS EMERGING CHALLENGES TO THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE THIRD WORLD
 - GEOPOLITICAL AND STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCES OF ASIATIC MONSOON LANDS
 - RAWLS'S VIEW ON LIBERTY
-

Volume XII

September 2005

JOURNAL OF POLITICS

[This volume of the Journal of Politics is published with the financial assistance of the Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi]

Editor
Adil Ul. Yasin

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
DIBRUGARH UNIVERSITY
DIBRUGARH : ASSAM
SEPTEMBER 2005

JOURNAL OF POLITICS : An Annual Publication of the Department of Political Science, published by the Registrar, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh, Assam.

Price : Individual Rs. 100.00, Institutional Rs. 150.00 and Student Rs. 50.00

Editor

Adil Ul Yasin

Editorial Board

Girin Phukon

M.D. Bhuyan

R. Thapa

Archana Upadhyay

Alpana Borgohain

Advisory Board

Mohit Bhattacharya

Former Vice-Chancellor

Burdwan University

Burdwan.

Bharati Mukherjee

Vice-Chancellor

Robindra Bharati University

Kolkata

Partha S. Ghosh

Director,

Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi.

Anuradha Dutta

Professor,

Omeo Kumar Das Institute of Social Change and Development

Guwahati.

S.K. Chaube

Professor of Political Science (Rtd.)

Delhi University

Delhi.

Ruprekha Borgohain

Professor of Political Science

Northeastern Hill University,

Shillong.

The responsibility for the facts stated, opinions expressed and conclusions drawn is entirely that of the author and neither the Editor nor Editorial Board of the Journal is responsible for them.

CONTENTS

	Page
LIVING ON THE EDGE OF FREEDOM Dhiren Bhagawati	1-12
INDIA AND THE EAST ASIAN COMMUNITY CONCEPT Rajaram Panda	13-34
GLOBALIZATION AND HEALTH SECURITY Akhil Ranjan Dutta	35-58
POLITICAL ECONOMY OF YOUTH ACTIVISM IN NORTHEAST INDIA Girin Phukon	59-66
PUBLIC MANAGEMENT : A NEW FRONTIER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION M.N. Das	67-73
SAID UN-SAID : FROM POLITICS TO THEORY Bijay Danta	74-95
TRANSNATIONAL COOPERATION AND LIVELIHOOD SECURITY IN NORTH EAST INDIA Deepak K. Mishra	96-136
GLOBALIZATION AND INSECURITY IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM Archana Upadhyay	137-144
GLOBALIZATION AND WOMEN'S SECURITY Alpana Borgohain	145-159
SAARC AND INDIA-PAKISTAN Deepender Kumar	160-179
POLITICS OF GLOBALIZATION IN INDIA: THE CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES Pratap Chandra Swain	180-190
HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN AN ANARCHICAL WORLD : A REGIME ANALYSIS Dilip Gogoi	191-208
GLOBALIZATION AND ITS EMERGING CHALLENGES TO THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE THIRD WORLD Dolly Phukon	209-218
GEOPOLITICAL AND STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCES OF ASIATIC MONSOON LANDS Umesh Chandra Saharia	219-230
RAWLS'S VIEW ON LIBERTY Seema Roy Kurmi	231-236

CONTRIBUTORS

- Dhiren Bhagawati** : Professor, Department of Political Science, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh.
- Rajaram Panda** : Chief Program Officer, The Japan Foundation, New Delhi.
- Akhil Ranjan Dutta** : Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Gauhati University, Guwahati.
- Girin Phukon** : Professor, Department of Political Science, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh.
- Migendra Narayan Das** : Professor, Department of Political Science, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh.
- Bijoy Danta** : Reader, Department of English, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh.
- Deepak Kumar Mishra** : Associate Professor, Centre for the Study of Regional Development, School of Social Sciences, J.N.U., New Delhi.
- Archana Upadhyay** : Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh.
- Alpana Borgohain** : Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh.
- Deepender Kumar** : Research Scholar, South Asian Division, School of International Studies, J.N.U., New Delhi.
- Pratap Chandra Swain** : Head, Department of Political Science, I.G. Govt. College, Tezu, Arunachal Pradesh.
- Dilip Gogoi** : Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Cotton College, Guwahati.
- Dolly Phukon** : Lecturer, Centre for Women's Studies, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh.
- Umesh Chandra Saharia** : Senior Lectuer, Department of Geography, M.D.K.Girl's College, Dibrugarh.
- Seema Roy Kurmi** : Senior Lectuer, Department of Political Science, Margherita College, Margherita.

LIVING ON THE EDGE OF FREEDOM

Dhiren Bhagawati

In a span of fifteen years when Friedrich Engels was writing *The Conditions of the Working Class in England* and Karl Marx and Engels were writing *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, another great thinker was writing a classic, *On Liberty*. He was J.S. Mill. For Mill the greatest threat to individual freedom came from society. It shows how the problem of human rights is viewed differently by people with different perspectives. Marx and Engels were the first people to point out how capitalism denies also the human rights to majority of people. On the other hand, J.S. Mill who was a staunch supporter of laissez-faire economy till he came under the spell of Harriet Taylor and became an advocate of state control over individual freedom and of rights of women, had argued in his revised version of utilitarian philosophy the case of individual freedom against what he called tyranny of social opinion. Since the days of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke through J.S. Mill till our days, human rights in the form of rights of individual have remained a major ideological concern of middle class and moved the political theorists to carve a sphere of civil society in public life to ensure the rights against the encroachments by the state. In the twentieth century also human rights are interpreted to mean rights of the propertied classes, rights of investors of capital, rights of rich farmers and rights of multinational companies to free trade and plunder the nature. A theoretical foundation of the neo-liberal interpretation of the rights is provided by the works of F.A. Hayek, I. Berlin, M. Friedman, and Robert Nozick.

It is only the Marxist tradition that explains the conditions in which the common man and woman of the working class gaining a measure of freedom from their tutelage of the feudal lords of earlier

epoch have been now reduced to live on subsistence wages while producing the exchange value of the commodity because they do not own the means of production. The emancipation of the working class, who constitutes the majority in the society, therefore depends on the transformation of this class to the position of both the real producer and owner of the conditions and means of production. It is as simple as to say that those who produce should be the owner of their products and means of their production; no ideological formulation is involved here. That is to say human rights do not constitute a façade in the Marxist theory. Freedom means the opportunity for the people to engage in social production according to the real producers' own choice and under the conditions that the producers themselves decide and they appropriate the value of their product and further, are free enough to decide how they will spend the rest of their time after production in the pursuit of tastes of their own choice.

It is a vision of freedom of people not of mere individual rights that the Marxist tradition upholds. Conditions of workers in a capitalist society at the time of Marx and Engels betrayed the absence of human rights. The material conditions of the working class since then have improved in relative terms and the working class through its persistent struggle has owned certain rights in the last hundred and fifty years. But at the very root of capitalist economy lies the unemployment and underutilization of labor to keep wages low and profit high. Such a situation creates the absence of human rights for a large section of people of the society. Along with it, the continuous threat to the worker of throwing him/her out of employment whenever economy falls to the depression is another source of loss of human rights to the workers in the capitalist system. On the other hand, whatever benefits and concessions the working class have owned through its struggle against capitalism in the last hundred and fifty years, now start eroding since the last decade of the twentieth century for the rise of new right clique to power in the USA and the UK. The decline of social democracy and onslaught of new right on working class movements led to the break down of welfare state concept and decline of organized force

of the working class which weakened the working class to fight for their rights. Below is a table showing decline of organized working class in Europe in the last decades of twentieth century.¹

Table I : Organised Workers as a Percentage of Workforce

	1985	1995
France	15	9
Italy	48	44 (1994)
Great Britain	59(1979)	31
Spain	27 (1980)	19 (1994)
Germany (West)	35	29 (1993)

Source : Analytical Monthly Review/ January 2004

As a result, the situation in human rights for the greatest number of people in most of our societies has assumed a serious turn which can be gauged from the extent and intensity of the multiple forms of popular movements for human rights at our time. In the light of the situation we have to examine the threat to human freedom that we are confronting.

What causes the greatest threat to human freedom in twenty first century? My answer is, it is the globalization and liberalization. As we know globalization means integration of the economy of every country through economic reforms, structural adjustment, shock therapy and if these do not work through naked use of force, with the world capitalism. Liberalization means privatization of economy and opening up the economy for the multinational corporations of the imperialist world.

Globalization and privatization which affects every society, though some of them like Cuba and Venezuela are giving a brave fight to resist it, cuts at the very root of public employment resulting in large scale unemployment adversely affecting productive employment and decent work and economic security for the great number of people. According to the World Employment Report 2004-05 of the International Labour Organization, 1.3 billion people in the world are in the work force but live under the poverty line, they earn

less than \$2 a day. Among them, 550 million cannot lift themselves above the extreme \$1 a day poverty threshold. In percentage 49.7 per cent of the world's and 58.7 per cent of the developing world's workers are not earning enough to raise themselves above the \$2 a day poverty line². Many of these people have no access to clean water (1 billion), electricity (2 billion) or sanitation (2.5 billion). The claim of relative improvement of the material conditions of the working class is contradicted by the facts.

When it is argued that globalization and liberalization has opened new vistas of employment, it is worthwhile to note the working conditions of the call - centers in the metropolis of India. We also remain blind to the conditions of workers in the factories of the MNC's in the third world countries.³ The type of employment that private industries can afford is very often part time, adhoc and irregular. The uncertainty and frustration have grappled our youth so thoroughly that there is hardly any space left for freedom. It has threatened to demean the human values. Let me cite an example. In certain western countries the practice of providing unemployed allowance to persons still continues but the pressure of unemployment is too high. As a result, the state even legalizes services like the brothels. A German girl of twenty years in age with a professional degree in information technology applied for job opportunities and received a call to join a brothel. As she turned down the job, she faced the possible cuts in her unemployment benefits under the laws.⁴ It is not a unique case but a typical situation confronting the youth where he/she may have to compromise his/her values to survive by any means.

So, I believe the basic right of an individual is the right to life; and the right to life has no meaning unless one gets the right to work. Indian political system does not guarantee the right to work to the citizens, still state shared some responsibilities in meeting the conditions for the right to work till the last decade of the twentieth century. Then came the New Economic Policy (NEP) of 1991 which gradually did away with that responsibility. Consequent upon the NEP, the rate of employment declined from an annual average of 2.7 per cent in the period between 1983 and 1993-94 to 1.7 per cent in the

period between 1993-94 and 1999-2000 though there was an economic growth from an annual average of 5.2 to 5.7 per cent in the same period.⁵ This can be characterized as the 'unemployment generation' growth.

The United Progressive Alliance (UPA) after coming to power in India formulated an employment guarantee bill, under which work would be provided to one adult person in the family for a period of one hundred days in the year and this would apply only to people under poverty line. Even to implement such a limited scheme the government could not mobilize resources in spite of tall claims of great prosperity. On the other hand, the government is more insistent on effective implementation of the Fiscal Responsibility and Budget Management Act of 2003 to pursue reductions in fiscal and revenue deficits to a level of below 3 per cent, which virtually means renouncing all social welfare measures. When layoffs, retrenchment, casualization of labour and contract labour have become the order of the day, the second National Commission of Labour which was appointed to recommend rationalization of labour laws reported.

A large number of workers have lost their jobs due to VRS, retrenchment and closures both in the organized and the unorganized sector. The exact number is not available. According to our information, no data on this subject has been compiled by any State Government.⁶

The Commission recommended reforming labour laws like the Industrial Dispute Act, 1947 and Contract Labour (Abolition and Regulation) Act, 1970 and the government is making all efforts to implement them. The government has evolved a policy of setting up Special Economic Zones in the pattern of a Chinese model where industry will be immune from all labour laws and other restrictions. It is the philosophy of growth without social relevance. Human rights, environment, and social security-all these stand as an obstacle and must yield to the imperative of economic growth.

I started my discussion with the contention that the threat to freedom comes from globalization and liberalization. It is true even in other areas of our social life. A couple of months ago one hundred nations agreed to enforce the Kyoto Protocol but one of the greatest source of pollution of the environment, that is the USA has refused to accept it under the pressure of the U.S. automobile industry. What John Bellamy Foster has termed as the privatization of nature in his book, *The Vulnerable Planet* (Foster, 2000), means transforming everything in the nature-water, forests, plant species, into a private commodity to be bought and sold in the market. This exactly creates the destructive ecological problems threatening human life on the planet. Do people have the power to resist a multinational company? In a developed country and matured democracy like the UK, residents of Canvey Island opposed a proposal of a multinational company to build a refinery there and could mobilize the support of some ministers of the Labour Cabinet. Even then the Cabinet decided in favour of the oil company because they could not upset a multinational company.⁷ Our condition is more pitiable. Jayati Ghosh Commission is reported to have come down heavily on the policy of liberalization and globalization for the suicide of more than three thousand cotton farmers in Andhra Pradesh. But the government is now hesitant even to place the report in the Assembly.⁸

In the last century the concept of rights of the atomistic individual has been modified to accommodate the rights of groups of people like the ethnic groups, women, dalits, minorities, children and physically challenged people. But globalization and liberalization pursues policies of uniformity and standardization which deny special rights of these people. In its effort to create a world market and world hegemony imperialism has used globalization as a bulldozer to assimilate the language and culture of the weaker groups. In 1999 it was reported that in the next fifty years, out of estimated 6000 languages of the world 3000 would disappear primarily for inability of minority languages to compete the dominant languages.⁹ In our country the issue of reservation of weaker groups in employment in private industry has exposed the weakness of the state in front of the

private industry. Cultural exchange is one thing and imposition of one culture over others is another which entails impingement on the rights of the smaller and weaker groups, Capitalism was associated with cultural invasion of smaller groups and imperialism is now reducing the smaller ethnic groups to the specimen of anthropology.

Access to medical care is a basic human right which should be available to every man and woman. It is an important index to measure human development. The U.S. model of health care system which has virtually surrendered the responsibility to the health insurance corporations resulted in a situation where almost forty four million people have no form of health benefits coverage. Almost 100,000 people died in the U.S.A. each year for lack of needed health care according to a 1997 report.¹⁰ This is the situation in the most developed country in the world. India now follows the model of entrusting health care to private health care system and introduces the health insurance schemes. Though a semblance of public health care still persists, virtually it is non-working in most of the parts of the country. A fatal disease most common among the poorest section of Indian people is tuberculosis. TB is prevalent among undernourished and slum dwelling people and it claims 4.17 lakh people every year in India.¹¹ Much propaganda about leprosy has only symbolic value but real menace of TB and AIDS among the weakest section is to be fought if right to life has to have any meaning for the masses in India. According to United Nations Human Development Report 2003, only 37 per cent of the population in South Asia has access to adequate sanitation. Some 1.4 million of the region's people still defecate in open areas or use unsanitary bucket latrines.¹² The said report notes that "The fight against HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases will be lost without effective supplies of affordable, essential drugs to poor countries."¹³ The Dunkel proposals which created trade related intellectual property rights (TRIPS), created obligations on developing countries to adopt patent laws which restrict producing and supplying life saving medicines at affordable price to general people.¹⁴ The legal battle between certain NGOs of Thailand and the drug manufacturing MNC, Bristol Myers Squibb (BMS) producing an ARV drug for the HIV/

AIDS patients shows how an MNC making little modification of a drug claims patent monopoly over it and charges exorbitant price which is beyond reach of the average patient and a super power pressurizes a third world country to accept the claims of the MNC and the government of the third world country adopts an ambivalent stand on it.¹⁵ Given this reality, health care is non-existent for crores of common people. This is the denial of a vital part of freedom.

Another area where human rights violation is most rampant is the rights of the child. Child labour as defined by ILO consists of the type of work that is performed by the children below the age of fourteen, as a result of which they are deprived of their childhood, their dignity, access to education and are subjugated to health hazards. But now the definition of child labour is widened to include the children who could not attend school as such children are considered to be potential child labour. In that case, the situation of child labour involving their rights is alarming in India. The following table shows the position of child labour in India.¹⁶

Table II : Alternative estimate of child labour 1992-2000

	In Millions	% of the total child pop.
1. Total Children	228.15	100
2. School going children	165.80	72.67
3. Active in labour force (usual principal status)	8.40	3.68
4. Neither in school or labour force	53.95	23.65
5. Total active and potential child labour (Rows 3+4)	62.35	27.33

Source : Shakti Kak in *Social Scientist*, January-February 2004.

The Economic Survey of the Government of India, 2005, reports that there are 1.25 crores working children in the 5-14 year age group while the total population of children is 25.2 crore. More astounding

fact in the survey report is that it highlights an alarming rate of drop out of school children. Among the girls the drop out rate is 33.72 per cent for primary schools and 53.45 per cent for elementary schools. Among the boys the drop out rate is 35.5 per cent in primary school and 52.28 per cent in elementary schools.¹⁷ Do they join the labour force?

As a result of privatization of economy and state withdrawing from its responsibilities of social welfare activities, children's rights are adversely affected. Child labour provides a cheap source of labour to industry. The MNC's working in the third world countries share their work with sub-contractors who perpetrate discrimination against women workers, sexual harassment on them, use child labour, use labour on daily or contract basis to escape from the requirements of legal measures.¹⁸ Even public sector companies now share their work with private firms as sub-contractors which use labour on contract and irregular basis and cheap rate. Trade unions are of no avail for unorganized workers. The effect of new economy on rights of the workers often goes unnoticed. About the condition of the skilled industrial workers of Mumbai under the impact of new economy it is reported.

Over the past decade, manufacturing units have shifted out of the city, leaving thousands of workers jobless. Mumbai's main manufacturing industries - textiles, chemical, pharmaceutical and engineering - have moved to places where incentives are better and taxes are minimal. It is now the rise of the 'new economy' - banking, finance, hospitality, call-centres and housing. These industries are less labour-intensive. They hire more white-collar employees. The space for workers is sinking. They are being pushed into contract or casual labour ... Around 65% of workers are in the unorganized sector where there is no regulation of minimum wage, working hours or any social security. Even high profile white-collar employees hired on contract can be fired at the drop of a hat.¹⁹

The prophets of liberalization and globalization seek to project human rights as an instrument of their imperialist policy. They speak

in a double standard. They bring in labour standard for precluding the import of goods from developing countries but ignore condition of labour in those countries under the pretext that it is the concern of the ILO. Similarly, they preach human rights to justify action against defiant countries but ignore human rights of displaced people, migrants, working class and ethnic groups in developing countries. The imperialist powers "export their pollution and garbage" to the developing countries while restricting goods from those countries in the name of quality control. While they claim free access to raw-materials of the earth as themselves lack the bio-diversity but they claim patent rights over the process and product of those raw-materials.

With this emphasis on a few dimensions of human freedom, I would conclude by saying that freedom makes our life meaningful, decent and dignified. Human rights must be associated with freedom of the common man and woman to live a decent, dignified and meaningful life. It would be appropriate to remember the words of Leo Huberman before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1963.

I do not, for one moment, minimize the value of free elections, free speech and free press. These are valuable, essential liberties, of the utmost importance to people who have enough to eat, decent housing, education, and medical care. But they are not of particular urgency to hungry, uneducated, diseased, exploited people. When those of us with full bellies tell the people with empty bellies that what they need most in the world is free elections, they will not listen; they know better, they know that what they need first and foremost is bread, shoes, a school for their children, medical care, adequate clothing, a decent home. All these necessities of life, plus the dignity that goes with their enjoyment, are that the Cuban masses are now getting for the first time in their history.²⁰

Our search for a society that could ensure freedom for all is yet to bear fruit. That cannot prompt us to submit to the conditions of unfreedom. Let our search for alternatives continue.

Notes and References :

1. Asbjorn Wahl, "European Labor", *Analytical Monthly Review*, Vol.1, No.10, January 2004, p.43.
2. T.K. Rajalakshmi, "The Employment Challenge", *Frontline*, January 14, 2005, p78.
3. Bernard D'Mello, "Reebok and the Global Footwear Sweatshop", *Analytical Monthly Review*, Vol.1, No.2, February 2003, pp.26-40.
4. 'Berlin Job Justice, "Brothel or No Benefits" *The Telegraph*, 31.1.2005.
5. Sukumar Muralidharan, "Labour and liberalization", *Frontline*, September 12, 2003, p.5.
6. T.K. Rajalakshmi, "Commission of contradictions," *Frontline*, September 12, 2003 p.10.
7. Anthony Arblaster, *Democracy*, Delhi, World View, 1994, pp.98.
8. "YSR in suicide report", *The Telegraph*, 19.2.2005.
9. C.W. Watson, *Multiculturalism*, New Delhi, Viva Books, 2002, p.68.
10. Vicente Navarro, "The Inhuman State of U.S. Health Care," *Analytical Monthly Review*, September 2003, Vol.1, No.6, p.56.
11. "Dropouts & HIV rankle govt." *The Telegraph*, 27.2.2005.
12. "Some basic requirements", *The Telegraph*, 13.8.2003.
13. "One for all, and all for one", *The Telegraph*, 21.7.2005
14. "Drug-cost fears cloud future of mentally ill", *The Telegraph*, 22.3.2005.
15. R. Ramachandran, "A patent war in Thailand", *Frontline*, November 7, 2003, p81.

16. Shakti Kak, "Magnitude and Profile of Child Labour in the 1990s-Evidence from the NSS Data", *Social Scientists*, Vol.32, No.1-2, January-February 2004, p.56.
17. From the Economic Survey of 2005, See *The Telegraph*, 27.2.2005.
18. Bernard D'mello, "Reebok and the Global Footwear Sweatshop," *Analytical Monthly Review*, Vol.1 No.2 February 2003, pp 26-40.
19. Dione Bunsha, "An endangered class", *Frontline*, November 7, 2003, p.32.
20. Sobbye S. Oritz & Tilak D. Gupta, (compiled), *History As It Happened*, Kharagpur, Cornerstone Publications, 1999, p.53.

INDIA AND THE EAST ASIAN COMMUNITY CONCEPT

Rajaram Panda*

Introduction

The East Asian Community (EAC) concept is an alluring prospect, although its prototype and methods for realization are still under discussion. The establishment of institutionalized regional cooperation mechanism, similar to that of the European Union (EC), undoubtedly serves as the ultimate cooperation goal coveted by East Asian countries, which lag behind in promoting regional integration. Facing accelerated globalization and regional integration, the two main trends of the current world from which no nation is immune, any country or region has no choice but to strive to keep pace. Otherwise, it risks being marginalized.

The realization of European economic integration and establishment of the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) have posed a severe challenge to other regions, especially to East Asia, a region that has strong economic vitality but lacks a cohesive multilateral cooperation mechanism. The painful memory of the 1997 Asian financial crisis is still alive in the minds of the victims. No nation alone can effectively resist a catastrophic crisis, but the negative impacts can be held to a minimum by a collective force. Self-reflection among East Asian countries in the wake of the crisis has strengthened their resolve for construction an institutionalized multilateral cooperation mechanism. Through discussions and negotiations in recent years, East Asian nations are striving for a consensus that regional cooperation should be aimed at setting up an EU-style community as the ultimate goal.

* This is a revised paper presented at the 14th Biennial Conference of the Japanese Studies Association of Australia, The University of Adelaide, Australia, from 3-6 July 2005. The views expressed by the author are his own and not that of the Japan Foundation.

The original concept of the EAC dates back to the Cold War period. When Europe and North American stepped up their integration process in the 1980s, East Asian nations began to consider such an idea. In the early 1990s the idea was officially put forward by then Malaysian President Mahathir Mohammad, but it did not receive positive response from regional powers, especially from Japan, Asia's largest economic power. Mahathir's proposal for an East Asian Economic Group (EAEG) was stalled by the strong objection from the US and Japan's reluctance to go for it for fear of offending Americans. In early 2002, Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi raised the idea during a visit to five ASEAN countries. Indeed, the fruitful economic cooperation among East Asian countries has laid a solid economic foundation for the EAC.

Regional integration is built on two necessary economic preconditions: a high degree of openness among the region's main economies and their high-level involvement in the international context, and highly interdependent economic ties among them. Currently, some progress has been achieved on mechanism construction towards cooperation. However, compared to economic cooperation, East Asian political and security cooperation, the other wheel of the regional integration, has not advanced smoothly.

Unlike their European and North American counterparts, East Asian nations, due to diversified historical and cultural backgrounds and different economic development levels and models, have so far remained in dispute over the EAC. The success of the EU and NAFTA indicate some main propulsive forces are key to the formation of regional integration. The strong propulsive force, however, is yet to be formed in East Asia. The combined GDP of ASEAN countries only equals one-tenth the GDP total of China, Japan and the ROK, but it has remained the protagonist in the current regional multilateral mechanisms. Due to historical and political factors, China and Japan, the two main economic motors in East Asia who can and should contribute more to the EAC, have not joined hands to work for this goal. The factor of the US, which is key to some East Asian nations,

and some sensitive security issues also hamper the EAC idea. To make the EAC a reality, the highest degree of mutual trust, superior wisdom, maximum sincerity, and 100 per cent effort from all parties are necessary. Indeed regional cooperation in East Asia, unlike the EU or the NAFTA, has been slow in forming institutional frameworks despite a proliferation of fora for dialogue. Competition and antagonism between Japan and China, disgruntlement and suspicion among some about US regional leadership and an absence of the kind of overwhelming geopolitical challenge that helped post-War Europe hampered the formation of any institutional mechanism in the East Asian region.

Is the Concept Realistic ?

A few years ago, the concept of an EAC floated by Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir in a different form looked absurd and unthinkable but the pace in which the concept is gathering momentum in a different way, it is plausible to believe that it is realizable in the modern context. It is still premature to predict how soon it will come but political leaders and policy makers in the region look surprised at the unexpectedly fast pace at which things appear to be moving. The supposed community consists of Japan, China, South Korea and the 10 members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

A significant step forward was an official proclamation of the EAC as a goal to be pursued in the declaration that followed the summit meeting of Japan and the 10 ASEAN members held in Tokyo in December 2003. It was for the first time that all of the ASEAN leaders met outside the region. The summit declaration put the idea of the Community's creation on an official agenda for the region. The meeting released a declaration in which the Japan-backed concept of East Asia Community was included, though its outlook and content were not clearly defined.

In 1998, in the midst of the Asian financial crisis that dealt a crippling blow to the region's economic growth, Japan's initiative for a regional financial mechanism, something to be called an Asian

Monetary Fund, intended to rescue Asian economies affected and prevent a repeat of the crisis, collapsed due to the IMF's (actually Washington's) opposition. Even East Asian governments were skeptical about an early realization of a regional community, given the seemingly numerous difficulties that stood in the way of such an amalgamation. In contrast to such negativism before, the recent signs of somewhat sudden acceleration of moves towards it are being taken with surprise.

What are the reasons for such a sudden upsurge in interest for a regional economic community? By far the most important development prompting the region's leaders to consider the community as a realistic possibility is deepening intra-regional economic integration and dependence. In 2000, intra-regional foreign direct investment soared to \$69.9 billion in 1997, a nearly 20-fold increase from \$4.1 billion in 1985. Japan, China and Korea comprise one fifth of the global economic and 90 per cent of East Asian economy. Given the underdeveloped level of its economic integration, these three countries should take "multi-layered approach" to accelerate the process.

Embracing two major economies - Japan and China - the trends towards greater intra-regional economic transactions are destined to continue. In the financial field, a network of bilateral currency swap arrangements between the 10 ASEAN countries and Japan, China and South Korea to cope with currency crises was agreed upon in May 2000, in the so-called Chiang Mai initiative. Japan is taking the initiative in fostering securities markets in the region, to make an effective use of a vast pool of savings which have been left unutilized, with borrowers turning to international capital markets to raise funds in foreign currencies.

A more recent noticeable development is the acceleration of moves for bilateral free trade agreements, which, with China and Japan eager to woo Southeast Asian countries, are likely to cover the region like a multilateral network in the future. Japan, which already has signed a free trade agreement with Singapore, has similar arrangements with Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines, as well as closer

economic arrangement between the Chinese mainland and Hong Kong and Macao. These have laid down solid economic foundation for the EAC. Japan plans to conclude FTAs with all ASEAN members by 2010. Besides trade and investment, regional cooperation is making progress in such fields as joint action to fight piracy and drug trafficking, promote conflict resolution and so on. Security cooperation aimed at confidence building is also making progress. The Asian countries also see in the success of North American Free Trade Agreement and the enlargement of the European Union the risk of being left out and that the region might even be preyed upon by the US and Europe unless the Asian nations set up their own house, if not a fortress. The painful experiences of the Asian financial crisis of 1997-98 taught that one such threat was international hot money and the international financial business behind it.

Analysts see in the Economic Partnership Agreement between Japan and the Philippines a clever move that may serve as a trigger for the eventual formation of an East Asian Community. The notion of an East Asian Community connotes integration in the economic front - of East Asian countries into a unit comparable to the EU, which integrates European countries, or the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), a framework currently under negotiation that aims to integrate North and South American countries. Behind the East Asian Community concept is the prospect that these three regional groups will lead the global economy and become pillars of the WTO regime.

The West in general and the US in particular might see an element of racialism behind the concept. This is because of Mahathir's often outspoken, often vitriolic, remarks against the West and Westerners in his original proposal of an EAEG. As Mahathir's proposal consisted ASEAN plus three, Japan insisted that it would support the EAEG idea if Australia and New Zealand, the two countries of European descendents, were not exclusive bloc of East Asian nations, probably because of its engagement in Iraq and its anti-terrorism agenda. Be that as it may be, the Asian nations do acknowledge that Asian

prosperity has been possible only against the background of a strong American economy and the security and stability it provides for the region. The geographical definition of the East Asia Community now appears to be a foregone conclusion and nobody questions the de facto consensus that it consists of Japan, China, South Korea and the 10 ASEAN countries.

To make the path smooth towards the realization of the idea, it is desirable that the leaders of the three Northeast Asian countries meet on their own and discuss this possibility. However, that has not happened as their relationship with each represents a problem to be overcome. Japan's relationship with China and South Korea, which is haunted by the "history issue" is a key element in this context. How to achieve a unified, nuclear-free Korean Peninsula is another.

Japan's Approach to the East Asian Community Concept

The concept of an East Asian Community has registered steady progress, if not at governmental, at least at non-governmental level. The Council of East Asian Community (CEAC) was inaugurated in Japan on 18 May 2004, considerably triggered by the launching of The Network of East Asian Think-tanks in Beijing and The East Asia Forum in Seoul in 2003. The establishment of CEAC was called for by 10 think-tanks and 30 scholars. CEAC consists of representatives from wide-ranging field in Japan who are interested in the concept of an East Asian Community, including those who represent business corporations and governmental agencies.

As an all-Japan intellectual platform covering business, government, and academic leaders, CEAC aims at the strengthening of intellectual collaborations, the building of intellectual foundation, and the sharing of strategic ideas among them. The membership of CEAC consists of 12 think-tank members, 61 individual members and 15 corporate members.

Prior to the ASEAN summit meeting that Japan hosted in December 2003, Japan had outlined the strategic concept of East Asian Community in terms of both security and economy in two reports

submitted to Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi by the Japan International Forum, a non-governmental think-tank. The reports were examined and signed by well-known scholars and elite figures from political and commercial circles. Officials from related governmental institutions also expressed their views when the report on the East Asian security system was examined, which evinced that this report, though forwarded by a non-governmental institution, at least partially reflected the viewpoints of some governmental officials.

Submitted in December 2002 and entitled "Building a Cooperative System for East Asian Security", it suggests the short-term, mid-term and long-term goals of establishing East Asia's security system. It demonstrates that Japan is seeking to adjust its security strategy towards East Asia in the wake of the September 11 event, considering not only boosting regional cooperation in the field of non-traditional security, but containing China strategically in the security aspect. The report stressed that international terrorism should be defined as a common threat to East Asia and that a comprehensive cooperation system should be established to counter it.

In June 2003, the Japan International Forum submitted to the Japanese Prime Minister another report on the concept of East Asian economic community and Japan's role. It raises the strategic aim as well as the timetable for establishing East Asia Economic Community. It stresses that Japan, the Republic of Korea and Singapore should play a core role in the Community by creating a Free Trade Area in 2005, while hoping China will play partial leading role. It suggests promoting the integration and free mobility of East Asia's labour market and a single capital market in a bid to form an East Asia financial center and to gradually realize a single currency. Though both the reports cannot be taken as representing Japanese government's overall strategic concept and steps of East Asia Community, they do demonstrate that Japan has made some important adjustments in its East Asia strategy, with emphasis on security and economy. Since the second report indicates the direction towards East Asia's economic integration and single currency, it is basically positive.

Though Japan had adopted an inactive attitude towards Mahathir's concept of an East Asian Economic Group in 1990, economic integration and regionalization prompted Japan to change its stance. The concept has gained considerable influence since then among regional policy makers. The initiation of the ASEAN+3 process as well as the Chiang Mai Initiative on May 2000 indicate that Northeast and Southeast Asian countries have begun to formulate their own cooperative mechanisms of regional self-help. However, this trend towards self-reliance runs risk of contradicting with rapid proliferation of bilateral, trans and sub-regional preferential trade agreements that have blossomed over the past years. Some argue that these agreements run counter to the logic of building a collective East Asian identity based on closer cooperation within the group of the East Asian states. The Chiang Mai Initiative is the first significant move towards a more autonomous and self-defined regional handling of monetary and financial affairs and is an important step towards regional currency stability. The purpose is to create a mechanism of self-protection for Asian countries under speculative attack. Countries under attack can borrow from each other via short-terms swaps of foreign currency reserves, usually US Dollars, and use the funds to buy their own currency in order to stabilize the exchange rate.

Indeed, regionalism in Asia, although it is underdeveloped, is complicated enough. In comparison with Europe, Asia as a whole, and East Asia as a sub-region, are deficient in regional cooperation and integration. In fact, East Asia is currently one of the few regions in the world without a formal institution for cooperation. Although ASEAN established in 1967, has had a robust existence for three and half decades, East Asia is crucially in need of multilateral mechanisms, which are essential for global integration as well.

Political will and commitments are essential to the success for any economic cooperation. Economic logic is not always in sync with the political logic. Given the diversity and the competitive of many of the Asian economies, a region-wide FTA is difficult to contemplate. Moreover, which country provides the leadership - Japan, China or

ASEAN - is another contentious issue that would demand solution. Japan has suggested that Australia, New Zealand and India could be admitted as members of the proposed East Asian Community. Japan acknowledges India's increasingly important role in regional cooperation.

Japan concedes that the bid to create an East Asian Community presents a tremendous challenge to the region, due to its diversity of culture and different levels of economic development, with the region comprising two of the world's least developed countries, Laos and Cambodia. This attempt may be the most challenging and inventive part of community building in East Asia. It is probably the first attempt in history to create a community on this scale in a region in which people are so diverse, and the traditional ties among countries are so weak. Considering the situation, it proposes that the region take the functional cooperation approach to achieve the dream of creating an East Asian Community as functional cooperation is already prevalent in the region, as can be seen in cooperation against terrorism, drug trafficking, sea piracy and people smuggling.

Then there is the difference in perceptions among nations in the region which might hinder the process of regional economic integration. Professor Hiroshi Furuta of the University of Tsukuba, for example, asserts that the nationalism of East Asian countries is composed of two strata: an old stratum of 'Sinocentrism' and the new stratum of emphasis on national and ethnic superiority. "Sinocentrism" is a term used in Japanese academic circles to denote Chinese feelings of contempt for peripheral countries and races, which it regards as barbarians. Furuta states that this thought came to be shared by peripheral countries like Vietnam and Korea and that countries previously held in contempt by China themselves began to despise the countries and races near them. As evidence of this, he notes that North Korea regards Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Pyongyang as tributes from Japan and that there has never been any prospect of Kim Jong-il making a reciprocal trip.

East Asian Community Concept and India

India finds the regional environment to be positive enough to sustain India's vision of an Asian Economic Community encompassing ASEAN, South Korea, Japan, China and India. India's External Affairs Minister, Natwar Singh, articulated India's Look East policy by stressing that India's ties with each of these countries, considerably strengthened in recent years through New Delhi's growing interaction in the political and economic spheres, emboldens India project them as the "five pillars" that may form the initial of the global economy. It is in this context, India perceives the idea of the Asian Economic Community as nothing new. Indeed, other countries apart from India have also been projecting visions of a new role for Asia, ensuring it a more significant participation and involvement in international affairs. Seen in this perspective, it is a logical offshoot of the ambitions of the nations in the region to contribute collectively to transform the 21st century as Asia's own.

The common commitment to a multi-polar world order, a more representative UN system, multi-lateral regional economic cooperation, and a sustained fight against terrorism have brought about a new convergence of ideas and objectives among the countries of the East and South-East Asian region. The vision of an Asian Economic Community may take awhile before fruition, but New Delhi is not being over-ambitious in hoping that the new convergence will give it an onward thrust.

November-December 2004 witnessed a flurry of activities in the region, all directed towards regional economic integration in Asia. Laos hosted the 10+3 summit. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh participated in the summit. Japan, China and South Korea agreed to hold an East Asian summit this year (2005) and set a long-term target to build an East Asian Community. Another important event organized in conjunction with the summit was an ASEAN-India motorcar rally flagged by Manmohan Singh. The idea was to show the geographic contiguity of India with ASEAN countries vividly, perhaps also

highlighting the need for upgrading the road links that exist in the region.

How should ASEAN+3 summits be positioned in relation to East Asian summits? The Chinese ambassador said 10+3 should be renamed the East Asian summit. It may be what China really wants but no decision has been reached.

Economy is the driving force of regionalism. East Asian economic integration is advancing rapidly. The ratio of regional trade in 2002 was nearly 52 per cent. Although it is lower than EU's 62 per cent, it is higher than the NAFTA's 46 per cent. As the trend advances, the region is becoming less dependent on the US as a trade partner. In other words, it means Asianization of Asia. But as the Asianization of Asia proceeds, US-Chinese rivalry within East Asia is expected to intensify.

The US appears uneasy with the trend. During his recent visit to Japan, Mitchell Reiss, director of policy planning of the US State Department, expressed concern over the East Asian summit. Giving a personal view, Reiss said: "The United States has equities and interests in East Asia as a Western Pacific power and does not want to be excluded from regional dialogue and cooperation." In a recent extensive interview with *The Asahi Shimbun*, (2 May 2005) former US Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, expressed opposition to a plan to create an East Asian Community on the ground that it would exclude US involvement. He spoke, besides the East Asian Community concept, the recent ascension of China and India on the world stage, and of the high expectations the US places on Japan as an ally. Armitage left the State Department in February 2005 but still maintains strong influence on the Bush administration's Asian policies.

On the proposed East Asian Community, Armitage said, "My view is this is a thinly veiled way to make the point that the United States is not totally welcomed in Asia. I think that's a real mistake." While noting that a new multilateral framework would not undermine

bilateral security structures the United States has built in the region, Armitage said: " But it's the direction. What worries me about it (is) if it's the beginning of an erosion. It seems that China is quite willing to be involved in fora that don't include the United States."

The US is worried that the summit could eventually be used as a tool for China to dominate East Asia. The US suspects that China is positioning East Asian regionalism from a long-term strategic viewpoint. It is aimed at excluding the US and isolating Japan. In dealing with China, Armitage said the best way would be not to contain China but to help them manage their ascent. The Pentagon recently told the Congress (See, Indian Express (New Delhi), 21 July 2005) that China has long-term ambitions to extend its power across the Asian continent, and its rapid arms buildup is increasingly aimed beyond its long-standing confrontation with Taiwan. The Pentagon assessment of Chinese military capacity, required annually by Congressional mandate, expresses concerns about the threat that China could pose within a decade to Asia's balance of power. The report states: "Current trends in China's military modernization could provide China with a force capable of prosecuting a range of military operations in Asia - well beyond Taiwan - potentially posing a credible threat to modern militaries operation in the region."

The assessment further details the advance in China's arsenal of short-range ballistic missiles capable of striking ports and airbases in the Western Pacific, as well as long-range weapons that can strike India, Australia, and most cities within the United States. The report says China also has made dramatic advances in Sea and air power including a Yuan-class submarine, launched in 2004, and a high-tech F-10 fighter, which will be rolled out later in 2005. The Pentagon estimates that China might be spending up to \$90 billion annually on its military - three times its officially acknowledged defence budget. That would make China the world's third largest defence spender, and the largest in Asia. According to Pentagon assessment, a large portion of the secret budget is spent purchasing high-tech weaponry from nation such as Russia and Israel. But the report notes that China's

lofty ambitions are restricted by its current military realities: its surface fleet is largely incapable of projecting power beyond Chinese territorial waters, it has no aircraft carriers, and most of its planes cannot be refueled while in flight. Some in the US say that a growing threat from China helps the Pentagon justify multibillion-dollar weapons ill-suited for fighting amorphous terrorist outfits.

In American perception, Japan cannot possibly afford to advocate Asian regionalism. The truism, however, is that if Japan turns its back on East Asian regionalism, it would be isolating itself from Asia.

The US is forgetting that distrust towards it underlines the formation of 10+3. During the 1997-1998 Asian financial crisis, ASEAN felt it was abandoned by the US. Asia is fully aware of the importance of the US presence as a stabilizer in the region and that of the Japan-US alliance. East Asian regionalism and the Japan-US alliance can compatibly built a relationship of prosperous coexistence. It is not a matter of choosing one or the other. From the US side, it should also understand that a sense of vulnerability and fragility shared by neighbouring countries is what makes them turn to regionalism.

Any regional grouping in Asia combining economies as important as Japan, China, Korea with ASEAN has potential of evolving into a trade bloc comparable to EU or NAFTA and emerge as the third pole of the world economy. Inability to be part of such a trading bloc can affect India's economic and strategic interests adversely by diverting trade and investments away from it. Owing to India's highly successful 'Look East' policy, East Asia now accounts for more than a quarter of India's trade as large as EU's or North America's. Therefore, it is of crucial importance for India to be part of the Plans of East Asian economic integration. For this, it is pertinent for India to join the ASEAN+3 and have it expanded to ASEAN+4.

During the summit meeting at Vientiane, Laos, in November 2004, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh gave an indication of India's vision in his inaugural speech when he talked about the "Asian

economic community encompassing ASEAN, China, Japan, Korea and India" as an idea whose time was fast approaching. It is in India's interest to push Prime Minister's vision further. The reason why it would be advantageous for all members if India joins is that it would reduce apprehension of a possible domination of the grouping by China. India also brings to the East Asian Community a large and dynamic economy with complementary capabilities in software and services.

Therefore, it is argued that a revolution of rising expectations or, simply, the idea of win-win inter-state cooperation is sweeping across much of East Asia as the region looks for a new architecture of "shared prosperity" for the countries concerned. It is in this context that Manmohan Singh's proposal for a wider "Asian Economic Community" acquires importance. Surprisingly, the ASEAN Chairman's statement, issued at the conclusion of its third summit with India in Vientiane on 30 November was silent on Singh's proposal for an "Asian Economic Community".

While Singh briefed his counterparts from South East Asia about the new Indian economic initiative, ASEAN's statement centered mainly on issues relating to the "deepening ASEAN-Indian partnership" of the present times. This should, in some measure, explain ASEAN's silence about the Indian proposal. However, on 20 December 2004, elder statesman of ASEAN and former Singapore Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, said categorically that "it is to the advantage of the ASEAN countries that any such East Asian Community should include India." However, Lee's endorsement of India's place in a prospective "East Asian Community" was based on the assumption that Singh had indeed suggested the formation on an East Asian Economic Community. Unfortunately, Manmohan Singh's proposal did not receive enough publicity in ASEAN circles.

But Lee Kuan Yew's comments underlined India's relevance to East Asia. In the former Prime Minister's perspective, India's association with a possible "East Asian Community" would help

"expand the market" and lead to "more specialization and division of labour". India's potential contributions towards the well-being of East Asia in the political and security spheres were cited by him as factors that should weigh in with ASEAN leaders. Nevertheless, Manmohan Singh's proposal for an Asian Economic Community is also confined to a cooperative relationship with ASEAN, China, Japan and South Korea, at least at the initial stages. Interestingly, Lee Kuan Yew has envisioned the possibility of bringing in Sri Lanka and Pakistan too under the umbrella of an "East Asian Community" some time in the future.

The Indian proposal is derived from Manmohan Singh's vision of "an arc of stability" across parts of South Asia and almost the entire East Asian region. Significantly, he contrasted this vision with instability prevalent in the region to the West of India. In political terms, this could imply the exclusion of Pakistan (in South Asia) and North Korea (in East Asia) from the wide spectrum of the proposed link-up between India and the ASEAN+3 forum.

So far, ASEAN has taken the lead in propagating the idea of an "East Asia Community", with active support from China, Japan and South Korea. On the other hand, India has already informed the ASEAN members of its intention to host a workshop to evolve a "concept paper" on the proposal of an "Asian Economic Community". South Korea has agreed to send a representative to India for the workshop. Equally significant was the indication by Manmohan Singh that Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi was appreciative of the Indian initiative and the parallel idea of "an arc of stability." Manmohan Singh's meeting with Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao on the margins of the ASEAN meetings was singularly noteworthy for its focus on political rapprochement between the two Asian giants. Given the present state of momentum in India-China political engagement, the question of an "East Asian Community" (with India too on board) could be factored into this most potent bilateral equation on the Asian continent.

Recognition of the BRIC Report

Ever since Goldman Sachs published a research paper in October 2003 "Dreaming with BRIC's: The Path to 2050", which predicated that by 2050, the hierarchy of the largest economics would be significantly changed, with China the largest, followed by the USA, India, Japan, Brazil and Russia, thereby significantly outpacing all the EU members of the G-7, the entire world has taken notice of India as a newly emerging economic power. According to this report, the share of Brazil, Russia, India and China in world growth could double from 20 per cent in 2003 to 40 per cent in 2025. Industrialisation in India and China could push the world growth rate to above 4 per cent over the next few years. By 2025, BRIC could have over 200 million people with incomes of over \$15,000.

In global oil, China's contribution would remain high but is likely to peak in 5-10 years and would decline steadily thereafter. In oil, India's impact will become more important and its contribution to global demand growth could overtake China's in 15 years. India's actual oil demand could nearly double and gradually converge on China's by 2025. China and India together will account for almost one-third of the global oil demand.

Not all GS Global Economics Papers attract widespread attention. But the above cited paper did just that. In India, the paper was widely quoted, mostly by people who had not bothered to read it, and became part of the ammunition in the India Shining cum Feel Good invasion. Thus, the expression BRIC is a standard jargon and needs no explanation.

Few statistics would suffice why India cannot be overlooked and to be taken seriously. The GS Global Economics Paper (14 April 2004; Paper No 109) titled "India: Realizing BRIC's Potential" observed: "India is often characterized as a country of contradictions. This idea is exemplified by the popular phrase that India accounts for close to a third of the world's software engineers and a quarter of the world's undernourished."

The paper of October 2003 produced spectacular income growth in India. The GS growth projections were, however, very modest, an average of around 6 per cent for the next 10 years. This growth was due to productivity gains, demographic transition and exchange rate appreciation. However, if reforms slow down, a growth rate of 6 per cent can be predicated but if reforms are implemented seriously, we get 8 per cent plus. India's competitive advantage in financial services, medical services, pharmaceuticals and Information Technology is likely to continue because of the large English speaking population (7 per cent of the labour force) and supply-side changes in education. Because of the large English-speaking population and a steady flow of knowledge workers, churned out by the education sector, India is expected to retain its advantage over rivals in the business process outsourcing market. According to the BRIC report, after the US, India has the second largest English-speaking population, while an estimated two million infotech professionals are expected to be added to the existing 650,000 knowledge workers over the next two years. The report further says that the supply of infotech professionals will outstrip demand by 48,000 by 2008, suggesting that a healthy supply of infotech workers will also curb wage inflation pressures. Infotech professionals accounted for just 0.1 per cent of India's workforce and even if the number of jobs outsourced from the US to India doubled from the current 3-4 million over the next decade, it would only represent 1.5 per cent of India's labour pool.

The BRIC report has the standard comparison between India and China and highlights not only China's head start on reforms, but also manufacturing as the locomotive for growth in China vis-à-vis India's service sector. Whether service sector growth alone can propel India to the 8 per cent plus category is debatable. However, besides infotech, opportunities exist in other sectors as well. In the pharma sector alone, offshoring opportunities could double to \$50 billion by 2007.

India will continue to be the 'darling' of investors. That India and China are two of the fastest growing economies today have

awakened the major economies, both in the East and West. Economists world over believe that most of the growth will be in Asia. Both India and China will drive Asia to displace the West over the next 15 years as the focus of global economic dynamism. The impact of that shift will be economic and political, pulling Washington's attention away from Europe and the Middle East and towards the emerging 21st century superpowers. The above points demonstrate that nations behind the East Asian Community concept cannot afford to overlook India's claim to any such institutional mechanism.

There are some other political issues that might intervene in the way realizing the East Asian Community. Along with India, Germany, Brazil, Japan too are too strong claimants for permanent seats in the UN Security Council. While South Korea and China are opposed to Japan's claim, the Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao during his visit to India April 2005 publicly endorsed India's claim. The recent anti-Japanese protests in Beijing over issues of history are developments that are worrisome to the Chinese. Except Washington, Japan does not seem to have any supporter for a UN Security Council seat. It is also not clear whether the US would agree for giving veto power to Japan even if Japan becomes a member of the Security Council. These suggest that there are problems that demand solution simultaneously along with pursuing the East Asian Community Concept.

Conclusion

As mentioned earlier, on a long-term trajectory, Washington may not rejoice the emergence of a strong Asian bloc and might not lose any opportunity to clip Beijing's military wings, should the latter ever dare flex its military muscle. Should such a situation emerges, Washington might like to befriend New Delhi, now regarded as "a wild card", for a "division" of anti-China roles in the Indian Ocean area. It is in this perspective the ASEAN+3 might see reason to respond to Manmohan Singh's idea of "an arc of stability" should such a destabilization game takes shape ever. Manmohan Singh's visit to the

United States in July 2005 and his discussion with President Bush should be seen in this light.

China's emergence both as an economic power with power projection capability is a matter of concern throughout the Asian continent. The political dynamics of Chinese policy towards the Taiwan issue, its relations with North Korea and Pakistan, its policy towards the South China Sea and so on keep the political leaders of Asia always on the tender hooks. India's emergence as a strong economic power is equally noticed. But the difference in the political systems of both the countries always put India over China in so far as confidence-building aspect is concerned. In a recent international conference held in Singapore (April 2005), Singapore debated the global consequences of the rise of India and China. Asia's elder statesman and former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew made the startling observation that the rapid economic growth of India and China will "shake the world". Lee urged the two Asian giants to avoid drifting into opposing camps and "rebalance the world".

Thus there is a great deal of turnaround in the basic approach of the community formation idea in the region. In the present Japanese initiative, the US seems to be giving Japan a long rope, but it has its own reservations of a community being formed from which the US will be excluded. When the idea of Asia-Pacific Community was debated in the early 1980s, while Russia was included, India was not. Then the old fears of Japan trying to build an East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere still haunt the region. The idea of China controlling Japan in this regard with the rise of China both as an economic, political and military power and thus providing a balance might assuage the fears of Southeast Asian nations.

At the same time, the inability of Japan to balance China gives rise to further fears. In fact, Japan is conscious of the anti-Japanese feelings in China that periodically erupt, more recent case being their-Japanese protests held in Beijing in April 2005. Therefore, the association of an extra-regional power to balance the two and thus

protect the region is a concept that may not be said to have become insignificant. Japan herself, earlier made Australia to take the initiative so that she would not be criticized for renewing her efforts to dominate the region. In view of this fact, the present East Asian Community concept seems to have been propelled by the motive of excluding the Pacific Rim nations, while earlier APEC concept was an enrichment of the idea with the inclusion of the Pacific Rim nations.

It may be recalled, APEC concept was born in response to the birth of the EEC and the fear of individual nations not being able to face a combined Europe. It was also in response to the NAFTA. In view of the current on-going peace initiatives between India and Pakistan, the US might perceive its role increasingly marginalized. The US is also likely to see in the emergence of a mutually cooperative East Asian Community a much waning of its influence in the region. If the nations in the region behind the concept do not consider the US, the latter may not be found wanting to frustrate the design of the East Asian nations.

The fear China also continues to lurk. There are enough territorial issues in the region, which can be used to project an expansionist Dragon. The economies of all the nations in the region are so intricately tied to that of the US that any effort to overlook the US claim might be difficult. Most countries know that various international economic organizations as well as aid giving organizations are under American control. In recent times, the US has even ignored the United Nations and has seen to it that it is the US policy, which becomes UN policy. In order to enhance its global profile, Japan is aspiring to become a permanent member of the Security Council. Would Japan dare antagonize the US in its enthusiasm for a cooperative East Asian Community? Would the US loosen its control over world natural resources? Was not the Iraq War an attempt by the US to reinforce its control over the oil resources in the region? The concept of anti-terrorism, which the US uses to prove that those who are not with her, are against her. These are issues that

come to mind while evaluating the possible success or failure of the concept of an East Asian Community.

Viewed in the context of India-China relations, it is true that in the emerging world scenario, neither of the countries consider themselves as adversary. Politically, both are serious dialogue partners. Economically, the trade relations between the two are ballooning. Though the absence of rivalry and growing cooperation do not necessarily translate into "strategic partnership", Washington is getting increasingly wary of the growing intimacy between the two Asian giants. It is equally true that both India and China differ on many global and regional issues. Chinese reluctance to clearly endorse India's claim for the permanent membership of the United National Security Council was well known. This changed dramatically by the announcement by Prime Minister Wen Jiabao during his visit to India in April 2005 when he openly endorsed India's claim to a UN Security Council membership. Moreover, China is eager to get into the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation but India is not enthusiastic. Beijing closely watches India's expanding military profile in South East Asia and worries about New Delhi's talk of strategic partnership with Tokyo and Washington. It is in this perspective Manmohan Singh's idea of "an arc stability" gathers preponderance.

The concept of an East Asian Community in the context of India's formulation of Look East policy and the warm response from the ASEAN region may be hampered to some extent by the acrimonious relations between India and Pakistan. Despite the forward-looking policy approaches of the Manmohan Singh government, the differences between India and Pakistan and the slow process of reconciliation of the divisive tendencies within India, which constrain India's rapid development might also be restraining factor.

It is desirable that nations in the region should deepen their integration to ensure peace and prosperity and see that the East Asian economies become less vulnerable to external shocks, particularly turbulence in the US economy. While addressing the ASEAN-India

Business Summit in New Delhi in October 2004, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh indulged in some forward-looking loud thinking and envisioned the creation of an Asian Economic Community encompassing ASEAN, China, Japan, Korea and India. He described the concept as symbolizing "an arc of advantage" exceeding the EU in income and NAFTA in terms of trade. Given the capacity and readiness of India's economy to absorb massive amounts of foreign investment, the Prime Minister's assessment that a large window of opportunity can already be sighted for inducing ASEAN businesses to invest in India is both sound and relevant.

GLOBALIZATION AND HEALTH SECURITY

Akhil Ranjan Dutta

Introduction:

The present paper attempts to explore the opportunities and obstacles brought about by the current wave of capitalist globalization towards people's right to health security.

The paper is both theoretical and empirical in nature. Theoretically it debates the issue of globalization with special focus on the convergence and non-convergence between globalization and human security in general and globalization and health security in particular. Then it empirically investigates the changes brought about by the process of globalization towards the health care policies of the Indian state and its impact on people's right to health security.

The Phenomenon of Globalization

The current hegemonic (capitalist) moment in history is marked by the waves of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG) that brings into focus new forces of governance—the market, NGOs, self-help groups etc., claiming to roll back the historical consolidation of the democratic state. This new situation raises doubts regarding the efficacy, status and utility of the state or any form of collective organization as a rallying point of development, collective security and justice. The issue of social/human security has been inescapably associated with the historical process of consolidation of the democratic state, particularly in the post Second World War period. Although the categories of development or social/ human security cannot be described as exclusively state-centric categories, because the debate, mobilization and movement outside the domain of the state enriched the meaning and content of those issues substantially, however, historically, the state appeared to be a rallying point for all those issues related to collective/human security, particularly, as has

been already noted, in the Post Second World War period till 1980s. With the state being gradually rolled back under the processes of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG), (however, the rolling back of the state is confined only to its social/collective security commitments. The state as a provider of juridical infrastructure for market operation still continues and in fact the state is more important today for this particular job when transnational corporations are in operation without any global juridical system to bring legitimacy to its operations) the issues related to human security or health security has been pushed into new vulnerabilities.

The phenomenon of globalization has often been interpreted as the necessary outcome of the unprecedented development in science and technology, particularly in information and communication technology. It has been interpreted as a class-neutral or impartial process benefiting all equally around the world. This is a gross misinterpretation of the phenomenon of globalization.

The present day globalization, rather than being a neutral process, is very closely associated with change in the nature of global capitalism. The interest of the global capital has been the dynamic force behind the current phase of globalization. On the other, the contemporary global capital acts 'in unison' rather than in its conventional mode of 'rivalry for hegemony'. What does it mean is that in the current epoch, the advanced capitalist countries have reduced their inter-conflicts within the bloc and have started acting in unison in their global operation. The formation of multinational companies has been an important trend in this phase of global capitalism. These companies act more in a monopolistic way rather than a competitive way. These companies today play a very important role in the formulation of international and national policies both at various international institutions like IMF, World Bank and WTO as well as at national level. Accordingly, the capacity of the national government to formulate its policies independently or as desired by the people has eroded. The national governments, at the behest of the global capital, now formulate their policies more in tune with the

interest of the MNCs in the potential markets of the third world. As a result of it, the 'public domain' of the state to ensure and implement people's interests has gradually been marginalized. This is evident from various international, national and regional studies. Although, it is a global phenomenon, however, it is truer in case of the third world countries having potential market for multinational companies than in the advanced capitalist countries- the centers of capitalist globalization.

With all these developments, the 'substantive human security' of the mankind is at stake. Human security/collective security is associated with the substantive expansion of people's and communities' democratic rights. These democratic rights, on the other, are associated with many other vital issues including sustaining a pro-people democratic state. Issues of accountability, the capacity as well as the space for articulation and aggregation and carrying forward and implementing people's interests are vital in this regard. Development at other fronts, like development in science and technology including technology for health care etc., should facilitate these rights rather than evacuating the very space for the expansion of these rights through mobilization. However, the current moment in history witnesses the aggregation of scientific and technological power to the extent that it has even posed threat towards the very space of political mobilization, as has been pointed out by Eric J. Hobsbawm.

Globalization and Health Security

The unfolding of the current moment shows that rather than a convergence, there is growing non-convergence between globalization and human /social security. This is true in almost all vital spheres and issues related to human security. The present study, which takes in detail the relationship between globalization and health security, explores these non-convergences with adequate examples and figures in the context of the state of India. The basic non-convergences are:

- (a) Eroding people's as well as nation's right and capacity to decide the course of health policies relevant for particular society;

- (b) Eroding people's right to prioritize their health care devices in conformity with the prevalence of diseases;
- (c) Using fruits of science and technology more as a means of profit rather than for prevention and elimination of diseases;
- (d) Marginalizing the state's capacity in the developing world to generate and consolidate a sustaining health care infrastructure and using this incapability to the interest of global capital for appropriation of profit;
- (e) A line of division between the developed west and developing east in terms of implementation of the neo-liberal market economy, particularly in the social security spheres. Whereas, almost all the states in the developing world have been forced to implement the neo-liberal policies at the behest of international financial institutions, particularly the World Bank, however, most of the developed west has not followed these policies and continues to indulge in 'domestic protectionism'. This is equally applicable in case of health care too. The countries in the west, which have refused to abide by the neo-liberal agendas, have also achieved high human development and high human security status.

The consolidation of globalization in the health care sector manifested through various ways: adoption of whole range of new policies in different sectors related to social security in general and health security in particular. As far as the health security is concerned the important changes took place in the setting up of new priorities in the health sector, as directed and dictated by the international financial institutions, particularly the World Bank; the New National Drug Policy; the New patent Law; changes in Social Insurance Policies and particularly the change in investment pattern in the health sector. As Vimala Ramachandran point out "user fees have been introduced in hitherto free services and health insurance has become the new mantra to offer the negative impact of household expenditure on health care. The general belief is that privatization; corporatization, user

fees and contracting out services will make the system more efficient and responsive to the clients. The government is now called upon to regulate cost and quality, set standards and adopt new management techniques to manage the system. In short, the government is now called upon to act as a referee and step back from service delivery." (*Vimala Ramachandran, A Perspective on Reforms, Seminar 489, May 2000 p 21*)

Third Generation of Health Reforms

Globalization received a great deal of enthusiasm for health reform during the early 1990s across the world. Both in the Developed West as well as in the Developing East a good number of countries introduced new financing and delivery schemes and many countries are still debating on it. Amidst all these, the World Bank has been pursuing an aggressive campaign for reforms in health care forcing most of the third world countries not only to open up the residual components of health care for private investment, but also to set new priorities in health care as laid down by the World Bank and other international financial institutions.

This emerging trend in health care symbolizes the consolidation of the *Third Generation of Health Care Reforms around the world*. This reform has taken place, as stressed by various international agencies including the UNO, at a peculiar context when most countries in the world are simultaneously facing rising costs of health services, growing demands for such services and increasing limited resources for the financing of these services. These stresses have forced the countries around the world to redesign their existing health systems. In this current generation of reforms, policy makers throughout the world are increasingly recognizing the importance of incorporating private health providers into overall national health systems, mostly in the developing countries. (World Economic and Social Survey (WESS) 2002, P 220).

This current generation of health reforms has both continuity and differences with the earlier generations of health reforms.

The first generation of health reforms was launched in the 1940s and 1950s in developed countries. Gradually those extended to middle income developing countries. The main goal of these reforms was to establish national health systems with the promise of universal access (along with social insurance systems). However, these were abandoned in 1960s with the recognition of the following problems:

- (1) Rising medical costs with the increase in volume and intensity of hospital beds care;
- (2) Failure to guarantee the access by the poor to the national health system, despite the explicit goal of universal access. (WESS 2002 p 223)

The second generations of health reforms attempted at ameliorating these failures and limitations. The basic objectives of this generation of reforms were to make the health care system more cost effective, fairer and accessible. During the era of these reforms primary health care received priority. It also received great success in terms of improving health at relatively smaller cost, particularly in the developing countries. For example, life expectancy at birth increased by more than 10 years in a matter of two decades in many developing countries. Child mortality rate declined and immunization rates increased significantly. Countries with great success in these areas included-but were not limited to-Botswana, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Indonesia, Mauritius, the Niger, Sri Lanka, The United Republic of Tanzania, Zimbabwe, and some states in India. Public health measures and prevention over cure received priority during this generation of reforms. Along with, the issue of health security was linked up with other social security measures like education, food, safe water, and sanitation. And all these had tremendous positive outcomes for most of the developing countries. Both the first and second generation of health reforms, particularly the second generation, were influenced by the 'pragmatic political imagination'. The state acted as a 'public domain' during the second generation of health reforms and it laid down its health care policies, in accordance with national requirements.

However, this generation of health reforms also witnessed many setbacks and limitations, particularly owing to the following reasons: lack of optimum utilization of the public health care provision and at many instances bypassing of the system by the health care seekers; inadequacy in funding leading to insufficient health training and shortage of equipments; no proper motivation on the part of the health care workers; misallocation as well as non-equitable allocation of health resources etc. Most importantly, both the first generation as well as the second generation of health reforms was predominantly supply oriented and it grossly neglected the demand side of the health care system. (WESS pp 224-5)

It is in the context of these failures and limitations that the third generation of health reforms became an urgent necessity, as pointed out by various international agencies including the UNO. The current generation of health reforms, which is complex than the earlier ones, has a few important feature that differentiates it from the earlier generations of health reforms:

- (1) While, supply side consideration remained predominant in the earlier generation of reforms, the third generation of health reforms have emphasized on demand for health reforms as the primary issues to address the issues related to health care i.e. "to identify the causes of mismatches between demand, demand-what people really desire- and perceived needs- what people believed to need." Whereas in the first and second generations of health reforms the policy makers and the authorities ruled supreme, in contrast to it in the current generation of health reforms, it is the health workers and health care seekers who receive priority.
- (2) The Second feature is corollary to the first. The current generation of health reforms addresses the organizational and governance issues seriously. It has been pointed out that in the previous reforms, local health authorities and international experts treated local government officials, health professional and workers, as well as patients as 'passive' agents, "who obeyed

a set of regulations and guidelines mandated by the health authorities" The new generation of health reforms assigns an active role both to the health professionals/ workers as well as to the patients;

- (3) With this paradigmatic shift in organization and governance in health system, the role of the private health care providers towards the achievement of the new goal of 'demand oriented health system' has been increasingly realized and recognized. Greater involvement of the private sector has been justified from a logistic standpoint. The new approach to health care- what WHO has called as "new universalism" - does not call for the establishment of a large number of full-fledged hospitals in poor countries, rather it can be supported by smaller medical facilities run by private sectors. "It calls for 'high qualities delivery of essential (rather than primary) health are defined by cost-effectiveness for everyone, rather than all possible care for everyone, or only the simplest, most basic care for the poor". (WESS p 227)
- (4) Another significant feature of this new generation of health reforms is the identification of new roles for the Government in managing private health service delivery. It has been increasingly realized that despite the advantage and complementary roles of the private sector in public health, the private sector not necessarily lead this health sector in a direction likely to maximize its contribution to the health of the population. So, the Government has to play a leading role in this regard. "The possible roles of the Government as regulator will need to be more sophisticated, requiring multifaceted intervention and coordination among the Government, Public and the Private providers and consumers, so as to maximize the contribution of a health system to the population" In this regard, the Government has to perform a few important functions: understanding the role of the private sectors in its own country and institutionalizing policy instruments; expanding the effectiveness of health service

regulations to assure the overall quality of health care; contracting out and improving access of the poor to health care, including the exemption of fees. (World Economic and Social Survey 2002, pp 237 - 239)

Although, the official lines of the current health care reforms have been projected as an outcome of the growing demands for a demand side oriented health care system, rather than a supply side oriented one, but these interpretations provided by the international agencies-both financial and non-financial- have missed out many important points, particularly the political economy dimension of the current generation of health care reforms. The change in overall economic and political ideologies in 1990s had its impact on the new generation of health reforms around the world. Although, the UNO, UNDP, WHO and particularly the World Bank assign a benign character to the third generation of health reforms, however, the gross negligence of the political economy dimensions associated with it, brings limitation to their projections. Some organizations like the World Bank have done it very intentionally (The World Development Report 1993 titled *Investing in Health* is important in this regard) and other organizations like UNO or UNDP had done it with good motives but uncritically. The net outcome has been the total distortion of the projected objectives and growing inaccessibility of the large majority to even most essential and primary health cares. No doubt, the private health care providers assumed very significant position in most of the countries, particularly in the developing world, as revealed by the available statistics. But all these have not always helped to eliminate the hindrances towards universal health. The new set of priorities has been framed in accordance with the interests of the most developed countries and of global capital. Consolidation of technology beyond proportion has also not been good for the health of the population. The objective of 'active' participation of the health care seekers in the health system has also not been realized. The developments in Indian health system reflect all these limitations and contradictions.

Besides, with the adoption of neo-liberal economic packages, the Indian government is bound to follow the dictates of the international financial institutions, particularly of the World Bank, both in formulating and implementing the health care policies. The World Bank has already laid down some basic guidelines for this and the following are important in this regard.

- (a) Cuts in public spending in the health services including tertiary level medical care and shifts to strengthen population control;
- (b) Shifting curative care to the private sectors;
- (c) Introducing cost-recovery mechanisms in public hospitals;
- (d) Defining "essential" clinical and public health packages;
- (e) Tackling poverty through structural adjustment policies, education and women empowerment. (Qadeer in Mohan Rao (ed) 1999 p 55)

On the other, the proliferation of private health care institutions under a virtual non-existence of any accreditation system to supervise the functioning, charge etc., as well as to control the growing nexus between the private health care establishments and that of public health personnel and also the consolidation of technology in health care have only compounded the difficulties associated with the right to health and health care. The government even subsidized the corporate health sector in India, particularly by allocating prime urban locations in exchange for the promised reasonable proportionate free or subsidized health care to the poor, however, there is increasing evidence of non-fulfillment of such promises by the major corporate/private hospitals.

All these policy changes will have huge negative impact on people's fight to health care for third world country like India. Let us look into the issues empirically with special reference to India.

Current Status of Health Security in India

On many fronts related to health security, India's achievement over the decades has been worth mentioning- increased life expectancy,

reduced maternal mortality, decline in fertility, some success in eradicating basic communicable diseases. Most importantly, during the post independence period, India unlike many other third world nations has succeeded in setting up a complex medical and health infrastructure involving teaching, training and research, drugs and medical instrument production, and medicare including at the tertiary level. (The Problem, Seminar, May 2000 p 12).

However, once put in a comparative setting, India's achievement appears to be very dismal. India, along with other WHO member-nations, became signatory to the Alma-Ata declaration of 1978 promising 'health for all' by the year 2000. This Declaration recognized health as a collective endeavour and so called upon the world community to take special care of this sector. The Declaration very categorically stated: "Governments have a special responsibility for the health of their people which can be fulfilled only by the provision of adequate health and social measures. A main social target of Governments, International organizations and the whole world community should be the attainment by all people's of the world by the year 2000 of a level of health that will permit them to lead a socially and economically productive life." It aroused an expectation in India too that with adequate investment on health infrastructure and an appropriate mix of public health strategies, the country would be well placed to meet the laudable goal. However, the country stands far behind of those expected goals. Some of this is reflected in the macro health statistics.

In India expectancy still stands at 63.3, which is many years lower than not only of the high human development countries like Norway (78.7), Iceland (79.6) or Sweden (79.9), but also of neighbouring country within South Asia i.e. Sri Lanka (72.3) and even of small Latin American countries like Guatemala (65.3) or Nicaragua (69.1). The infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births) in India reduced from 80 in 1990 to 67 in 2001. But it is still very high in comparison to the countries mentioned above. (In the year 2001 in Norway IMR rate was 4, in Iceland 3, Sweden 3, Sri Lanka 17,

Guatemala 43 and Nicaragua 36). The maternal mortality rate in India was as high as 440 (per 100,000 live births) in 1995, which was as low as 60 in Sri Lanka. The figures were relatively high both in Guatemala and Nicaragua i.e. 150 and 250 respectively, but still very much low in comparison to India. Under five mortality rate is also very high in India. It was 123 in 1990 and 93 in 2001 per 1000 live births. The corresponding figures for Sri Lanka are 23 and 19. India shares 17 percent of world's population, but accounts for 23 percent of child deaths, 20 percent of maternal deaths, 30 percent of TB cases 68 percent of Leprosy cases and 14 percent of persons infected with HIV (India Health Report 2003 p 19).

All these have got its linkage with other important factors, particularly health care infrastructure as well as disease preventive structures like access to improved sources of drinking water, access to proper sanitation, level of nutrition, immunization against measles, birth attended by skilled health personnel etc. For example in India between 1995 and 2001 skilled health personnel attended only 43% of births. For Sri Lanka the figure is 97%. In terms of people's access to improved water sources India's position is relatively good- 79% in the rural areas and 95% in the urban areas. However, an enquiry into the infrastructure- or the pipes through which the water flows, tells us a different story. As far as the rural areas are concerned, the improved water sources might be available only for a particular season, but may be inaccessible in the other seasons. For example in Assam, most of the districts remain under flood for more than three months every year and so improved water sources remains a distant possibility for the flood- affected people. These crucial factors are overlooked at many times. In terms of people's access to essential affordable drugs, India falls in the very poor category with 0-49% access. Sri Lanka's position in this regard is far better with 95-100% access. Even, Pakistan's position in this regard is better than India with 50-79% population having access to essential affordable drugs. (Figures summarized from UNDP Human Development Report 2003)

The variation in the statuses of health security is closely

associated with the pattern of investment in health care. The available statistics suggests that those countries in the world, which have invested more public fund in health care, have also achieved high health security status. This co-relationship between investment and achievement in health will be taken up in due course.

The Vulnerability of people's right to health care has been more intensified with people's growing inaccessibility to essential drugs brought about by the changing drug control policies in India. Government of India adopted the Drug policy 1978 and National Health Policy 1983, in the backdrop of the WHO Alma- Declaration of 1978, with a pledge to ensure universal health security by the year 2000. But, from mid 1980s onwards, along with the adoption of structural changes in its welfare policies, India has also embarked upon a new drug policy regime. Through the 1978 drug policy total 347 drugs were brought under controlled price. The 1986 drug policy, however, reduced the number to 166. But the modification of the 1986 Drugs policy in 1994 reduced the number to 73. Today the number must be less than that. As a result of that, in case of some drugs, the price hike between 1980 and 1995 was more than 2000 percent. For example, during this period, the price of Acitrom grew by 1152 percent for a 1 mg table and by 2119 percent for 4-mg tablets. (Rane 1996 pp 231- 39).

Besides, as a result of delicensing and import liberalization, drugs are both imported more freely and sold more aggressively. Anant Phadke (2000), very rightly pointed out that this is especially true in the context of a consumerist culture ('there is a pill every ill'), and the track record of the drug industry world wide of pushing unnecessary, ineffective, obsolete and even hazardous drugs and their combinations. (Phadke 2000, p 25)

Patent Act: Intensifying people's vulnerability

The vulnerability of people's access to affordable drugs has been intensified more with the bringing into force of the Patents (third Amendment) Act through an ordinance as India was bound to amend

its present Patent Act by January 2005 to comply with India's commitments under the TRIPS (Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights). The amendment will have enormous negative implications both for the Indian pharmaceutical Industry as well as for the consumers. The Bill proposes to curtail the scope of awarding "compulsory licenses" which allows the patent controller to grant permission to any Bill will allow the MNCs to patent the products they originally developed. Local firms won't be allowed to produce the generic versions available across the world. In addition, the Bill intends to do away with what is called the "pre-grant opposition", which opposition", which eventually will allow all patent applicants to evade public scrutiny.

After the first new round of negotiation for a new global trade order initiated under GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), known as Uruguay Round of negotiation, which was based on Dunkel Draft, patenting products became a very contentious issue. Indian parliament has already passed two Amendments in 1999 and 2002 respectively to meet the TRIPS requirements. It will fulfill the last obligation of patenting products. Once the government fulfills this requirements, it will create enormous agonies to the larger majority in the country, who are already struggling for two meals a day. It is being projected that in case of some medicines the price will go up many times making them absolutely inaccessible for a larger majority.

This will not be out of place to mention here that, according to the Bill, any medicine developed partially or fully, after 1995 can be put up for a patent. Unfortunately, a whole range of drugs meant for treating fatal or chronic diseases like cancer, heart diseases, diabetes and respiratory dysfunctions were developed after 1995.

Since 1995, the Controller General of Patents has received about 5,637 applications for pharmaceutical patents. Out of the about 4,400 or 78 percent have been field by foreign companies.

As has already been mentioned that India is already marked by low accessibility to essential and affordable drugs. The changes in national drug policy already reduced people's access to affordable

drugs. Now, with the adoption of the Patents (Third amendment) Act, the drugs will become less and less accessible for the larger majority in the society. The treatment of fatal diseases like cancer or Diabetes will be beyond the reach of the common people. All these are happening at a moment when people's access to life and livelihood has already been put into danger by cutting subsidies in essential commodities as well as abandoning the pro-people welfare policies.

As a result of the proposed amendment, the prices of some drugs will increase by around 1000%. For example, the price hike of a tablet of antibiotic for Bacterial infections like, as Ofloxacin 200 mg tablet will be 969%. Even the price of a frequently used drug like Paracetamol 500 mg in case of pain or fever will go up by 207%. A price hike of a tablet like tamoxifen 10 mg used for cancer treatment will be 653%.

The Danger, however, is not limited only to the price hike. Now, the pharmaceutical world have been involved in an aggressive campaign for their products. They want to expand their market. Market will expand provided more drugs are used. To achieve this goal, the manufacturers are already indulging in giving commission to the medical practitioners/doctors for excessive prescription. This will have manifold negative impact on the patients. First, they will have to carry the burden of huge expenditure involved in. But, second and most importantly, they will also be the victims of excessive use of drugs, making them totally dependent on drugs. Their natural resistance will collapse. The ultimate aim of all these is to create an "ill society".

Can Health Insurance be an Alternative to the Public Health Care system?

The role of health care insurance is all important because it is believed that at a point of privatization of health care and the resultant like in health care, the growing out of pocket expenditure on health care can be managed and balanced to a greater extent by pre-disease insurance schemes. Besides, insurance provides protection against risks or uncertain events and is based on the principle that what is highly unpredictable to an individual is predictable to a group of individuals.

Insurance coverage, however, has been very low in India, although the process started as early as in 1948, just after independence. India has various forms of health insurance schemes today, which can be broadly categorized (based on ownership of schemes) as follows: state based systems, market based systems, member or organized (NGO or cooperative) based system, and private household based system. The important schemes, which are already in operation under state based system are: Social Insurance Scheme (SIS) brought into existence by Employees State Insurance Act, 1948; the Employees State Insurance Scheme (ESIS) introduced in 1952 and the Central Government Health Scheme (CGHS), 1954. For persons, not covered by these schemes, Government run insurance companies have introduced market-based scheme, such as the mediclaim scheme of General Insurance Company (GIC) in 1986. Besides these, many charitable and voluntary organizations have also designed social security schemes for specific groups of population-tribal, women etc., and some NGOs provide some kind of social security to the poor and those working in the unorganized sector, particularly in the rural areas. These schemes are also known as Community Based Health Scheme (CBHI).

Despite all these efforts, the insurance coverage in India is as low as around 11 percent. It has been estimated that the formal sector mandatory schemes have an aggregate coverage of about 40 million people. In addition to this, the scattered employer-based schemes in the formal sector have provided varying degree of social security to around 30 million individuals; while community based insurance schemes have provided some cover to 30 million people. It has been estimated that in totality, some degree of social security cover has been available to about 110 million people, out of which less than 30 million are the poor from the unorganized sector.

In the recent past the government has announced two new initiatives in the social sector- **Universal Health Insurance Scheme (UHS)** and the **Unorganised Sector Worker's 'Social Security Scheme (SIS)**- which appear substantive by way of coverage. The

UHS is a subsidized scheme of Insurance with very low investment on the part of the customers. Initially the premium payable for this package of cover under the UHS was fixed at Rs 1 per day for an individual; Rs 1.50 per day for a family up to five members (Including the first three children); and Rs 2 per day for a family up to seven members (including the first three children and dependant parents. The policy covers expenditure incurred during the hospitalization in listed health service centers having prescribed infrastructure facilities/qualified professional manpower. The scheme, however, failed to evoke proper response from the people in more than one year of its operation as till May 2004 UHS could cover only 11, 408 beneficiaries. So, P. Chidambaram, the Union Finance Minister of the new UPA Government reduced the premium in his Budget presentation (Budget 2004-05).

The earlier NDA government on the eve of election announced Social Security Scheme (SSS) for unorganized sector. The plan was to cover 25 lakh workers in 50 districts over the next two years with huge investment on the part of the state.

The historical experience shows that health insurance schemes cannot be an alternative to the Universal Health Care System. This is mainly for the following reasons. (a) Most of the schemes do not provide coverage to out patient treatment and so the fee paid to the doctor as well as the expenditure incurred in the prescribed drugs. (b) They also do not cover all diseases and most of the diseases of the poor people arising out of malnutrition or unsafe drinking water etc. (a) If the health care destination is far away then the accompanied costs of treatment like transportation cost or the cost incurred for the attendants are not covered by the insurance schemes. But these are very vital concerns for the poor people.

Interlinkages between Public Investment in Health Care and People's Right to Health Care

The international experiences shows that variation in the statuses of health security is closely associated with the pattern of investment in health care. The available statistics suggests that those countries in the world, which have invested more public fund in health care, have also achieved high health security status. Let us refers to the following tables.

Achievement in crucial factors related to health security

	Norway	USA	Mexico	Sri Lanka	China	India	Pakistan
Life expectancy at birth	78.7	76.9	73.1	72.3	70.6	63.3	60.4
Adult literacy rate	99%	99%	91.4%	91.9%	85.8%	58%	44%
GDP Per capital in US\$	29,620	34,320	8,430	3,180	4,020	2,840	1,890
Population with access to improved sanitation (%)	.....	100%	74%	94%	40%	28%	62%
Population with access to affordable essential drugs (%)	95-100%	95-100%	80-94%	95-100%	80-94%	0-49%	50-79%
Births attended by skilled health personnel (%)	.....	99%	86%	97%	89%	43%	20%
Under nourished people (%)	.....	.....	5%	23%	9%	24%	19%
Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live birth)	4	7	24	17	31	67	84
Maternal Mortality Rate (Per 100,000 live births)	6	8	55	90	55	540	.....

Source : UNDP Human Development Report 2003

We find variations in the health security statuses among the countries taken for comparative analysis. As have already been stated these variations have close linkage with the pattern of public/private investment in health sector. The following table is illustrative in this regard.

Pattern of Public and Private Expenditure on Health Care

Name of the State and HDI rank		Public expenditure as % of GDP		Public/Private expenditure on health as % of GDP (2000)		Govt. expenditure on health as % of total general Govt. expenditure		Govt./Pvt. expenditure on health as % of total expenditure on health	
State	HDI Rank	1990	2000	Public	Private	1995	2000	Govt.	Private
Norway	1	6.4	6.6	6.6	1.1	13.2	15.8	85.2	14.8
USA	7	4.7	5.8	5.8	7.3	16.8	16.7	44.3	55.7
Mexico	55	1.8	2.5	2.5	2.8	11.3	15.6	46.4	53.6
Sri Lanka	99	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.9	5.4	6.1	49	51
China	104	2.2	1.9	1.9	3.4	15.5	11	36.6	63.4
India	127	0.9	0.9	0.9	4.0	4.7	5.3	17.8	82.2
Pakistan	144	1.1	0.9	0.9	3.2	4.3	4	22.9	77.1

Source : Summarised from UNDP Human Development Report 2003 & World Health Report 2002.

On the other, it is also interlinked with a proper relationship between the pattern of the burden of disease of a given society and that of adequate investment in accordance with that. India is confronted with the burden both of the Communicable and Non-communicable disease. However, in India, communicable disease constitutes the highest burden. It is higher not only in comparison to the average of high-income countries, but higher even than the average of the low- and middle-income economies. But, the investment pattern shows that the communicable diseases now receive low priority than that of the non-communicable diseases.

There have been tremendous pressures both from within and outside to bring reform to this health system. The pressure from within arises basically from democratic compulsions as continued negligence on these fronts is bound to erode the legitimacy of the ruling class. But, the outside pressure appears to be more powerful. Most important pressure has been the UNDP, whose Annual Human Development

Reports, published since 1990 placed India in a very lower rank. UNDP has also forced upon India and other states in the World to come up with the National as well as Provincial Human Development Reports. UNDP has also laid down the basic guidelines to prepare the Human Development Report as well as to articulate the HDI- Human Development Index. India also came up with its first ever National Human Development Report in 2001. Many States within India has also come up with their State Human Development Reports. UNDP has collaborated in preparing these Human Development Reports. All these have forced upon the Indian State to rethink its policies on social security including health security. One of the important outcomes of this retrospection has been the adoption of *National health policy 2002*. Acknowledging the severe flaws in the government policies toward as well as inadequate allocation in the health sector, NHP-2002 promised to increase the public expenditure on health and also outlined a definite time frame to eradicate the communicable and non-communicable diseases. However, the subsequent Budgets- either of the Union Government or the State Governments, do not reflect the promises of the NHP-2002. With all these, the status of health security in India is so poor only comparable with the low human development countries.

The NHP 2002 also acknowledges that the growth of public health services, as reflected in the attainment of improved public health indices, is closely linked to the quantum and quality of investment in the primary health sector. The policy also envisages kick starting the revival of the primary health system by providing some essential drugs under central government funding through the decentralized health care system. The policy also recognizes the significance of the Alternative System of Medicine- Ayurveda, Unani, Siddha and Homeopathy- which can play a substantial role, particularly in the under served, remote and tribal areas, because of inherent advantages, such as diversity, modest cost, low level of technical input and growing popularity of natural plant based products. The policy focuses on building up credibility for the alternative system by encouraging evidence-based research to determine their efficacy, safety, and dosages. The policy also recognizes the significant contribution of

the private sector, but at the same time envisages in clinical establishments/medical institution by 2003. (NHP 2002)

NHP-2002 also acknowledges the fact that private health services are very uneven in quality, sometimes even substandard. Private health services are perceived to be financially exploitative, and observance of professional ethics is noted only as exception.

Taking into consideration all these shortfalls the NHP-2002 proposes to increase the public expenditure in health as well also pledges to eradicate different diseases within stipulated time period. Accordingly NHP develops the "*Goals to Be Achieved by 2002-15*".

NHP- 2002 promised to give adequate attention towards health care and to increase the government expenditure in this sector. Critics have, however, pointed out lot of limitations of the NHP-2002.

The policy limitations apart, even the policy objectives themselves have failed to find adequate attention in the post - 2002 Budgets. Both the budget 2003-04 and 2004-05 fails to implement the promised increase in the budget.

With the Congress led UPA government assuming power at the center, which is also backed by the left parties, there was an illusion around that there will be a qualitative change of Indian Government's approach towards social security within the constraints of the ongoing liberalization policy. Accordingly health sector was expected to receive adequate attention from this government, which has been grossly neglected both in the pre-reform as well as post-reform era. This illusion was also due to the fact that one of the important reasons for NDA's fall in 2004 national election has been the way it implemented the neo-liberal economic policies in India with total disregard towards its possible consequences on the common people.

In other words, the expectation from the UPA government was very high. As far as the health sector is concerned the illusion intensified as the Common Minimum Programme of UPA very categorically announced this sector as one of its priorities: "The UPA will raise public spending on health to at least 2% of GDP (which now stand at 0.9%) over the next five years with special focus on

primary health care." Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh in his first address to the nation on June 24, 2004 also assured of a humane health care by his government: "We need new thinking on health policy. While the Government will continue to help in the growth of private and community-based health and medical care, there is a crying need for the reform of public health and public hospitals. We will make public hospitals more efficient and accessible, through public-private partnership aimed at offering affordable and humane health care. We need community based and public-health, oriented solutions to tackling communicable diseases, epidemics, especially HIV/AIDS, and disability management and population stabilization."

Analysis of the figures shows that despite the high claims of the National Health Policy of 2002 as well as the illusion of qualitative difference between the NDA and UPA governments, the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare received only 1.73 percent and 1.76 percent respectively out of the total expenditure outlays of the Union Budgets 2003-04 and 2004-05. The Ministry of Defence, on the other, received 17.53 percent out of the total expenditure outlay in the Budget 2003-04, which was raised to 18.65 percent in the Budget 2004-05, despite the fact that the UNDP Human Development Reports as well as the India's National Human Development Report 2001 stress on transforming security from an exclusive concern on territorial security to a much greater people's security.

Union Budget 2005-06 has brought some changes to Government's approach towards the rural public health care system. The budget has allocated more this time for the rural public health care system. This has certainly been done under the compulsion of coalition politics, particularly due to the pressure of the left parties supporting the Government from outside. This is a welcome development. However, until and unless the structures of the patent regime as well as other related issues like growing unemployment and inequality in the society are not questioned, mere increase in the rural public health care system will not bring sustaining solution to the current hindrances towards people's right to universal and affordable health care.

References :

Baru, Rama V (1998) *Private Health care in India: Social Characteristics and Trends*, Sage, New Delhi.

Dutta, Akhil Ranjan (2003) *Hegemonic Discourse on Democracy: A Note of Dissent*, Student Struggle, April and May Issues, New Delhi.

..... (2004) *Hegemonic World and Education for Human Rights* in N. Bhagawati & Hemlata Talesra (edited) *Education for the Survival of Human Race Vol 2* pp 393-412, Authors Press, New Delhi.

Dutta Choudhury, R. (2004) *NE Medicine Markets Flooded with sub-standard Drugs & Stringent laws against spurious drugs need of the hour* The Assam Tribune January 10& 19, Guwahati.

Government of India, *Expenditure Budget, Vol. II, Union Government 2003-04 & 2004-05*.

Health Information of India 1999 (2002), Government of India, New Delhi.

Kimbrell, Andrew (1993) *The Human Body Shop: The Engineering and marketing of Life*, Third World Network, Malaysia.

Levins, Richard (2000) *Is Capitalism a Disease? The Crisis in U.S. Public Health*, Monthly Review, Vol. 52. No. 4 pp 8-33

Misra R., Rachel Chatterjee & Suratha Rao (2003) *India Health Report*, Oxford, New Delhi.

National Health Policy-2002, Government of India, New Delhi.

National Human Development Report 2001, Planning Commission, Government of India, Oxford, New Delhi.

Nandraj, Sunil Anagha Khot (2003) *Accorditation System for Health facilities: Challenges and Opportunities*, Economic and Political Weekly, December 13, 2003 Pp 5251-55.

Navarro, Vicente (2003) *The Inhuman State of US Health Care*, Analytical Monthly Review, Vol.1 No 6.

Pai, Madhukar (2000) *Unnecessary Medical Intervention : Caesarean Section as a Case Study*, Economic and Political Weekly July 29, pp 2755-2761.

Panitch, Leo & Colin Leys (2002) (edited) *A World of Contradictions*, Socialist Registrar 2002, K.P bagchi & Company, Kolkata.

Patnaik, Prabhat (1995) *Whatever Happened o Imperialism and other Essays*, Tulika, New Delhi

..... (2003) *The Retreat to Unfreedom: Essays on the Emerging World Order*, Tulika, New Delhi.

Qadeer, Imrana etl (ed) (2001) *Public Health and Poverty of Reforms: The South Asian Predicament*, Sage, New Delhi.

Panitch, Leo (1998) "The State in a Changing World: Social Democratizing Global Capitalism?" *Monthly Review*, Vol. 50, No 5 pp 11-22.

Rane, Wishvas (1996) *Analysis of Drug Prices 1980 to 1995*, Economic and Political Weekly, August 24-31, Mumbai. Pp 2331-2339.

Rao, Mohan (Ed) (1999) *Disinvesting in Health: The World Bank's Prescriptions for Health*, Sage, New Delhi.

Sen, Gita et al (2002) *Structural Reform and Health Equity: A comparison of NSS Surveys, 1986-87 and 1995-96*, Economic and Political Weekly April 6, pp 1342-52 Social Watch India (2003) Oxford, New Delhi.

Sheth , D.L. (2004) *Globalisation and new Politics of Micro-Movements*, Economic and Political weekly, Vol.XXXIX No 1 pp 49-58.

Shukla, Ajay & Anant Phadke (2000) *Putting Health on people's Agenda*, Economic and Political Weekly.

Subramanian. S. (2001) *India's Development Experience: Selected Writings of S Gohan*, Oxford, New Delhi.

UNDP Human Development Report (2003) *Millenium Human Development Goals: A Compact Among Nations to End Human Poverty*, Oxford, New Delhi *Unhealthy Trends* (2000) Seminar, No 489, May 2000.

World Economic and Social Survey 2002: Trends and Policies in the World Economy, United Nations.

World Health Report, *Reducing Risks* 2002, WHO.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF YOUTH ACTIVISM IN NORTHEAST INDIA

Girin Phukon

In the last few decades politics in Northeast India has become increasingly besieged by the politics of youth activism. The identity assertion of various ethnic groups has been articulated through language and culture, which are inextricably linked with economic issue. The diverse groups inhabiting this region have been pressing either for the creation of separate or autonomous state on the basis of their lingo-cultural identities or for constitutional safeguards of their respective identities. Though at the beginning they started their assertion with non-political issue such as the development of their language and culture, the economic backwardness of the ethnic communities has given it a political direction in the subsequent period. It is interesting to note that the youths of the ethnic communities have been playing an active role in mobilizing their respective groups in support of their growing aspiration. Thus, the youths involve in the process of politics in the name of students though most of them are not genuine students. This paper is an attempt to examine the economic dimensions of youth activism in northeast India.

II

The term youth implies the group of men and women in the age group ranging from 15-35 years. The concept of youth, however, tends to get identified with **students**. The students-youths are considered to be a powerful force in society. In fact, this group forms the greatest reservoir of human resource because of its energy and potentialities. Thus it may be looked upon as a source of power, which can inspire a nation if it is channelized properly.

Northeast has been a hot-bed of student-youth activism since the seventies of the last century. The youth and student movements have been greatly affecting and influencing the polity of northeastern states. A series of massive movements have been launched by the students of the region on the issue of ethno-cultural identity, migration and at times with secessionist over tones. The involvement of youths and students in such movement may be better understood in the light of economic backwardness of the region.

III

The youth and students activism in Assam may be traced back to the colonial period when the Assamese students consciously exercised their intellects for social and cultural upliftment of the Assamese. In fact, they wanted to establish the Assamese language into a rightful place and thereby asserted distinct identity of the ethnic Assamese. The formation of **Assam Students Conference** in 1916 is a landmark in the history of student's organization in northeast India¹.

The students movement in post-colonial Assam may be broadly categorized into (I) movement on economic issues; (II) movements for linguistic and cultural identity of the Assamese. The Assamese youths and students have launched four important movement over economic issues (a) Oil Refinery movement in 1957; (b) movement on the issue of Food crisis in 1966; (c) Second oil refinery movement in 1969. Besides, they launched three important movements for the protection of linguistic and cultural identity of the Assamese - (i) Official language movement of Assam in 1960; (ii) Medium of Instruction movement in 1972; (iii) Movement on the issue of Foreign National (1979-85). Although a number of political parties and other social organizations played an important role in these movements, the actual power of movements came from All Assam Students' Union and its predecessor, All Assam Students' Association. These organizations, however, represent the sentiment and aspiration of the dominant section of the Assamese-speaking people of the Brahmaputra valley. The fear of **loss of distinct identity** is a bogey created by the Assamese nascent middle class and a long history of economic

backwardness. The flow of migration into Assam has been responsible for demographic imbalances. Therefore, the constant demographic pressure due to internal and external migration acted as a source of strain in the indigenous society, which manifested in evolving local organizations to resist the imbalances. **Asom Jatiyatabadi Yuba Chattra Parishad (AJYCP)** is such an organization formed in 1978. It has been providing a platform on regional operational basis to various political issues.

Besides AASU and AJYCP, which normally represent the aspiration of dominant section of the Assamese, a number of non-Aryan ethnic student organizations - such as All Bodo Students' Union, Karbi and North Cachar Students' Association, Mising Students' Union, Rabha Students' Union, Tiwa Students Union, Deori Students Union, Moran Muttak Students' Union Tea Tribes' Students' Union, All Tai-Ahom Students' Union, Chutia Yuba Chattra Parishad have been very active in mobilizing their respective communities politically. The non-Aryan ethnic groups increasingly feel that they remain much more backward than other section of the people of the state. They had not only been experiencing the problem of land alienation, unemployment, economic and political oppression under the existing socio-economic system but also discrimination in achieving their **rightful** share in the society. In an underdeveloped country like ours economic development is accompanied by increased inequalities, because rewards are allocated on the basis of the strength and persistence of organized Sector of Society. Therefore, it appeared to ethnic youth that unless they are organised on a sound footing no body would care for their development. Thus the ethnic communities began to organize their respective groups in order to develop their languages and cultural heritage, which they consider as **identity symbol**. The issue, which began to agitate the minds of the ethnic groups are (i) maintenance of distinct ethnic identity; (ii) participation in the political and administrative affairs of the state; (iii) appointment in the government jobs; (iv) availability of adequate scope for education and problem of infiltration. Thus, a strong sense of

deprivation and neglect began to haunt the minds of the ethnic tribals and therefore, some of them started demanding separate political boundary of their own. The students and youth wings of these groups have become very active in order to generate a sense of political consciousness. The movements launched by all Bodo Students' Union resulted the Bodoland Accord in 1993 and formation of Bodoland Autonomous Council. Similarly, formations of Mising, Tiwas and Rabhas Autonomous Councils in 1995 are the result of their respective students' movements. Currently, Karbis Students' Association has been launching vigorous movement demanding autonomous state constituting of Karbi and North Cachar Hill Districts.

The students and youths have played a similar role in the hill states of northeast India. The youth wing of the Naga National Council played an important role in mobilizing the people. In recent times, the Naga Students' Federation has been working as an apex body of students' organizations in Nagaland and appears to be involved in politics. The youth formed a strong contingent of Mizo National Front through whose effort Mizoram became a union territory in 1972. The All Meghalaya student union had been established to co-ordinate the activities of the Khasi Students' Union, Jaintia Students union and Garo Students' union, which have been influencing polity, and society of the state. The All Arunachal Pradesh Students' Union has been launching movement on the issues of (i) solution of the Assam - Arunachal boundary dispute; (ii) deportation of Chakma refugees; (iii) effective check against infiltration of foreign nationals and (iv) withdrawal of trade license and land allotment permit from non Arunachalis². Similarly Manipur Students Union has also been playing a significant role in generating socio-political awareness among the people. Besides, Nikihil Tripura Sanyukta Upajati Parishad has been formed to organize the students, youth and government employees in order to maintain Tripuri identity. Another youth organization - Tripura Upajati Juva Samity has even emerged as an independent political party. More importantly, a section of the ethnic youths of the northeast, however, has been resorting to violent movement demanding sovereign

independent states incorporating the areas where their respective groups use to inhabit. Some of such organizations are National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), Tripura Volunteer Force (TNV), National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB), United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), People Liberation Army (PLA), People Revolution Party of Kanglei Pak (PREPAK) of Manipur, Hynniewtrap National Liberation Council (HNLC) of Meghalaya, Kanglei yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL) and United National Liberation Front (UNLF) and so on.³

IV

The northeast region is rich in mineral resources like oil, natural gas, coal and limestone. Besides, there is fertile soil for producing tea, rice and immense forest resources like timber, rivers, and waterfalls with enormous potential to produce hydroelectric power. With all these resources, this region can be made a self-sufficient zone, if the resources could be mobilized with proper planning. The tea, oil, timber and natural gas contribute a large share towards the national exchequer⁴. The hydropower potential, if properly utilized, can easily meet the industrial needs of the entire region. Unfortunately, however, the youths of the northeast India still feel that they are neglected, exploited and discriminated.

Thus, it appears to the people of northeast that Indian state treats the entire region primarily as a supplier of raw materials and market for goods produced in the rest of the country. In fact, there has been a wide spread feeling that northeast is being treated as a colony of the Indian state and as such it is portrayed as a 'colonial Hinterland'⁵. It has been alleged that there is a glaring inequality in the distribution of developmental funds in the country. The northeast region, which has some inherent difficulties, allegedly received a 'step-motherly' treatment⁶. The scope of resource mobilization is extremely meagre, in industrially, backward northeastern states. It is, therefore, obvious that the leaders of these states have to go to Delhi with the begging bowl frequently⁷.

V

All these development in the northeast region are to be understood in the light of basic character of Indian state. India is a bourgeoisie democratic country in which consent is combined with coercion in the specific form suitable to the capitalist path of economic development. But the path of capitalist development pursued since independence has from the beginning brought stresses and strains on economic development of the northeast. It is alleged that the Indian state has been exploiting northeast rich-resources without ploughing back what is due to it by way of spending more funds for economic development of the region. But the fact remains that this regional unevenness is the outcome of the model of development that Indian has adopted. The capitalist model of development is bound to generate unevenness in development⁸.

As already noted, while the northeast has plentiful natural resources, reinvestment in industries or in agriculture is lacking. The private investors have been hesitant because of risk of investment as it became evident during India-China War, 1962 and secessionist movement, thereafter. Moreover, due to lack of adequate communication network and other infra-structural facilities the capitalist do not feel encouraged to invest their capital in this region. The public investment is also quite low in comparison to the national average. Naturally therefore, even small items like safety pins and naphthalene balls are imported from outside. As per preliminary survey at least 30 imported items could be locally manufactured without any market constrains⁹.

Besides, within the framework of semi-capitalism and semi-feudalism, the centre's development strategy has failed because of misplaced political patronage and missive corruption. Astronomical sums of money provided by the center for schemes of development are appropriated by bureaucrats and contractors. There are alarming reports about some leaders openly and shamelessly hobnobbing with contractor and businessmen who usually come from outside the region

and indulging in "underhand game of swindling huge amount of public money"¹⁰. This has generated a strong feeling against the regional establishment and also the center. Under such circumstances, some of the unemployed youths of this region are tempted to join the insurgent outfits such as the ULFA, NSCN, BLT, TUJ PREPAK, HNLC and so on. Surprisingly, it is often argued that the development of the region has not proceeded satisfactorily because of the insurgency and related matters. But it is conveniently forgotten that youth unrest in the region is due to its backwardness.

VI

At any rate, it appears that socio-political awareness and power consciousness among the youths and students in Northeast India is very high. In recent years northeast India has experienced with influence of youth power in politics. The emergence of educated youth leaders has introduced a new political force in the region. The youth and students of the ethnic communities have been providing leadership to their respective groups¹¹.

It is generally assumed that youth and students are less corrupt as they have no family burden and therefore, they seem to be committed to the cause of the society as a whole. But the youth leadership in northeast India appears to be more concerned with their personal benefits rather than the welfare of the respective communities. More importantly, those who are not genuine students run the student organizations. Thus the youth and students mobilize their respective communities with the emotive slogan for the purpose of fulfilment of their own interest. They project their own interest as the interest of the entire community. Normally the youth organization represents the interest of emerging nascent ethnic middle class. In other words, the middle class utilize the youth and student power as a potential political resource in the game of power politics i.e., in demanding greater share of political power for material benefit¹². In fact, they use economic backwardness and disparity as an instrument of politics. All these elements of youth activism in northeast India are the product

of basic character of Indian state and its resultant uneven economic development. Since, the cultural and ethnic issues are inextricably linked with the economic issues, the youth activism of northeast India could be better understood in the light of basic socio-economic structure of our country.

Notes and References:

1. See, Shiela Bora, "Trends in the rise of Student Power in Assam" in A.K. Baruah (ed.); *student power in Northeast India*, (New Delhi, 2002) P. 67. and Meeta Deka, *student movements in Assam*, (New Delhi, 1996).
2. See, S.Dutta; *Student Movements in Arunachal Pradesh*, (New Delhi, 1997)
3. See, B. Pakeml (ed.); *Insurgency in Northeast*, (New Delhi, 1997)
4. See, Tilottama Misra "Assam: A Colonial Hinterland" *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 9, 1980.
5. Ibid.
6. This view was widely expressed by the leaders of Assamese press and regional political elite. See, Editorial article "Center's Aapthy" *The Assam Tribune*, July 20, 1996.
7. See, Editorial, "More Powers to the States" *The Assam Tribune*, September 15, 1997.
8. Girin Phukon, *Ethnicisation of Politics in Northeast India* (New Delhi), 2003 pp. 27-34.
9. Ibid.
10. Khiren Ray; "Tribal Politics in Northeast India", *The Assam Tribune*, January 20, 1990.
11. See, Girin Phukan , *opcit* pp. 54-58.
12. Ibid.

PUBLIC MANAGEMENT : A New Frontier of Public Administration

M.N. Das

Public administration is based on knowledge from management. A managerial definition of public administration proclaims that it is the executive function in government or a management applied in public systems¹. Although public sector management is distinguished from private sector management in many ways the two systems share a surprisingly broad area of similarities². We are no longer confronted with several administrative sciences, but with one, which can be applied equally, well to public administration and private management³. From many years, differences stemmed from the nature of services each sector customarily provided, from diverse structures and functions, but mainly from discrepancies in the environment. However, when the environment started rapidly to change, organizations had to change as well. Modern societies have become more complex, flexible and dynamic. Cultural, industrial, perception has led to some recent developments in the public administration, making it client-oriented and more businesslike. Scholars frequently define these shifts as the principal change in public administration and its transition into a revised field of study named *Public Management*⁴. The need of the hour seems to be to adopt a normative model of Management approach incorporating both the politico-administrative as well as the moral dimensions of *good governance*. This should include replacement of highly centralized organizational structure with decentralized management environment integrating with new PRIs where decision on resource allocation and service delivery are taken close to the point of delivery and improving the system of delivery at the cutting edge of administration by replacing the existing bureaucratic procedures by absorbing some appropriate precepts inherent in the philosophy of *Public Management*⁵.

Since independence, there have been a large number of changes in the structure, work methods and procedures of the administrative organizations of the developing societies. Despite more than 60 years of administrative development, it is ironic that the administrative system of the developing societies is still under the hang over of the colonial administrative values of the 19th and early 20th century and has stubbornly refused to move into a new grab necessitated by the revolutionary socio-economic, political and environmental developments all over the world. From the perspective of public administration, the world has become a '*global village*' reflecting revolutionary change⁶. These changes led to some recent development in public administration and its transition into a new field of study - *Public Management*. The developing world have encountered pressures to reform their administrative system to respond to the needs and requirements of increasing democratization, globalization, liberalization and privatization. These are not only the pressures that have led the governments to think about restructuring and reorienting their administrative systems but also to think a dramatic shift of their public administration to *Public Management*⁷.

The shift from traditional public administration to '*New Public Administration*' in the late 1960s lays emphasis on four major themes - *relevance, values, equity and change*. The theme of relevance is more a reinterpretation than an original quest. Management - oriented public administration was found 'irrelevant' and the demand was to deal explicitly with the political and administrative implications of administrative action. Another aspect of the relevance issue relates to the character of the knowledge itself. The new movement demanded radical curriculum change to facilitate meaningful studies oriented toward the realities of public life. The new public administration explicitly announced its basic normative concern in administrative analysis. It openly rejected the value-neutral position taken by behavioural political science and management - oriented public administration. The new public administration is less generic and more public than less descriptive and more prescriptive, less 'institution-oriented and more client-impact oriented' less neutral and more

normative. The protagonists of new public administration do not hesitate to demonstrate their open partnership. To serve the cause of social equity is to actively work for social changes. This is the motto of new public administration⁸.

The movement that started at Minnowbrook has been criticized as anti-management. Despite a great variety of management structures and styles, the common assumption has been that management is basically technical in nature whose primary motive is to produce predictable results by manipulating human beings and material. The critical approach would suggest a different style of management altogether, directed not so much towards control as helping individuals to discover and pursue their own developmental needs⁹. There is need to make improvements in the working atmosphere of the government institutions and offices to reflect a new work culture and a changed administrative behaviour incorporating the principles of transparency, responsiveness, accountability, participative and citizen-friendly management¹⁰.

Public administration is moving through reforms and changes that are aimed at downsizing, privatization, de-bureaucratization, higher professional managerialism and above all strict dedication and aspirations to become a better '*science*' by improving management and measurement tools and adhering with positivism and empiricism. The emergence of *E-administration* is no more a fantastic dream but blatant reality. Public administration in the 21st century is moving through reforms and changes aiming at better management and better performances. The information era and the immense technological advancement with which our nations struggle necessarily create higher levels of accessibility, availability and transparency to the public¹¹. Since the early 1980s much work has been done in the area of public administration theory and practice that claimed to go beyond the conservative approach in public administration. This liberalization of public administration is recognized today as the New Public Management (NPM) trend. NPM greatly aggravated the self-identity problem of public administration¹².

The emergence of NPM as a new arena in the study of public administration is the result of study and research on distinction between two proximate terms - Administration and Management. The classical writers perceived public administration as a separate discipline. The term management referred to the more general arena used by all social scientists. Classical public administration analysed the operation of bureaucratic system, governmental processes, policy making and policy implementation. Management refers to the general practice of empowering people and maximize efficiency in the process of producing goods and services. NPM has become popular in the theory and practice of contemporary public administration. The increasing popularity was due to the more virile connotation of the term Management than Administration¹³. It was suggested that public management rather than public administration could continue to a new understanding of how to run the government more efficiently. A greater impact of new ideas and methods from the field of public management on the administrative science was essential¹⁴. Public administration is a profession and the public manager is a practitioner of that profession. Public administration needs well-accepted managerial tools, techniques, knowledge and skills that could be used to turn ideas and policy into a successful program of action¹⁵. Public management has been a momentous contribution to public administration as a discipline in decline. It was unable to provide the public with adequate practical answer to their demands.

NPM is an interdisciplinary study of the generic aspects of administration, a blend of the planning, organizing and controlling function of management with the management of human, financial, physical, information and political resources. The practical difficulties of policy - making and policy implementation which faced many western societies in Europe during 1970s are viewed today as an important trigger for the evolution of NPM¹⁶. NPM was advanced as a relevant and promising alternative to liberate public administration from conservative image. It creates a performance - based culture in meeting the growing needs of the people.

The greatest contribution of NPM to public administration is the focus on the performance of administrative organizations. Another significant contribution of NPM was that it helped public administration continue its journey as a discipline in transition¹⁷. NPM is a basic operative force in all-complex and purposive organizations. The heart of administration is the management of programmes designed to serve the general welfare. The goals of NPM are to make the conduct of affairs technically sound, politically responsible, publicly acceptable, professionally approved and socially constructive.

A debate is very often raised when some writers equate the terms Administration and Management, others go further and subordinate Administration to Management. Conflicting views by various scholars have led to some confusion over the use of these terms. Scholars like Ordway Tead, Shulze, Oliver Sheldon and William Sprigel considered administration as a broader activity and management as a narrower activity¹⁸. To them administration is a top level function while management is a lower level function. Administration defines the goal, management strives toward it. Scholars like Breach, Kimball, Richman and Copen hold that management is a broader term and administration is a part of it. Management comprises both policy and execution. Administration is part of management, which involves doing routine things in a known setting. On the other hand, scholars like Henry Fayol, Chester Barnard, George Terry, Harold Koontz etc. make no distinction between administration and management. The difference between administration and management is superfluous. In practice the two terms are used interchangeably¹⁹.

In order to resolve the terminological conflict between administration and management, management may be classified into-administrative Management and Operative Management. Administrative management involves determination of objectives and policies whereas operative management is primarily concerned with the execution of plans. The higher-level management spends a major portion of their time on decision-making and policy formulation

(administration) while lower level managers spends comparatively greater time on execution of plans and policies (management).

NPM is a major segment, a new frontier of the broader field of Public Administration. Over the years a growing number of political scientists came to perceive public administration as an old discipline. It was unable to provide the basic amenities to the people. During 1980s 1990s many schools of Public Administration decided to become schools of Public Management. To day NPM was advanced as a relevant and promising frontier of public administration. Here lies the main challenge of public administration in the coming years²⁰.

References :

1. J.M. Shafrits and E.W. Russell, *Introduction Public Administration*, Addition Wesley Longman, New York, 1997.
2. For detail concerning this point see, H. Rainey, 'Public Management : Recent Development and current prospects' in NB Lynn and A. Wildavasky (Eds.) *Public Administration : The State of the Discipline*, Chatham House, NJ Chattam, 1990.
3. In this connection se, Henry Fayol, 'The Administrative Theory in the State' in Papers in *The Science of Administration*, (eds). Gullick & Urwick, New York, 1937.
4. Eran Vigoda in his paper, 'Rethinking the identity of Public Administration : Interdisciplinary reflections and thoughts on Managerial reconstruction' 2003 suggests a revision of the evolution of public administration on the modern era and stated that public Management has become a new frontier of modern public administration.
5. RB Jain, *Public Administration in India*, Deep & Deep, New Delhi, 2002, Introduction, P. XV.
6. *Ibid*, pp. XIV-XV.
7. Eran Vigode, op.cit. p. 13.

8. M. Bhattacharjee, *Public Administration, Structure, Process and Behaviour*, World Press, Calcutta, 1987, p. 15.
9. *Ibid.*
10. RB Jain, op.cit., p. XV.
11. Eran Vigoda, op.cit., p. 13.
12. DF Kettl and HB Milward (Eds), *The State of Public Management*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1996, p. VII & p. 5.
13. GD Garson and ES Overman, *Public Management Research in the United States*, Praeger, New York, 1983, p. 275.
14. JL Perry and K. Kraemer, *Public Management : Public and Private Perspectives*, Palo Alto CA, Mayfield, 1983.
15. JS Hyde and JM Shafritiz (Eds.), *Public Management : The Essential Readings*, Nelson Hall, Chicago, 1991, p. 1.
16. Eran Vigoda, op.cit., p. 15.
17. Kettl and Milward, op.cit., Argued that one of the NPMs most significant contributions to public administration as a discipline in transition is the focus on the performance of governmental organizations. According to their analysis only through interdisciplinary cross - fertilization will the picture be rich enough to capture the enormous variety and complexity of true public management.
18. J.S Hyde and JM Shafritiz, op. cit., p. 1.
19. Fadia and Fadia, *Public Administration : Administrative Theories and Concept*, Sahitya Bhawan Publications, Agra, 2001, p. 267.
20. Eran Vigoda, op. cit., p. 16.

SAID UN-SAID : FROM POLITICS TO THEORY

Bijay Danta

To speak is to fight, in the sense of playing, and speech acts fall within the domain of a general agonistics. This does not necessarily mean that one plays in order to win. A move can be made for the sheer pleasure of its invention: what else is involved in that labour of language harassment undertaken by popular speech and by literature? Great joy is had in the endless invention of turns of phrase of words and meanings, the process behind the evolution of language on the level of parole. But undoubtedly even this feeling of pleasure depends on a feeling of success won at the expense of an adversary - at least one adversary, and a formidable one: the accepted language or connotation.

(Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* 10)

One would be hard put to show a theorist who is not a player in a game that he or she invents and eventually disowns. In this paper I have tried to examine the "making" of Edward Said as a literary critic and theorist. My argument is that there are many Saids in what we read and present as *the* Said. In fact, the training that Said received as a student of literature does not disappear overnight. To accept Said as a kind of "phenomenon" takes us away from the complexity of his mind and thought to the convenience of categories. It is necessary to see the Said of different texts, circling about himself, around philosophical categories. To ignore this process of negotiation is to invite the terror of typologies to thought. This paper is an attempt to return to the "uncomfortable" in Said.

Talking about the history of criticism in America, Said refers to the exclusivist practice of historians of criticism seeking to legitimize a trend peculiar to our times: talking about critical theories in essentialist terms, ignoring the circumstances of their origin and, possibly, of circulation (*World* 113). This is a case of critical history privileging and insisting on the materiality of a method at the cost of its latent historicity. Surely, we can now outline the peculiarities of

critical narratives. But this insight, as a matter of fact, each insight, to use an expression made compellingly famous by Paul de man, comes at considerable cost. This insight into the philosophical inner-life of critical theory may have blinded us to the obvious surface political unconscious, of the circumstances of its production, the political ideologies (not necessarily clandestine, hidden agenda), of the practicing theorist or the available theory. This compulsion to harp on the newness of critical schools, their trendy relevance, and the concomitant irrelevance of other schools we seek to replace or resist, has created a sense of *de javu*. For, each theorist seeks legitimacy for his or her theory from this trendiness.

Whether we like it or not, the Said that we read, and we think we like or do not like, today is the product of a trend. He is before anything else the writer of *Orientalism*. To be fair to our own horizons of knowledge and belief, we do add of course *The World, the Text, and the Critic* and *Culture and Imperialism* to our list of must-reads. I have no doubt that some of us would like to add a couple of other titles such as *Covering Islam* and *The Question of Palestine*. The Said that fascinates us is a responsible intellectual who is prepared to call "their" bluff. He emerges as a radical humanist, as a kind of shaman who blows into our hitherto dumb mouths the power of the word. He teaches us to read the western texts in our English classrooms in a manner that we enjoy, to speak and write of things that we value. Given the fact that the book was actually read in the 1980s, one would like to examine the circumstances in which the book came to its readers. One needs to remember that the '80s and '90s were Derrida's decades. A question that one would like to ask is: are/were people too wary of Derrida that turned them to Said. Given that Derrida appears to be philosopher of language, whose best ideas are those that we do not understand, whereas Said appears to be an intellectual saviour, the choice for the reader seems justified.

A major problem in Said relates to writing and the circumstantiality of its production. As the phrase is traced to Raymond Williams, Said's detractors often latch on to the implications of the

phrase. They evaluate Said's work on the basis of purported use or abuse of a piece of Wisdom that they saw in Williams. It is true that Said refers to the circumstances in which he did his writing. So the terms of reference have to be returned to Williams' description of indicative and subjunctive categories of writing. As we already know, Williams differentiates between books that merely exist in the world and books that participate in the world's ways so as to change them. In Postmarxist theory this second category is of books or is part of what is called "enabling" theory. We also know that this enabling power or position in theory is meant to absolve theory of charges of elitism and narcissism. So this insistence on circumstantiality in Said points both to intention and method. I have tried to think through these two ideas as they are mediated by formalism as well as other critiques of historical method (especially in Hayden White's *Metahistory* and *Tropics of Discourse*). The basic question that emerges relates to the circularity of knowledge, historical knowledge in particular. A larger implication of this whole exercise pertains to known and unknown fictions of the self. The beginning of beginning is therefore a formal attribute of the circumstantiality of production that Said seems to talk about.

In *The World, the Text and Critic*, Said not only makes the circumstances more explicit than ever, but also suggests that four of his books, namely *Orientalism*, *Culture and Imperialism* together with *Converging Islam* and *The Question of Palestine* be read as a trilogy. While I don't see anything wrong with this authorized canon, I am troubled by what seems to be an implied sense of departure from his early writing. His doctoral dissertation at the University of Harvard was on *Conrad and the Fictions of Autobiography*. Said often speaks in glorious terms about the circumstances in which Erich Auerbach, his Ph.D. adviser, wrote that extraordinary book *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* in war-torn Istanbul, even as his life was at risk. Auerbach, did not have access to the basic books that he would have taken for granted in Germany, his home, that is, till he was thrown out because of the perceived traits of his race. Said himself talks fondly about his early life in Palestine and

traces his life and belief as an American intellectual to the history of his homeland. Then there is this fascinating book *Beginnings: Intention and Method*. As I see it, at the heart of Said's interest in and articulation of how knowledge colludes with power *lies* a critical reevaluation of historicism.

The History of Beginnings :

The essential similarity between historical and narrative tropes is something that Said always found fascinating and disturbing. History is an attempt to objectify the roots and the routes we have taken from the roots to the present. The attempt to trace the historical beginning of something is the recognition of an epistemological break in what is otherwise a linear process. Hypothetically speaking the recognition of the beginning of an incident is nothing but the recognition of a phenomenological crisis. For, to be able to say that X began his/her trip to Y at such and such point at such and such place at such and such time is to separate the process from its peculiar circumstantiality of production.

We know that "national" images are constructed by and through historical events, and need not be taken as natural attributes of a people. Geopolitical self-imaginings are therefore sites of promise and trouble. For, while there is no doubt that we do settle, historically, and through discursive practices, on the beginning of a particular story involving a particular nation, the authenticity of this particular story is always under erasure. This is not to plead for postmodernist or contingent positions of historical understanding. Rather, to insist on the particularity of events and their explanations is to expose particularities to multiplicities, which, already always robs them of the uniformity that we though was natural to them. An event, given the fact that it is an event, is already part of multiple interpretations in the circumstances of its production and circulation as an event. Every beginning therefore can be traced back to an originary *mythos* that resists verifiability, and legitimises itself through currency. The evolution of what we call nation character is therefore an activity that already admits of multiple charters, many trajectories. The historian's search for context

is replicated in literature not physically but rather structurally, in the search for ultimate meanings of texts. While the historian searches for roots in the soil, and the in the minds of people, the literary critic searches for patterns in the images that are available in literature.

In other words, historical understanding starts with this hypothetical separation of the real time from an infinite continuum. To the extent that the beginning is not really a beginning, only an *ad hoc* break in what is otherwise a temporal, historical knowledge points to several crises in our understanding of the world and the text. We have gathered here to see how any attempt to articulate the world and the text gets mediated through processes of complicity and/or contest, making it impossible to practice or profess pure criticism or theory. Edward Said has spoken about these crises, relating them to the intention and method of all writing, historical writing in particular. I am interested in the figurations and trajectories of Said's thought so I would begin by framing the crises through three different lines. The first crisis is an epistemic crisis that relates to our configuration of our sense of being. This is immediately available in our failure to see what was once thought of as a being-in-presence. The second crisis is the result of a break in the continuity between the being in its perceived position and the perceived position of the being but there is a third factor. This additional factor relates to evaluation of the different counters of the self, which disables us to see either counter without creating a differential or hierarchical structure. This is at once viewed as an ethical crisis as well, since already a process of evaluation is being thought of.

Forgetting/Leaving Behind:

Said talks about beginning as what which we leave behind. Leaving behind is forgetting and already prefigures a need for recovery. So thinking about beginning, that is, leaving behind already involves an eidetic return in the sense that we may go back to this beginning in the past in memory. This figuration of the beginning approximates the doctrine of eternal recurrence and seems to critique in the process the progressivist and sequential list notions of historical

chronology. One would have thought that Said's views are too close to Nietzsche's thought about historical existence, historical knowledge, and the historical process. The doctrine of eternal recurrence shuffles across these three ideas in the sense that existence and process must be mediated through knowledge in order for the idea of recurrence to be valid. Hayden White, following Nietzsche's early writings, translates history into an art. Nietzsche's later works translate aesthetic vision into an apprehension of life in both tragic and comic terms simultaneously. But to do so, one needs to transcend the limits of historical knowledge and draw upon history in terms of existence and process mediated by knowledge.

Said is interested in the ways in which human knowledge of history generally seeks to re-introduce the concept of principle or law or condition in relation to the principle of causation or consequence. To the extent that historical knowledge often becomes historical reflection, a split between condition and consequence is inevitable. In other words, the subject that is part of historical existence cannot be the subject of historical reflection or knowledge. For instance, to be able to desire the return of the heroic in the age of mediocrity and cultural resignation, one has to dissociate oneself from one's age. This is in line with Nietzsche's suggestion that the link between historical existence and historical process is "dangerous". This is so, apparently, because of a tendency in man to metonymically reduce events into agencies, or phenomena into manifestations.

Said often returns to an allied theme. This is the theme of blindness as the Siamese twin of insight of insight, made fairly well-known in recent time by Paul de Man. In *The Genealogy of Morals*, Nietzsche links illumination to a state of debilitating darkness. This paradoxical meditation on light as a blinding source of power, as a supreme symbol of originary darkness, is useful to explain the link between memory and forgetfulness:

For, just as popular superstition divorces the lighting from its brilliance, viewing the latter as an activity whose subject is the lightning, so does popular morality divorce strength

from its manifestations, as though there were behind the strong a neutral agent, free to manifest its strength and contain it. But no such agent exists; there is no "being" behind the doing, acting, becoming; the "doer" has simply been added to the deed by the imagination - the doing is everything. The common man actually doubles doing by making the lightning flash; he states the same event once as cause and then again as effect. The natural scientists are no better when they say that "energy moves", "energy causes". For all its detachment and freedom from emotion, our science is still the dupe of linguistic habits; it has never yet got rid of those changelings called "subjects". (*Genealogy* 178-179).

In *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche critiques the cliocentric metaphor of the sun used by Hegel in the beginning of his *Philosophy of History*. Nietzsche says:

After an energetic attempt to focus on the sun, we have, by way of remedy almost, dark spots before our eyes when we turn away. Conversely, the luminous images of the Sophoclean heroes - those Apollonian masks - are the necessary productions of a deep look into the horror of nature; bright spot as it were, designed to cure an eye hurt by a ghastly darkness (BT 59-60).

Again, it is suggested in *The Genealogy of Morals*, that the impulse to beauty is necessarily conditioned as a reflex to a prior awareness of the ugly. Poetic vision, Paul de Man would claim is necessarily a product of this coming together of knowledge and its absence. Said says that historical knowledge cannot be realized without acts of lack of knowledge, or what Nietzsche calls "creative forgetting". Interestingly, this idea of forgetting Said is aware of paradoxes in this Nietzschean link but does not seek legitimacy from these paradoxes, as Nietzsche himself did.

Said acknowledges what he owes to Derrida, Foucault, and by implication, to Nietzsche. All these thinkers have commented on the

relationship between myth and history. It is true that historical method seeks its strength from chronicity, the mythical method looks to absolutism in chronos. Eliot speaks about this:

In using the myth, in manipulating a continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity, Mr. Joyce is pursuing a method which others must pursue after him It is simply a way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a Significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is Contemporary history psychology ethnology *The Golden Bough* has concurred to make possible what was impossible even a few years ago. Instead of narrative method, we may now use the mythical method [*The Dial* 75 no. 5 (Nov. 1923)].

Said talks about writing in terms of "redistribution of textual space" (*Beginnings* 10). This insistence on spatiality enables Said to a common characteristic in Joyce, Yeats, Mann, Conrad, Freud and Nietzsche. This common point "has been a necessity at the beginning for them to see their work as making reference, first to other works, but also to reality and to the reader, by adjacency, not sequentially or dynastically" (10).

Further:

The true relationship is by adjacency, while the dynastic relationship is almost always the one treated ironically, the one scoffed at, toyed with, or rejected. Therefore the production of meaning within a work has to proceed in entirely different from before, if only because the text itself stands to the side of, next to, or between the bulk of other works-not in line with them, nor in a line of descent From them.(10)

Nietzsche, on the other hand, speaks of history in terms of the antiquarian, the monumental and the critical. Antiquarian history has absolute faith on anything old simply because it is old. To the extent that it is old, history provides for the basic human need for a feeling

of rootedness. Monumental history, on the other hand, looks for the manifestly great and the heroic and uses it as an example of man's creative power to change for or transform the present. This notion of history, however, is futuristic in the sense that it presents practical concerns and often exists in opposition to an antiquarian historian's sensibility. In contrast to both antiquarian and monumental historical sensibilities, critical history evaluates both historical inheritance and utopian dreams, especially in relation to felt needs and desires of the present. This, in turn means that human history is essentially a history of "creative forgetting". Without this faculty of "oblivion," existence or action in the present is not possible. Nietzsche, for instance, would go on to suggest that the power of remembering makes man unheroic to the extent that what is heroic is unpredictable. This is the subject of a very exciting but largely ignored collection of essays titled *Post structuralism and the Question of History*.

In *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche pleads for a human freedom which yanks man from historical sense to mythic consciousness. The basic idea is that the sense of freedom which gives humanity its essential identity is always crippled by man's reliance on history. Nietzsche speaks of the illusions of historical continuity available in the sense of historical progress or process. By imagining itself as part of unidentifiable historical or cultural chain, nations seek legitimacy for their historical concerns. This, to Nietzsche, is not only illusory but also self-defeating. For, to be part of history is to be subject to pre-conceived notions. This undermines the creative freedom of man. Nietzsche says:

It may be claimed that a nation, like an individual, is valuable only in so far as it is able to give to everyday experience, the stamp of the eternal. Only by doing so can it express its profound, if unconscious, conviction, of the relativity of time and the metaphysical meaning of life. The opposite happens when a nation begins to view itself historically and to demolish the mythical bulwarks that surround it (quoted in White, *Metahistory* 336).

Compare this to a passage in Freud's *Leonardo da Vinci: A Memory of his Childhood* (1910). Freud compares childhood memories to the more familiar modes of reconstruction such as histories and lives and argues that all these modes of reconstruction are essentially retrospective :

Quite unlike conscious memories from the time of maturity [childhood memories] are not fixed at the moment of being experienced and afterwards repeated, but are elicited at a later age when childhood is already past; in the process they are altered and falsified, and are put into the service of later trends, so that generally speaking they cannot be sharply distinguished from phantasies. Their nature is perhaps best illustrated by a comparison with the way in which the writing of History originated among the people of antiquity. As long as a nation was small and weak it gave no thought to the writing of its history. Men tilled the soil of their land, fought for their existence against their neighbours, and tried to gain territory from them and to acquire wealth. It was an age of heroes, not of historians. Then came another age, an age of reflection: men felt themselves to be rich and powerful, and now felt a need to learn where they had come from and how they had developed. Historical writing which had begun to keep a continuous record of the present now also cast a glance back to the past, gathered traditions and legends, interpreted the traces of antiquity that survived in customs and usages, and in this way created a history of the past. (32)

Freud's conclusions are fascinating. There are always lessons in the "original" that no reconstructions can offer. But these lessons are never final. The reading of poetry is almost like the activity of the historians of antiquity. It is essentially an act of retrospective ordering.

Said says this about beginning which, in a way, is the hypothetical childhood of all events:

[The] beginning is basically an activity which ultimately implies return and repetition rather than simple linear accomplishment, that beginning and beginning-again are historical whereas origins are divine, that a beginning not only creates but is its own method because it has intention. (*Beginnings* xiii)

Nietzsche prefigures several historically ordained promises, which to him mean obligations or oaths across time, to re-enter the world of mythic apprehensions. This would help man reclaim the freedom which metaphorical consciousness alone permits to human life. This theory of history challenges notions of what has already been seen in antiquarian and monumental sensibilities, in the sense that both of these encrypt an element of predictability in human life.

The way out of this predictability, according to Nietzsche is to "forget", metaphorically, of course. The limits of human potential would therefore be determined by what Nietzsche calls a "memory of the will", as opposed to mere "passive succumbing to past impressions." To the extent that man is this "naturally forgetful animal, for whom oblivion represents a power, a form of strong health has created for itself an opposite power ..." (189-90), he is able to will his future.

In his *The Anxiety of Influence* (1971), Harold Bloom speaks of a similar power of forgetting. Bloom negotiates with the Nietzsche an promise of forgetful power in the figure of the poet. Similarly, the historian would have no power without his/her memory. In the event of full realization of the power of memory, the ability to forget would automatically disappear. This, in turn would mean that the power of the mind to disentangle the present from the past or, for that matter, of the present from the future, would be minimal. This in turn would mean further that the historian would neither be the condition, nor the consequence of knowledge, both as voyeur (as passive or parasitical spectator or secret sharer) or viewer (as objective interpreter or purveyor of truth).

It can be suggested that history, especially recorded narratives of history can neither be absolute nor objective. In other words, the narratives of history, to the extent that they are narrative, tend to be unreliable. Said talks about the relationship between generations, and assuming that history is the site which articulates this relationship; he views history as a kind of interpretive gap or lack. Any relationship that is opposed to the notion of adjacency is suspect. Said's alternative is both fascinating and in our case disturbing :

Another way of conveying the idea of adjacency is to say that a text can neither be effectively read as commentary nor described by commentary. A text has no central point or central trajectory: it imitates no spatial or temporal object; and its "voice" is more likely to be a doodling pen rather than a narrating persona [...] A text seems more essentially just itself -a text, with its own highly specialized problematics - than a representation of anything else (10)

Robert Scholes says something about the relationship between fact and fiction that is worth a look. Scholes problematize the relationship between fact and fiction, the relationship we often take for granted. He first looks up the etymological link between the Latin roots of both. Fact comes from *facere*: to make or do. Fiction comes from *fingere*: to make or shape. The privileging of fact over fiction is ironical, to say the least.

For,

A thing done no real existence once it has been done. It may have consequences and there may be records that points to its former existence (think of the Civil War, for example) but once it is done its existence is finished. A think made, on the other hand, exists until it decays or is destroyed. Once it is finished its existence begins (think of a Civil War story like Stephen Crane's *Red Badge of Courage*, for example. Fact, finally, has no existence, while fiction may last for countries. (*Elements* 113 -14)

These remarks once again bring to the fore the problem highlighted by Nietzsche's views on the three sensibilities of history.

Writing as Dis (re)membering:

Said sees the colonized conscious as a symbol of identity (in the sense of continuity or essential similarity) between the numerous men, women and *figures* of history, especially *figures* of victimization or, at least, numbing. If Aziz and the station manager's mistress somehow melt into one consciousness, Said would want then to be voicing identical concerns which are no longer identical because the separateness already available in their historical counterparts is dissolved. This, in other words, means that Said wants to celebrate, and at the same time, underplay the unity of the colonial project as opposed to its dissonant voices.

A reader looking for the treatment of memory in Oriental history would "forget," because of interpretive compulsions, the element of fantasy which is cleverly woven into the history of the Orient. Paul de Man's exploration of the allegories of reading through the twin concepts of blindness and insight can be of use here. De Man sees reading through the twin concepts of blindness and insight can be of use here. De Man sees reading as allegorical in that it polarizes the text into contestatory sites: forgotten/remembered, seen/unseen, etc. Each of these sites hints at a binomial hierarchy common to allegory¹. Since reading is already always a highly charged and inclusive term, all allegories of reading are essentially aphatic. Derrida's speaks of the aphatic in writing as well as narratives in terms of traces. According to Derrida, traces are both guides and witnesses to the violent transformation of all acts of remembering into "disremembering" (Ellmann 189). Since all acts or facts of remembering available in biography, autobiography, and memoirs, etc. are related to the subject reminiscing on its past, they constitute a reorganization of experience and/or cognition. This reorganization is both the condition and consequence of forgetting.

This brings me to Said's thesis on Conrad. To the extent that all

writing is interpretation, the writer-interpreter "forgets" hints or clues which his interpretive frame or method does not allow him remember. As already noted, however, in most biographies the subject's aphasia is already privileged over recollecting remembering. As a writer who is given to re-gathering facts, the biographer enlists the authority of the biographical subject.

It is important to remember in this context what De Man says about the nature of autobiography: "The theory of autobiography is plagued by a recurrent series of questions and approaches that are not simply false, in the sense that they are far-fetched or aberrant, but they are confining, in that they take for granted assumptions about autobiographical discourse that are in fact highly problematic" (67). De Man also says that all generic marks designate aesthetic as well as historical functions, which in the case of autobiography mean "not only the distance that shelters the author of autobiography from his experience but the possible convergence of aesthetics and history" (67). Interestingly, De Man refers to Augustines's *Confessions* and Wordsworth's *The Prelude* along with Rousseau's *Confessions* and Proust's *Remembrances*. For any theoretical enquiry a "recurrent attempt at specific circumscription ... the distinction between autobiography and fiction" (68), is obligatory though the results may not as expected:

Autobiography seems to depend on actual and potentially verifiable events in a less ambivalent way that fiction does. It seems to belong to a simpler mode of preferentiality, of representation, and diegesis We assume that life produces the autobiography as an act produces its consequences, but can we not suggest, with equal justice, that the autobiographical project may itself produce and determine the life and that what ever the writer does is in fact governed by the technical demands of self -portraiture and thus determined, in all its aspects, by the resources of his medium? And since the mimesis here assumed to be operative is one mode of figuration among others, does the referent determine

the figure, or is it the other way round: is the illusion of referent determine the figure, or is it the other way round: is the illusion of reference not a correlation of the structure of the figure, that is to say no longer clearly and simply a referent at all but something more akin to a fiction which then, however, in its own turn, acquired a degrees of referential productivity? ("Autobiography" 68-69)

De Man would go on to say that autobiography "is not a genre or a mode, but a figure of reading or of understanding that occurs, to some degree, in all texts" (70), prefiguring of return to a pre-visited site, a repetition. In other words two moments marked by al temporal deferral, are positioned in a manner so that each acts as a speculum for the other, De Man calls this act a "mutual reflexive substitution" in which the autobiographical frame "implies differentiation as well as similarity, since both depend on a "implies differentiation as well as similarity, since both depend on a substitutive exchange that constitutes the subject" (70: emphasis added). In such a situation the author of a book becomes the subject. The interiorization of the "secular" structure, De Man says,

merely makes explicit the wider claim to authorship that takes place whenever a text is stated to be by someone and assumed to be understandable to the extent that this is the case. Which amounts to saying that any book with a readable title page is, to some extent, autobiographical. (70)

De Man, of course, immediately adds: "But just as we seem to assert that all texts are autobiographical, we should say be the same token, none of them is or can be" (70). This happens because the repetitive double bind in autobiography "aptly connotes the turning motion of tropes and confirms that the specular moment is not primarily a situation or an event that can be located in a history, but that it is the manifestation, on the level of the referent, of a linguistic structure" (70-71).

What is still more important is that autobiographical writing

derives its identity not only from representational and cognitive but also "contractual" registers: "The name on the title page is not the proper name of a subject capable of self-knowledge and understanding, but the signature that gives the construct legal, though by no means epistemological, authority" (71). It is impossible for the writer to stay "within the topological system of the name" because his movement from "ontological identity to contractual promise," which is also an assertion of the "per formative" function "is at once reinscribed within cognitive constraints" (71).

In other words there is a crisis involving the transfer of the referential function from the subjective to the rhetorical. Further, this division or breach between the two functions would always rule out any transaction between the two which would collapse or remove the epistemological boundary between them. In De Man this moment appears with predictable regularity, which in any case does not take away its power to probe different discursive methods. This creates the space for the reader to assume increasing importance in view of his "policing power" to verify "the authenticity of the signature and the consistency of the signer's behavior the extent to which he respects or fails to honour the contractual agreement he has signed" (71-72).

The writing of autobiography is, therefore, symptomatic of a double bind: "the necessary to escape from the topology of the subject and the equally inevitable reinscription of this necessity within a specular model of cognition" (72). De Man recognizes the possibility of the author dying in a system of signification but does not pursue the matter because autobiography, to retain authority, would need a subject or author².

Maud Ellman fills in the gap created and left by De Man's work in her reading of Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. This novel has been considered Joyce's most autobiographical novel in which the novelist "becomes his own hero" and the novel "becomes the novel of the artist" (Levin, *Joyce* 47). A traditional reading of the novel would see it as the "result of an extended process of revision and refinement": of an "original version securely founded upon

the bedrock of naturalistic narrative" (Levin 51; emphasis added). If the novel in its finished form was to be a revision of original matter provided by Joyce's own life, the critic with most access to Joyce's personal life should hypothetically be the authority on the novel.

Ellmann begins by at least proposing to dismantle the assumptions of such approaches because the critic here is ideally a personal acquaintance or policeman. It is obvious that reading Joyce's novel in an autobiographical frame prefigures a language which either expresses or suppresses experience or reality through reconstitution or re-vision. A major hypothesis in Ellmann is that language does not seek to express or describe experience or reality but rather constructs it. The portrait of the subject, here the subject of (auto)- biography, becomes an accomplice to the fiction of transparent language which preempts the possibility of an unmediated author as subject. What is more important to Ellmann is "the becoming of the subject in writing" and the "fading of the subject as serial" (189) because Stephen Dedalus is a name, a constitutive sign, or reified subject. "Disremembering" an identity is a recurrent motif because memory "is a scar which hollows out the spot' ... the scar that remains of an identity" (191).

Hence implying that the text is "about" something reinstates the polarity of content and from which Joyce's writing constantly stretches and transgresses" (191). Ellmann brings the concept of narrative labyrinth here, which, she suggests, pervades the novel's "imagery as if to halt us in our hermeneutics":

For the secret of a labyrinth is only the way out, whereas I, for one, am looking for a way in. The scar is not a secret, but a principle of structure: a punctuation. Because it is a living scar, it constantly resurges and reiterates itself. And the signification of the text is lodged in the very blanks and repetitions that mark and mask its cicatrix. For the scar belongs not to the subject but to the text itself, which both suffers and enacts the multiplication by which identity reconstitutes itself. (191-2).

Orientalism: Ideological Fictions and Transition Narratives

Said refers to Orientalism as part of the Occident's "ideological fictions," which, when read and intertextually re-inscribed into the colonial text, becomes a "transition narrative". Among the more abusive spin-offs/ questions relating to Said's work is the one that creates a link between imperialism/colonial state created the condition for nationalist discourse, giving the colonizer the benefit of the doubt. This interpretation is in fact a rehabilitation of colonialism that offers it a kind of backhanded compliment. This interpretation is in historical conformity with what Habermas calls the "project" of Enlightenment, a necessary quest for modernity that would in course of erase memories of war, hegemonic control, subjection, deprivation, exploitation and dehumanization of the oriental subject. The other interpretation is less charitable. The emergence of nationalist consciousness is seen as the ideal condition for imperialism. The European project of Enlightenment is therefore both handmaiden and hostage to imperialist discourse. One could say that the Nation and Enlightenment are allies in love and war, especially the latter, when it comes to creating and confirming the "other," to fight its sinful existential miseries through the light of wisdom and charity that only Europe is capable of delivering.

In an influential essay "Post colonialism and the Artifice of Indian History" Dipesh Chakrabarty offers a reading of Nirad Chaudhuri's *The Hand, Great Anarch ! India, 1921-9152* to unearth the pervasiveness of what has been called transition narrative. The portion excerpted and interpreted relates to Chaudhuri's wedding night where he "was terribly uneasy at the prospect of meeting as wife a girl who was a complete stranger ... (350; quoted in Chakrabarty 232). Interestingly, such first encounters of Indian brides and grooms cut across generic divides in narrative, dramatic and poetic scenes where one finds a fair dosage of romantic and/or sexual anticipations on the newly-wed couple's part. In most cases this encounter would also inscribe groom's fears and fantasies involving his performance. Interestingly, Chaudhuri's fantasies and fears do not

relate to sex or romance, which, when inscribed in the text, tend to be insipid and comically matter-of fact. The narrative treatment of Chaudhuri's nervousness is a parodic inversion of the virginity test motifs that dominate such scenes. Chaudhuri is afraid not because he might fail his bride in the all-too-important test of the Indian male's sexual prowess, but rather because his wife might fail him in a test that he has devised for her. This test relates to his wife's exposure to cultural practices of the west. So the groom's discovery of "knowledge" and "innocence" is embedded not in middleclass sexual morality but in parodic subversions of such discovery. The narrative is tantalizingly seductive as Chaudhuri speaks of his attempts to "begin romance on such terms as were offered to me" (350). The shy groom makes the first move:

I asked her timidly after a while: "Have you listened to any European music?" She shook her head to say "No." Have you heard the name of a man called Beethoven?" She nodded and [it] signified "Yes." I was reassured, but not wholly satisfied. So I asked her again: "Can you spell the name?" She said shyly: "B, E, E, T, H, O, V, E, N." I felt encouraged ... and we dozed off.

These narrative inversions of the sphinx and the riddle motif and the virginity test motifs are interesting solely as narrative devices and can be studied as such. They possibly indicate that the sexual morality of the Indian middleclass needs to be reviewed. Chakrabarty in fact claims that "the desire to be 'modern' screams out of every sentence of Chaudhuri's autobiography" (*Subaltern Studies Reader* 274). In fact the comic inversions of the sexual rites of passage cannot hide Chaudhuri's obsession with signposts of western culture. Any sign of unfamiliarity with these would promptly disqualify a person from his/her entitlements, both personal and professional.

In a curious and highly ironical turn of events Chaudhuri would go on not only to declare that he was the last surviving Englishman but also lament the loss of Englishness from the world. This would indicate at once the desired end of the curve of colonization insofar

as the native was concerned. Alternatively, this is the telos that every Orientalist dreamt of. But this lovable anachronism speaks with such ferocious authority on the value of the English, now dead and gone, that a case can be made for the return of the gaze, in the same way as the Orientalist project antiquated and controlled the Orient through the gaze of authority. Chaudhuri occidentalizes the England of his mind and rides along in this fossilized and ossified world. Like the Orientalist who "knew" and thereby mastered the Orient, Nirad Chaudhuri claims to have known and mastered the Orient's masters in a rhetoric of (dis) possession, a rhetoric not revenge but of retrieval. This is the return gaze of the colonized being, easily subsumed by categories such as comedy or obsequiousness. The narrative that emerges out of Chaudhuri's engagement with the rhetoric of retrieval is not what is generally viewed as the megalomaniac outpouring of an anglophile but a counter-discourse to colonialism.

From the Politics of Despair to the Politics of Repair?

The learning-to- curse phase of colonialism may have taken a trajectory that was neither anticipated by Prospero's Shakespeare, nor by Caliban's Greenblatt³. If the politics of decolonization was rooted in "writing back" for revenge, the politics of repair involves writing that is revision. The enormity of the task can be gauged from the fact the history of the history that is sought to be reinscribed into this act of de-orientalization relates not only to the master of the *raj* but also the servants of *swaraj*. The idea behind this politics is that history is packaged not only by the imperial historian but also the nationalists. The factors behind the choice of heroes and villains must be analyzed. What I have tried to do is to show that the divide that critics see between the Said of *Orientalism* and the Said of *Beginnings* is not only not established in reason and reading but is a part of large politics of culture of which theory is always a ready partner. I want to end my reading with a quote from Dipesh Chakrabarty, just to show the enormity of the vision that we must ignore to move forward. We must therefore forget what has been said by history. That is one way to seek not damages but a repair:

What allowed the modern European sages to develop such clairvoyance with regard to societies of which they were empirically ignorant? Why cannot we, once again, return the gaze?

In fact, the philosopher in Said always tries to do precisely this: look for the beginning of beginnings. In his search he settles on an explanation, finds it inadequate, and moves on. The Said user finds it convenient to stay put, either in politics or in theory⁴.

Works Cited :

- Auerbach, E. *Mimesis : The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. Trans. Willard Trask. Princeton:PUP, 1953.
- De Man Paul. "Autobiography as De-Facement." *The Rhetoric of Romanticism*. New York: Columbia UP, 1984.
- Ellmann, Maud. "Disremembering Dedalus: A Portrait of the Arist as a Young Man." *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*. Ed. Robert P. Young. London: Routledge, 1981.
- Faris, Wendy. *Labyrinths in Language: Symbolic Landscape and Narrative Design in Modern Fiction*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1988.
- Heidegger, Martin. *The Question of Being*. Trans, William Kluback and Jean T. Wilde. New Haven: College and University P, 1958.
- Miller, J. Hillis. "Ariadne's Thread: Repetition and the Narrative Line. *Critical Inquiry* 3 (1976): 57-77; Rep. *Ariadnes Thread: Story Lines*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1992.
- *Fiction and Repetition: Seven English Novels*. Cambridge, Mas.: Harvard UP, 1982.
- Said, Edward. *Beginnings: Intention and Method*. 1975. New York: Columbia UP, 1985.
- *The World, the Text and the Critic*. London: Vintage, 1984.

¹ Paul de Man's "Autobiography as De-Facement" (Rhetoric 67-81) and Maud Ellmann's "Disremembering Dedalus: *A Portrait of the Arist as a Young Man*" (Young 189-205), are notable for their rigorous probing of the fictional element in autobiographical literature.

² This is not to suggest a systemic contradiction in De Man's thought, for the question of autobiography and problems of autobiographical writing are dealt with greater intensity and rigour in his essays on Rousseau and Nietzsche in *Allegories of Reading*, especially 79-131, 278-30.

³ Stephen Greenblatt's classic account of this phenomenon is *Learning to Curse* (New York: OUP, 1990). The more familiar works include *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Postcolonial Literatures* by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (London: Routledge, 1989).

⁴ This is a substantially revised version of a paper I presented at a seminar on "Edward Said and the Politics of Culture" at the Department of English, Gauhati University, on 31 January 2003.

TRANSNATIONAL COOPERATION AND LIVELIHOOD SECURITY IN NORTH EAST INDIA

Deepak K. Mishra

Along with increasing global integration of national economies the rise of strong regional blocks has been one of the striking developments in the post war period. The emergence of regional markets can be seen both as part of the process of globalization and also as a response to it. Apart from the historical, political and economic factors underlying the formation of such trading blocks and regional economies, the existence of regional externalities, spill over effects and integrated and mutually dependent markets have also facilitated the development and consolidation of regional blocks in recent decades. Both economists and geographers have stressed that externalities created by specialized market for labour or output or forward and backward linkages, drawn from trade in intermediate goods, play an important role in generating increasing returns that eventually promote the agglomeration of activity¹. Contiguous regions², having shared markets for labour, and final products, tend to gain by sharing their capital and managerial talents, because of regional externalities³. An important implication of some recent studies on regional externalities⁴ is that coordinated investment in these regions could be more successful than isolated actions, counteracting the effects of poverty trap due to geographical location (Lopez-bazo et.al., 2004).

The move towards formation of regional trading blocks, Free Trade Areas and Growth quadrangles and triangles has gained considerable momentum in recent decades, particularly in the developing world, partly in response to the global restructuring of the economic and political order in the post-cold war period. Formation of sub-regional blocks in the context of increasing global integration of markets for products, services, factors, technology and information is being seen as a necessary countervailing strategy, to overcome geographical isolation, weak bargaining strength and also to build upon a range of regional and sub-regional complementarities (Rajain,

1999) India's look east policy and increasing trade relations with the ASEAN economies has generated lots of hope in the North Eastern region, mainly because of its locational advantages. The growing corporation between India and her eastern neighbours has further consolidated the scope for a transnational regional growth strategy in which India's north eastern states are likely to play major role. There is however, mounting evidences from different parts of the world that the gains and burdens of trade-led development strategies are highly unevenly distributed across nations, regions, communities and classes. Focusing upon the livelihood issues in North East India, the paper attempts to argue that making the opportunities and vulnerabilities of people a key concern in the transnational frameworks for cooperation will help in designing a more inclusive, participatory and locality relevant development strategy for the region as a whole.

The paper is organized as follows. After an initial discussion on the conceptual strength and weaknesses of a livelihoods-based approach to development in the initial sections, an attempt has been made to develop a conceptual framework linking trade liberalization with household level opportunities and vulnerabilities. After discussing the key livelihoods issues in North East India in the subsequent section, the possible impacts of transnational economic cooperation on the livelihood options before the people of the north eastern region have been analysed. Finally, an argument in favour of making livelihoods concerns central to the strategies of transnational cooperation has been put forth on the basis of cross-linkage between environmental degradation, migration and further depletion of resources.

Conceptualising Livelihoods :

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood 'encompasses income, both in cash and kind, as well as social institutions (kin, family, compound, villages and so on), gender relations and property rights to support and to sustain a given standard of living' (Ellis, 1998). Thus, conceptually the livelihood approach goes beyond the usual emphasis on income¹⁵ and

employment and brings in social institutions, which play a crucial role in determining the constraints and options of individuals and households.⁶ Multiplicity of livelihood sources helps rural households to diversify risks and manages uncertainty through allocation of resources across several non-co varying sectors. In some cases it is the ex-post coping-mechanism to production-shortfalls or entitlement-failures of various kinds. It is also a strategy to build upon complementarities of a range of activities (Start, 2001).

Livelihood diversification is defined as 'the process by which households construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities for survival and in order to improve their standard of living' (Ellis, 1998). 'Considerations of risk spreading, consumption smoothing, labour allocation smoothing, credit market failures, and coping with shocks can contribute to the adoption, and adaptation over time, of diverse rural livelihoods' (Ellis, 1999). Livelihood diversification strategies are followed both by the poor as well as the non-poor. Households diversify and complicate their livelihood strategies in order to increase income, reduce vulnerability and improve the quality of life. Livelihood diversification is not just *income diversification* - while the latter refers to 'the composition of household incomes at a given instant in time', livelihood diversification concentrates on the social processes by which households are observed to engage in increasingly intricate portfolios of activities over time. Since diversification can be a response to both opportunities and constraints, often 'diversification for survival' has been contrasted with 'diversification for accumulation' (Hart, 1994: 48). The strategy of accumulation implies that the objective of the household is to gain access to move resources through savings and/or exchange (Ullah, 1996; Murray, 2001). In the South Asian context, it often entails intensification and/or diversification of farming activities from crop to non-crop like poultry or livestock production, leasing-in more agricultural land or leasing-out surplus land; renting out agricultural assets and equipment, shifts from farm to non-farm activities (viz. trading and business, cottage and small industrial activities, wage employment, specialised services and also migration. (de Haan, 1999).

In some cases, however, survival strategy adopted by the households may also lead to accumulation, a process called 'accumulation from below' (Ullah, 1996; 194-5).

The positive impacts of livelihood diversification include seasonality, risk, employment, credit and asset effects. Seasonality effects, also termed as labour smoothing and consumption smoothing effects, contributes towards diversification for mitigating the adverse impacts of seasonality of farm production, (i.e., the mismatch between uneven farm income streams and continuous consumption requirements) by utilizing labour and generating alternative earning streams during off-peak periods.⁷ Risk reduction through diversification of activity aims at distribution of household resources (e.g. labour) across a range of activities having different mean-variance combinations (e.g., combining low-mean/low-variance subsistence activities like shifting cultivation with high-mean/high variance activities like petty trading) or across activities having un-correlated risks (e.g. farming, where the main source of risk may be climate, may be combined with urban wage employment, where risks exist because of job insecurity). Diversification also results in higher income asset improvements as well as access to different segments of the fragmented credit markets in rural areas. The potential environmental benefits of diversification of livelihoods are (i) firstly, generation of resources which can be invested in improving the quality of the natural resources base and (ii) secondly, reduction of dependence on activities involving exploitation of natural resources (e.g. gathering of forest produce). Some forms of diversification may have positive gender effects, if women have access to the earnings and outputs of such diversified activities. However, studies also point out that livelihood diversification may increase disparities,⁸ create labour shortages⁹ and hence decline in farm output, adverse gender effects and even lead to rapid depletion of natural resources¹⁰. Thus, sustainability dimension of livelihood diversification strategies need to be understood in all their diverse dimensions, particularly because diversification driven by destitution and lack of choices, are often more damaging to the natural resource base (Dasgupta & Mellor).

Sustainable livelihoods

The sustainability dimension of livelihoods draws attention to the long term of implications of livelihoods generation and diversification strategies. Sustainability of livelihoods depends upon the dynamic interactions between peoples' assets, capabilities and choices. The 'sustainable livelihood' (SL) frame work, developed and popularized by the DFID is rapidly being familiar in policy-making circles. It is basically an integrative framework linking assets with vulnerabilities of households and individuals.

A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resources base (Carney, 1998). Within a particular 'vulnerability context', defined for example, by shifting seasonal constraints, short-term economic shocks and longer term trends of change, people deploy their assets - human, social, natural, physical and financial - in various combinations, within circumstances conditioned and influenced by institutional structures and progress, in order to pursue a range of different livelihood 'strategies', with diverse but more or less measurable livelihood 'outcomes' (Murry, 2001). Thus, the approach draws attention to the *assets*, *vulnerabilities* and *capabilities* of households and also to the processes, institutions and policies, which condition and influence the livelihood outcomes of individuals and households.

The strength of the sustainable livelihood approach are :

- (i) The ability to bring in the changing combinations of modes livelihoods in a dynamic and historical context, which for example, are ignored and relegated to the background in the once powerful techno-economic approaches to rural development.
- (ii) The emphasis on the need to transcend the boundaries between conventional discrete, sectors, such as, rural/urban, agricultural/industrial, formal/informal etc.;

- (iii) The implicit recognition of the importance of intra-household and extra-household social relations; and
- (iv) The ability to incorporate various levels of analysis - macro, meso and micro - into an integrating and interactive framework. The shift to focus from the economy per se to people and their activities, ideally frees the framework from a number of reductionist trapping and allows to incorporate many important dimensions of the development process, such as the role of non-tangible assets like trust, cooperation and social networks; the interrelationship between ideology, power and the range of *feasible* economic choices before individuals and households; the centrality of 'environmental entitlements for livelihood choices; the importance of participatory approaches to development research and planning etc., which plays important roles in shaping the trajectories and implications of the development process but were given inadequate emphasis in some of the earlier approaches to development.

The framework has been criticized on various grounds: firstly, as pointed out by Murry (2001), in the framework the language of 'multiplier effects' predominates, as though it is possible to expand people's 'asset pentagons' in a generalized and incremental fashion. The structures of power and powerlessness as well as the heterogeneity of interests, both within and among 'local' communities' are insufficiently recognized. Although 'participation' is stressed in much of the literature, the concept of 'community' implicit in such discussions fails to accommodate the mutually conflicting interests of diverse social groups (Mishra, 2004b). The generalized notion of 'sustainable' outcomes also begs questions which are not resolved even by positive 'livelihood outcome' indicated in the framework. Another significant theoretical criticism, elaborated by Murray is the equating "assets", theoretically with varieties of "capital" intellectually distorts our understanding of capital and politically distorts our understanding of the causes of poverty. On the first point, capital is properly a social relation between people, not an attribute of rich or poor households or individuals, respectively. On the second point, attention is displaced

from the inequalities of power that must surely be invoked to explain the persistence or the worsening of poverty (Murray, 2001).

Livelihood Security :

Livelihood security implies existences of a range of feasible livelihood options for all households on a sustainable and durable basis, so, that they can withstand occasional shocks and disruptions, and can expand their choices and enhance their capability over a period of time. At the bottom of livelihood security lies the availability of, access to and utilization of various assets that are crucial for the survival of the households. The security of the asset base of the households, in the wider context of structural transformation of economies, can not be ensured by asset-fixity, but by a dynamic process of asset transformation - moving from one combination of assets to another, without jeopardizing environmental sustainability on the one hand and guaranteeing the survival and well-being of the households and individuals on the other. This is particularly important because of the widely noted processes of marginalization and pauperization of a section of the population during phases of economic change and structural transformation. The capacity to translate existing or changing combinations of diverse types of assets into favourable outcomes, in turn, depends on a complex set of processes, institutions and policies that govern the access to and utilization of these assets. Livelihood security can also be thought of as a critical component of the wider framework of human security¹¹, which has been found to be useful particularly in the context of conflicts and disruption of normal socio-economic processes.

The on going restructuring of economies, through policy changes both in the domestic as well as international spheres, willy nilly, implies changes in both the structure of asset ownership as well as shifts in the rules governing access to and use of them. The manifold implications of globalization, trade liberalization and deregulation can thus be judged by focusing not just on the macro-economic aggregates, but also by linking these changes to the changes in the livelihood strategies and outcomes at the household and individual levels.

Liberalization and Livelihoods : The Linkages

The introduction of market-friendly policy regimes in many parts of the developing and transitional economies has dramatically altered the foundations of economic policy making both within the domestic sphere as well as at the international level. The implication of greater global integration, trade-openness, deregulation and privatization for growth and poverty reduction in the developing economies has been a hotly debated issue in recent times. Without attempting a comprehensive review of this voluminous and growing literature, we have tried to selectively look at few important implications of this debate for understanding the difficulties in ensuring livelihood security in the context of economic reforms in general and trade liberalization in particular.

It is widely recognized that trade liberalization, through higher economic growth, helps in reducing poverty. A number of World Bank publications have argued that there is a positive relationship between the degree of openness in the developing countries and the rate at which they grow. Since a growing economy is better placed to bring down the levels of poverty, it is argued that 'anyone who cares about the poor should favor the growth-enhancing policies of good rule of law, fiscal discipline, and openness to international trade' (Dollar and Kray), 2000). While conceding that there may be winners and losers, Dollar and Kray point out that since the losers do not come disproportionately from the poor, 'trade generally goes hand-in-hand with more rapid growth and ... with improvements in the well-being of the poor'. This view is challenged by others, on the grounds of selectivity bias in such cross-country studies (Rodrik, 2000). Questioning the measurement of trade openness and growth, Rodriguez and Rodrik (1999) argue that there is no clear cut relationship between openness and growth; rather it is contingent on a number of external and country-specific factors¹². Also, the message from the household level studies is quite different than that from the cross-country studies¹³. Many recent studies have pointed out the need for a micro-approach to the study of linkages between trade policy and issues like poverty and food security (Ravallion, 2001).

In one of the widely quoted frameworks, developed by McCulloch, Winters and Cirera (2001), trade-poverty linkages are analysed in terms of factors such as : (i) the extent to which changes in the prices at the border - both import and export - are passed on to producers and consumers; (ii) consumers' and producers' response to such price changes; (iii) the effect on employment, wages and profits; and (iv) changes in government revenue and its response in terms of expenditures on reducing poverty. They have identified three key channels through which trade policy affects households and individuals - enterprises, distribution and government. While *enterprises* transmit the changes in trade policy through changes in profitability, production, employment and wages, with regard to *distribution*, changes in border prices, through their affects on wholesale and retail prices affect the households and individuals. The impacts of trade reforms also work through changes in *government* revenue and spending, which could have crucial implications on poverty.

Another framework developed by an FAO study analyses the linkages between trade, livelihoods and food security by focusing at two different sets of modifying factors: (i) factors that affect the extent to which price changes in international markets are passed on, and the responses of suppliers to the changing prices, which include the functionality of market and non-market institutions, remoteness and the typology of producers etc., and (ii) factors affecting the changes in value and composition of products translate into increased income and/or food security of the poor, which include the state of the technology, the existing distribution of assets and the extent to which households are currently net savers.

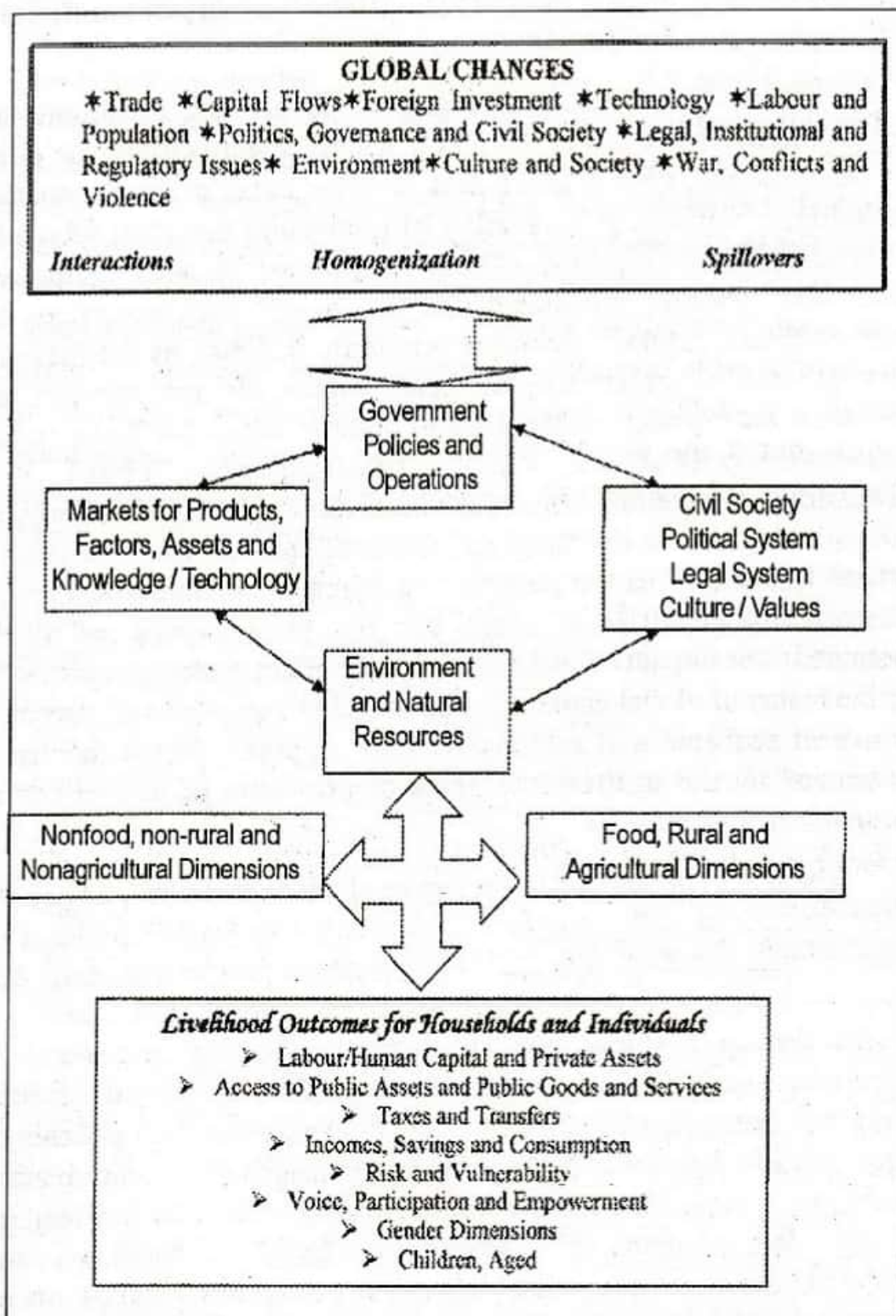
A livelihood approach to the impacts of trade reforms 'draws attention to the context-specific *assets, vulnerabilities and capabilities* of particular group of poor people to take advantage of trade liberalization, and the *institutions, processes* and *accompanying policies* which are favourable to success in the market. The analysis of peoples' assets and vulnerability provides a starting point to access the opportunities and risks of trade liberalization for different groups

in particular contexts and the analysis of institutions and processes provides an understanding, at least at the theoretical level, of both market and non-market factors which affect poverty outcomes' (Kanji and Barrientos, 2002 : 14).

Trade liberalization strategies in developing economies have been pursued in the larger context of a shift towards domestic policies of deregulation, privatization and, in some cases at least, substantial reductions in public provisioning of goods and services, which have enormous impacts on the livelihoods options of the poor. Critics argue that with gradual integration of the developing countries with metropolitan capital, and more pointedly because of the increasing strength and importance of financial capital, the autonomous space for decision-making on the part of nation-states has been reduced substantially (Patnaik, 1996; Chandrashekhar, 1996). While dismantling the welfare state was one of the key issues that dominated the early debates on structural reforms programmes, over the years the debate has shifted to the narrower question of relative efficiency and effectiveness of different social security programmes and welfare measures. The impact of globalization on welfare systems depends both on the forms of global economic and social governance and also on the nature of regional and national welfare regimes, which in turn are influenced by the institutional bases of provision of livelihoods and security¹⁴.

The framework presented in Figure - I which is basically an adoption of the Globalization-Poverty-Food Security linkages developed at IFPRI (Diaz-Bonilla and Robinson, 2001) is broader in comparison to the other framework discussed above. Different dimensions of globalization are listed at the top [first level] and are shown as affecting the government, civil society, markets, and environment in the developing world [second level]. For example, globalization may change government policies and programmes in such a way that it affects the availability of public resources for the poor. It may also change the functioning of markets and may lead to larger environmental spillovers. These changes, in turn, will affect livelihood outcomes through their impacts on economic and non-economic assets and capabilities, mechanisms for redistribution of income and institutional factors [third level].

Figure - I
The Links Between Globalization, Poverty and Livelihoods



Although diverse methods and approaches¹⁵ have been used to understand the manifold linkages between globalization, liberalization and livelihoods, in the specific context of North East India, the following findings of earlier studies might have some *special relevance*.

- (i) 'A household's location is key in conditioning the extent to which it benefits from liberalization measures ... Connectedness to markets, as captured by access to infrastructure ... and distance to urban centers, is likely to be a major factor in determining how growth in any country transmits its benefits to its population'. In other words, *geography matters* (Christiaensen et. al., 2003-336).
- (ii) Private endowments of households critically condition their ability to gain from such changes. Inequality in the distribution of assets ultimately results in inequality in opportunities to participate in growth.

Livelihood Issues in North East India : A Synoptic Review

North East India¹⁶ is clearly one of the least researched regions of the country. Given the significant data gaps¹⁷ and unreliability of the available information, it is difficult to arrive at firm conclusions regarding the nature and implications of economic transition in the region. However, on the basis of the available secondary information and results of some micro-studies some of the major livelihood issues of the region have been discussed below.

The Primacy of Agriculture :

Agriculture continues to be the main source of livelihood for a majority of people in North East India, generating about 50 per cent of the region's income. According to 2001 population census, of the total workers in the region, fifty five per cent are agricultural workers. The main features of agriculture in the region include low productivity, which in turn can be attributed to poor irrigation facilities, low mechanization, limited usage of HYV seeds and predominance of monocropping and *jhumming* or shifting cultivation (NEDFi, 2003:17).

The data on land utilization pattern suggest that the percentage of cultivable area used in the NE states is 63.79 per cent, as compared to the national average of 73.23 per cent, although considerable diversity exists within the region. While in Meghalaya and Mizoram land utilization is as low as 20.15 and 24.44 per cent respectively, in states like Assam (79.24), Manipur (85.37) and Tripura (90.94) it is quite high, reflecting the demographic pressure on land in the later group of states and also, to some extent, land degradation due to shifting cultivation in the former (Table - I).

The average size of holding in the region was 1.60 ha in 1990-91 compared to the national averages of 1.57 ha. Again it ranged from 6.92 ha in Nagaland and 3.62 ha in Arunachal Pradesh to 0.97 ha in Tripura and 1.24 ha in Manipur. In Assam, the largest state of the region, average size of land holding was 1.31 ha (Table - II). Marginal farmers operating on holding of less than 1 ha size account for 56 per cent of total holdings in the North East, as against the all India average of 59 percent. Small and marginal holdings together constitute around 79 per cent of total holdings in the region. Again, there exists considerable diversity in the agrarian structure of the states. Peasant differentiation is generally found to be sharper in the case of the densely populated plains than in the hills. But the overall character of the agrarian structure in the region is that of smallholder peasant agriculture.

A significant aspect of the livelihood scenario of north east India is the importance of shifting cultivation. More than 443 thousand families in the region depend on shifting cultivation, called *jhumming*. At least 14,660 sq. kms of area were estimated to be under shifting cultivation in the early nineties (Table : III). Although considerable regional and inter-tribe difference exists in the *jhum* farming system in north east India, by and large shifting cultivation is characterized by a mixed cropping and sequential harvesting (Ramakrishnan, 1992). The state machineries have actively tried to discourage the system and it is widely believed that shifting cultivation is a low productive and environmentally damaging activity¹⁸. It is, however, important to

note that sequential availability of diverse food and non-food crops in the *jhum* fields¹⁹ has played a significant role in ensuring food and nutrition security to the families depending upon shifting cultivation, particularly because many of them reside in relatively inaccessible and remote parts of the region (Hussain, 2003). The shortening of *jhum* cycles in different parts of the region has already created a crisis of sustainability of the system. There is some evidence to suggest that people are gradually moving out of agriculture, either because of availability of alternative sources of livelihoods or because of specific constraints like labour shortage and declining productivity. The shift of households from *jhum* to other forms of cultivation or to other occupations carries with it the risk of increase in household vulnerability, unless it is accompanied by a rise in both physical and economic access to food and other essential resources. The impact of these changes on intra-family distribution of resources and work burden is yet another important dimension of the transition, because studies from elsewhere suggest that as human labour-intensive cultivation methods are replaced by plough systems, the status and well-being of women also undergoes significant changes (Boserup, 1970).

The level of commercialization of agriculture in the north eastern states, with the notable exception of the plantation sector, is fairly low. It is partly reflected in the low share of non-food crops in total cultivated area (Table : IV). The marketisation of agricultural produce is typically low in the hilly states. Although in some pockets there has been a significant move towards cultivation of fruits and vegetables, spices and high-value aromatic and medicinal plants.

The overall character of the agrarian economy of the region, notwithstanding some localized or crop-specific exceptions, can still be described as those of a predominantly smallholder, partially monetized, low productive, weakly integrated agrarian economy, with a substantial subsistence producing segment. Thus, changes in the levels, of production, productivity, prices and earnings in agriculture will have a profound impact on livelihoods of a majority of people in

the north east. To the extent macroeconomic changes, like increasing global or regional integration of markets, will bring about changes in the agrarian economy of the region, livelihoods of the rural population in general and that of the rural poor in particular, will be affected. Given the heterogeneity of the agrarian economy itself as well as the multiple channels of influence through which macro-level changes will be transmitted to the micro-level, the livelihood outcomes of these changes will be diverse for different groups of people.

Occupational Diversification :

According to the 2001 population census figures, of the total workers²⁰ in the region 41.82 per cent were cultivators, 13.35 per cent were agricultural labourers, 3.48 per cent were household industry workers and the rest 41.34 per cent were other workers. At the all India level the share of cultivators and agricultural labourers were 31.71 and 29.69 per cent respectively, while household industries provided employment to 4.07 per cent of workers. Thus, in comparison to the all India averages, a relatively smaller proportion of workers in the region are dependent on agriculture, but it is important to note that the proportion of agricultural labourers was substantially lower in the region than that at the all India level. Considerable inter-state differences exist in the region so far as the proportion of agricultural labourers among total workers is concerned. It ranges from 3.85 per cent in Arunachal Pradesh and 3.98 per cent in Nagaland to 24.03 per cent in Tripura and 18.09 per cent in Meghalaya (Table : V).

The Rural Non-farm Economy :

The significance of the rural non-farm economy (RNFE) in the livelihood diversification strategies of households is being increasingly appreciated throughout the developing world. While diversification per se can refer to increasing mix or multiplicity of activities, regardless of the sector, RNFE refers to the shift away from the traditional agricultural sector to non-agricultural activities. This form of diversification, of course, can be either growth induced or distress

induced (Visaria and Basant, 1994). During 1993-94 to 1999-00 the proportion of workers engaged in the rural non-farm sector increased from 24.84 per cent to 32.66 per cent, whereas for the country as a whole the proportion increased from 22.19 to 28.41 per cent. Dubey et. al. (2002) have explained this rise in terms of two distinct causes: firstly, the restrictions imposed by the Supreme Court on timber trade displaced some of those who were dependent upon this sector for their livelihoods²¹; and secondly, the lack of cultivable land might also have pushed some households into the rural non-farm sector. However, the significance of government services and public spending-induced construction activities in rural areas of the hilly state should also be taken into account. Although the production and consumption linkages of agriculture with the non-agricultural sector tend to be low in this region, there is some evidence to suggest that agricultural growth might also have contributed to the process of livelihood diversification to the non-farm sector²².

State Interventions and Livelihood Options :

Because of the weak industrial base and relatively lower levels of development, the government sector plays an important role in providing employment and earnings in the organized segment of the labour market. As such an overwhelming majority of the workers depend upon unorganized sector employment, but among those who work in the organized sector the government agencies are the major source of employment (Table : VI). Only in Assam, the private sector has a noticeable presence as a source of employment. However, the urban informal sector has also been playing an important role in providing livelihoods to an increasing number of workers, many of whom are migrants pushed out of the rural/agricultural sector. Apart from the role of government as a source of secure employment, much of the expansion in the organized sectors, such as construction, are fuelled by public investment. This is particularly true of the hilly states, where access to government jobs and 'contracts' are increasingly becoming the only source of a better standard of living.

The livelihood combinations and strategies of rural households have also been influenced by various government policies programmes,

although the impacts on livelihoods are not always along the expected lines. Introduction of new methods of cultivation, off-farm activities and welfare programmes have been crucial in undermining certain traditional sources of livelihoods and, in some cases, at least creation of new ones²³. The shift of productive land and forest resources for military, conservation and developmental projects have at times reduced the livelihood options of people in local contexts. On the other hand, in many remote and less productive regions of the state PDS supply of food grains, in spite of all inadequacies, play a vital role in sustaining people during periods of shortages and disruptions²⁴.

Entrenched Social Hierarchies :

The livelihood option have been influenced by diverse levels of entrenched social hierarchies in different domains.

- (i) *Within the household*, a pervasive gender hierarchy, placing women at a distinctly disadvantageous position with respect to voice, opportunity, and control over livelihood resources.
- (ii) *Within Communities*, hierarchies based on social status, caste, or class, reinforced by disparities in access to livelihood resources, services, dignity and voice.
- (iii) *Between communities*, competition for resources and intolerance for cultural and religious diversity, resulting in lack of trust between groups, violent ethnic conflicts, stifling openness to new ideas and preventing collective solutions to common problems; and
- (iv) *At the level of nation states and globally*, there exists an unequal relationship between mountain peoples and the people in the plains, historically marginalizing mountain regions²⁵. The weakening of democratic institutions and process has further worsened the situation in north east India and other parts of South Asia (ICIMOD, 2004).

Mountain Specificities :

A significant portion of the NER consists of hilly regions, which can be distinguished from the plains on a number of grounds. There have been attempts to develop a distinct perspective on socio-economic transformation of the hill economies, which are sensitive to these specificities. A spatially differentiated nuanced understanding of the dynamics of hill economy requires the recognition of the centrality of these micro-realities at different levels of decision-making. The specificities of hill economies include: inaccessibility²⁶, fragility²⁷, marginality²⁸ and diversity or 'niche' for some activities and products in which the hilly regions have comparative advantage over the plains (Jodha, 2001). A second set of specificities arises out of the human responses to the natural specificities of the region. Notwithstanding the internal diversities within the hill economies in terms of the degree to which the above mentioned specificities are present or are important, the general dynamics of transformation of hill economies, to a considerable extent are influenced by these specificities.

Not all the specificities of hill economies act as constraints on development. The *diversity* in such economies, partly caused by variations in ecological conditions, relative isolation of human settlements and the problems associated with communication, makes it difficult to reap the benefits of the economies of the scale to some extent, but also creates opportunities for diversified inter-linked production and consumption activities. These diversities, also generates 'niches' - in terms of comparative advantages in the production of unique, narrow but high-valued products and services- which if properly harnessed may play a catalytic role in economic diversification and growth.

In terms of institutional structures and processes, hill regions of North East India possess a great deal of diversity in comparison to plain areas. The concentration of the indigenous communities and the relatively lesser degree of commercialization and integration to the larger external economies has led to a considerable degree of variations in the property rights structures²⁹.

The inaccessibility fragility, marginally and diversity of hilly states and regions create conditions, which make the specificities of the local livelihoods resources important determinant of the nature and extent of economic transformation. These regions have to be conceptualized as having some distinct features that offer special constraints and unique opportunities for growth in comparison with other types of local economies. While there are obvious dangers of over simplifications, if hill and plain economies are treated as binary opposites, it is important to recognize that the livelihood scenario in the north eastern states are significantly influenced by the presence of these hilly regions. Strategies for rural livelihood security often face a different set of constraints in these regions.

Traditional Social Security Mechanisms :

Livelihoods depend not only on tangible resources, but also a host of non-tangible assets and resources, such as trust, mutual cooperation, social networks of support and solidarity, community-level redistributive mechanisms and collective insurance mechanisms. The gradual disintegration of traditional economies of the numerous tribes of the region over the past several decades has created new forms of deprivations and vulnerabilities at the household level. In spite of their reduced significance and effectiveness, traditional social security arrangements continue to play an important role in various parts of the north east region. The role of such institutional arrangements has been far more important in the region because, unlike in many other parts of South Asia, the traditional communal property over land and forests have been preserved under various constitutional safe guards. However, it is also significant to note that under the mutually reinforcing influences of the state on the market forces, such traditional support mechanisms are gradually being transformed in such a way that the economically and socially marginalized groups are having less and less access to such communal support and help.

Chronic Conflicts and Internal Displacement :

Long-standing ethnic clashes, violent secessionist movements and insurgencies of different kinds have been a near-permanent feature

of the political landscape of north east India. The impacts of all such disturbances and disruptions on the livelihoods of the people in general and those of the poor in particular have been substantial. Violent conflicts often lead to destruction of the sources of livelihoods. The damage to crops, livestock, accumulated assets of various kinds, households' items and belongings destroy the basis of survival of the poor. Loss of employment due to disturbances, discriminations and explicit or implicit barriers to entry in situations of group conflicts lead to loss of earnings. The destruction of social support networks also creates various kinds of hardships. And finally, situations of chronic conflicts and military confrontations prevent access of the poor to various welfare programmes. Women almost always share a disproportionately large burden of such conflict-induced loss of livelihoods and the resultant coping efforts. Almost all the states of the region, at different times and to varying degrees, have been facing this type of crises. An extreme manifestation of such loss of livelihood options has been seen in case of internal population displacement which have been part of the region's troubled history (Hussain, 2000; Ghosh, 2003).

Transnational Economic Cooperation and Livelihoods in the North East :

Figure - II represents a highly simplified picture of the multi-dimensional linkages between increased regional cooperation, particularly in trade, and the livelihoods. To begin with it is important to understand that the prospects for growth of regional trades linkage is premised on the prior existence of a set of institutional mechanisms, including an efficient and well defined property rights structure, contract enforcement mechanisms, rule of law and in a nut shell, an efficient and non-discriminating system of governance. Much of North-East India, however, is characterized by an absence of such institutional arrangements, which are regarded as conducive for private sector in general and transborder trade in particular. The shift to an overall market-led strategy is expected to fasten up the process like privatization of property rights over land and forests, which may bring

about substantial changes in the linkages between livelihood and the natural environments.

The scope for trade-induced development of a region like NER cannot be isolated from the domestic growth impetus, as much of the responses to the opportunities and challenges of transnational trade linkages will depend upon the strength and resilience of domestic economy. The spatial growth linkages, for example, will critically depend upon, the adequacy and quality of infrastructure, which to a large extent is determined by the domestic policy environment. The enhancements of transnational trade linkages, might in turn, induce investment in infrastructure.

There is a need to draw a line of distinction between the implications of the regional economic cooperation for the economy and those for the livelihoods of the people, though to some extent they are overlapping in nature. The livelihood implications depend on the distributional implications of the growth process and the differential impact of different components of the changes in the economy on the asset base and entitlements of the people. From this perspective, the possibility of higher economic growth in the region can be expected to fasten up the process of commercialization, disintegration of the traditional economies of the indigenous communities, and development of alternative sources of earnings in some of the sectors. The overall impact on poverty and food security is obviously hard to predict; but a careful monitoring of changing livelihood choices before different categories of the poor needs to be given top priorities. Given the specific vulnerabilities of the hill economies, there may be some localized and transient vulnerability apart from the long term, chronic vulnerabilities of the poor living in relatively remote parts of the region. At the same time, it is important to note that available estimates suggest the concentration of the poor in the densely populated plains. Again, the reduction of head count ratio (HCR) of rural poverty in Assam during the post reform period (1993-94 to 1999-00) has been much lower than that in the other states of the region and also that at the all India level (Planning Commission, 2002; Dubey et. al., 2002).

A free inflow of goods across the border is likely to bring shifts in the volume and composition of demands for locally produced goods and even some raw materials. While there will be expansion in employment opportunities in some sectors, in others it may shrink as well. It is difficult to anticipate the over all impact on livelihoods because these anticipated shifts will be mediated through changes in *trade realities* rather than *trade policies*, supply side constraints within and across the border and a host of other factors. Irrespective of these changes, a greater regional integration of the product markets will certainly result in shifts in the set of viable livelihood options for rural population.

The most profound impact on livelihood will be transmitted through changes in the size and functioning of the labour markets in the region. As of now, the labour market continues to remain fragmented and less developed in many parts of the region. The constant in-migration of population from neighbouring states and countries has been one of the most volatile and emotive issues in the region. Historically, in-migration has been one of the pronounced features of the development of the region, but, recently there has been an upsurge in conflicts surrounding the question of migration. Although many of these conflicts are articulated in a language of ethnicity, some of these at least are based on perceived or real threats to the livelihoods of one or more groups.

If transborder integration of economies will also lead to the integration of labour market across the borders it will have varied implications on the livelihoods of the people, including the environmental dimensions. The thickly populated neighbours, particularly Bangladesh, will be interested to have access to employment opportunities across the border (Sobhan, 1998). This necessitates an understanding of the transborder linkages in environmental degradation, population migration and the political economy of development in the region.

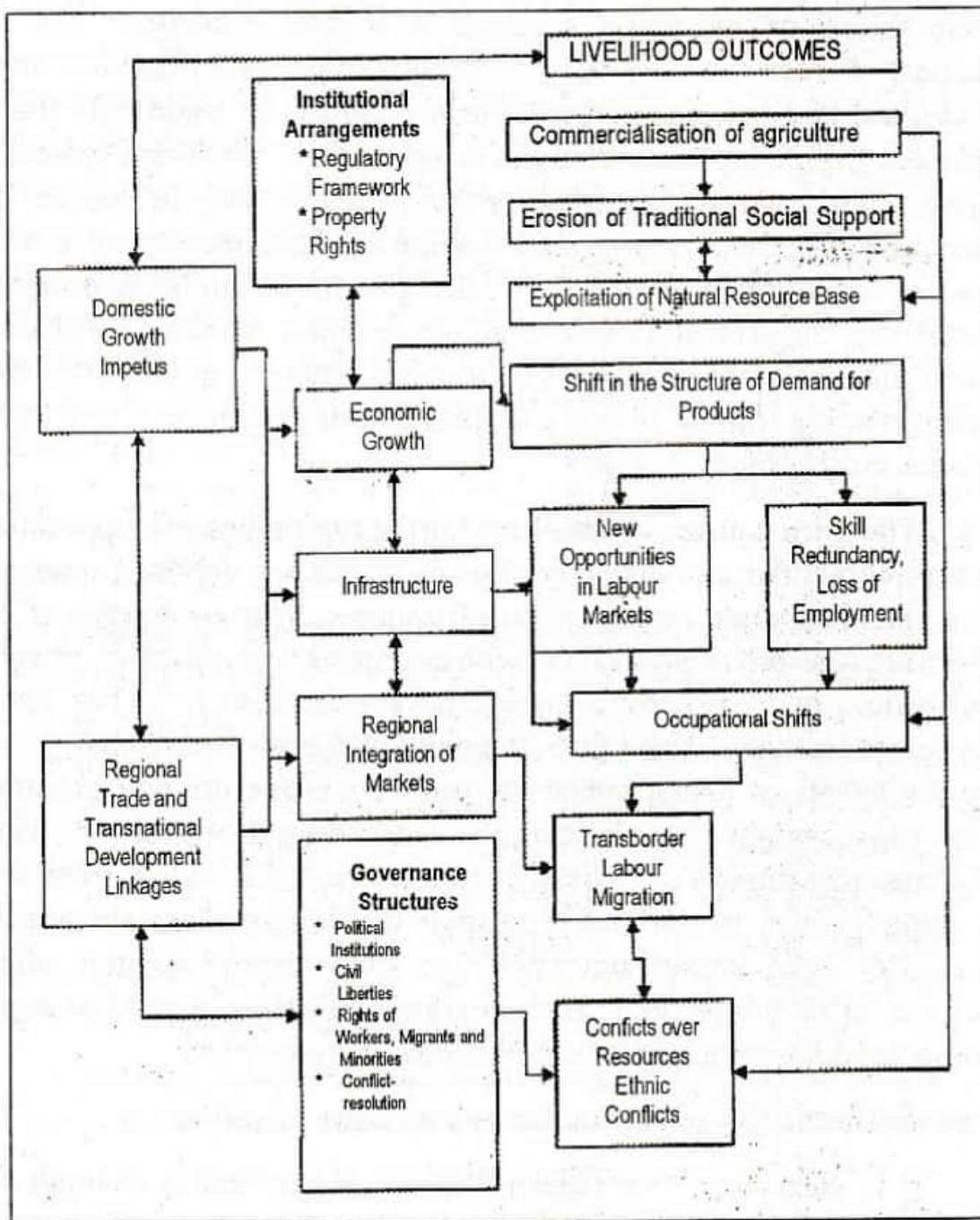
It is important to note that the region's attractiveness as a destination of private investment lies in its cheaper labour force, which

in any case is highly concentrated in parts of Assam and other plains. The main attraction for capital lies in its natural resources potential and even if we presume that a favorable environment for an export oriented sector can be created in the region, primarily it would be centering on the availability of raw materials. Experiences through out the world suggest that in the absence of pro-people interventions, extractive industries may displace the local populations from the sources of livelihoods and pollute the environment. In the age of globally mobile capital, when there is a stiff competition among nations and provinces to keep themselves attractive as destinations of private capital, both domestic and international, critics fear a 'downward spiral' and 'race to bottom', as states compete to relax environment and labour regulations. The point is not to oppose establishment of any type of industry, but to have credible and objective assessment of the manifold implications of the extraction of raw materials and other natural resources, on the present and future livelihood options of the people. Such assessments, needless to add, have to be more holistic than partial.

There are, however, a number of sectors, which may get a boost up as a result of greater regional cooperation and export promotion, and which may, simultaneously, have favourable livelihood outcomes for people of the region. It is possible to promote and expand livelihood opportunities in key sectors like horticulture, cultivation of aromatic crops and medicinal plants, eco-tourism, handicrafts and textiles and processing of non-timber forest products (NTFPs) in a sustainable basis. However, a greater transnational integration of the economies, inter alia, means the possibility of change in the structure of demand and production, which in turn means the possibility of some sources of earnings, employment and livelihoods being redundant or stagnant. The key to cope up with such changes in the feasible livelihood choices is to create flexibility in livelihood diversification strategies. The scope for such flexibility is extremely limited in a region like the NER given the low level of asset ownership, assets fixity, low educational attainments as well as fewer options for livelihood diversification.

Figure - II

Transborder Trade Linkages and Livelihood Issues in North East India



Another important change that is being expected is in the prospect for border trade. Given the fact that the NER shares 98 per cent of its borders with the neighbouring countries, greater regional cooperation is likely to help in opening up new border trade points and enhancing the scope of operation of the existing ones. In many remote parts of the region, creation of national boundaries, has, in the past, disrupted traditional market flows and has separated shared ecological and cultural spaces. The resumption of traditional trade linkages will help people living in remote areas, which are typically characterized by fewer livelihood options, to diversify the sources of their earnings, employment, and livelihood. To some extent, it will also boost up demands for locally produced niche products, particularly those having a market across the borders because of shared tastes and preferences. However, it is important to note that to the extent that the transactions are in third country products it will have limited local growth linkages.

The third source of optimism for the region lies in its potential as a manufacturer and exporter of some goods and services in which it might have some comparative advantages. The establishment of Export Promotion Zones (EPZs) with an objective of attracting private investment and creating a competitive industrial base has been suggested by many. Apart from the general apprehensions that given the low levels of industrialization, poor infrastructure and political disturbances might act as hindrances in attracting the threshold levels of private investments to make such zones operational and competitive, its implications from the livelihood angle should also have to be noted. Firstly, the employment potential from these export-oriented units may not be very high; and secondly, these industries might not have strong production linkages with the local economy³⁰.

Transnational Cooperation for Sustainable Livelihoods :

It is clear that in a region like north east India, changes in livelihoods of a majority of the people either have been affected by transnational factors or themselves have transnational ramifications. As such political boundaries are created on an ecological space that

has natural interconnections and, in the case of northeast India, it is superimposed on cultural and social landscapes characterized by a great degree of historical continuities and transactions. The move towards greater economic integration of the region with its neighbour is expected to reinforce the existing interconnectedness and externalities. A trade-centric approach towards regional economic cooperation, notwithstanding its substantial gains, overlooks the equally important dimensions of interdependency in people's lives and livelihoods. The sustainability of any such policy towards economic transformation, experiences elsewhere clearly demonstrate, depends on its acceptability among a wider section of the participants groups and people, or to put it in the terminology of the donor agencies, the informed participation and consent of the different stakeholders. While there are substantial economic logic behind greater economic cooperation between India and its eastern neighbours, looking from the ground realities of the north eastern region, there are several serious impediments to creation of cooperation among and with the neighbours. To put the point in a simplistic and crude way, and prospects for trading across the border, requires clearly defined property rights, rule of law and institutional mechanisms for effective enforcement of contracts, reasonably well-functional and honest state machineries on either side of the borders. The functioning of markets is, of course, a crucial determinant of mutually beneficial trading arrangements. And recent studies show that trade has been beneficial for those developing countries that have been able to participate in it, and one of the frequently cited reasons for non-participation is conflicts and civil disorder (Collier and Gunning, 1999). Some of the major constraints, which have to be faced by any market-oriented development strategy in the north eastern region, are:

- (i) the presence of ill-defined, ill-protected property rights over land, forest, water and other resources in many parts.
- (ii) ineffective contract-enforcement mechanisms.
- (iii) substantial control of non-state groups, including ethnic militias, insurgent groups etc., over resources and contract enforcement structures.

- (iv) institutional constraints restricting the development of markets, not just for land and labour, but also for credit and insurance.
- (v) chronic and violent conflicts.

The existence of these impediments to the growth of robust regional integration of markets, however, does not necessarily mean that the prospects for transnational cooperation, are bleak. In fact, a better economic prospect for the region and the neighbouring countries may significantly contribute towards resolving at least some of the long-standing conflicts in the region, partly because many of these conflicts, though articulated in the language of identity and ethnicity, are primarily rooted in competition over scarce and steadily depleting resources. A realistic understanding of the formidable challenges and possible adverse livelihood impacts of the economic restructuring will provide a sound basis to construct a road map for the future of the region. Sanjib Baruah (2003) has drawn attention to the mismatch between the dominant discourse of politics in the region and the requirements of the evolving political economy. Given the long and violent history of the conflicts, weak legitimacy of the state, presence of powerful vested interests, whose interest lies in preserving the status quo and resisting change, the ethnicisation of the discourse and the real and perceived threats to the livelihoods of people, the importance of making the changes participatory and inclusive in nature can hardly be overstressed. Unless the economic changes expand the access of the people, particularly of the marginalized and vulnerable sections, to the new economic opportunities, it would be very difficult to bring about the far reaching changes in various fields, including those in property rights structures, labour markets and principles of governance.

One of the alternative that can be thought of is to make people's lives and livelihoods a central focus in the frameworks for greater regional cooperation and integration in various spheres. The gains from such 'reversals' would be non-trivial. *Firstly*, if any proposed change in economic policies is evaluated in terms of its impacts on the livelihood of the people, taking into account facts that (a) there may be *differential* impacts on various groups within or across the borders, which makes dialogues, compromises and reciprocities

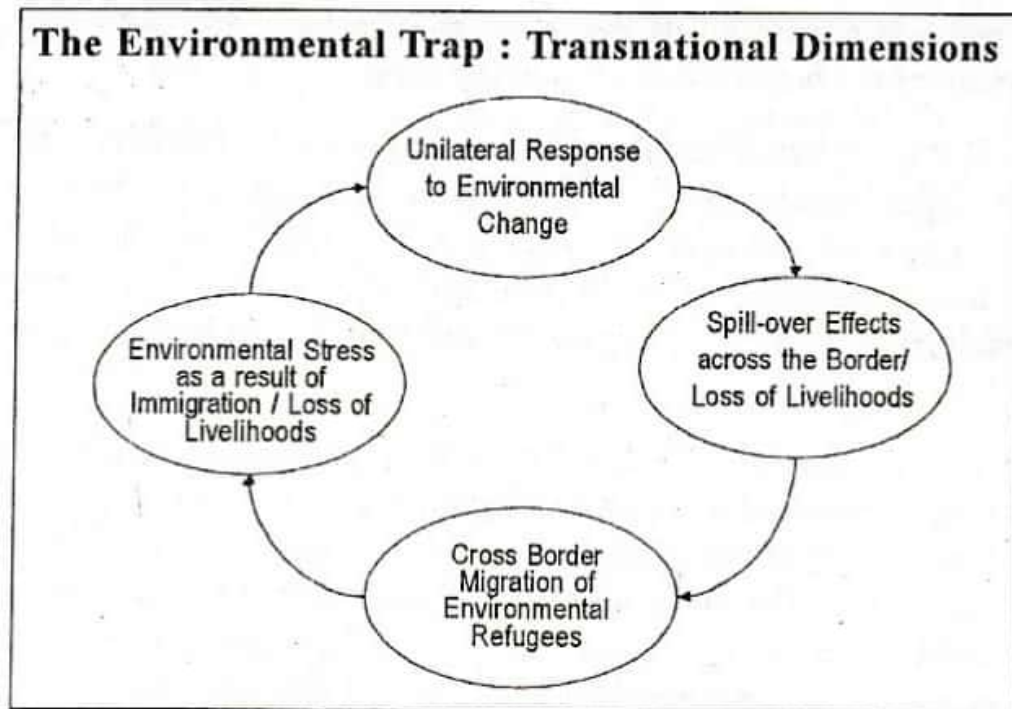
essential ingredients of a strategy of long-term cooperation, and (b) also that livelihood outcomes may not be uniform across different time horizons, the process of development could be more democratic, participatory and equitable. It could also be viewed as part of a policy towards reducing poverty, livelihood insecurity and vulnerability. *Secondly*, it will also enhance the range of feasible options before the participating nations, states, regions, communities and groups to broaden the contours of cooperation. Livelihood approach is not confined to the visible income-generating employment opportunities alone. Hence it will expand the possible areas of cooperation, both across space and time, making give-and-take easier. *Thirdly*, the agenda of regional cooperation more often than not, is crowded by the respective priorities of the participating states and governments. One of the impacts of the global economic restructuring and increasing role of multilateral institutions like the IMF and the World Bank in last few decades has been that in international relations and negotiations the primacy of the economic gains and losses in general is being gradually recognized. In the context, a focus on livelihoods of the people is simultaneously an exploration and expansion of the 'non-state spaces' available for transnational corporation of the people. In the specific context of the north east and neighbouring countries, it may provide a way out of the *security deadlock* that has stalled the progress of economic cooperation for long.

But the most forceful argument, in favour of a livelihood based strategy for transnational cooperation in the region, perhaps is that whether governments acknowledge it or not, livelihoods in the region *are* interconnected. As in illustration, the interlinkages between environmental depletion, migration and livelihoods in the region can be discussed.

It is widely known that the Ganges water-sharing dispute has been one of the major issues affecting bilateral relations between India and Bangladesh. India's decision to divert water from the Ganges at Farakka, allegedly to save the Kolkata port, has led to a long-standing dispute between the two countries. The Bangladesh government has argued, and several independent agencies and scholars have confirmed,

that the diversion of the Ganges water in the lean season has led to adverse impacts on agriculture, increased salinity of the river water, unfavourable conditions for riverine fisheries, disruption of traditional water ways and loss of livelihoods due to various environmental problems.³¹ It is possible that there might have been an overestimation of losses of livelihoods on the part of the Bangladesh government and also that all the losses in livelihoods might not have been caused by the Farakka diversion alone (Vergese 1998), but scholars have pointed out that one of the ways through which poor households in Bangladesh, particularly those residing in the south-western parts of the country, which was affected most severely by the water diversion, has been to migrate to India to cope up with the loss of livelihood.³² The migration of Bangladeshis to the north eastern region has led to a series of violent conflicts among the host and migrant populations and has also made the region unstable and disturbed. What is less explicitly recognized is that the constant inflow of economic migrants and ecological refugees to the region and the resulting demographic pressure, along with other factors, has already precipitated a crisis of sustainability for the fragile eco-system.

Figure - III



Similarly it is widely recognized that deforestation and environmental destruction, and the resultant decline in agricultural productivity in Nepal and Uttaranchal has been one of the most important reasons behind the out-migration of the people. Some of the spillovers of this distress migration of people from neighbouring countries are being experienced in many parts of the north eastern region. In Arunachal Pradesh, where population density is the lowest in the region, for example, many of the transnational migrants have settled as tenants and labourers working in the agriculture, forestry and construction sectors. A field survey in West Kameng district of Arunachal Pradesh shows that the presence of a significant migrant population, many of whom are poor and hence have a substantial dependence over forest products and other natural resources, have made the traditional rules governing access to and use of these resources ineffective.³³ Although in some villages, the indigeneous communities have tried to develop new rules to restrict the access of the migrants, they have not always been successful in doing so, particularly when a powerful section of the host population tend to develop patron-client relations with the migrants.³⁴ (Mishra, 2002a, 2004). Competition for scarce resources, in the context of weakening of traditional institutional arrangements for use and management of natural resources has led to over exploitation and depletion of such resources.

Thus unilateral responses to natural calamities and environmental degradation in the presence of strong regional spill over effects may create an environmental trap for the countries in the region with unintended negative outcomes for all. The spirals of resource depletion, loss of livelihoods and consequent forced distress migration and further environmental degradation (see figure-III) is likely to continue, unless the complementarities and interconnectedness of livelihoods across space and time, both in terms of vulnerabilities and opportunities, is given due importance. Coordination and cooperation in designing and implementing a broad based livelihood security programme in the entire mountain ranges of North East India, Bhutan, Myanmar, Nepal and Bangladesh is likely to have a greater chance of success than isolated and country-specific responses.

Concluding Remarks

The South Asian initiatives for formation of mutually beneficial free trade areas, for historical as well as political reasons, have not yet been successful in creating a strongly integrated regional economy. Nevertheless India's *look east policy* and increasing trade relations with the ASEAN and South Asian economies has generated lots of hope in the North Eastern region, mainly because of the potential role as a 'gateway to the east'. The growing sub-regional cooperation between India and her eastern neighbours has created an opportunity to design a transnational regional growth strategy in which India's north eastern states are likely to play major role. In this context the paper is a preliminary attempt to situate the scope for transnational cooperation in a framework, where the livelihood of the people is assigned a central place.

A focus on livelihoods, by keeping people's own activities at the center of enquiry, broadens the scope of analysis to bring in their micro-level vulnerabilities and opportunities into the fore front of analysis, which are generally ignored in macro perspectives. Given the uneven distribution of the burden of economic restructuring across nations, regions, classes and communities, a livelihoods based approach towards transnational cooperation among the developing nations can create conditions for a more inclusive and broad based strategy of development. Since the livelihoods strategies of the poor and the uprooted have profound trans-border implications in north east India as well as in the neighbouring countries, it is perhaps more pragmatic to acknowledge such mutual interdependencies among people sharing the same living space and move on to build mutually beneficial, sustainable and comprehensive regional frameworks for ensuring livelihood security for the people. In the absence of such a larger outlook for regional cooperation the moves towards linking commodity and product markets will neither be enough to break the vicious circles of scarcity-induced conflicts and underdevelopment of the region, nor will it be a dependable ally in the fight against poverty and insecurity.

TABLE - I
Land Utilization Pattern in N.E. States (1998-99)

States	Total Geographical Area ('000ha)	% of cultivable area to geographical area	% of cultivable area used
Arunachal Pradesh	8374	3.5	63.14
Assam	7844	43.47	79.24
Manipur	2233	7.34	85.37
Meghalaya	2243	48.24	20.15
Mizoram	2109	21.15	24.44
Nagaland	1658	37.33	42.16
Tripura	1049	29.46	90.94
All NE	25510	23.69	63.79
India	328726	59.23	73.23

Sources : Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperation, Govt. of India, State Agriculture Depts. NEDFi, 2003.

TABLE - II
Distribution of Operational Holdings in North Eastern States 1990-91.

State	Marginal (below 1ha.)	Small (1-2ha)	Semi Medium (2-4ha.)	Medium (4-10ha)	Large (10ha. and above)	Average size of holding
Arunachal Pradesh	17.89	18.95	31.58	27.37	4.21	3.62
Assam	59.98	22.57	13.39	3.80	0.25	1.31
Manipur	48.59	34.51	14.79	2.11	0.00	1.24
Meghalaya	36.65	26.09	28.57	8.07	0.62	1.81
Mizoram	46.77	37.10	14.52	1.61	0.00	1.34
Nagaland	9.29	15.00	18.57	33.57	23.57	6.92
Tripura	68.24	21.70	8.81	1.26	0.00	0.97
All NE	55.59	23.01	14.50	5.57	1.32	1.6
India	58.99	18.97	13.21	7.25	1.59	1.57

Sources : CMIE Report on Agriculture, 1997-98; CMIE Report on Agriculture, November 2001; NEDFi, 2003

TABLE - III
Shifting Cultivation in the N.E. Region

States	Annual area under cultivation (sq. kms)	Fallow period (in years)	Minimum area under cultivation one time or others (sq.kms)	No. of families practicing shifting cultivation
Arunachal Pradesh	700	3-10	2100	54000
Assam	696	2-10	1392	58000
Manipur	900	4-7	3600	70000
Meghalaya	530	5-7	2650	52290
Mizoram	630	3-4	1890	50000
Nagaland	190	5-8	1913	116046
Tripura	223	5-9	1115	43000
All NE	3869		14660	443336

Sources : Basic statistics of NE Region, 1995.

TABLE - IV
Percentage of Area Under Food and Non-Food Grains (1998-99)

States	Percentage total cropped area under Food grains	Percentage of total cropped area under non-food grains
Arunachal Pradesh	69.20	30.8
Assam	68.54	31.46
Manipur	81.48	18.52
Meghalaya	57.03	42.97
Mizoram	71.55	28.45
Nagaland	74.13	25.87
Tripura	53.69	46.31
All NE	67.57	32.43
India	65.57	34.43

Sources : Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperation, Govt. of India, NFDFI, 2003.

TABLE - V
Occupational Structure of Workers in North East India : 2001

State	Cultivators			Agricultural			HH Industry			Other Workers			
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
Arunachal	T	46.77	76.61	58.44	3.44	4.49	3.85	0.73	1.05	0.86	49.06	17.85	36.85
	R	57.7	82.7	68.26	3.99	4.65	4.27	0.57	0.93	0.72	37.75	11.72	26.75
	U	3.44	15.44	6.13	1.24	2.93	1.62	1.39	2.26	1.59	93.93	79.37	19.66
Assam	T	38.66	40.42	39.15	12.34	16.48	13.5	1.71	7.89	3.44	47.29	35.21	43.91
	R	44.36	42.90	43.93	14.14	17.44	15.12	1.69	7.94	3.54	39.81	31.72	37.41
	U	1.74	2.25	1.82	0.68	1.74	0.84	1.83	7.16	2.63	95.74	88.85	94.71
Manipur	T	46.68	45.29	46.06	8.95	14.27	11.31	3.30	16.50	9.16	41.07	23.94	33.47
	R	53.88	53.02	53.49	9.39	14.64	11.76	2.86	41.64	8.17	33.87	17.71	26.58
	U	20.92	13.62	17.87	7.37	12.74	9.62	4.85	24.13	12.9	66.86	49.51	59.61
Meghalay	T	44.89	51.88	47.80	16.25	20.66	18.09	1.43	2.50	1.88	37.44	24.96	32.23
	R	52.41	57.20	54.47	18.60	22.23	20.16	1.46	2.60	1.95	27.54	17.97	23.42
	U	4.24	7.91	5.46	3.55	7.70	4.92	1.26	1.69	1.40	90.94	82.70	88.22
Mizoram	T	48.77	60.52	53.91	0.49	7.05	5.85	1.20	1.66	1.40	45.11	30.77	38.83
	R	73.03	83.40	77.80	3.45	4.47	3.92	0.79	0.91	0.84	22.74	11.23	17.45
	U	21.78	29.42	24.92	6.57	10.56	8.21	1.66	2.68	2.08	69.99	57.34	64.80
Nagaland	T	55.68	75.32	64.05	3.72	4.34	3.98	1.34	3.19	2.13	39.26	17.15	29.84
	R	67.36	79.51	72.94	4.43	4.48	4.45	1.23	2.89	1.99	26.97	13.13	20.61
	U	3.44	14.93	5.84	0.53	2.31	0.50	1.80	7.52	2.99	94.23	75.24	90.27
Tripura	T	26.61	27.58	26.88	19.72	35.0	24.03	1.63	6.11	2.90	52.04	31.31	46.19
	R	31.78	30.55	31.41	23.40	38.64	27.97	1.74	6.26	3.10	43.08	24.55	37.52
	U	1.82	0.48	1.58	2.04	1.66	1.97	1.10	4.74	1.77	95.03	93.12	94.68
All NE	T	39.83	46.10	41.82	11.97	16.06	13.35	1.72	7.26	3.48	46.36	30.58	41.34
	R	46.26	49.93	47.48	13.96	17.14	15.02	1.68	7.08	3.48	38.10	25.84	34.02
	U	5.27	11.25	6.63	2.01	6.27	2.98	1.95	8.91	3.54	90.77	73.57	86.85
India	T	31.34	32.51	31.71	20.82	39.43	26.69	3.02	6.36	4.07	44.82	21.70	37.52
	R	42.19	36.46	40.14	27.48	43.40	33.20	2.83	5.44	3.77	27.49	14.70	22.90
	U	2.99	4.26	3.21	3.42	11.03	4.71	3.50	12.93	5.10	90.09	71.77	86.98

Sources : Census of India, 2001.

TABLE - VI
Organised Sector Employment in North East India

States	1991			2000		
	Percentage of Total Organized Sector Employment in			Percentage of Total Organized Sector Employment in		
	Public Sector (Govt. Quasi Govt.)	Govt. Sector (Central + State)	Quasi Govt. Sector	Public Sector (Govt. Quasi Govt.)	Govt. Sector (Central + State)	Quasi Govt. Sector
Arunachal Pradesh	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assam	47.71	33.51	12.99	49.39	35.92	12.26
Manipur	98.56	86.89	5.57	96.83	83.78	8.66
Meghalaya	93.47	67.20	23.08	88.64	66.30	18.93
Mizoram	96.80	82.66	9.25	95.63	82.65	6.75
Nagaland	97.10	89.62	7.02	95.97	89.21	6.24
Trupura	89.24	79.70	7.21	89.55	76.66	5.67
India	71.29	39.36	23.27	69.08	38.39	22.62

Sources : Employment Review 1991 and 2000, DGE&T, Ministry of Labour, GOI NEW Delhi.

Notes - References :

Adam, R.H. (1994) "Non-Farm Income and Inequality in Rural Pakistan", *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 31, No.1, pp. 110-33.

Baruah, Sanjib (2003) "Protective Discrimination and Crisis of Citizenship in North-East India", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.38, No.7, pp.1624-1626.

----- (2004) "Citizens and Denizens" Ethnicity homelands and crisis of displacement in North East India", *Social Change and Development*, Vol.2, No.1, pp.105-130.

Brown, David and K. Schreckenber (1998) "Shifting Cultivators as Agents of Deforestation", *Natural Resource Perspectives*, 29, ODI, London.

Carney, D (ed.) (1998) *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods : What*

Contributions can We Make?, DFID.

Carter, M.R. and May, J. (1999) "Poverty, Livelihood and Class in Rural South Africa", *World Development*, Vol. 27, No.1, pp.1-20.

Chandrashkhar C.P. (1996) "External Vulnerability and Industrial Policy in the Era of Globalisation", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 24, Nos. 1-2, pp.92-110.

Christiansen, Luc, L. Demery and S. Paternostro (2003) "Macro and Micro perspectives of Growth and Poverty in Africa", *The World Bank Economic Review*, Vol. 17, No.3, pp.317-47.

Collier, Paul and J.W. Gunning (1999) "Explaining African Economic Performance", *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. 137, No.1, pp.64-111.

Davis, S. and J. Hossain (1997) *Livelihood Adaptation, Public Action and Civil Society : A Review of the Literature*, IDS Working Paper No. 57, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton.

DeHann, A. (1999) "Livelihoods and Poverty : The Role of Migration - A Critical Review of the Literature", *The Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 36, No.2, pp.1-47.

Dollar, David and Aart Kraay (2001) *Growth is Good for the Poor*, *The World Bank*, Washington DC.

Dubey, A and N. Srivastav (2003) "Regional Disparities in Poverty Incidence and Levels of Living in India", in Mahapatra and Pathak (ed), pp. 42-75.

Dubey A.S. Das and V. Pala (2002) "The Nonfarm Sector in the North Eastern Region of India : Some Correlates and Determinants", paper presented at seminar on *Globalisation, Employment, Migration and Trade : Relevance for North Eastern Region of India*, Shillong, 22-23 Nov. 2002.

Dwyer, D. and J. Bruce (eds) (1998) *A Home Divided : Women and Income in the Third World*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, C.A.

Ellis, F. (1998) "Households Strategies and Rural Livelihood Diversification", *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 35, No.1, pp.1-35.

--- 1999 "Rural Livelihood Diversity in Developing Countries : Evidence and Policy Implications", *Natural Resource Perspectives* 40, ODI, London.

Fujita, M., P. Krugman and A. Venables (1999) *The Spatial Economy : Cities, Regions and International Trade*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

Gasper, D. (1993) "Entitlement analysis : relating concepts and contexts", *Development and Change*, Vol.24, pp.679-718.

Ghosh, Partha S. (2003) *Unwanted and Uprooted : A Political Study of Migrants, Refugees, Stateless and Displaced of South Asia*, Samskriti, Delhi.

Glacser, E. H.D. Kallal, J.A. Scheinkman and A. Shleifer (1992) "Growth in Cities", *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 100, pp.1126-1152.

Gough, Ian (2000) "Globalisation and Regional Welfare Regimes : The East Asian Case" paper presented at The Year 2000 International Research Conference on Social Security, 25-27 September 2000, Helsinki.

Haggblade, S and P. Hazell (1989) "Agricultural Technology and Farm Non-Farm Growth Linkages", *Agricultural Economics*, Vol.3, pp. 245-64.

Hart, G. (1994) "The Dynamics of Diversification in an Asian Rice Region" in B Koppel et al. (eds.) *Development or Deterioration? Work in Rural Asia*, Lynner Reinner, Boulder, pp.47-71.

Hassan, Saukat (1991) "Environmental Issues and Security in South Asia", *Adelphi Papers* 262, IISS.

Henderson, V. (1992) "Where Does an Industry Locate?", *Journal*

of Urban Economics, Vol. 35, pp.83-104.

Hussain, Zahid (1996) "Degradation and Development of Environment in North-East India" in Z. Hussain (ed) *Environmental Degradation and Conservation in North-East India*, Omsons, Delhi, pp.1-28.

Hussain, M. (2000) "State, Identity Movements and Internal Displacement in the North East," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 16 Dec.

Hussain, Z. (1993) "Development Strategy for the North-Eastern Hills, in Mahapatra and Pathak (ed.), pp.169-178.

ICIMOD (2004) Equity and Rights in the Hindu-Kush Himalayan Region, *ICIMOD News Letter*, No.44.

Jodha, N.S. (2001) *Life on the Edge : Sustaining Agriculture and Community Resources in Fragile Environment*, OUP, Delhi.

Kim, W. and In-Tack Hyun (2000) "Towards a new concept of Security : Human Security in World Politics," in William T. Tow, Ramesh Thakur and In-Track Hyun (eds) *Asia's Emerging Regional Order*, UNUP, USA.

Krugman. P. (1991) *Geography and Trade*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

Krugman, P. and A. Venables (1995) "Globalisation and the Inequality of Nations", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 110, 857-880.

Kubo. Y. (1995) "Scale Economies, Regional Externalities and the possibility of Uneven Regional Development", *Journal of Regional Sciences*, Vol.35, pp. 318-328.

Leach, M., Mearns, R. and Scoones, I (1999) "Environment Entitlements : Dynamics and Institutions in Community - Based Natural Resource Management", *World Development*, Vol. 27, No.2, pp.225-247.

Lindenberg, M. (2002) "Measuring Household Livelihood Security at the Family and Community Level in the Developing World." *World Development*, Vol. 30, No.2, pp.301-318.

Lipton. (1980) "Migration from Rural Areas of Poor Countries : The Impact on Rural Productivity and Income Distribution", *World Development*, Vol.8, pp.1-24.

Longley, Catherine and D. Maxwell (2003) "Livelihoods, Chronic Conflict and Humanitarian Response, *Natural Resource Perspectives* 89, Overseas Development Institute, London.

Lopez-Bazo. E., Vaya, and M. Artis (2004) "Regional Externalities and Growth Evidences from European Regions", *Journal of Regional Sciences*, Vol.44, No.1, pp.43-73.

Low. A (1986) *Agricultural Development in Southern Africa : Farm Household Theory and the Food crisis*, James Currey, London.

Mishra, Deepak K. (2001) "Political Economy of Agrarian Change in Arunachal", *Man and Development* Vol.23, No.3.

----- (2002a) "Changing Property Rights and Micro-Institutional Arrangements for Natural Resource Management : Results of a Field survey ". Paper presented at the Third IIDS international Conference, Bhubaneswar.

--- (2002b) "Institutional Arrangements and Agrarian Structure during periods of Transition. Evidences from Rural Arunachal Pradesh", in S.S.Acharya et al. (eds) *Sustainable Agriculture, Poverty and Food Security : Agenda for Asian Economics*, Vol.2, Asian Society of Agricultural Economists, Seoul and Rawat Publications, Jaipur and New Delhi.

--- (2003) 'Environmental Degradation and Changing Livelihood Strategies in Rural Arunachal Pradesh', paper presented at the 45th Annual Conference of the Indian Society of Labour Economics, Kolkata, 15-17 December.

---- (2004) 'Institutional Sustainability in Natural Resources Management : A Study on Arunachal Pradesh (India), *Asian Profile*, Vol. 32, No. 6.

---- (2005) 'Globalization and Rural Development : The Role of Institutions' in Behera, M.C. (ed) *Globalization and Rural Development*, Commonwealth, New Delhi.

Murry, Colin (2001) *Livelihoods Research : Some Conceptual and Methodological Issues*, Background Paper 5, Chronic Poverty Research Centre, University of Manchester.

North-Eastern Development Finance Corporation (2003), *NEDFI Data Bank Quarterly* Vol. 2, Issue I, January.

Patnaik, Prabhat, (1996) 'Globalization of Capital and the Theory of Imperialism' , *Social Scientist*, Vol. 24, Nos. 1-2, pp. 5-17.

Puga, D. and A. Venables (1996) 'The Spread of Industry : Spatial Agglomeration in Economic Development' , *Journal of Japanese and International Economics*, Vol. 10, pp. 440-464.

Rajain, A. (1999) 'Promoting Cooperation through Growth Triangles and Quadrangles in South Asia' , *South Asian Survey*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 63-74.

Ramakrishnan, P.S. (1992) *Shifting Agriculture and Sustainable Development : An Interdisciplinary Study from North-Eastern India*, Unesco, Paris.

Ravallion, Martin (2001) 'Growth Inequality and Poverty : Looking Beyond Average', *World Development*, Vol. 29, No. 11, pp. 1803-15.

Sobhan, R. (1998) 'Regional Cooperation in South Asia : A quest for Identity' ' *South Asian Survey*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 3-26.

Srivastav, N. and A. Dubey (2004) 'How and Why the Access to Public Distribution System does not Enhance Food Security among

the People of North-East India', in Beher, M.C. (ed) *Globalization and the Development Dilemma*, Mittal, New Delhi.

Start, D. (2001) 'The Rise and Fall of the Rural Non-Farm Economy : Poverty Impacts and Policy Options', *Development Policy Review*.

Swain, A. (1996a) 'Displacing the Conflict : Environmental Destruction in Bangladesh and Ethnic Conflict in India', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 189-204.

----- (1996b) *The Environmental Trap: The Ganges River Diversion, Bangladeshi Migration and Conflicts in India*, Report No. 41, Department Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Ullah, Mahbub (1996) *Land, Livelihood and Change in Rural Bangladesh*, University Press, Dhaka.

Valentine, T. R. (1993) 'Drought Transfer Entitlements and Income Distribution : The Botswana Experience', *World Development*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 109-26.

Vergheze, B.G. (1998) 'Around India's North East : Trans-border Dynamics', *South Asian Survey*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 77-98.

Visaria, P. and R. Basant (ed) (1994) *Non-Agricultural Employment in India : Trends and Prospects*, Sage, Delhi.

GLOBALIZATION AND INSECURITY IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

Archana Upadhyay

The essential nature of world politics in a globalized world has been much debated for quite sometime now. The three major schools of thought - realists, liberals and neo-Marxists - have dramatically opposite views on the nature of world politics and the role of the state in it. In the realist worldview, the world is characterized primarily, by conflicts of power and interest among states in an anarchic system. In other words, it is a system in which there is no legitimate authority above states to regulate their conduct. Realistic argue that the fundamental character of the international system remains more or less the same despite the process of globalization. The state still remains the central provider of security for its citizens which is seen primarily in military and secondarily in economic terms. On the other hand, liberals look at the world from an all-together different perspective. Those among the liberals who adhere to a state - centric conception of world politics, stress the growth of inter-state cooperation in an evolving society of states. Others, who regard the world as multi-centric, emphasise the growth of interdependence among states, non-government and inter-government organizations and other such entities. Both take note of a process of global integration and collaboration that contrasts the realists' worldview. While the former group of liberals see the state as the key security provider within the framework of inter-state cooperation, the latter stress the autonomous role of supra - state institutions and non-states entities in a world where the capacities of states to deliver security is fast shrinking. Finally, the neo-marxists hold that the world is a unified capitalist system of unequal exchange between periphery, semi-periphery and center. Globalization is altering the geography of inequality : the three categories permeate all societies, though some societies, notably in Africa are largely excluded from the process. In

such a world, they argue that the only way to realize real security would be energising popular movements in a struggle to overturn the exploitative capitalist system¹.

The present paper aims at understanding the linkages between globalization and insecurity in the present century.

Globalization and Its Discontents :

Globalization has emerged as one of the most powerful and persuasive image in today's world. Globalization, as a promise or a threat, is invoked daily to justify actions and to rationalize policy. To examine the impact of this phenomenon on the lives of people, the term must first be defined. However, the task is not simple. Groups within societies define the term differently, often to suit narrow parochial interests. For example, labor unions in many countries make use of the term in demanding the "Universal" right to assemble; business interests in contrast, employ it to spear deregulation. Globalization is often used to describe so many different things that the term has become the "el Nino of the social sciences" - a force that can be blamed for almost anything. Globalization thus could mean several things. It is too vast an idea to express in a single sentence. However, the essence of the notion can be captured in the following seven concepts².

- Globalization of finances and capital ownership.
- Globalization of markets and strategies.
- Globalization of technology and linked Research and Development (R & D).
- Globalization of modes of life and consumption patterns : Globaliation of culture.
- Globalization of regulatory capabilities and governance.
- Globalization as the political unification of the world.
- Globalization of perception and consciousness.

Despite the divergence of approach in the understanding of this phenomenon, there seems to be a broad consensus on a number of its core characteristics:

- **Unprecedented economic interdependence**, driven by cross-border capital movements, rapid technology transfer, and "real time" communication and information flows;
- **Growing pressure on states to conform to new International standards of governance**, particularly in the areas of transparency, accountability, and the rule of law.
- **Rise of new actors that challenge state authority**, particularly non-governmental organizations (NGO's) and civic groups, global firms and production networks, and even financial markets;
- **The emergences of an increasingly Western-dominated international culture**, a trend which has sparked concerns about the erosion of national identity and traditional values in many Asian countries; and
- **The rise of increasingly severe transnational problems** - such as energy and environmental concerns, large - scale migration flows, and organized crime networks.

Against this background, the inter state relations, particularly with respect to military issues and economic issues needs to be understood and analysed. It becomes increasing clear that states pursue strategies that are basically defined by the anarchic structure of the international system. The absence of a sovereign authority above states, generates a politics of self help and places a premium on national interest and power³. However, this form of structurally driven politics is restrained by the growth of interdependence among states⁴. The role of structure can be best understood as a function of the intensity of interaction among states. This structure - intensity relationship in turn shapes a state's broad strategy in its relationship with other states and may be described as such :

- In a low - intensity relationship, structure is insignificant and strategy is at most secondary. The strategy is driven largely by a state's desire to sustain, reduce or enhance the level of structure, as the case may be. For example, a weak state would prefer low - intensity economic relations with a strong state in order to minimize

the effects of power differential, while a strong state would have the opposite inclination. If this strategy is counterproductive then the weak state may also prefer the gains from 'bandwagoning' with a stronger power. Here the security gains from a closer relationship outweigh the security risks. This was the case with Canada vis-à-vis the US, and appears to be the case between India and some of the smaller South Asian countries.

- In medium intensity relationship, the structure has significant effects and predisposes states toward strategies defined by their relative power positions⁵. Strong states prefer bilateral bargaining and tend to exert power to shape specific outcomes and hence prefer bilateral bargaining. Weak states, on the other hand, try to offset their weakness through strategies of distancing, balancing and alliance - building. India's neighbours have long practiced these strategies to counter its overwhelming size and power.

- In high - intensity relationships, structure recedes in significance as inter dependence makes the use of power counterproductive. This is evident in the collaborative efforts of developed countries, which engage in high levels of economic coordination despite the on-going competition among them. Here states adopt collaborative managerial strategies aimed at placing relationships on an even keel.

The phenomenon of globalization has had significant effects on the capacities of states and on the relationship between structure and intensity. The penetration of the transnational phenomena has steadily reduced both national power and autonomy. Globalization is not the same as *Internationalization* or *transnationalisation* - two terms with which it is commonly interchanged. *Internationalisation* is a process of increasing interdependence among states while *transnationalisation* signifies cross - border relationship that tend to bypass the political boundaries of states, such as those among nongovernment organizations (NGO's) advocating human rights or among the segments of a firm that has organized its activities on a multinational basis. Globalization subsumes elements of both but also includes something more fundamental : a shift in the frame of reference from the national, the international and the transnational to the global.

Intergration and fragmentation are the two key process associated with globalisation⁶. The integrating process is the result of the substantial increase in interaction among diverse peoples and institutions. This process, however is scarcely uniform. At one extreme, the economies of developed countries are closely integrated. At another, the globalization process has largely bypassed some parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Fragmentation, whether viewed as a reaction to integrative pressures or as constitutive of globalization, involves, among other things, the growth of local especially ethnic identities, resistance of change fuelled by fears of exploitation, and efforts to counter cultural homogenization. Both these processes, it is widely believed, are seriously corroding the capabilities of states.

The integrating process is particularly evident in the sphere of military security. There are sufficient evidence to suggest that states have agreed upon a wide range of arms control measures encompassing nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, conventional weapons, and the demilitarization of outer space. In the sphere of *economic activity* states are negotiating ceaselessly to regulate trade, investment and communication flows. Anything having a bearing on the quality of life has also attracted unprecedented regulatory action. Environmental issues have become a central concern, and extensive efforts have been undertaken to control pollution, curb ozone depletion, restrain climate change, and prevent the deterioration of the ecosystems. Human Rights too have become an integral part of the inter- state agenda.

There is yet another type of interaction informing and reproducing globalization. This has often been described as "globalization from below". In the words of Brecher⁷ :

Just as the corporate and political elite are reaching across national borders to further their agendas, people at the grassroots are connecting their struggles around the world to impose their needs and interests on the global economy. Globalization from above is generating world wide movement of resistance : globalization from below.

Globalization from below would include diverse group of people - environmentalists, NGO's religious groups, small farmers,

labour unions women's movements, consumerists and the like, all one way or the other either critical of or directly suffering from and struggling against the impact of economic globalization. The subaltern nature of the resistance movements, particularly the networking, can hardly be minimized.

There is a further subaltern variant of the whole notion of *globalization from below*. This refers to the deepening of the relationship between and amongst "dubious groups" and "shadowy activities" ranging from smuggling of goods and people, illicit production and trading of small arms, money laundering, narco-production and trading, terrorism, and the like that cuts across and beyond national, ethnic, racial and even religious affiliations. The subalterns, particularly the poverty - ridden and marginalized population, become easy targets of such groups and activities. The protracted nature of poverty and marginality and a lack of substantive global concern also push them to seek informal and even criminal means to reproduce their lives or redress the situation. The complex network at this level and in combination with the resistance movements against economic globalization could be best referred to as subaltern globalization. The subaltern non-state is no less empowering when it comes to organizing and reproducing its activities at the global level, very often by challenging the overly empowered forces of economic globalisation⁸.

Many of the "transnational" concerns to the impact of globalization represent long term threats that have traditionally fallen outside the realm of foreign policy. The cross - boundary nature of these threats also poses a dilemma for most governments particularly to those of the developing countries. These new threats include :

- **Energy and Environmental concerns :** The growing reliance on energy imports has resulted in the increasing importance of sea lanes and transportation routes. Undisrupted access to energy supply has become an important security issue for nations.
- **Food and Water Security.** The growing problem of environmental degradation, coupled with growing populations in the region have increased pressure on food and water supplies. Although

improvements in agricultural technology appear likely to mitigate food security issues, water availability is a likely source of conflict in the future.

- **Migration.** The combination of rapidly growing populations in much of the developing world, increasingly porous national borders, and disparities in economic growth rates, have sparked a dramatic increase in international migration. Migration has already emerged as a source of tension in many parts of the world.

- **Organised crime and threats from "non-state" actors.** Through the increasing case of communication and transportation flows, and the growing permeability of national borders, organized networks, terrorists, drugs and weapons traffickers, and even human smugglers face fewer constraints on their activity.

- **The deep polarization of wealth :** That has become a structural feature of the global economy has been identified as one of the major threats to future peace and security in the present millennium. Conflict theorists point out that the unequal distribution of wealth and the failure to meet basic human needs constitute a source of structural violence that lies at the heart of many conflicts.

Conclusion

In the present era, the state and political life are subject to the pervasive effects of globalization. The state's autonomous powers are being weakened and replaced by the rising regulatory capacities of the collectivity of states. Thus, though security is not directly undermined, it is indirectly reduced because the new frameworks of regulation that impinge upon people's security are shaped by the powers of strong states and the vested interests that influence them. However, ordinary citizens still depend primarily, though not exclusively, on the state for their security. They depend on the state to carry out appropriate economic policies that maximize their material well being by shaping the domestic economy and by regulating the interaction between the domestic and the global economies; to protect and promote their cultural identity by regulating the linkages between the national community and the rest of the world; and to conserve and advance their political identity and freedom by creating a firmly

- founded democratic political community that guarantees human rights. States of the developing world are caught between the irresistible power of globalising forces and strong states on the one hand, and the demands of restless and dissatisfied citizens on the other. The extent to which they are able to cope depend to a large extent upon emerging democratic trends in civil society. For it is from the civil society that pressures are emanating for a more accountable and transparent management of globalization.

Notes and References :

1. For details see Ankie Hoogvelt, **Globalization and the Postcolonial World** (Basingstoke : Macmillan, 1997).
2. Ricardo Petrella, "Globalization and Internationalization : The Dynamics of the Emerging Order" in **State Versus Markets : The Limits of Globalization**, ed. Robert Boyer and Daniel Drache (London : Routledge, 1996) pp. 62-83.
3. For details see Kenneth N. Waltz, **Theory of International Politics** (Reading MA : Addison - Wesley, 1979).
4. Robert Keohane and Joseph S. Nye. Jr. **Power and Interdependence** (Boston : Little Brown, 1977).
5. For details see. Michael Mandelbaum, **The Fate of Nations** (Cambride :Cambridge University Press, 1988).
6. For details see, Ian Clark, **Globalization and Fragmentation** (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1997).
7. Jeremy Brecher, Tim Costello and Brendan Smith, **Globalization From Below : The Power of Solidarity**, (Cambridge, Mass : South End Press, 2000)
8. Imtiaz Ahmed "Contemporary Terrorism and the State, Non State, and the Interstate : Newer Drinks, Newer Bottles" in Sridhar K. Khatri & Gert W. Kueck (ed.) **Terrorism in South Asia** (New Delhi : Shipra Publications 2003) p. 361.

GLOBALIZATION AND WOMEN'S SECURITY

Alpana Borgohain

The term - Globalization, that has come into common usage in the 1980's, is a historical process that leads to the increasing integration of the economies and societies around the world, particularly through trade and financial flows. It is an outcome of capitalism and technological progress, especially in the fields of information and electronic communications. The basis of this new economic order is LPG i.e., Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalization under the direction and control of its pace - setters, such as, - the IMF (International Monetary Fund), The World Bank and the MNC's (Multi-national Corporations). However, the progress that Global Imperialism is bringing about is not evenly dispersed and distributed. Globally the income gaps between rich and poor states and rich and poor people within the same state, have grown¹.

Today the fears and apprehensions of the people in general are larger and greater. Persistent problems and vulnerabilities such as crises related to terrorist attacks, ethnic violence, epidemics, displacements and sudden economic downturns are on the rise. Considering the existing situation of insecurity an Independent Commission for Human security was launched at the 2000 UN Millennium Summit. There was a general agreement on the importance of 'Freedom from Want' and 'Freedom from fear'. "Human Security" as defined by the commission is concerned with safeguarding and expanding people's vital freedoms. It requires both shielding people from acute threats and empowering people to take charge of their own lives.

The World economic forum report titled - "The Women's Empowerment : Measuring the Global Gender Gap", measures the gap between women and men in five critical areas like economic

participation, economic opportunity, political empowerment, access to reproductive health care - covering 58 nations - states that no country has as yet managed to eliminate the gender gap. This gender gap study has ranked China 33, nonetheless, China remains the highest ranking nation in Asia. India was ranked a lowly 53. U. S. A., the Global super power was placed at 17, is behind many Western European nations. The existence of this gender gap makes women's security more threatened than their male counterparts. Moreover, women are more vulnerable than men because their security is threatened in both spheres - public as well as private.

Women's Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO) report titled - "Beijing Betrayed" - on the status of women in 150 countries concludes that many women across the world are worse off today than they were 10 years ago and accuses governments of failing to keep their pledge to achieve equality of the sexes.²

The oppression of women has always been a global phenomenon, the globalization of the economic forces has had disproportionately harsh effects on women and has increasingly fallen outside the control of any one state. Commonly cited statistics on the plight of women world wide give a clear picture of the patterns of violence and poverty, of the denial of freedom to women - to act, speak, move, make family and sexuality choices and their failure to achieve economic autonomy and self sufficiency. Growing poverty, unemployment, inequality, deprivations, discrimination, militarisation, fundamentalist opposition to women's rights are harming millions of women world wide.

Women are one - half of the world's population, perform two-thirds of the world's work and market over three - fifths of the world's food. Yet women represent three - fifths of the world's illiterates, receive one - tenth of the world's income and own less than one - hundred of the world's property. (The World's women, Statistical Book on Women, UN, New York, 1995). Women own only about 2% of all land, but produce half of the food grown³. Sex preferential practices in child birth and child care are endemic across the globe. Sexism kills - some 100 million Asian women are estimated to be missing -

largely attributable to female infanticide and female foeticide. In many parts of the world, girl children receive less education, less food and less health care than boys. In other words, women's security needs to be ensured by guaranteeing women, their freedom from want and freedom from fear.

The Ideology of Global Capitalism is liberalism. The secret of Liberalism's endurance is most probably due to the indecisiveness regarding its view of women. Liberalism allows to hold that women are sufficiently rational and autonomous to be able to consent to the social or marriage contracts, and thus legitimately subordinated to men. It simultaneously holds that women are deemed unsuited to holding power in either sphere i.e., public (society) and private (Family, Economy). This ambiguity permits liberal capitalism to draw women into the labour market when needed as self-interested individuals and to exclude them without compensation as nurturers and dependents when the market does not require them. In USA, the expansion of the economy in the turn of the Nineteenth century, necessitated unprecedented numbers of unmarried women into the wage labour force. Many joined the ranks of formerly all - male occupations such as Clerks, Typists, Bookkeepers, Cashiers and Sales personnel. This influx into what were previously men's jobs contributed to a masculinist backlash and promoted a rigid victorian era belief in separate spheres for men and women⁴. This internal diversity allows Liberalism to treat different groups of women differently, so that some will be exhorted to work, some to care and others to combine both as situation changes. This also allows Liberalism a lot of functional flexibility with regards to its conception of women. This diverse and contradictory conception of women is used to cater to the needs of liberalism. In other words, liberalism is not genuine for the economic emancipation of women.

The separate sphere ideal persisted in the USA during the 1920s. During the 1940's, war time increases in women's labour force participation challenged the ideal of separate work spheres for men and women. During the 1950s and 1960s, the ideal separation enjoyed

was renewed and gained unprecedented acceptance, although most poor women continued to be employed. Many middle class women aspired to full time home - maker status and if middle class mothers actively pursued careers, their womanhood was sometimes called into question. Idealized visions of domestic life lost some of their luster in the face of the women's movement of the 1970's and shrinking family resources during the 1980's and 1990's. But the idea that women's real place was in the home and her work is to serve a husband and raise children did not disappear⁵. In the case of separate spheres work ideal, women are assumed to be inherently suited to serve men, which renders them naturally prepared to perform unpaid labour for them. According to Harris Kessler, this ideology was in response to competitive capitalist society, and an emotional need to keep the home a 'haven in a heartless world'. It also served to solidify the market - oriented economic structure of liberalism. Together with being economically dependent on men and fearing violence from them, the separate spheres ideal perpetuates the idea that women are naturally in need of protection and provision⁶. Moreover, even when women enjoy economic independence, they do not necessarily enjoy authority, which enables an individual to take decisions in the private sphere.

The separate spheres ideal has been used to further men's interests at the expense of women's interests. As economists and sociologists have shown, the belief in fixed and natural distinctions between men's and women's aptitudes, obligations and social roles have helped exclude women from jobs, kept their pay low, and blocked their access to better positions. The separate spheres ideal also perpetuates an image of the subordinate group (women) as fundamentally different from the dominant group (men). This assumption makes it easier to exploit the labour and resources of the subordinate group. Many feminist scholars argue that the ideal of separate spheres have been persistent because it helps privileged men to maintain power over women.

The public /Private separation also helps liberalism to shield the violence and inequality of the private sphere in the name of cultural

pluralism. In India, personal laws in terms of access to property, guardianship, divorce, maintenance, adoption, succession, and right to matrimonial home are determined by religion. Liberalism for its larger ideals of multiculturalism, group rights and popularity promotes the asymmetry of the private sphere.

Both public and private spaces of liberalism are conceived in terms of the rational and autonomous individual who is competitive, rational, self - interested and ignores his/her familial, social constitution and emotional ties. This specification refers to a masculinist view of human nature but not to actual subjects. Thus, the dominant spaces of liberalism - public and private - has no place for traditional feminine traits. Women in order to be competent in the public sphere has to adopt herself to masculine traits, which are not her own. Thus, it may inhibit the free development and expression of her individuality.

Marxist Feminists focused on women's work related concerns and how women's domestic work is trivialized as not real work. With Industrialization and the transfer of goods production from the private household to the public work place, women who did not initially enter the public work place were regarded as 'non-productive' the very large job of reproducing the labour force - a job for which women in both capitalist and socialist countries are primarily responsible. To Engels, this was a failure to understand the term production⁷. In this way women's work has been developed. Capitalism needs to keep women working for free within the household, i.e., the private domain even when it also needs them working for low wages in the work place i.e., the public sphere.

Much remains to be done with regard to the status of women in the liberal societies. Women still suffer violence directed at them in both - private and public spheres. Legal systems throughout the world have relegated the issue of violence of women to various acts of criminality rather than viewing it as a manifestation of discrimination against women. An act of gender based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm on suffering

to women including, the threat of such acts - leads to deprivation of liberty of women in both public and private life. Violence in the family includes battery, sexual abuse of female children, female foeticide, female infanticide, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women. Violence occurring within the general community including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institution and elsewhere, trafficking in women, forced prostitution and pornography, physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the state.

Globalization through the propagation of its consumerist culture has been able to portray women as a class of objects for sexual exploitation and abuse and reduced woman to a marketable commodity. Global capitalism in association with patriarchy has succeeded in dehumanizing women. Women's bodies are used to sell products. The media, to increase its sale and popularity ratings cater to the sexuality of men and uses women's bodies. This has intensified the commodification of women, when women are regarded as commodities to be measured and standards set with regard to its size and shape, which has internalized women. This internalization of women has eventually led to the advent of new diseases in women like anorexia, Bullimia, etc. As Germaine Greer opines in her work - 'Whole Women', Barbie has been instrumental in teaching broad shouldered women, short legged women, real women of the world to despise their bodies so that they pay out money that could be put towards the cost of books or computers or bicycles, for cheaply produced expensively packaged beauty products.

Technological advancement in electronic communications in the form of the internet has made pornography easily accessible. Pornography erotices power and domination and therefore makes power sexual. It expresses men's true sexuality, causes men to rape, and is a significant social device for subordinating women. It plays a crucial role in establishing codes by which women are increasingly perceived and understood. It dehumanizes women as sexual objects,

things and commodities and makes men treat women as second-class citizens. Feminists like Catherine, Mackinnon and Andrea Dworkin oppose pornography and want the state to enact laws to ban this sexist culture⁸. It needs to be considered as a civil offence and a civil right violation.

Pornography is seen as a central element of male domination or men's control over women and is closely linked to sexual violence and rape. As Robin Morgan argues, pornography is the theory and rape is the practice⁹. Feminists have argued against women; secondly it is itself a form of sexual violence; and thirdly, that women are hurt and economically and sexually exploited in the production of pornography.

The internalization of the commodification of women in men has increased violence and crime against women, rape is one of the most extreme manifestation of gender based violence. The threat of rape, give men control over women. All women suffer from and are victims of the threat of rape, even if they are not victims of actual rape. It is this fear generated by the threat of rape that keeps women subordinated. Conversely, all men benefit from rape even if they are not perpetrators of rape themselves it helps them consolidate their power¹⁰. It is the type of crime that threatens to disintegrate a woman, i.e., to make her less of a person by depriving her of bodily autonomy. In spite of this, rape is not defined as an abnormal offence in criminal law.

In present times, the most pervasive form of violence against women is reported to be abuse by a husband on intimate partner. Wife - beating as a norm of both western and eastern societies constitutes a major violence against women. Violence against women by known men is systematic, not a one - off 'loss of temper', it is an effort to keep women subordinate. It is about male aggression and patriarchy. Survey results on percentage of adult women who have been physically assaulted by an intimate partner in the developed regions are as follows - United states : 28%, Canada : 25%, Japan : 59% Belgium : 25%.¹¹

Around the world on average, about one in every three women have experienced violence in an intimate relationship¹². Sexual assault is also common in the liberal democracies, but only a small fraction of rape is reported to the police. In the U.S. more than 100,000 attempted and completed rapes of women and girls were reported to the police in 1990¹³. But a national survey found the rate was more than 6 times greater, even when considering only adult women & completed rapes¹⁴.

In 2001, The International Labour Organisation (ILO) published a report which described human trafficking for forced labour as being the underside of Globalization. Despite international legislation including the 1949 convention of the United Nations for the suppression of the Traffic in persons and of the exploitation of the Prostitution of others, trafficking in women for prostitution continues. Women are trafficked out of their own country, with false promises and sold to brothel owners. Their documents are confiscated and to recover them, they are obliged to repay the cost of their transportation and subsistence. Even if they manage to escape, their status as illegal immigrants discourages them from coming forward to the authorities.

According to the Global Report of the ILO titled "A Global alliance against forced labour" - Forced labour, rooted in discrimination, deprivation, poverty and human trafficking - has gone up and a good proportion of it comprises women and children in both developed and developing countries. In forced economic exploitation of labour, 56% of the victims are women and girls while 44% are men and boys. In forced commercial sexual exploitation, 98% of the victims are women. Children account for 40 to 50% of all victims. Much of the forced labour, states the Report, occurs in the private sector. Trafficking of women and girls for prostitution has increased with globalization with 1,75,000 women from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union are being drawn into the sex industry in Western Europe every year, and there has been a dramatic increase in the number of women trafficked to North America from countries of the former Soviet Union.¹⁵

According to T. K. Rajalakshmi what goes unstated here is that governments have ceased to be major employers of labour and have given that space to non-governmental private employers who have little scruples about violating laws. Globally 12.3 million people are working as forced labour - out of this, 9.8 million are exploited by private agents, which include over 2.4 million of them who are victims of human trafficking. Therefore, the private imposed form of forced labour dominates in both economic exploitation and commercial or sexual exploitation. However, the use of forced labour by the state is not very significant.

Prostitution is an age - old phenomenon; sex tourism seems to have grown in the recent past in the countries of east and south - East Asia as a result of globalization, which is an expansion of capitalism. More outsiders than natives visit the sex workers. World wide, about 1.2 million women and girls under eighteen are trafficked for prostitution each year¹⁶.

Prostitution is on the increase in countries where social securities were being withdrawn by the liberal state and new economic opportunities were not being opened up. In the developing countries women were forced into prostitution as a survival strategy for their families in the face of ever increasing unemployment and poverty. It is the economic situation of unemployed or underemployed women that make them sell their sexuality like a commodity to a bourgeois male. Inequalities in wealth and feminization of poverty are the two main causes of prostitution. As long as there is a bourgeois demand for prostitutes, and as long as most women are paid no wages or inadequate wages, economically dependent women will sell their bodies to men in order to support themselves and in some instances their children. Thus, they are of the view that the elimination of capitalism is truly necessary for women's liberation.

Liberalism advocates fair equality of opportunities. This claim for equality is a challenge, which has become current amongst the feminists. The technology of procreation, the possibility to choose the timing of procreation has modified the relationship of men and

women. More women want to work because they now have the time to spend. They desire more economic autonomy and feel the need of possessing their own money earned by themselves. Moreover, shrinking family resources have also made it mandatory for women to work.

From 1970 to 1990, women's average share in the labour force has increased significantly in the developed regions (40% or more)¹⁷. However, nearly half of all the working women in the developed regions are in clerical, sales and services jobs and nearly a fourth in professional or managerial jobs¹⁸.

Occupations	Women		Men	
	1970	1990	1970	1990
Professional & Technical ; Administrative & Managerial	13	23	13	20
Clerical, Sales & Service	49	48	20	22
Agriculture & related activities	14	8	15	9
Production & Transport workers, & Labourers	20	15	48	43

Source : The World's Women, 1995

When women enter previously male occupations the status of those occupations declines. A study in Europe found that in occupations where women were achieving high level positions, there was a simultaneous decline in the occupations, pay and status. The clearest examples were teachers, high-level civil servants, and managers in hotels¹⁹. In the United States, women's entry into male occupations has tended to occur only after the jobs have been rendered less attractive to men²⁰.

Feminists argue that women earn less than men in almost all countries. This is partly because women hold more low-levelled positions, which are lowly paid. Differences in women's and men's pay persist despite the fact that most developed countries have implemented equal pay laws since the 1960s and 1970s. It may be mentioned here that even in October, 1999, the Canadian government after a court case agreed to pay 1.8 billion dollars in back salaries interests to 230,000 past and current

federal workers, overwhelmingly women, under the equal pay for work of Equal Value Act²¹. But since the labour market is highly segregated, equal pay for work of equal pay legislations has little effect on wage differences. Feminists are of the view that broader legislations concerning equal opportunities in all spheres of work such as equal access to occupational training and advancement and equality in working conditions are more effective in reducing the gap.

The Feminists argue that the central focus in the lives of most women is bearing and rearing of children. The sharing of parental responsibilities, the availability of child care and of maternal and other benefits contribute to more equal conditions of work for women and men in the labour market. Working women especially suffer from a shortage of time because of the triple shift that they carry-child bearing and rearing, household management and production or income earning activities. Time use studies find that in almost every country women spend more hours than men in work - paid and unpaid. The Human Development Report showed that of the total time spent in work, women on average accounted for 53% and men for 47%. Therefore, it is argued that women are overburdened and over-worked. Females in select Organization of Economic Cooperation and development (OECD) countries spend 34% of their time on production oriented market activities and 66% on non-market activities. On the other hand, males spend 66% of their time on production oriented market activities and 34% on non-market activities²².

According to the Human development report, 1997, feminization of poverty is a question less of whether more women than men are poor than of the severity of poverty and the greater hardship women faced in lifting themselves and their children out of this trap. The wide range of biases society - unequal opportunities in education, employment and asset ownership means that women have fewer opportunities. This poverty accentuates the gender gaps and when adversity strikes, it is women who are most vulnerable. Crime and domestic violence also reduce earnings of poor women and men²³.

Feminists argue that since discrimination and oppression arises from

male domination, the feminists should not confine themselves to absence of discrimination, but also focus on the granting of power to women i.e., empowerment of women. Structures of oppression and discrimination need to be changed with greater representation of women to change the anti-women policies. Women's representation in decision-making need to be enhanced in senior levels of government and parliament, corporate executives, high level officials in the United Nations. There are few women in ministerial and senior levels of government and most are in less powerful levels and portfolios. Women hold about 14% of the parliamentary seats worldwide²⁴. Only 24 women have been elected heads of states or governments and of this 12 have been elected since 1990 to 1994.²⁵ Between 1987 and 1994, the number of countries where women held no ministerial positions dropped from 93 to 59.²⁶ Only 5.7% of the world's cabinet ministers in 1994 were women. Women are slightly better represented at some ministerial levels, in posts like vice-minister, permanent secretary, deputy secretary, etc. In 1994, 23 countries had more than 15% women at some ministerial levels, compared with 14 countries in 1987.²⁷ In the business world women at the top are very few - not more than 1 or 2 percent of senior management positions²⁸. Media both print and visual shapes public opinion and attitudes and are very influential. Therefore, programme directors are powerful but most of them are men. Women in media are mostly employed as reporters and presenters. Women are not given equal representation in the United Nations Organization (UNO). This is conspicuous from the fact that only 2 women have been elected to preside over the General Assembly till today. Moreover, in 1994, only 20% of General Assembly delegates were women in the UNO. Women have always been a minority in the UNO professional staff²⁹.

The periodical world survey on the role of women in development, 1999 which focused on, 'globalization, gender and work', is of the opinion that globalization has led to a growth in employment in informal activities such as subcontracting, part time work, self-employment and home-based work leading to a decline in the rate of unionization. Women workers appear to be more in demand worldwide because they can be hired for a lower pay and are willing to work in less than desirable conditions in

comparison to men. Moreover, women tend to prefer part time jobs due to the triple shift they bear. When employed as part timers, women workers cannot avail of maternity benefits. Therefore, they tend to lose their jobs very frequently. The survey dispels the notion that the presence of large number of women in the labour market indicates the general well being of women. On the contrary, it states that only some women have been able to break into better jobs that were previously dominated by men, and that the majority of women are still placed in low - paid and irregular jobs with little training or promotion prospects. The survey showed that markets transmit gender inequality that already exists³⁰.

With globalization and the pressure for a flexible labour market, workers' incomes, rights and protections are being compromised. The social welfare system protecting workers is also decreasing. 150 million of the world workers were unemployed at the end of 1998, and as many as 900 million were underemployed. About 35 million people were unemployed in the OECD countries alone. Insecure jobs have become a fact of life in many countries. In the United Kingdom, in 1997, 25% of all jobs were part time. Informal sector employment has become dominant in many countries³¹. The survey on the basis of empirical evidence acknowledged that companies are reducing the core work force and increasingly relying on irregular forms of employment in order to avoid supporting workers in times of market uncertainty and subsequent increase in costs. Thus, both women and workers enjoy no job security and cannot organize due to the decreasing rate of unionization.

Moreover, governments have been forced to curtail social spending on housing nutrition, health and education, which affects women and the poor, the most.

Globalization has transformed the environment for public policy. The 'Welfare state' has no legitimacy in the globalized paradigm, giving rise to the 'warfare state'. It has been noted that there has been a rising prevalence of civil strife in societies caught up in the currents of globalization. This unequal strife ridden, globalized paradigm with ever increasing level of poverty, Inequality and unemployment has made women very vulnerable. It is very essential to change the economic basis

of the existing globalised world, without which the freedom from want and freedom from fear to women and the oppressed can never be secured. The alternative World has to adopt an integrated approach aimed at creating a new culture, new economy, and a new polity based on values such as freedom, Equality, Justice and Democracy.

Reference:

1. The World's richest 1% of people receive as much income as the poorest 57%. The richest 10% of the U.S. population has an income equal to that of the poorest 43% of the world. UNDP Human Development Report 2002, p 19.
2. Krishna Kumar, Asha, A battle and some reverses. Frontline, April 8, 2005, p. 49.
3. Frontline, April 8, 2005, "A Battle and some reverses by Asha Krishnakumar, p. 49.
4. Coltrane, Scott, Gender and Families, Pine Forge Press, N. Delhi, 1998, p. 61.
5. *ibid*, p. 62.
6. *ibid*, p. 63.
7. Engels, Friedrich, The Origin of Family, Private Property and the State, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1948, Reprint 1994, p. 71-72.
8. Mackinnon, Catherine, Freminism Unmodified : And only Words, Cambridge, 1993, p. 75 f.
9. Morgan, Robin, Theory and Practice : Pornography and Rape in Lederer, L., (ed.) Take Back The Night : Women on Pornography, p. 139.
10. Brownmiller, Susan, Against our Will : Men, Women and Rape, p. 204.
11. The World's Women, UN, New York, 1995, p. 161 f.
12. Human development Report 2000, OUP, p. 4.
13. *ibid*, p. 36.

14. Idem.
15. Frontline, April 8, 2005, p. 49.
16. UNDP, Human Development Report 2000, OUP, p. 4.
17. The World's Statistical book on Women, Women, p. 109.
18. ibid, p. 125.
19. ibid, p. 127
20. Idem.
21. Human Development Report 2000, p. 41.
22. UN Human Development Report 1997, OUP.
23. World Development Report 2000 - 2001, p. 137.
24. Human Development Report, 2002, p. 5.
25. The World's Women, p. 152.
26. ibid, p. 151.
27. ibid, p. 153.
28. Idem.
29. ibid, p. 154.
30. Rajalakshmi T. K., The Vulnerable Women, in Frontline, January 7, 2002, pp. 83-84.
31. Human Development Report, OUP, 1997, p. 40.

SAARC AND INDIA-PAKISTAN

Deepender Kumar

The euphoria generated by the twelfth SAARC summit was bedeviled when the devastating tsunami struck on December 26, 2004. The tsunami led to postponement of the 13th summit scheduled for January 9-11, and when the member countries were grappling with the new date, developments in Nepal (royal takeover) and Bangladesh (disturbed security situation) led to another postponement of the summit for indefinite period. After hectic parley among the members in general and thaw in India and Pakistan relation the date for the 13th summit has been finalized and it is scheduled to be held on November 12-13 of this year.

At this juncture it becomes imperative to peep in the past and analyse some of the points that have inhabited SAARC to achieve its objectives. The paper is an attempt to show how SAARC future is dependent on India and Pakistan relation.

The Idea of Regional Organisation

The idea of regional organizations evolved after the Second World War at the behest of the two superpowers to serve their military and political interests. The important regional organizations that came into being were North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the Warsaw pact. Both were established for military purposes and to contain each other's military prowess. However, regional organizations like the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957 and Association for South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1967, came up with non-military objectives. This trend was somewhat reserved in the South Asian region in 1985 when a rather small state in the region took the initiative and persuaded other countries to come together to form the South Asian Association for Regional

Co-operation (SAARC). South Asian Regional organization was thus one of the most natural associations to come up in the region.

The Making of SAARC :

The idea of the regional cooperation in South Asia was first explored during the visit of Sri Lankan foreign minister to Bangladesh in November 1977. The momentum for the regional organization was strengthened with the meeting of Zia-Ur Rahman, the then President of Bangladesh and Indira Gandhi in New Delhi in January 1980. After number of consultations, the Foreign Secretaries of the seven countries met for the first time in Colombo in April 1981.

The foreign ministers of different south Asian states, during their meeting in New Delhi in August 1983, formally launched the Intergrated Programme of Action (IPA) through the adoption of the Declaration on South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC). The declaration clearly stated cooperation should be based on respect for the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference in internal affairs of other states, and mutual benefit. However, India was reluctant because of apprehension that the smaller neighboring countries would gang up against her. In order to maintain its identity in the region, India put a condition that the organization would not discuss bilateral and contentious issues, and second, decisions in the forum would be taken up only on the basis of unanimity. Keeping the India's concerns in mind the foreign ministers of the seven countries identified relatively non-controversial areas for cooperation, such as agriculture, rural development, telecommunications, meteorology, health, transport, postal services and scientific and technological cooperation. During the Dhaka summit (first summit) in 1985 a decision was made to change the name of the organization from SARC to South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). In order to avoid raking up of controversial issues the charter of the SAARC in its Article 10 (General Provision) explicitly mentions the exclusion of the contentious bilateral issues from the formal deliberations.

SAARC Summits

At the time of the inception of SAARC it was anticipated that a regional forum would provide an opportunity to the member countries to meet once in a year to address the problems in which regional cooperation was required. In December 1987, During the third summit, at Kathmandu, the member states underlined the importance of annual meetings as a prime mover in consolidating and accelerating the pace and process of overall social, economic and cultural development in the region.¹

SAARC in its initial year tried to remove the barriers and promote people to people contacts. A host of conventions has been adopted since the establishment of the SAARC for the promotion of people to people contacts and for the dismantling of the barriers. The prominent amongst them are : agreement on establishing a SAARC Food Security Reserve signed in 1987 and came into effect on the 12th of August, 1988; SAARC Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism; SAARC Convention on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances 1990. SAARC visa exemption convention came into operation on March 1, 1992. The list of exemptions (for travel to another SAARC country) included Supreme Court Judges, member of the national Parliaments, head of national academic institutions, foreign/permanent secretaries dealing with foreign affairs, SAARC secretary General and Directors in the SAARC Secretariat and Presidents of national chambers of commerce and industry.

However, it has been noticed that the conventions have fallen short of their aspiration and have failed in their objectives. The non-implementation of the programmes and convention are primarily due to the presence of mistrust among the member countries in general and Indo-Pak animosity in particular. Even the report of the SAARC summit, also stated that the non-implementation of the conventions is primarily due to the absence of political will and the vicissitudes of the political climate.²

Another reason for the non-implementation and non-fulfillment

of its objective is that the member countries still perceive India as a gigantic country with massive manpower, considerable military, economic and technological strength and they are concerned that in the event of a non-restrictive regional policy framework that the SAARC aimed at, India may be able to maximize its gain at the cost of other relatively weaker states. Apart from that, a sense of distrust and suspicion marks the relationship between India and its neighbours who tend to view India as a hegemonic power. Due to such impressions India's initiative are viewed through the prism of domination. The natural and inevitable preponderance of India in the region and the efforts of one or more states within SAARC to contain India by raising political issues in SAARC have emerged as important factors that have affected the smooth operation of the SAARC in the past decades of its existence.

As a result of this, the basic objectives of the SAARC have failed to get translated into action. This has been raised by some of the member countries during the summit meets. During the twelfth summit, the President of Maldives, Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, who has attended every SAARC summit since its inception made a perceptive point in his speech at the inaugural session: "Our peoples need food, not fighter aircraft; books not bombs; medicine not missiles".³ Gayoom's desperation will slow progress of the SAARC was legitimate because it has failed to address the pressing problems of the region, i.e., the amelioration of the conditions of people wallowing in poverty, illiteracy and disease. At present, 45 percent of South Asia's 1.4 billion people live below international poverty line of \$1 a day. These people constitute 40 percent of the world's total poor. The region also has the world's highest illiteracy rate of 45 percent.⁴

Islamabad Summti 2004

The twelfth summit at Islamabad was held at time when the global politics was experiencing tremendous change. The drive against international terrorism, with pressure from US on India and Pakistan had to have its impact on the strategic environment in the region. The

pressure from US enabled dialogue between India and Pakistan in the mid 2003. The relations had suffered a decline after the terrorist attack on India's Parliament in December 2001.

The twelfth summit once again provided an opportunity to Pakistan and Indian leaders to resume the unfinished dialogue process held last in July 2001 at Agra. Lot of speculations were there in air, whether both the leaders would meet at the sidelines of summit or not? Till the last moment India asserted that no bilateral meetings with Pakistani leaders are on the agenda on the sidelines of SAARC summit in Islamabad. However on January 6, the last day of the summit President General Musharraf and Prime Minister Vajpayee met for an hour and deliberated wide range of issues including Kashmir. The confidence building measures (CBMs) that were finalized during the 1998 meeting of the foreign secretaries were once again reserved during the bilateral meeting of Pervez Musharraf and then Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, this time with new vigour, i.e., to implement it. Apart from the CBMs, during the twelfth summit, many outstanding issues were discussed between India and Pakistan.

Vajpayee stated in the January 6 Joint Statement that India would now start talking about issues that have divided the two countries for decades and that the "resumption of the composite dialogue will lead to a peaceful settlement of all bilateral issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, to the satisfaction of both sides." President Musharraf termed the agreement a "historic leap forward" and a victory for all peace-loving people of India and Pakistan as well as the people of Kashmir. Brajesh Mishra, then National Security Adviser, expressed the same sentiment saying: "Don't look at the document for victory of one side or the other. It is a victory for all, a victory of peace and security for the people of South Asia."

The twelfth summit was different from previous summits. Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali, then Prime Minister of Pakistan for the first time did not mention Kashmir dispute and the words "cross border terrorism" also did not figure in Vajpayee's speech. Shamsad Ahmed, the ex-foreign secretary of Pakistan stated that this was the first time in their history that the two countries had elaborated the whole range

of their issues in black and white while also agreeing to address them in an "integrated" manner. Another positive development was the bilateral willingness to deal peace and security at the level of foreign secretaries, and the foreign secretaries were entrusted to coordinate and monitor the progress of work.⁵ The most significant part of joint statement was the "resolve and reiteration of Pakistan to fight terrorism and not allow its territory to be used to support terrorism in any manner".

The other significant outcome of the summit is deliberation on the social charter by the member countries. During the 10th summit social charter and adoption of an Independent South Asian Commission on poverty (ISCPA) was taken up. Apart from that the charter would help in addressing the menace of terrorism because among various reasons the charter identified that the widespread poverty prevailing in the region provided the context for breeding terrorism in the region. In order to carry forward the social charter Vajpayee proposed for a creation of a Poverty Alleviation Fund and offered \$100 million as initial contribution for poverty alleviation programmes and projects outside India. Vajpayee also reiterated the suggestion of former Prime Minister of India, Inder Kumar Gujral regarding a common SAARC currency.

In order to provide momentum to the low trade between the member countries a beginning was made in 1995 during the eighth SAARC summit. South Asian Preferential Trading Agreement (SAPTA) was signed and during the tenth summit an agreement was reached to achieve South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA) by 2001. However, due to the question of tariff duty and regular postponement of summit the target could not be achieved. The intense negotiations among the Finance Ministers and Planning Ministers of the member countries at Islamabad before the twelfth summit led to the signing of SAFTA, envisaging establishing of a free trade zone in South Asia by 2006 and moving towards an economic zone. The signing of SAFTA has successfully dispelled all the apprehensions of the least developed countries and fulfilled the commitments made during the eleventh SAARC summit held in Kathmandu (2-6 January 2002).

The step could be considered as a milestone but still it has miles to go because its predecessor SAPTA has to prove its worthiness because it has failed miserably to promote intra-regional trade substantially. The reason for lower trade between the regional countries could be primarily attributed to intra-regional goods competition inside and outside the region. Moreover considerable progress has yet to be achieved on the removal of trade barriers under the arrangements for SAPTA, and could also promote people to people contacts because of economic activities. It could be stated that the coming years are likely to witness intense negotiations on the economic front.

On the successful signing of SAFTA, the confederation of Indian Industry has outlined a 15-point agenda for increasing the intra SAARC trade. The agenda paper says that completion of the South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA) and the South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement by 2005 is a must in order to ensure doubling of current level of \$6 billion intra-SAARC trade and continue to double the trade every five years.⁶

The successful implementation of the SAFTA would certainly provide fresh impetus in the progress of SAARC and it would be in the interest of India because at present lot of Indian goods reach the member countries market through third countries. Apart from that there would no problem of international standard that Indian goods very often encounter in the market of Europe and USA. The joint efforts and the strengthening of SAARC could lead the member countries to prepare itself to adopt common positions on economic, particularly in the context of the new challenges arising out of the evolving international order which may adversely affect the interests of the developing countries generally and South Asia particularly.

One of the most important areas that came up for discussion during the twelfth summit was energy sector. Mir Zaffarullah Khan Jamali in his speech said that he was in favour of commissioning a study for the creation of a South Asia "Energy Ring", which could include hydro and thermal capacities as well as trans-regional oil and gas pipelines. The idea of commissioning of such study has lot of relevance because the South Asian countries incessantly face power

crisis and it is unevenly distributed in the region, some have surplus whereas some are undergoing actual crisis. It has been found that Pakistan installed thermal units potentially can produce much more than Pakistan can itself consume in the near future. Rather than setting up its own expensive units India could import electricity from Pakistan for its industries in Punjab and Haryana belt.⁷ The practical implementation of the idea would not only fulfill the demand for power but also works as a confidence building measures.

Chinese Inclusion

Shujat Hussain, in his inaugural address read the message sent by Chinese Premier, and said Beijing's desire to associate with the seven-member South Asian regional grouping was a welcome development. It should be noted that the charter does not provide discussion on bilateral issue and there is no provision for the expansion. Pakistan justifies the inclusion of China on the ground that it would help in strengthening the economic cooperation and would help in increasing the volume of trade between the member countries. However, it should be pointed out that the trade potential within the existing members till now has not been completely exploited. The Chinese desire to associate themselves with the SAARC, has a long history and first time it was conveyed to the Indian side on the sidelines of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) meeting in July 2001.⁹ After that it was relegated to background, even at the time of Islamabad summit Chinese Premier, did sent a message but then PM of Pakistan Jamali did not read the message. However, on the sidelines of regional ministerial conference, Foreign Office spokesman, Masood Ahmed Khan said "We support participation of the neighbouring countries including Iran and China as well as Japan in the Saarc," He also added that "First the organization should become active and at a later stage associate other countries for a membership status".¹⁰ The China's eagerness to associate itself with the SAARC has lot to do with its own economy (growing at the rate of 9.7 per cent) and its membership to the WTO.

Any amendment in SAARC charter at this juncture would be insignificant and may dilute the attempts made at Islamabad for its revitalization. The other regional organizations like ASEAN and EU were expanded when the intra-member animosities were amicably resolved.

Instead of going for expansion of SAARC the member countries should make an effort to fulfill the basic objectives that have been put in frozen state, and carry forward the spirit of Islamabad summit. It should be noted that economic growth and development in South Asia could take place only if there is "peace and harmony", therefore, instead of going for enlarging the membership it would be in the interest of the region to resolve the issues that have led to frequent postponement of the summits in the past.

As far as economic ground is concerned it is found that the informal trade in the region is as high as formal trade. The formal Trade among the countries of South Asia remains abysmally low at \$ 1641 million, and the informal trade is to the tune of \$3 billion.¹¹ And the formal trade between India and Pakistan stands presently at about US\$251 million. It is anticipated that if a free trade agreement comes into effect bilateral trade could easily increase to over US\$ 4 billion within two or three years.¹² At regional level the enunciation of SAFTA would boost the India's share in total exports and imports percentage. During the last five years Indian imports from SAARC nations constituted less than one percent of its total imports and its exports to SAARC nations constituted less than five percent of its total exports.

Share in India's Total Exports (Imports)%

Country	2002-03	2001-02	2000-01	1999-00	1998-99
Bangladesh	2.10(0.09)	2.29(0.11)	2.10(0.16)	1.73(0.16)	3.00(0.15)
Bhutan	NA (0.04)	0.02(0.05)	0.00(0.04)	0.02(0.04)	0.03(0.01)
Maldives	NA (NA)	0.06(0.00)	0.02(0.00)	0.02(0.00)	0.03(0.00)
Nepal	0.57(0.46)	0.49(0.69)	0.41(0.50)	0.41(0.38)	0.37(0.34)
Pakistan	0.39(0.07)	0.03(0.13)	0.25(0.13)	0.25(0.14)	0.32(0.51)
Sri Lanka	1.76(0.15)	1.44(0.13)	1.36(0.09)	1.36(0.09)	1.32(0.09)
SAARC	4.82(0.81)	4.62(1.11)	3.79(0.92)	3.79(0.80)	5.05(1.10)

Source: Economic Times 12-01-04

The above table infers that it is very much possible that promotion of intra trade between the existing member countries through SAFTA

would be more fruitful than with the inclusion of China. Moreover, the inclusion of China would bring some new issues at the forefront due to the proximity of China with Pakistan and it is very much possible that the issues raised by Pakistan at the SAARC would get overwhelming support from China and would subsequently jeopardise in the rejuvenation of SAARC.

Indo-Pak Differences and SAARC

On one hand the SAARC summits have failed to deliver its objective and on the other hand the summits in the past had provided opportunity for both India and Pakistan to resolve their bilateral issues. Some of the major achievements are like, the first SAARC summit in 1985 provided an opportunity for Gen. Zia-Ul-Haq and Rajiv Gandhi to discuss bilateral issues and both the leaders agreed not to attack each other's nuclear installations.

During the Bangalore summit in November 1986, Indian and Pakistani leaders held talks on diffusing the tension resulting from India's military exercise (Brass Tracks) on Indo-Pakistan border. During the fourth Summit in Islamabad in December 1988 Benazir Bhutto and Rajiv Gandhi discussed wide range of issues and reached a number of agreements for steps to improve their relations. In a similar way during the ninth Summit in Male, Prime Minister I.K. Gujral and Nawaz Sharief held separate talks that led to the culmination of the foreign Secretary meeting between Indian Foreign Secretary, Salman Haider and Pakistan Foreign Secretary, Shamshad Ahmed. During the talks of both the foreign secretaries, India and Pakistan agreed to take all possible steps to prevent hostile propaganda and provocative actions against each other. Secretary-level talks also finalized composite dialogue framework. The composite dialogue formulation accommodated both the Indian and Pakistani positions. During the 11th summit at Kathmandu the bilateral gesture was limited to handshake between Musharraf and Vajpayee.

The above deliberations show that the summits in past have provided opportunities to India and Pakistan to diffuse their bilateral

problems. Apart from the meeting of Indian and Pakistani leaders at the sideline of the summit it is found that the regional economic issues have been also given due importance. The economic issues from early 1990s were identified as possible areas of cooperation. In order to further institutionalized the economic co-operation, the meeting of Commerce Ministers of SAARC countries were commenced. The First SAARC Commerce Ministers Conference was held in New Delhi in January 1996 when the SAARC Trade Fair was held in New Delhi. This has now become an annual feature along with a Conference organized by the SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The second meeting of SAARC Commerce Ministers was held in Islamabad from April 29-30, 1998. However it has failed miserably in expending and diversifying the intra-regional trade. Indian exporter control over 70% of the regional shipment. The six SAARC countries have a trade deficit of more than \$2.2 billion with India.¹³ During 2001-02, exports from India to Pakistan were to the tune of \$140 million while imports from Pakistan stood at \$63 million. Bilateral trade stood at \$204 million, giving India a surplus of \$77 million. But unofficial trade between the two is much higher.¹⁴

The statistics shows that the region intra-trade is very low and has tremendous potential for its expansion. In the present globalised world the prominence and emphasis on economic issues could also make the countries to cooperate because the one of the reasons for the success of ASEAN and EU are due to the economic issues. Trade within the ASEAN region is around 63% and in Europe 63% of the EU countries foreign trade is with each other.¹⁵

In the post twelfth summit period some perceptible changes on the economic front have been observed in the speeches of the Indian and Pakistani leaders. Pakistani's Federal Finance Minister, Shaukat Aziz, addressing the members of an Indian trade delegation, in March 2004, underlined the need of creating more conducive atmosphere to bring down the level of trust deficit in the India-Pakistan relations. He was of opinion that "increased economic and trade interaction can help achieve this objective".¹⁶

Apart from economic issues under the auspices of SAARC a beginning has also been made to develop cooperation in the important field of Information and Media. The first SAARC Information Ministers Meeting was held in Dhaka in April 1998. The meeting adopted the Dhaka communiqué containing a SAARC plan of action for developing cooperation in the field of media and information. The plan provides inter alia for free flow of information, newspapers, periodicals, books and other publication, increased cooperation amongst news agencies of SAARC countries.¹⁷ The second meeting was convened in Islamabad during which Gen. Parvez Musharraf urged Sushma Swaraj, then Information and broadcasting Minister to use her offices to deescalate tension.¹⁸

Such types of regular meeting between the ministries of the member countries have provided an opportunity to get the message of the HOS across through the representative of the government. The meetings are quite regular but the agreements have failed to get translated. On the question related with the ban on Indian channel, Pakistani Information Broadcasting Minister, Rashid Ahmed, during the third meeting in New Delhi talking to media stated that the ban on Indian TV channels in Pakistan is a minor issue and could be discussed between the two sides.¹⁹

SAARC and Future of India-Pakistan Relations

As has been stated above, the main issue of concern for SAARC has been the intractable bilateral relationship between India and Pakistan. The differences between India and Pakistan, primarily on the question of cross-border terrorism and Kashmir and the Pakistani effort to raise the issue of Kashmir in SAARC without addressing the central issue of terrorism in Kashmir, have led to even cancellation of SAARC annual summit meetings. Many positive outcomes from past SAARC summit were thwarted due to the differences between India and Pakistan. During the third summit in 1987 the HOS expressed unequivocal condemnation of all acts, methods and practice of terrorism as criminal.²⁰ The convention was ratified and came into

effect on August 22, 1988. Under this Convention, member states are required to extradite or prosecute alleged terrorists, and prevent them from enjoying safe havens on their soil. However, India has held that Pakistan flouted the spirit of the basic objective of the convention, and promoted cross border terrorism in Kashmir and provided safe havens to number of Indian fugitives with full state support.

India persistently asked for additional protocols to the 1987 convention to further strengthen the regional resolve to combat terrorism. But only during the twelfth summit in Islamabad this year the additional protocol was signed which clearly focuses on plugging the financial source for the terrorists. The protocol also clearly spelt out measures to prevent, suppress and eradicate the financing of terrorism. According to agreed protocol, each state party is expected to undertake appropriate measures in accordance with their own legal principles and systems to identify, detect and freeze or seize any funds that are being used or intended to be used by the terrorist organizations.²¹ The additional protocol on terrorism also designates through the provision, the "collection and acquisition of funds for the purpose of committing terrorist acts" as a criminal activity.

The initial reluctance on India's demand was primarily from the Pakistan side and one of the reasons for Pakistan's nod for the additional protocol during the Twelfth summit could be due to three unsuccessful assassination attempts on Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, within the span of fourteen days (13-25 December, 2003). However, Pakistan Foreign Minister, Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri, said that the additional protocol was necessary after the events of September 11th and was in consonance with the UN Security Council Resolution 1337 on combating international terrorism. It is found that after the 9/11 Pakistan has been constantly pressured by US to dismantle the terrorist infrastructure.

Apart from signing the additional protocol, Pakistan government has taken some domestic measures also to put curb on the terrorist activities. The federal cabinet has approved amendments to the Anti-

Terrorism Act 1997 and has increased punishments for financiers of terrorism. Under the new laws, jail terms will be doubled for any individual or entity involved in financing terrorism. What is significant is that all societies and institutions that have a potential to act as conduits for such financing shall be obliged to establish bank accounts and maintain information about their employees and clients failing which they will face fine and revocation of their licences.²² Exhibiting his commitment for the additional protocol President Musharraf in his first address to a joint session of parliament, also called for a jihad against extremism and he also stated that it was one of four "dangerous allegations" facing the country, and urged parliamentarians to prove themselves worthy of shouldering important responsibilities.²³ The measures for putting curb on the terrorism have once again raised the hope that SAARC has potential to address the pressing problems like terrorism of the region.

Both issues-cross-border terrorism and Kashmir are bilateral but had been persistently figured in the speeches of leaders of both the countries. In an attempt to include bilateral issues in the SAARC charter the Pakistan President, Leghari in May 1995, during the New Delhi summit expressed his country's position on the matter of including bilateral issues in the multilateral forums but was unable to succeed in his efforts. In another attempt during Colombo summit in 1998, Pakistan proposed to involve the regional grouping in settling local conflicts and unequivocally declared that stability, peace and security in South Asia could not be considered in isolation of the global security environment. On the other hand India in order to prohibit raising the issues of Kashmir, Atal Behari Vajpayee, during 11th summit said, "raising of contentious issues at the SAARC forum does not serve its purpose". He also stated that bilateral issues should be resolved bilaterally.

Recognising the impediments of bilateral disputes and absence of frequent bilateral meetings to resolve the contentious issues the HOS during the ninth summit agreed that a process of informal political consultations would prove useful in this regard.²⁴ During

the 10th summit the HOS further recognized this process would contribute to the appreciation of each other's problems and perceptions as well as for decisive action in agreed areas of regional cooperation.²⁵

The informal political consultations at the sideline of the summits have lot of significance because it provides an opportunity for informal consultations among the HOS to see how they can take SAARC forward. The GEP in its report have also endorsed the process of holding informal political consultations. It has further recommended that it should be carried forward and operationalised so as to achieve the charter objectives of fostering mutual trust, understanding and friendly relations among the member states. In fact the international and regional media has watched informal political consultations far more carefully than the actual summit proceedings and deliberations. It basically infers that the summits are actually too formal, ceremonial in content, and conventional in the style of conduct.²⁶ The point could be illustrated by recently concluded summit, the India-Pakistan joint statement was highlighted more than the declaration of the summit.

Steps Ahead

The above stated points show that on most of the occasions Indo-Pak differences have led to postponement of the summit. The goodwill and friendly atmosphere created after the twelfth summit has to be carried forward for the revival of the SAARC. Some of the important issues that could play important role in this direction are cultural diplomacy, opening of historical routes and promoting people to people contact. Beginnings have been made by the member countries in general and between India and Pakistan in particular in this direction.

On the importance of communication link Vajpayee, during the twelfth summit said, world class connectivity is key to faster development. The establishment of modern multi modal transport infrastructure of road, rail, air waterways and sea links should be one of our priority areas.²⁷ The inter-regional transportation and communication links are vital in order to derive the full benefits of geographical proximity of the member states. The important historical

links are Munabao-Khokhrapar rail link and the Muzaffarabad-Srinager bus service. Beginning has been made in this direction with the bus service between Srinagar-Muzaffarabad. The bus service has been successful in reuniting the divided families on both sides.

Historically, prior to 1947, the Muzaffarabad route was the only link between Kashmir and the outside world. It was constructed during Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign.²⁸ India has shown its interest in reviving the links, India had offered the road re-opening as part of certain confidence-building measures earlier in 1997 but the idea was consigned to cold storage after the Kargil war. The question was included in one of 12 proposals mooted by India when the recent India-Pakistan initiative took off, following the November 26, 2003 ceasefire along the international border and the line of control.

The other important issues that could help in furthering the people to know each other are airing of TV channels and liberal visa regime. The countries of the region in general and India and Pakistan in particular ought to realize that the ban on airing of TV channels and strict visa regulations would not solve the problems. The restriction also goes against the plan of Action on Information and Media adopted during the First SAARC Information ministers meeting held in Bangladesh in 1998. The Plan of Action identified a number of activities to be undertaken by Member States, inter-alia, to ensure a free flow of information, newspapers, periodicals, books and other publications; to increase cooperation amongst news agencies of SAARC countries; to Regional Media Forum; to hold annual conferences of editors and journalists; to promote regular exchanges of TV/Radio programmes; to train media persons; to evolve guidelines on transnational satellites; to establish a SAARC satellite; and to consider setting up a SAARC Information Centre as well as a SAARC Media Development Fund.

The promotion of accessibility to the regional channels and people-to-people contact, coupled with cooperation in the fields of culture is of great significance in form of dispelling the mistrust and

could also lead to know people of the region from close quarters. There is a need for creating a greater space for the citizens of South Asia so that they can come together to shape a better future. The member-states should come out of their restrictive shells and allow their citizens to intermix and intermingle for a better understanding of their regional, national and local identities. The point could be illustrated by the India and Pakistan cricket series, which led to exodus of Indians to Pakistan and the series also provided opportunity to various ministers and government functionaries of India to visit Pakistan.

On September 18, 2004 Government of India unilaterally announced that journalists with a minimum of three years of accreditation with national or international media of repute could be issued multiple entry visas, and with exemption from reporting to the police. A group of 16 senior journalists from Muzaffarabad and other places visited Jammu, Srinagar and New Delhi from October 3 to 9 on the invitation of the Indian chapter of the South Asian Free Media Association (Safma). The exchange, the first of its type in 57 years, was intended to provide an opportunity to media persons to assess themselves the situation, on the two sides and, thus perform their job objectively. Unlike earlier times situation, on the two sides and, thus, perform their job objectively. Unlike earlier times the visiting journalists were free to meet representatives of the cross-section of political and the public opinion. The exchange visit is likely to be followed by a return visit of media persons from Jammu and Kashmir and other places, who have been writing on Kashmir affairs, to Muzaffarabad, Gilgit, Islamabad and Lahore from November 19 to 26. The exchange of the Journalists between the countries is likely to dispel the misinformation about the issues that have been impediment for peace in the region. The SAFMA Secretary General Imtiaz Alam, during the SAFMA meeting in New Delhi noted that exchange of journalists will help the media understand the Kashmir issue better.

Lastly, it could be stated that a fresh and committed approach is the demand of the time, to address the issues and resolve problems,

which have impeded the association's progress. Furthermore, instead of further expanding SAARC cooperation horizontally, activities already undertaken should be consolidated and effort should be put in areas which have greater potential of making a visible impact on the life of the common man. Moreover, efforts should be made by the member countries in general and India and Pakistan in particular to revive the old routes that had linked with all the member countries. The member countries should consider the development of media as a tool for promoting mutual cooperation towards peace, economic development and removal of poverty and ignorance in the Asian region.

References :

1. **Nischal Nath Pandey**, *SAARC: Is Modification of the Institutional Framework Necessary*, in **Dipankar Banarjee** (ed.) "SAARC in the Twenty-First Century : Towards a Cooperative Future", India Research Press, New Delhi, p. 227
2. Report of the SAARC Group of Eminent Persons Established by the Ninth *SAARC summit*, *SAARC Vision Beyond the year 2000*, Shipra Publications, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 37-38.
3. John Cherian, "Looking Ahead", *Frontline*, Chennai, January 30, 2004, p.13
4. It is World Bank statistics, quoted in Amit Baruah, "Something to Feel Good About ?" *The Hindu*, New Delhi, January 25, 2004.
5. Shamsad Ahmed, "No Room for Over-optimism", *Dawn*, Karachi, January 19, 2003.
6. "CII's 15-Point Agenda for SAARC Cooperation," *The Hindu*, New Delhi, January 6, 2004.
7. Najmuddin A. Shaikh, "SAARC and after", *Dawn*,

Karachi, December 14, 2004.

8. Saurabh Shukla, Pakistan Press K-button ahead of Saarc meet, *Hindustan Times*, July 20, 2004.
9. Amit Baruah, China keen on associating with SAARC, *The Hindu*, July 31, 2001.
10. Pakistan for Saarc membership of Iran, China, *The News International*, January 04, 2004.
11. Imtiaz Alam, SAARC and its failure to move forward, *News International*, July 19, 2004.
12. Eduardo Faleiro, South Asia and Regional Cooperation, *World Affairs*, vol.8. No.1, Jan-March 2004, p97.
13. *Op. cit.*, No.3, p.14.
14. N. Gandhi, "Economic Route to peace", *Sahara Time*, New Delhi, January 31, 2004.
15. *Op.cit.*, No.10.
16. "More Trade with India Urged", *Dawn*, Karachi, March 22, 2004.
17. [http://www. indembsuden. Com./India&world / India_neighbours/saarc.htm](http://www.indembsuden.Com./India&world/India_neighbours/saarc.htm).
18. *The Telegraph*, November 10, 2003.
19. "Free Movement of SAARC Journalists Supported", *Dawn*, Karachi, November 12, 2003.
20. Bjorn Hettne, *The New Regionalism and the Future of Security and Development*, Hound Mills: MacMillan Press, 2000, p.27.
21. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, "Saarc Tightens Net Around Terrorism", *The News International*, Karachi, January 18, 2003.

22. "Financing of Terrorism", *Dawn*, Karachi, January 13, 2004.
23. Raja Asghar, "President wants Jihad Against Extremism: Modern Islamic Welfare State Among Objectives Address amid Opposition's Uproar", *Dawn*, Karachi, January 18, 2003.
24. Declaration of SAARC summits 1985-1998, *SAARC Secretariat*, Kathmandu, August 2001, pp.112-13.
25. *Ibid.*, pp.130.
26. *Op.cit.*, No.1, p.226.
27. P.M.'s Statement at the 12th SAARC summit, *Yojana*, February 2004, New Delhi, p.15.
28. Road to Kashmir, The long awaited Srinagar-Muzaffarabad road remains a dream to be realized. From Anuradhā Bhasin Jamwal in Jammu, <http://www.newslines.com.pk/Newsapr2004/newsbeat2apr.htm>

POLITICS OF GLOBALIZATION IN INDIA: THE CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES

Pratap Chandra Swain

The end of the cold war, in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union, marks the emergence of a new world order shaped by U.S. hegemony and Western Capitalism. In substance, the world system has undergone unprecedented technological and economic transformations through a complex process of change. This process is popularly described as 'globalization'. The contemporary world wide process of globalization has been all pervasive and irreversible. Different political actors and institutions have been instrumental in restructuring the society, political and economy in a globalised fashion. As such globalization has generated much scholarly and academic interests. The present paper addresses to one of the intriguing aspects of globalization in India, viz., politics of globalization in the context of the perceptions of the political parties.

Conceptual Framework:

The process of globalization had its insignificant beginnings in the writings of French and American scholars during 1960s. John Williamson coined the term of globalization in 1990¹ to explain the integrated approach of the U.S. Treasury Department, the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO and the Inter-American Development Bank for making a paradigm shift in the process of development, within a neo-liberal framework. Hence, globalization is often equated with "neo-liberalism" or "market fundamentalism". Significantly, Joseph Stiglitz characterizes globalization as a "consensus formulated between 15th street (US Treasury Department) and 19th street (IMF and the World Bank) in Washington".² In other words the ongoing

process of globalization is based on the above 'Washington based consensus' which means Westernisation in general and Americanization in particular. While accepting the reality of globalization under the guise of Americanisation, Henry Kissinger believes that "The basic challenger is that what is called 'globalization' is really another name for the dominant role of the United States".³

In spite of its deep American roots, the ongoing globalisation is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. Peter Waterman rightly observes: "Globalisation processes imply that hegemony no longer rests in a single territorial site (national, regional, block), anymore that it rests with a single subject (the internationalists, capitalist class), on a primary determinant (economic, military), or level (the state-national)"⁴. As a normative as well as positive concept, "globalisation creates a world (that can increasingly experienced as) both real and universal, thus allowing for a universalism that is more than faith or obligation, a global solidarity, that is more than a merely imagined community"⁵.

Comprehensively, the nature and dynamics of globalisation can be identified by the two distinct but related process-economic, cultural, social but also military - through which social relations have come to be understood as in a common world framework".⁶ In other words, globalisation leads to a "single-world economic, cultural and political order".⁷ On the other hand, the second school defines globalisation as a process involving "spread of people from one area of the world to all other corners of the globe taking with them their ideological, technical and cultural achievements which resulted in the exchanges of the world so reached".⁸ Infact the scholars belonging to this school try to expose the very idea of "European Expansionism" behind the process of globalisation.

The contemporary human life is predominantly shaped by the reality of economic globalisation which signifies a market-driven world economy as well as the expansion of 'corporate capitalism'. As such the scholars characterize globalisation as "the ideology and policy formulation associated with free market capitalism".⁹

Ordinarily, globalisation involves a comprehensive process of economic reforms leading to the liberalization of interest rates, trade and inflows of foreign direct investment, privatization, reduction in the role of the state in economic affairs, deregulation, rolling back subsidies etc. On the whole, globalisation leads to the integration of the domestic economies with the international economy.

In the political realm, the process of globalisation promotes a reductionist and non-interventionist state. By fostering transnationalism, it challenges the age-old concept of sovereign nation-state. The policies of the state are dictated by the external forces like the foreign investors, viz., the IMF, World Bank and the MNCs. Moreover, the idea of welfare state is adversely affected by the process of globalization as it restricts the role of the state in undertaking social-economic welfare measures. Ultimately the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have come in a big way to replace the state in this sphere.

The Indian Scene :

In the wake of ongoing globalisation world over, India cannot afford to remain in isolation. The response of the Indian state towards globalisation has been very much dynamic. It has already restructured its politico-economic-developmental framework with a complete departure from Nehruvian model. In other words, Indian society, polity and economy have gone global in a big way.

In the aftermath of independence, India was grappled with the inherited problems of backwardness, underdevelopment, poverty and communalism. As such, the task of nation-building as well as national development in India became more complex and challenging. The vision and dynamic leadership of Pandit Nehru provided a context for the Indian state to move forward. Nehruvian economic model of development primarily believes in building a 'self reliant economy' with an active role of the state. Prof. P.C. Mahalanobis designed a scientific frame work to translate Nehruvian model into reality.

Broadly, Nehruvian model adopted economic planning with

multiple state-led programmes for economic regeneration in India. It incorporated the ideas, like, relative self reliance, import substitution, industrialization, and bargaining with powerful industrial countries on foreign development assistance to India. Further, the role of the home market was emphasized in sustaining economic growth in the country. While advocating for a socialistic pattern of society, this model allowed the private sector to play significant role in the economic affairs of the country. Thus, a typical 'mixed economy' was designed to shape the course of development in India. During the process of social-economic transformations, the priority was given to the cherished idea of socio-economic justice over 'profit-maximisation'. Subsequently, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi continued the socio-economic visions of Pandit Nehru with little modifications.

But the results of the Nehruvian model were not in expected lines. The so called idea of socio-economic justice became utopian. The socio-economic disparities continued to grow upward. The society got further fragmented across caste, religion and community lines. The anti-Nehru political brigade alleged that the Nehruvian model has been responsible for the rise of corruption, bureaucratisation, criminalisation in India. The situation became worse with a crippled economic situation in the wake of the emergence of hung parliament towards the end of 1980s. Ultimately, all those negative developments made a mockery of the secular, socialistic and democratic India.

Moreover, India confronted with a severe economic problem i.e. the so called balance of payment crisis during early 1990s. This coincided with the post-cold war phase which resulted in a series of new global politico-economic developments. In the meantime, the Narasimha Rao government assumed office. Probably in view of the deepening financial crisis, Prime Minister Rao inducted one prominent economist, Manmohan Singh, as the Financial Minister. At the very beginning, Rao government made a significant move and invited the advanced industrialized countries to come forward and help India in resolving the balance of payment crisis. It fetched a timely response

from the industrialized countries who made India to open its market to the foreign investors for the resolution of economic crisis. This has been a major attempt to integrate Indian economy with the global economy. With this, the government of India ventured to make globalisation of Indian economy by drastically changing the Nehru-Indira model of development. In the name of the structural adjustment programme, Narasimha Rao government formally adopted the 'new economic policy' in 1991. Based on the Narasimha Rao-Manmohan Singh model of development, the new policy package rejected the old model of state-led economic and social development and chalked out a new path of fiscal discipline, liberalization, globalisation, deregulation and privatization of the public sector etc. In fact the new economic policy aimed at opening the domestic economy to foreign competition, investment and trade. Precisely, the Narasimha Rao-Manmohan Singh model of development shifted 'focus of attention from the state to market and from domestic to global'. Since the new economic policy of 1991, 'Liberalization, Privatisation and Globalisation' (LPG) have been the new policy framework for governance in India.

However, the move for globalising Indian economy created sharp reactions among the political parties. While the leftist parties outrightly criticized the move, the rightist parties made one step forward and two steps backward in making assessment of the new policy. Over the years, the political parties have been very much flexible in responding to the process of globalisation. An analysis on the changing perceptions of the political parties is in order.

The Centrist Perceptions:

The centrist idea of globalisation is predominantly represented by the congress party. After ruling the country more than 40 years, the congress leadership redesigned its economic policies and programmes. P. V. Narasimha Rao, being the congress president as well as the Prime Minister of India, drastically changed the Nehru-Indira-Rajiv phase of economic policies of the party due to the domestic as well as international compulsions. It may be noted that

the Rao government adopted the new economic policy ignoring the ongoing economic programmes of the congress. The old generation congress men became very much critical about the new economic policies of the government. However, P. V. Narsimha Rao, being the party president, made congress to tune its economic policies in line with the new economic policy of India and ultimately adopt the agenda of globalisation. The opposition parties strongly criticised congress as well as the Rao government. They argued that neither the congress had fought the 1991 Lok Sabha election on the issue economic reforms/liberalization nor the minority Rao government had the mandate to globalise Indian economy. In spite of the criticisms, Rao government went on pursuing the agenda of economic reforms and subsequently the party provided support to the government. Jagdish Bhagwati, a critic of Nehru-Indira model of economic policies, surprisingly remarks: "..... therefore when the new minority government of Prime Minister Rao, after the June 1991 elections, finally seized the day. Abandoning the caution and hesitation that defined the earlier efforts at liberalization, the new government has formally embraced the philosophy of liberal economic reforms. 'Reform by storm' has supplanted the 'reform by Stealth' of Mrs. Gandhi's time and the 'reform with reluctance' under Rajiv Gandhi".¹⁴

More or less the congress model of globalisation shaped the nature of economic reforms in India since 1990s. But due to the strong opposition from its rank and file, the congress party could not strongly pursue the most sensitive aspect of globalisation, viz., the privatization. While performing the role opposition in the parliament, the congress provided support to the agenda of economic reforms of the NDA Govt. But it became very much critical about the issue of privatization and often joined hands with the left front to protest against the policies of the NDA government.

During the elections to the 14th Lok Sabha, the Congress, in its election manifesto mentioned: "The Congress will approach privatization selectively. Disinvestment will not be restricted to merely to raise revenue to meet short-term targets, as the NDA has been

doing ... The Congress will ensure that disinvestments increases competition and consumer welfare"¹². After the election the Congress led UPA government was formed at the center. The UPA adopted Sonia-Jairam Ramesh-Manmohan model of economic development. It reiterated strong commitment to 'economic reforms with a human face, that stimulates growth, investment and employment'. Elaborating the Congress approach, the senior Congress leader Jairam Ramesh, the Secretary of the Economic Affairs of the party, observes: "The new government's attitude to privatization would not be ideological but governed by purely practical considerations".¹³ In fact, the UPA in its Common Minimum Programme (CMP) declared that the profit making companies will not be privatized. The problem of privatization will be addressed with a 'transparent and consultative case-by-case basis'.

Other centrist parties like Janata Dal, Nationalist Congress party (NCP) etc. more or less follow the congress model of economic reforms/globalisation.

The Rightist Perceptions:

The rightist view points are well reflected in the economic policies and programmes of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) from time to time. Being critical of the licence-permit-quota raj as enshrined in the Nehru-Mahalonobis model, the BJP has been advocating decontrol, deregulation and debureaucratisation of the economy¹⁴. In his presidential address at Bangalore in 1993, L.K. Advani emphatically mentioned: "The world is no doubt shrinking day by day. No country can afford to be isolated. No country can move forward unless it keeps up with the rest of world. But no country can move forward if it has to depend on others all the time. Let us therefore not to be on the defensive. Government's impassioned advocacy of globalisation often smacks of diffidence and helplessness. If the world has something to offer us, we too have a great deal to offer to the world"¹⁵.

The BJP leadership argues that the economic philosophy of the

party is "an India First Philosophy, wherein India's interest come first"¹⁶. Precisely, the BJP's economic policy stands on three pillars: "economic development or growth, social stability or harmony; and self-reliance or swadesh".¹⁷

Reacting sharply to the new economic policy of the Rao government, opposition BJP viewed this as simply replacement of the old Nehruvian model by the IMF model. The party believes that its own Swadeshi model is unique and it party differs from the IMF - Manmohan Singh model. The BJP feels comfortable with the policy of fiscal stabilization and restructuring of the Rao government. But it considers the idea of foreign investment in the new economic policy as the most dangerous element.

During the BJP led NDA phase, the response of the BJP, alongwith its coalition partners, has been very much positive towards the agenda of globalisation. In fact the congress model of globalisation got expanded and consolidated during the period of BJP led NDA Government. Largely, the NDA followed the socalled Washington based-Consensus so far as the process of economic reforms is concerned. Making a sharp deparature from its accomplished stand, the BJP led government actively advocated in favour of foreign direct investment, domestic disinvestments and engineer the scheme of privatization of public sectors. Of course the NDA government classified the public sectors into strategic and non-strategic PSUs for the purpose of disinvestement.

It may be mentioned that the other coalition partners like Trinamul Congress and even rightist into Shiv Sena always made progressive criticism of the desperate privatization policy of the N.D.A. Significantly, the Sangh Parivar criticized BJP for deviating from its original path.

The BJP led NDA created number of critics than the congress so far as the economic policy is concerned. The critics describe the position of the NDAas a complete surrender to the Fund-Bank dictate duly reflected in the socalled Washington consensus. The NDA got it

self converted into a "National Disinvestment Agency".¹⁸

During the 14th Lok Sabha election campaigning, the BJP led NDA government tried to spread a hypothetical slogan "feel good" highlighting the economic achievement and growth during its period. Its election manifesto clearly stated: "The process of disinvestments which yielded good result this year, will be continued primarily to enhance and realize the hidden wealth in PSUs".¹⁹ However, the BJP failed to received the mandate of the people in he election.

The Leftist Perceptions:

The Maxists consider 'imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism' and 'globalisation is the second great age of capitalism'. The Indian left parties (CPI, CPI (M), RSP, Forward Block) bear a very hot and sweet experience with the Nehruvian model. But they became very much critical of Rao government's as well as Vajpayee government's agenda of globalisation and economic reforms. The idea of privatization, disinvestments and foreign direct investment could not get support of the left parties. Even they joined hands with the congress to attack the economic policies of the NDA. The left parties strongly opposed the idea of the retreat of the state, rolling back of the subsidies, etc.

During the 14th Lok Sabha election campaign, the left parties promised to abolish the Ministry of Disinvestment. After the election left parties provided support to the UPA government as well as it & CMP. The left parties accepted economic reforms by the UPA with a human face. However, the UPA conceded to the demand of the left to retain the existing "navaratna" companies in the public sector. Significantly, the left front successfully influenced the UPA to abolish the Ministry of Disincestments.

Though the left front has extended out side support to the congress led UPA government, it has been critical of all the steps of the government to increase the FDI in the public sector beyond the accepted limits. In a way the left parties have supported the policy of economic liberalization only to the extent of their ideological tolerance.

Thus, almost all the political parties have accepted that globalisation has come to stay in India in some form or other. Only the degree and dimension of globalisation varies from one party to the other. Though the political parties very well realize the reality of globalisation, they deliberately politicize the issue in order to satisfy their constituencies. However, it is high time on the part of the Indian political parties to develop a minimum consensus on the political economy of the country in order to protect the national interest while dealing with the powerful capitalist western countries in the era of globalisation.

References:

1. Girish Mishra, "Nahruvian Model of Economic Development and its relevance Today:", in *Mainstream*, Vol.IX.48, Nov.16, 2002, p. 14.
2. For details see, Joseph Stiglitz, *Globalisation and its Discontents*, Oxford, 2002.
3. Henry Kissinger's Lecture at the Trinity College Dublin on 12 Oct. 1999.
4. Peter Waterman, *Globalisation Civil Society, Solidarity; The Politics and Ethies of a World both Real and Universal*, The Hague, Institute of Social Studies, 1993, p.1.
5. Op. Cit.
6. Sec, Martin Shaw, *The State of Globalisation: Towards a theory of state Transformation*, *Reviews of International Political Economy*, 4(3), 1997.
7. Op. Cit.
8. See. Gautam Kumar Basu, *Globalisation, Virtualisation and Global Politics: A critical perspective*, in the *Indian Journal of political Science*, Vol.62 (3), Sept.2001.
9. Robert Gilpin, *The challenge of Global Capitalism: The World Economy in 21st century*, Princeton, Princeton University press,

- 2000, pp. 293-324.
10. C.P. Bhabri, *The Indian State after Independence*, Delhi, Shipra Publications, 2000, p.211.
 11. See, Jagdish Bhagwati: *India's Transition: Freeing the Economy*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 3.
 12. See, *Congress Election Mainfesto*, 2004.
 13. Ruddar Datt, *Disinvestment - Practical versus Ideological*, in *Mainstream*, Vol. XLII No. 24, June 5, 2004, p.15.
 14. Jay Dubash, *India First*, in *Seminar*, 417, May 1994.
 15. See, L.K. Advani's *Presidential Address at Bangalore on 18 June, 1993*.
 16. Jay Dubash, *Op. cit.*
 17. See, P.C. Swain, *Bharatiya Janata Party: Profile and Performance*, new Delhi, APH,2001.
 18. Girish Mishra, *On Common Minimum Programme*, *Mainstream*, Vol. XLII No. 24, June 5, 2004.
 19. See, *NDA Election Manifesto 2004*.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN AN ANARCHICAL WORLD : A REGIME ANALYSIS

Dilip Gogoi

The issue of human rights has come alive politically and intellectually as a major focus of international concern and activity in the recent years. Earlier rights were always associated with domestic legal and political systems. In the last half of 20th century, a complex network of international norms and practices - regime¹ has emerged around the idea of human rights that individuals possess rights not solely as citizens of particular countries, but also by virtue of being human, of sharing common interest as a constituent of a large human community. In fact, promotion and protection of human rights is quite often associated with the process of globalization. The norms of human rights have been globalized through a variety of means, such as international human rights instruments, development of global and regional human rights organizations, political and economic conditionality attached to the global financial institutions and its policies of development, policies of donor agencies, mandate of NGOs and so on and so forth. In this regards, the United Nations has been playing a very significant role in protecting, promoting and implementing human rights regime all over the world.

This paper attempts to deal with first, the historical roots of Human Rights and secondly subsequent development of norms and practices of human rights regime and finally examine the politics and complexity of implementation and enforcement of international Human Rights regime in the light of 'humanitarian intervention'² in an anarchical politics.

A Brief Historical roots of Human Rights :

The contemporary pursuit of human rights is a part of the age old struggle for human emancipation, part of the on going historical process. This long struggle is marked by a series of revolutions against religious and secular tyranny - the Protestant Reforming, the American, French, Russian, Chinese, Iranian revolutions - that conquered the credo inevitability. Each revolution in varying manners and degrees has contributed significantly to the boarding of the concept of human rights. Each revolution progressively raised the question of intolerance and inhuman governance. As a result, the human rights movement, which originated in the west in the wake of the enlightenment, has spread to all parts of the world.

The expression of 'Human right' is relatively of recent origin. It can be traced back to the "Rights of Man" movement of the last quarter of the 18th century in Europe³. The ideas and principles were embodied in the Magna Carta in England (1215), the American Declaration of independence, (1776) the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, and in the American Bill of Rights Prior to the World War I, human rights were almost universally viewed as the exclusive preserve of the state. Despite occasional reference to maintain standard of civilized behavior, there were no established explicit international norms and principles. In the inter war period, the International Labour Organization (ILO) undertook some minor efforts in the field of workers rights, but it was functionally restricted to this one class of rights and its work was of interest primarily to develop capitalist liberal democratic states. The League of Nations Minorities System, the only other significant human rights activity in this period was only restricted to a single class of rights, but for the most part covered only those states defeated during or created on the aftermath of World War - I. With these very few exceptions, as recently as fifty-five years ago, human rights were not even considered to be legitimate international concern.

International Human Rights Regime :

World War - II marks decisive break. The framing of the United Nations charter sought to provide an international basis for human rights activity. The defeat of Germany and the revulsion at the array of human rights abuses during and before the war culminated in the passage of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly, on 10 December, 1948, the day which continues to be observed internationally as Human Rights Day. The UN General Assembly, in its declaration proclaims "This Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievements for all people and all nations to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the people of member states themselves and among the people of territories under their jurisdiction"⁴. Its 30 articles spell out basic civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights that all human beings in every country should enjoy. This declaration is intended to serve as "the common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations"⁵. In the effort to secure universal and effective recognition and observance of the rights and freedoms it enumerates. It is observed that the declaration has exerted the most significant and sustained global influence in the human rights value shaping process⁶.

Articles 1 and 2 of the Declaration state that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" and are entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration "without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or status." Articles 3 to 21 set forth the civil and political rights, including : The rights to life, liberty, and property ; Freedom from slavery and servitude; Freedom from torture or inhuman treatment; The right to recognition as a person before the law; the right to judicial remedy; freedom from arbitrary arrest, etc. the right to a fair trial, the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty; Freedom from interference

with privacy, family, correspondence ; freedom from attacks on honour and reputation ; Freedom of movement ; the right to seek asylum; the right to nationality; the right to marry and found a family, Freedom of thought. Conscience, religion. Opinion, and expression; the right to peaceful assembly and association; the right to take part in government and to equal access to public service.

Articles 22 to 27 set forth the economic, social, and cultural rights, including : The right to social security; the right to work, to equal pay for equal work, to form and join trade unions; the right to rest and leisure; the right to adequate standard of living; the right to participate in the cultural life of the community. The concluding articles 28 to 30, recognize everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the human rights set forth in the Declaration may be fully realized; that these rights may be only limited for the sole purpose of securing recognition and respect of the rights and freedom of others and meeting the requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society; above all each person has duties to the community in which he or she lives.

Towards the end of 1960s, the situation changed significantly, particularly with reference to UN activity. The UN efforts increasingly move from the general and the abstract to the specific and the concrete in connection of promotion and protecting human rights. The list of rights in 1948 Declaration further elaborated in two international human rights Covenants - The International Covenant on Economics, Social, and Cultural Rights and International Covenant in Civil and Political Rights - which were opened for signature in 1966 and came into force in 1976. The first agreement Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights, "recognizes the right to work and to free choice of employment, to fair wages, to form and join unions, to social security and to adequate standards of living conditions for their people. States' reports on their progress in promotion of these rights are reviewed by a committee of experts appointed by the Economic and Social Council"⁷. The second agreement, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights recognizes "the right of every human person of life, liberty and security of person, to privacy, to freedom from cruel,

inhuman or degrading treatment and from torture, to freedom from slavery, to immunity from arbitrary arrest, to a fair trial, to recognition as a person before the law, to immunity from retroactive sentences, to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, to freedom of opinion and expression, to liberty of movement, including the right to emigrate, to peaceful assembly and to freedom of association"⁸. The UN has also passed two Optional Protocol to the Civil and Political Covenants in regards (1) individuals under certain circumstances may file complaints of human rights violations by ratifying states and (2) States must take all necessary measures to abolish the death penalty⁹. In addition, the two World Conferences under UN auspices on human rights were held in Tehran (1968) and in Vienna (1993) respectively. The Vienna Declaration in 1993 states that "while the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical, cultural and religious backgrounds must be borne in mind, it is the duty of states, regard less of their political, economic and cultural systems, to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms"¹⁰. Further it reaffirms the right to development as a universal right and the inextricable relationship between human rights and development, adding that "democracy development and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms are independent and mutually reinforcing"¹¹.

The Universal Declaration has served as the inspiration for some 80 conventions and declarations that have been concluded with in the UN on a wide range of issues such as Genocide (1948) Refugees (1951), Racial Discrimination (1966) Discrimination against Women (1990). The other standards and rules on the protection of human rights, adopted by UN and Declaration on Elimination of all Intolerance and of Discrimination based on Religion and Belief (1981), on Right to Development (1986) Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (1992), on human Rights Defenders (1998) etc. Other non treaty standards cover areas such as treatment of Prisoners (1957), Independence of the Judiciary (1985); Persons under Detention or Imprisonment (1988); Enforced Disappearance (1992)¹². The Declaration has also inspired

several Regional Agreements such as the European convention on Human Rights (1950), the American convention on Human Rights (1969) and the African charter of Human and Peoples Rights (1981)¹³. Many newly independent countries have cited the declaration or included its provisions in their basic laws or constitutions.

Institutionalization of International Human Rights Protection Regime :

The central procedural principle of the international human rights regime has been national jurisdiction over human rights questions. The Universal Declaration, though widely accepted as authoritative, is explicitly only a standard of achievement and each state retain full sovereign authority to determine the adequacy of its achievements. Violations of human rights generally arise from the way a government treats individual and groups within its territorial sovereignty is the basic characteristic of international relations. Even the most powerful states are exceedingly touchy about any outside pressures that can be construed as interventionary. Implementation of regime norms has been purely national; thus, the absence of policy coordination procedures and even rudimentary mechanisms of international enforcement.

Over the last decade however, we witness a trend towards and increasing the powers of the institution and agencies entrusted with the implementation and enforcement of the UN's agenda for Human Rights. Various agencies and organs within the UN are responsible for monitoring international human rights norms are :

- The human rights committee - the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which entered into force in 1976 and 18 members Human Rights Committee which considers reports submitted by state parties on measures taken to implement the covenants provisions. For states parties to the First Optional Protocol the committee also receives and considers communications from individuals who claim that their rights which are protected by the covenants have been violated. The reporting procedures and resulting scrutiny of state practice has provided a fairly widely

accepted promotional mechanism. But it involves at most only information exchanges and the weakest of monitoring mechanisms.

- The human rights commission - The major UN body working to project and promote human rights is the UN Commission on Human Rights, which was established in 1946 by the ECOSOC. The commission provides overall policy guidance, studies human rights problems, develops and codifies new international norms and monitors the observance of human rights around the world. The commission however being a body of state representatives, particularly from the Third World continue to assert the principle of non intervention when it suits their national interests. Nevertheless in practice most members of the commission have supported international initiatives to protect human rights like in Kampuchea and Afghanistan. The commission has systematically reviewed confidential communication alleging violations by members. It is authorized to discuss human rights questions anywhere in the world and to examine information from states, NGOs and other sources. It has become the first inter governmental body that regularly challenges sovereign nations to explain abusive treatment of their own citizen. It is in many ways therefore, the procedural core of their human rights regime.

- The High Commissioner for Human Rights - The post of the High Commissioner was created in 1993 to strengthen the coordination and implement to UN human rights activities. The tasks include promoting and protecting the effective enjoyment of all human rights; promoting international cooperation for human rights; and assisting and development of new human rights standards and promoting the ratifications of human rights treaties. The High commissioner is also mandated to respond to serious violations of human rights and to undertake action to prevent those violations. The office of the High commissioner for human rights is the focal point for U. N. human rights activities and serves as a

secretariat for the human rights commission, the treaty bodies and other human rights organs.

- The Security Council - the most powerful organ of UN - the Security Council has not been generally linked with the human rights protection regime. But on the two occasions prior to the end of the cold war when the council reached a decision in relation to the Charter's Chapter - 7 concerned with enforcing action, the real issue at stake was human rights¹⁶. The decision in the 1960s to consider Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Rhodesia as a threat to peace meriting mandatory economic sanctions was a decision designed to implement the rights to self determination for the majority in what was to become Zimbabwe. That rights is the first listed in each of the two general UN Covenants on human rights. The decision of the 1970s to consider arms traffic with South Africa as a threat to the peace requiring a mandatory of the ban on such traffic was an indirect approach to the subject of apartheid as a gross violation of internationally accepted human rights. Especially with regard to South Africa and Namibia, the council has called upon states to implement the principles contained in the Universal Declaration. In these actions, the Council treated respect for the basic provision of the Declaration as a legal obligation of states as well as of their nationals.

Redefining Human Rights Regime with Humanitarian Interventionism :

"Humanitarian intervention is an extraordinary exercise by external forces in the internal affairs of a target state in order to impose certain humanitarian values on the latter"¹⁴. The concept in fact, derives its moral and legal basis on the existence of a human rights regime. The guiding principle of the human rights regime is based on the belief that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. The recognition of this fact is the foundation of freedom, peace and justice, in the world. However, disregard and contempt for human

rights have resulted in barbarous acts, which have outraged the conscience of mankind. In order to ensure minimum moral principle of state behaviour, international cooperation and action become necessary to protect and promote respect for human rights.

A few cases of humanitarian intervention did take place during the post war period but they were isolated unilateral actions by individual countries. Traditionally, powerful states resorted to humanitarian intervention to protect or rescue their nationals abroad. Landing of British troops in Egypt in 1956; intervention by the US in Lebanon in 1958 and in the Dominican Republic in 1960; Belgium's action in the Congo in 1960; the Israeli rescue operation at Entebbe Airport in 1976 are important examples. With the passage of time, claims to the protection of minorities, in particular, and the enforcement of human rights in general, gave rise to humanitarian intervention to protect nationals of other states. India's intervention in East Pakistan in 1971 and in Sri Lanka in 1987, Tanzania's intervention in Uganda in 1978-79, US actions in Nicaragua in the mid 1980, and in Panama in 1989 were justified in humanitarian terms.

However, the end of cold war marked a turning point in the world's geo-political and economic, set up. The post cold war effort to build a new world order has given to a new interventionism, which is usually substantiated by reference to humanitarian motives. Collective efforts led by the international community, under the auspices of the UN, viz, Iraq, Somalia, Bosnia, Rwanda, Haiti, and regional organizations such as NATO intervention in Kosovo, represent a new emphasis on democracy, humanitarian needs, and the human rights. This development has challenged the traditional assumptions regarding non-intervention and the state sovereignty, and matters previously deemed to be within the domestic jurisdiction of states are being placed in the international arena. As former UN Secretary General, Javier, Perez de Celler, underlining the new development, he argued that the world had "probably reached a stage in the ethical and psychological evolution of western civilization in which the massive and deliberate violation of human rights will no longer be tolerated."¹⁵

Conventionally the Security Council has not been generally linked for the protection of human rights. However, in the 1990s that the Security Council began to undertake proactive role against human rights violations and authorize intervention on humanitarian grounds to protect citizens of other states.

UN Security Council Resolution 688 of April 1991 condemned Iraq's repression of its civilian population, including its Kurdish inhabitants and found that the consequent mass exodus of refugees into neighbouring Turkey and Iran threatened international peace and security. The Council ordered Iraq to allow immediate assignment of the situation by international human rights organizations. In August 1992 the Allied coalition against Iraq invoked Resolution 688 to use military force to impose a no fly zone over Iraq, south of the 32nd Parallel in order to create a 'safe haven' for the kurds.¹⁷

The Security Council's evaluation of the situation in Somalia resulted in Resolution 794(1992) which found the unfolding human rights crisis and the obstacle of delivery of humanitarian assistance constituted threats to international peace & security. Security Council authorized all necessary means to establish a secure environment for relief efforts. On this basis a multi lateral force landed in Somalia.¹⁸

Similarly, Security Council's resolution 940, (1994) expressed grave concern regarding the Haiti's deteriorating social order which was a systematic violation of Civil liberties and the desperate flights of Haitian refugees. It permitted UN intervention to facilitate the departure of the Haitian military leadership and secure the return of democratically elected government.¹⁹

In Rwanda, Security Council Resolution 929 (1994) authorized member states of the UN to launch a temporary operation, under national command and control, aimed at contributing to the security of refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda. The France undertook "Operation Turquoise under this humanitarian mandate. In addition Resolution 955 (1994) established an international tribunal for the sole purpose of prosecuting persons responsible for genocide and

other violation of international humanitarian law, committed in Rwanda.²⁰

Like wise, in Bosnia 'The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) was established in 1992 in the face of ethnic conflict and genocide. Additionally, an International Criminal Tribunal was established for serious violations of International Humanitarian laws committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia²¹. Recently the UN security council alongwith General Assembly have adopted 19 resolutions against Taliban regime in Afghanistan. The security council stands for punitive action against Taliban support to terrorism. The council has supported facilitation of reconciliation process and provide emergency relief and humanitarian assistance to the affected people.

Humanitarian Intervention : Moral vs Political Dilemma within UN

The past experiences shows that the UN Security Council's involvement in the protection and promotion of human rights are ambiguous and affected by many factors of strategic and political considerations. The UN charter itself provide an intermediate and somewhat inconsistent mandate. On the one hand, chapter principles create formidable obstacles to implementations and enforcement of humanitarian norms through intervention. Art 2(1) provides for "sovereign equality of all states"²². Article 2(4) prohibits the "threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state"²³. Supremacy of the state is reinforced by Art. 2(7) which prohibits the UN from intervening "in matters which are the domestic jurisdiction of any state"²⁴.

On the other hand, Charter provisions also establish a broad mandate for the UN system in the protection and promotion of human rights. The preamble of the Charter re affirms "faith in fundamental human rights in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small"²⁵. An important purpose of the UN is stated in Art. 1(3) to "achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting

and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion"²⁶. Article 55 obligates the UN to promote to "universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedom for all without distinction, as to race, sex, language, or religion"²⁷. Art 56 commits all members to take "joint and separate action in co-operation with the organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55."²⁸

Inevitably, UN human rights politics has responded to the dialectical play of political forces in relation to these two seeming conflicting principles²⁹. In the past, the articles were read narrowly so as to preserve the integrity of the state as the basic unit of world order. But if these articles are read broadly, then the charter prohibitions are not the blanket bans that they at first appear to be. For example, the last two articles of Article 2(7) state that the principle of non-intervention "shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter 7."³⁰ Chapter 7 authorizes the Security Council to impose non-military sanctions (Art. 41) as well as use military force (Art.42) to maintain international peace and security."³¹ In other words the UN Security Council has always possessed the potential to exercise a right to intervene.

Pattern of UN concern are inconsistent, obviously influenced by political factors more than the severity of deprivation. Thus, genocidal policies in Burundi, Kampuchea, Uganda, and East Timor were generally over looked, while South Africa become an easy target for its apartheid policy, former Soviet Union and Chinese denials of human rights were more easily ignored while those of Israel and Chile were repeatedly and ritualistically censored.³² The US, UK, France and other Western Countries had played the leading role in the humanitarian intervention in Iraq. They were also the principal powers in the war against Iraq and their antipathy for Saddam Hussein was no secret. The Haitian intervention was carried out by the US, which is the major power in the hemisphere and had an interest in ensuring stability in Haiti. In Rwanda, the carnage was horrific but for the

west it was not worth the political gambit. The only nation to render assistance was France, which sought and received Security Council approval in June 1992 for a multinational humanitarian effort. However it is difficult to imagine French intervention in the absence of its historical, political, and economic connection. Like wise role of the multinational unified task Force led by the USA in Somalia raised many questions and interest involved. Thus, in practice, we find that extraneous factors, mainly the self interest of the intervening powers and subjective judgement influence the interpretation of a situation for the purpose of humanitarian intervention. Operation of humanitarian intervention has shown that it is some times not guided and directed by genuine concerns and very much by strategic, economic, and political consideration. A major consideration for intervening powers is the probability for success and its benefits as well as the costs both financial and in terms of prospective casualties. Success much be achieved at the costs proportionate to the importance of the end sought. "Even a good cause is not worth any price"³³. In many cases, the country violating human rights may be too big and too powerful. Observing the decision making process, we also find that the pervasiveness of the electronic media-called the "CNN Effect"³⁴ rather than the gravity of the humanitarian crisis, plays a greater role in getting an intervening power to act.

Towards a legitimate and effective human rights regime :

There is a popular saying that ours is the best and the worst of times for human rights. Form the optimistic side, it can be said 'the level of human consciousness has never been higher. In a world of increasing interdependence and flow of information across boundaries, it is becoming more and more difficult for an oppressor to hide his misdeeds and compel the oppressed to be resigned to his fate, and for the rest of us remain indifferent. However, from the pessimistic and perhaps more realize-side of the situation, 'Ours is indeed the worst of times for human rights. Never before in human history has there been such glaring gaps between rhetoric and reality, between norms and behaviour, and between claims and capabilities'.

Thus, strengthening of the international human rights norms and principles in the right direction is the need of the hour. Effective international cooperation and action is required by member countries of the UN to augment the ability as well as willingness in the efforts to translate human rights norms into effective practice in international arena. The guiding principles for implementation and enforcement of human rights regime should be based on an internationally accepted framework, supported by effective enforcement mechanism rather than mere political expediency of hegemonic and intervening powers. Then only true realization of principles of the Universal Declaration on human rights is possible in a anarchical world politics.

End Notes :

1. In international relations, an all encompassing term that includes the rules, norms and procedures that are developed by states and international organizations out of their common concerns are used to organize common activities.
2. Humanitarian Intervention is defined in terms of intervention motivated by humanitarian considerations by external powers (States or non state entities) to internal affairs without obtaining consent of the state. But this raises serious question of breach of state sovereignty. States do not intervene for primarily humanitarian reasons but motivated by national interest. Some times states use this principle selectively which undermine the international order.
3. David, L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Science*, vol. 6, Collier - Macmillan publishers, London, 1968, p. 540.
4. *The International Bill of Human Rights*, United Nations, New York, 1993, p. 4.
5. *Preamble to The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, 1948.
6. Richard Falk ed. all. *The United Nations and A Just World Order*, Westview Press Inc. Boulder/San Francisco/Oxford, 1991 p. 348.

7. David, P. Forsythe, *The United Nations and Human Rights, 1945-1985* in Richard a Falk ed. all, *The United Nations and A Just world order*, Wesview Press, Boulder/San Francisco/Oxford. 1991, p. 379.
8. *The International Bill of Human Rights*, 1993, p. 2.
9. Ibid. p. 2.
10. *Basic Facts About the United Nations*, Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York, 1998, p.223.
11. Ibid, p. 223.
12. Ibid, pp 219-222.
13. The European Convention on Human Rights was created in 1950 by European states and subsequently established European Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg. The European Social Charter was concluded in 1961 to protect economic, social & cultural rights, which were left out by earlier convention. The OAS similarly constituted Inter-American Commission on Human Rights with an institution of The Inter-American Court of Human Rights. In Africa, the protection of individual and collective human rights is centred on the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights, 1981. It functions within the framework of the OAU, a regional governmental association of 52 African states. In Asia, there is no inter-governmental system on protection and promotion of Human Rights, unlike the systems which exists in Europe, the American and Africa.
14. Yogesh K. Tyagi, "The concept of Humanitarian Intervention Revisited", *Michigan Journal of International Law*, vol. - 16, (Spring), 1995, p. 884.
15. Secretary General Address at University of Bordeaux, 22 April 1991, quoted in Guenter Lewy, "The case of Humanitarian Intervention", *Orbis*, vol. 37, (Fall) 1993, p. 628.

16. David, P. Forsythe in Richard A Falk et.al., p. 384.
17. Ruth, E. Gordon, "Humanitarian International by the United Nation : Iraq, Somalia and Haiti", *Texas International Law Journal*, vol. 31, (Winter), 1996, pp. 48-50.
18. Ibid, p. 51.
19. Ibid, pp. 52-53.
20. Ibid, pp. 55-56.
21. David, J. Whittakar, *United Nations in Action*, VCL Press London, 1995, pp. 175-89.
22. The United Nation Charter, 26 June, 1945 in *The Europa World Year Book*, 2002, vol. 1, p. 18.
23. Ibid, p. 18.
24. Ibid, p. 19.
25. Ibid, p. 18. See *Preamble of the UN Charter*, 26 June 1945.
26. Ibid, p. 18.
27. Ibid, p. 22.
28. Ibid, p. 22.
29. Richard A Falk et. al. p. 345.
30. The UN Charter, in *The Europa World Year Book*, p. 19.
31. Ibid, p. 21.
32. Recharad A Falk, et. al., p. 345.
33. Guenter Lewy, p. 624.
34. Yogesh K. Tyagi, p. 890.

Reference :**Journals :**

1. Bills, David, "International Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention. " *Texas International Law Journal*, Volume, 31. (Winter), 1996.
2. Donnelly, Jack, "International Human Rights : a regime analysis. *International Organization*. "Volume, 40 (3), (Summer), 1986.
3. Gordon, Ruth E, Humanitarian Intervention by the United Nations : Iraq, Somalia and Haiti, *Texas International Law Journal*. Volume 31, (Winter), 1996.
4. Klintworth, Gray, "Right to Intervene in the Domestic Affairs of State, " *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 46, (November), 1992.
5. Krasner, Stepher, "Structural causes and Regimes consequences : Regimes as Intervening Variables, " *International Organization*, Volume 36 (2), (Spring), 1982.
6. Lewy, Guenter, "The Case of Humanitarian Intervention", *Orbis, A Journal of World Affairs*, Volume 37 (Fall), 1993.
7. Tyagi, Yogesh K., "The Concept of Humanitarian Intervention Revisited", *Michigan Journal of International Law.*, Volume 16, (Spring), 1995.

Books :

1. Boutros - Ghail, Boutros, *An Agenda for Peace*, United Nations, New York, 1992.
2. Damrosh, Lori Fischer, ed., *Enforcing Restraint : Collective Intervention in International Conflicts*, Council on Foreign Relations Press, New York, 1993.
3. Falk, Richard, *Human Rights and State Sovereignty*, Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., New York/London. 1981.

4. Falk, Richard A., Kim, Samuel S., Mendloviz. Saul H., *The United Nations and a Just World Order*, Westview Press Inc., Boulder/San Fransisco.Oxford, 1991.
5. Forsythe, David P., *The Internationalization of Human Rights*, Lexington Books, Massachusetts/Toronto, 1991.
6. Hanski, Raija and Suksi, Markku, *An Introduction to the International protection of Human Rights*, Institute for Human Rights, Also Akademi University, 2004.
7. Mingst, Karen A. and Karns, Margaret P., *The United Nations in the post Cold War Era*, Westview Press, Inc.Boulder/San Fransisco/Oxford, 1995.
8. Reoch, Richard, ed., *Human Rights : The new consensus*, Regency, Press (Humanity) Ltd., London, 1994.
9. Symonides, Janusz, ed., *Human Rights : Concept and Standards*, UNESCO publishing, 2000.
10. Sills. David L, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Volume 6, Collier-Macmillan Publishers, London, 1968.
11. Whittaker, David., *United Nations in Action*, UCL Press, London, 1995.
12. Yasin, Adil-Ul & Upadhyay, Archana, *Human Rights*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2004.
13. _____, *Basic Facts About the United Nations*, Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York, 1998.
14. _____, *The International Bill of Human Rights*, United Nations, New York, 1993.
15. _____, *The Europa World Year Book*, Vol. - I, 2002.

GLOBALIZATION AND ITS EMERGING CHALLENGES TO THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE THIRD WORLD

Dolly Phukon

Under the phenomenon of Globalization, the world has become unprecedentedly interconnected and interdependent. Globalization refers to the integration of various nations of the world at the economic level through free competition in the world market, technology transfer and sharing of information with the help of the electronic media and satellite communication. The process of globalization has been going on since the beginning of human history. To know the roots of globalization we must go through a long trajectory starting from the universal adoption of state system and the emergence of a globally interdependent economic, political, cultural, technological and communication system. It is based upon the concept of homogenization of cultures, lifestyles, consumption standards etc. (S.Ambirajan, EPW, June 17, 2000). In the pre-colonial period too one can identify the involved elements of globalization. But there is a difference between the pre-colonial and post-colonial form of globalization as pre-colonial connectivity between various civilization was based on free exchanges of trade and cultural values. The hegemonic relationship between different countries started during the colonial period. At present the globalised world is being dominated by hegemonic relationship controlled by the capitalist countries (Frontier, July 17-23, 2005). Globalization process also includes the component of cultural exchange and its result is the emergence of a cosmopolitan culture through creation of new habits of thought and feeling, behaviour patterns, attitudes with the help of ideological dominance of the rich capitalist countries in consonance with the operation of the logic of world market.

It is true that global integration offers a number of opportunities for individual countries to achieve higher rates of growth and increased

living standard through import of new technology, efficient utilization of resources, and cheap foreign capital. It is claimed that induction of advanced technology and inflow of foreign capital into new productive units would strengthen the economy and guarantee employment opportunities. But it would be possible if the integration between various nations were to take place in terms of genuine partnership of all nations based on the principles of equality. But due to the unequal power relationship among the nations, globalization represents domination of majority of nations by the monopoly capital centred in the developed countries resulting economic deprivation of the less developed countries (Rajmohini Sethi, 1999). It is important to note that during the long process of growth of globalization, the world's economy was not even. Though a large number of countries are part of the globalization process still the fruit of globalization is uneven. Even though more countries from the developing economies of Asia and America are part of the world economy, their participation is much less than that of the major developed countries and as a result the strong seemed to be growing stronger and weak even weaker. The process of globalization has benefited a privileged minority. But a larger majority, irrespective of genders are its victims.

It is painful to state that women are the worst victims of globalization and liberalization process. Globalization process is sharpening the cleavage between haves and have not and between men and women. In this paper an endeavour is made to explore the challenges of globalization to the status of women. Women in the under developed countries are a subjugated and dominated social group and the poorer sections of the society will naturally be pushed to the lowest level in this exploitative world system. Women in developing countries are subjected multiple disabilities. For example, in India there are wide disparities in social indicators based on religion, caste and class and these differences are specially sharp in the reference framework relevant in understanding the status and role of women. Women don't belong to a homogenous social category. The roles assigned to women are different depending upon the factors like patriarchy, caste, class and production relations. Thus a proper

analysis of differential impact of globalization on different sections of women living in various regions is needed to see how the general thrust of globalization is felt by different segments of women in the country (Vibhuti patel, 2002). However the paper would confine to the issues such as sexual division of labour, commodification of women, depoliticisation of state and women as its worst victims, privatization of educational system and its impact on women's education, introduction of hi-tech medical facilities causing alienation of women and current upsurge of insurgency and its impact on women.

II

Globalization is posing challenges in almost all the fields-economic, political, cultural and religious. Women being the most vulnerable section of the society, there are many implications of globalization effecting women's life. One of the emerging challenges posed by globalization effecting women's life is the depoliticisation of the state. Undoubtedly, globalization is bringing in more money for the nations, brining more foreign investments and trade to one's nation and at the same time the bases of the state is also shrinking. Since the dawn of globalization, the state is gradually withdrawing from its basic responsibility of providing basic services and life - support system to the people. The position of women and other vulnerable sections are becoming more weaker with the adoption of rich trade and commerce policies by the state (Alaka Sharma, 2003). In order to cope up with the globalization process, the third world countries had to undertake Structural Adjustment Programmes. For example, in the Indian context due to the existing gender inequalities, women require active government support for their social and economic advance. As they are not in a position to compete with the market forces on their own, any reduction in governmental expenditure involving the Public Distribution System, education, healthcare and other infrastructural supportive activities is bound to have an adverse effect on the quality of their life (Rajmohini Sethi, 1999). Thus with the collapse of the state distributive system, the prices of the essential commodities like kerosene, sugar, rice etc. are in hike. Moreover it is

well known that the patriarchal culture has limited women's sphere within the four walls of the house and assigned her mainly the kitchen duty. Thus the price hike of essential commodities are creating more problems in kitchen management where women are its first victims (Akhil Ranjan Dutta, 2003).

Moreover one of the most important challenges towards the status of women under globalization is that it has failed to challenge the age old sexual division of labour but is sustaining it perhaps because having women continuing to work for free is so productive for a globalised society. Though globalization encourages women's activity in the public sphere of paid labour but still it is ridiculous that the process didn't compensate women for the productive value of their unpaid activity in the private sphere of reproductive labour. Women of the Third world are seen as the most flexible of the world's labour force. Due to the cheap labour, more and more women are engaged into the export industries. Thus a new strategy of Integration of Women into Development have emerged under the process of globalised economy by integrating women into the world market economy. But this integration of women doesn't meant that women should expand their subsistence production and produce for their consumption. Globalisation is based on the strategy of money income generation which could be generated only if women could produce something which could be sold. People who could buy these products, on the other hand live in the western countries. The condition of women in that case are rigorously socialized to work uncomplainingly, under patriarchal control, at any allotted task however dull, physically harmful or badly paid it may be. The large section of needy women in many third world countries looking for work within the narrow confines of a socially imposed inequitable demand of labour and strict taboos on mobility have become ideal workers of international division of labour. For example, in India the food processing industries with foreign collaboration are being established. There has already been a major shift in the cropping pattern from subsistence production like

rice, corn, wheat to cash crop production and this process leads to women being the first to lose their jobs. As a result of shrinking self-employment prospects for women, they join the rural and urban reserve army of labour.

Another important aspect where globalization is fostering a threat to women's identity and status is the process of commodification of women. The growth of a powerful international media now enabled the big economic powers of the world to directly intervene and influence the social and cultural life of the people. Now every single middle class home in every nook and corner of the world is connected with T.V. which has now become a classroom for promoting wasteful consumer culture. Through the globalised media commodification of sensualisation of women's sexuality is done. Beauty contests, modeling and fashion shows have now found their place even in small towns of the market so that one can buy from the market as cosmetics. Women and their body are commodified and are sold in the market to be consumed by consumers and during the trend of commodification, the essential qualifications i.e. the colour and size of the body are decided by the patriarchy. Thus this consumerist culture of globalization has intensified the tendency to look down upon the women of poor and deprived sections. The fourth UN Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995), devoted a separate section to "Women and the Media" where it clearly defined the significant role media needs to play in accelerating the process of advancement of women. The report stated that more women are involved in careers in communications sector, but few have attained positions at the decision making level or serve on governing boards and body that influence media policy. The reason behind the outcome is due to the lack of gender-based stereotyping that can be found in public and private local, national and international media organizations (V.S. Gupta and Rajeswari Dayal, 1996). Moreover the International Federation of journalists has expressed concern over discrimination faced by women at many spheres of their profession including the workplace. According to the Secretary General of International Federation of

journalists, Aidan White said that women journalists face enormous problems of discrimination and danger that undermines their role in media, inspite of increasing numbers of women in the newsroom. Women journalists' inspite of having similar skills and qualifications like men women have to very often struggles for equal pay. (The Assam Tribune, 2005). Interestingly with the help of propaganda and publicity the media is now controlling the youngsters minds. In this connection one may refer to Noam Chomsky's theory of the control of public mind, the same theory could be applied to the caged freedom of women (see, Noam Chomsky, 2001). Women are now hypnotized commercially by the media and unknowingly they preferred to become the marketable objects in the media in order to gain money.

Besides another aspects of challenges of globalization to women is the introduction of hi-tech medical facilities resulting to the alienation of women from their health and birth giving capacities. In recent years female infanticide has become a major issue after amniocentesis tests enabled the detection of the sex of the foetus in the mother's womb. The coercive population policies and government's repeated moves to introduce hi-tech hormonal contraceptives such as injectables and implants led to many campaigns against hazardous trials of these contraceptive devices (Rose Mary Tong, 1995). Hormonal pills, injectible contraceptives and antifertility vaccine have been foisted on women's bodies without any concern for collateral damage in terms of thyroid, migraine, chest pain, giddiness etc. Thus technologies for population control, assisted reproduction and other New reproductive technologies are primarily concerned about efficiency of techniques to avert births rather than safety to women (Vibhuti Patel, 2002). Though the development of sophisticated medical facilities in the globalised era have also created many opportunities for better access to health facilities, it is important to note that the opportunities and benefits of globalization among countries with different socio-economic and cultural set up are not evenly distributed. For example UNDP Human Development Report 2002-2004 revealed that every year more than 10 million children

die of preventable illness - 30,000 a day. More than 500, 000 women a year die in pregnancy and childbirth (Chingten Maisnam, 2004). The expensive benefits of globalization are not equally accessible to all and women being the vulnerable section are the worst victims.

Globalization process has also laid a great impact on the educational system. The privatization of educational system under globalization has further deprived women from accessing the educational facilities lowering the status of women. With the adoption of the New Economic Policies in 1990s India has moved towards becoming a neo-liberal state. The state's role is primarily to provide conditions for unfettered economic interaction and it aims to be non-interventionist. In the 1991-92 budget there was a subsequent reduction of budgetary provisions for higher education by encouraging privatization and collaborative ventures with industrialized world. The privatization of educational institution made education expensive for the poorer households who are already disinclined to send their girls to pursue higher education and force them to help in domestic chores or earning income by joining the cheap labour force of the global market. Thus by obstructing the literacy of girls due to the privatization of educational system under globalization has further lowered the status of a large section of women, depriving them from leading a dignified life.

Lastly, another important challenge of globalization to the status of women is the violation of women human rights. Globalization have given rise to the current upsurge of insurgency caused due to the feeling of alienation as a result of the unequal development of the society. The primary tasks of globalization as was once believed was to integrate the parts into whole. But in reality, the parts have lost their political, social, economic and cultural identity. The consequence is economic disparity, cultural identity crisis, loss of the sense of belongingness, ethnic violence, secessionism etc. The tragedy of globalization is that it began with the aim of restructuring and rebuilding civilizations, yet the mission has produced discord, identity crisis and separatism (Samir Dasgupta, 2004). To cite, as an evidence

of these consequences upon women the prevailing situation of Northeast India could be a glaring example. Northeast is a region, which is often troubled by terrorism, flood, unemployment, poverty, pollution etc. where the main sufferers are women. Insurgency and demand for self-determination has resulted to infiltration of army paramilitary force in Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura and Assam. As in the name of self-determination the terrorists are posing a reign of terror in the region, the security forces including the army also indulged into human rights violation activities in the Northeast (Girin Phukon, 2003). The recent example of Manorama Devi in Manipur who was raped and killed in military custody is a very glaring example of women against the army for the repeal of the Armed Force Special Power Act. The Northeast India is witnessing senseless killings, murders, mass homicides in bomb explosions, ethnic conflicts etc. In the name of maintaining law and order the guardians of law themselves are breaking the law and are posing terrorism in the area. At present the community strifes are gendered. During ethnic clashes women of one community are raped by the other in order to prove the ethnic superiority over the other.

III

These are the few emerging challenges of globalization to the status of women. **This** is the true character of current globalization and the major part of the burden is borne by the weak, the poor and the backward. Thus the consequences of globalization is increasing hegemonic control in the name of free trade and freedom at all levels. The above discussions reveals that in the present day the world is characterized by inequality where the weaker section and women are more vulnerable on all fronts such as economic, educational, health etc. In order to ensure benefits of globalization women's equal participation in the democratic process is a must to the level of decision making. These challenges of globalization on women violating her rights are linked with the socio economic system of the society and therefore restructuring the existing socio-economic system is a must. Without ensuring women's rights globalization can't have a human

face. Globalization has widened income gap between the resource poor and resource rich countries. Poor women can be empowered in the context of globalization only if human rights are considered as a framework for global governance and the marginalization of poor countries reversed. Moreover there must be equitable distribution of the benefits of technological progress in keeping in view the human development must be strengthened in order to achieve social and gender justice.

References :

1. Ambirajan. S "Globalisation, Media and Culture", *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 17, 2000.
2. See "Harassment of women scribes concerns IFJ", *The Assam Tribune*, March 11, 2005.
3. Prasad Nandini, "Media Policy and Women's Issues", Gupta V.S. and Dayal Rajeshwari (ed.), *National Media Policy*, New Delhi, 1996. pp. 47-48.
4. Phukan Girin, *Ethnicisation of Politics in Northeast India*, South Asian Publishers, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 171-172.
5. Chomsky Noam and David Barsamian, *Propaganda and the Public Mind :Conversations with Noam Chomsky*, New Delhi, 2001.
6. Sharma Alaka, "**The inadequacy of Literacy and the Urgent of Political Empowerment of Women -A South Asia Perspective**", Dutta Anuradha (ed.)*Journal of political Science: The Empowerment of Women*, Gauhati University, 2003.
7. Dutta Akhil, "**Empowerment and Women Empowerment :A Critique of Neo-liberal Political Economy Paradigm**", Dutta Anuradha, Ibid.
8. Tong Rose Mary, "*Feminist Thought*", Routledge, London, 1995.

9. Maisnam Chinglen, "Globalisation and Culture : Some Critical Remarks", Sougrakpam Bhubol (ed.), *The Orient Vision*, Oct-Dec, 2004.
10. Dasgupta Samir (ed.), *The Changing Face of Globalization*, Sage, 2004, New Delhi, pp. 15-21.
11. Patel Vibhuti "Women's Challenges of the New Millenium", Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 2002.
12. Pathania Sunita "Globalization, culture and Gender : Some issues" in Sethi Rajmohini (ed.) *Globalization, Culture and Women's Development*, Rawat publication, New Delhi, 1999.
13. Enginner Asghar Ali, *Globalization and Emerging Challenges in Frontier*, July 17-23, 2005.

GEOPOLITICAL AND STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCES OF ASIATIC MONSOON LANDS

Umesh Chandra Saharia

Introduction

The geo-strategic concept to politics was first developed in Germany during the period of two World Wars. This idea came up with the philosophical viewpoints where the speculative philosophers seriously engaged in search of the causes of human phenomena in the elements of physical environment to a country's politics as determined by geographical locations. A Swedish political scientist, Rudolf Kjellen used the term 'geopolitik' and using Ratzel's analogy of state as an organism that required space to grow developed the idea. Subsequently, Karl Haushofer, a lieutenant of Hitler explained geopolitics as an art of geographical knowledge to give support and direction to the policy of region. Political scientists devised spatial models on a global perspective to formulate political-geo strategy of the state primarily in relation to its environment - its space and thereby it is desirable to solve the problems created from the spatial relationship. Keeping this viewpoint in mind attempts are made to delineate the geopolitics and strategy of Asiatic monsoon lands considering two major powers- China in the core and India in the periphery and the others are Bangladesh and Myanmar in the rising semi-periphery. These lands are marginal regions (Inner Marginal Crescent lying east, South and west of the heartland) have physical conformation accessible to shipment and there is also some remarkable tracts in coinciding two spheres of great religion - Buddhism and Brahmanism. They are monsoon lands facing the Indian Ocean to the south and the Pacific Ocean to the south east measuring an area less than 80.0 million km² and a population of 1900 millions.

Boundaries and Frontiers as Spatial Expression

An international boundary plays very crucial role in splitting nationality lying on the either side of the boundary that from peripheral dichotomy. The boundary is to alien that demands for a new sovereign state for true expression of their culture evolve. India faces this problem of 'irredentism claim' in the north eastern region where insurgent groups like NSCN, ULFA, MNF etc. demand either both sides of the international boundary for a separate homeland.

The Himalayan mountain ranges in the north become a formidable barrier as a natural protection for India but the Chinese aggression broke this myth and belief and the great Himalayan ranges can no longer be an invincible barrier. Therefore India had to adopt strong policy on military strategy for its own protection. Arunachal Pradesh in the eastern Himalayan range is considered to be a classic peripheral extension of India in regard to the influence of Buddhism specially in Tibet and the communism in China for political dichotomy between India and China. Across the Indian border, the Tibetan plateau is in the north where the Kailash and Manasarover lakes are situated. It becomes economic and cultural-religious centers for tourists. About 3003 km away from the Indian border there is Lhasa, the spiritual place and capital town of Tibet is vital for the evolution of China's roadway strategy through Ladakh and Pakistan to the Arabian Sea.

Bangladesh is situated between the eastern states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram on one hand and West Bengal on the other side. The boundary between India and Bangladesh is entirely a flat land crisscrossed the vast Ganga-Brahmaputra delta. On southern part, the Bay of Bengal occupies a total length of about 120 km sea beach. The geopolitical aspects are considered when Indo-Bangladesh river boundary along one dead channel of the Ganga (Matabhanga) remains a source of tension for principal thalweg as for perennial nature of the Ganga in Bangladesh. Being a Muslim country with 140.4 million population, Bangladesh becomes an increasing satellite geopolitics for less tension ridden boundary with India to do perform defensive function intrinsically. Myanmar originally a part of the

British India (Burma till May 1989) is located bordering the south east Asia and the Bay of Bengal. The eastern boundary of India is significant for natural border between India and Myanmar demarcated by a complex chain of the Himalayan offshoots consisting of the eastern Himalayan hills and finally joins the Arakan Yoma mountain range that merged in the Bay of Bengal.

Role of Passes and Glaciers for Geo-political Strategy

Notwithstanding the international boundary as a geo-political demarcation under a sovereign country, the passes (mountainous gaps) and glaciers play an important role in trespassing infiltrators from the nearby countries through passes like Muztagh and Karakoram, some other gaps like Burzil and Zojilla in Jammu & Kashmir, Bara Lacha La and Shipki La in Himachal Pradesh, Nathu La and Jelep La in Sikkim. They provide optimum size of population for the nature of nomadic tribal political organization. For an example, the Khirghiz numbering about one million population forms tribal social organization in Tien Shan and the Pamir plateau in the trans-Himalayan region. It stretches a distance of about 1000 km east west direction with an average elevation of 300 metre and a width of 40 km in the eastern and western part and 225 km in the central part. The Zaskar, Ladaka, Kailash and Karakoram are important ranges, which originate perennial big river sources in the Indian sub-continent. It is also significant for tourist economy strategy by establishing many holly monasteries.

The Eastern Himalayan mountain chain is located in the eastern part of India extending from Arunachal Pradesh in the north to Mizoram in the south and forms the boundary of India with Myanmar. Across the eastern Himalayan ranges, there are Bum La, Tse La and Tunga passes to connect Tibet and passes like Diphu, Kumjawang, Hpungan, Chaukan, Pangsau and More Tame in the Patkai range to Myanmar and other two passes namely An and Tang Up across the Arakan Yoma range connecting upper Myanmar with North-east India. All passes provide opportunity for the opening of incoming stream of human races like the Mongoloids, Proto-Australoids and Tibeto Burman groups from outside the Indian territory.

The trans-Himalayan glaciers become crest-watershed strategy among India, Pakistan and China. Recently, the Chinese proposed a plan for diverting the waters from Tsangpo river (with a length of 800 km) from Manasarovar lake in the Kailash range into their territory. It is a major political conflict between India and China for sharing of water. This kind of activities will also cause deficit of the Ganga waters originated from the Gangotri glacier at about 7010 metre. Again, Bangladesh shows dissatisfaction with the sharing of Ganga waters when India proposed to setup hydro-electric project on the Ganga river in Bihar and West Bengal. It is a geo-political significance, which have been drawn up for the river water strategy.

Location as Spatial Arrangement

Vicinal location is a changing phenomenon with the creation of 'states' like Bangladesh in 1971 which brought about significant change in India's vicinal location. Whenever any aspects of the vicinal location of a state is concerned the boundary of peripheral areas between neighbouring countries become sensitive like Sino-Pakistani collision on Kashmir against India which remains a cardinal factor in its foreign policy. Another example is that the problem of irredentism claim in the North East Frontier province of Pakistan has arisen by closer cultural affinity on the either side along the Durand line or the Line of Control (LoC) between India and Pakistan. Any boundary for location of state not corresponding to the cultural patterns creates internal political problem at a greater strategic disadvantage at security risk.

The possession of strategic bases is to protect a state or threaten its enemy. The value of strategic location varies with the changes of political forces and technological innovations. The direct or indirect role of East Pakistan (Now Bangladesh after 1971) in the USA's possession of Deigo Garcia island in the Indian ocean from Great Britain in the early seventies was to negate the India's possession of Deigo Garcia because India was a friendly country of the then Russia. It was the USA's strategy to check the military potentials of the USSR. Side by side, strategic potential of the USA goes to dominate oil rich west Asian countries.

The littoral location of India provides the strategic command in South East Asian countries after getting possession of the Laccadive and Amnidive islands in the Arabian sea and the Andaman and Nicobar islands in the Bay of Bengal. China's dream to get direct access to the Arabian sea in the Indian ocean for 'the implied control of the Karakoram highway' across the Pak occupied Kashmir evolves a significant importance in China's foreign policy. These potential activities and characteristics of the neighbouring countries have attributed the India's general pattern of behaviour and value of strategic location.

Shape and Size

The shape of India and Bangladesh is not very compact shape of circle as derived by the formulation of shape index $(1.27A)/L^2$ where A is the area in km^2 and L is the longest axis (by Chorley and Haggett, 1961). India is of an index of 0.4053 that ranges between 0 and 1 (compact to a circle). Bangladesh and China are also in the same category while Myanmar is less compact to a circle. The circular shape is always convenient for administrative control of a state.

The size of a state means the geographical space and it is the power directly related to the political viability. The external political space relationship, i.e., power potentials and diplomatic initiatives depend on territorial size. According to haggett, Chorley and Stoddart (1995) the measurement of the size of a state can be expressed by formula

$G_x = \log \frac{G_a}{R_x}$, Where G_a is the area of the earth. R_x is the area of the country.

G-Scale for Growth Areas of Asia

$G_a = \text{Earth's surface Area} = 510 \text{ million sq. km. and } \log G_a = 8.70765$

States	Area (in Km^2)	G-Scale	Sizes
China	9,56,61,000	1,09149	Large
India	3,287263	1,33857	Large
Myanmar	675,553	1,49460	Medium
Bangladesh	148,393	1,68228	Medium

Note : Greater the G_a Value is the lesser size.

The larger a state is in area, the greater are the chances of its supporting a large population and a diversified natural resource base - the two most potential elements in the politico-military potentials of the state. China is inevitably powerful state along with the USA and Russia. China dominates the Asia-Pacific region. India is somewhat less than that of those. Both China and India have territorial possession, vast diversified resource base with vast human resource to utilize and mobilize resources to her global political and military sustenance. Chinese population from 1962 to 2000 is found for potential homeland to the unexplored empty territory in the west. Moreover, China is maintaining her independent states in the west off the Japanese overrun all of the coastal sections. But China has problems of possessing deserts and mountains to separate population cluster by an intervening empty territory. These physical features develop a separate identity for it and a separate feeling also, which naturally leads to secession. China is facing these problems in its south eastern provinces of Sinkiang and India too in the north-eastern states.

Every large state has eccentricity in the nature of political ecumene as a result of contacting the outlying areas by good transport network on account of 'distance factor'. Muslim dominated Sinkiang province to the Yellow Sea coastal plains, east of the great eastern scarp having a thousand kilometer length possesses a serious political crisis for China. The Sinkiang province shares the common boundary with the Muslim republics in central Asia.

Medium states, Myanmar and Bangladesh do not have much regional grouped diversities and they are geographically suitable for unitary balance in the regional and global system of balance of power than the large states.

Myanmar (erstwhile Burma) came under the British rule between 1826 and 1885 but became independent in 1947. In the political map of India, it evolved significances when Arunachal Pradesh is strategically lying in a high crest cum watershed of the Himalayans in frontier tract between China and Myanmar. Earlier it was known

as North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) which made an administrative unit in October 1951. It is also significant that erstwhile Assam was fragmented into full administrative unit such as Nagaland in 1963, Meghalaya in 1970 (full statehood in 1972 by the North Eastern Reorganisation Act, 1971), Manipur and Tripura in 1971. All the units are bordering Bangladesh, China and Myanmar are very crucial for geopolitical situation as developed by centrifugal and centripetal forces in ethnic population structure. On the other hand, it will be worth mentioning to note that on August, 1947, a treaty was made between the Indian Government and Bhutan Government to retrocede a land known as Dewangiri measuring 82km² to Bhutan as a friendship relation between the two countries.

China is a vast country with an area of 9,561,000 km² lying almost entirely outside the tropics, standing from 180N to 530 N. It is known from its existence during 3500 years. About 700 years ago, the Chinese Empire stretched to South Vietnam, Northern Myanmar and Caspian sea. Today, communist China has expanded and rearrested authority over territories to the far west upto the entire Sinkiang valley and especially to Tibet bordering India which was virtually an independent country for many years.

Buffer Zones

A buffer zone is a distinct political realm of relatively smaller spatial dimensions that create new areal patterns as it happens to lie between two more powerful and potential neighbours. Buffer states between two powerful and potential powers like China and India are (i) Indo-Tibetan boundary through the alignment of the McMohan line along the high crest cum watershed of the Assam Himalayas and (ii) developing outer Tibet into a buffer zone between China and British India. Tibet was functioning as a buffer zone since 1905 when China recognized its Independence. The Sino-Indian agreement in 1955 divided Tibet into (i) inner zone and (ii) outer zone. The inner zone was placed under the Chinese sovereignty while the later was left free to decide destiny. The southern boundary of outer zone defined as the McMohan line where China took opportunity to precipitate

boundary disputes in the region disapproving the line between south eastern Tibet and north eastern India. It was a boundary between Ladakh and Tibet established by the treaty between emperor of China and Lamaguru of Lhasa in 1842 and by the Amritsar Treaty, 1846 that sought for shift in boundary to create high order frontier as for the function of a buffer. In fact the whole Tibet is functioning as a buffer state between India and China till the British withdrawal in 1947;

The Geopolitics has traditionally run to dichotomy when there existed Buddhist Monastic inner rule in Tibet and the influence of forced migration southward into Tibet by the might of communist monster, China to create demographic imbalances. China attempted to force Chinese migration into North East India, but could not collect infiltrators in its Tibetan region. Simply they invaded this region in 1962 and occupied substantial part of the foothills of Arunachal Pradesh across the McMohan Line. The boundary dispute between India and China clearly indicates that it required a buffer area of survival of Tibet as a Chinese sovereignty over it unchallenged. This buffer area would definitely help in infiltrating Tibetan refugees in the Dooars and North East India.

Indo-Pak rivalry over Kashmir have inspired China to occupy a substantial part of Ladakh and to built a road (Karakoram Highway) across it linking its Sinkiang province with the Western Tibet. China secured a buffer zone across Ladakh without any knowledge to India, thus Tibet secured not only from a possible Indian onslaught but also from the Central Treaty Organization (now abandoned) powers. In 1963, Pakistan and China agreed on terms and conditions regarding the delimitation of boundary between China's Sinkiang and contiguous part of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir on which India protested strongly but not in positive reaction.

Kashmir appears to be a buffer zone than a state of India and occupied part of Ladakh is a buffer area between India and Tibet. Now, Sikkim is no longer a part of the Himalayan buffer zone splitting Nepal and Bhutan on 26th April 1975 when it became a state under

the constitution of India (Thirty sixth Amendment Act, 1975). Sikkim is strategically most important for India and is seceded from Chinese website on foreign affairs.

Reorganisation

Reorganisation of the Indian sub-continent started from the partition of India and Pakistan on 15th August 1974. The sub-continent for India is a legacy of the British rule they tended to divide the area of 42,27,378 km² on the basis of region and religion by their credibilities to basic policy of 'Divide and Rule'. It is to be remembered that this sub-continent was a not much vaster and more diverse geographical unit like China and Russia. After partition, Pakistan became independent with an area of 9,96,095km² for West Pakistan (now Pakistan) and 1,48,393km² for East Pakistan (the present Bangladesh).

Bangladesh has been recognized as sovereign state after succeeding from Pakistan in 1971 as a result of the sequential fights thrice in 1949, 1965 and 1971 with India. Nevertheless they need for a greater regional co-operation in the region irrespective to the political distinctiveness that lies in its common historical habitation and vast experiences in transcended geographical uniformity. In 1973, a Himalayan protectorate state Sikkim having an area of 7,096 km² merged with the Indian union through referendum.

Geo-strategic views and implications :

It was Spykman who regarded the Asiatic Monsoon Lands as a single domain in terms of its similar climatic condition and easy accessibility to the area of sea power. The territory of this land is protected from the heartland (According to Mohan, the traditional belt of 30° to 40° N as the unstable zone between British sea power and Russian land power) by a string of barriers from Himalayas and Tibet to the vast desert and mountain regions of Sinkiang and Mongolia.

In 1982, Cohen revised Heartland-Rimland model (Meining defined a more stable yet functional Heartland on that portion of the

great Eurasian steppe and desert belt bounded on the west by the Volga basin and Caspian sea, on the north by the southern margin of the great northern forest on the east by highlands, forming inner margin historic Chinese culture arena and on the south the nearly continuous mountainous zone, from Sinkiang, through the Himalayas, Hinduland to the southern end of the Caspian) emphasized the divisions of the world strategic area. The only geo-strategic significance has been drawn up with communist upsurge in China and thus contiguous unbroken sphere superimposed to vast land mass from Baltic sea to Pacific west communism, also penetrated into the monsoon lands China and continental Europe which to the Buddhists, the Hindu and Muslims in the Middle East-Indian crescent with expansion. The two-dimensional aspects - land and sea power strategy in China after 1950 are a definite result of massive development of science and technology but complementarily air navigation. Its strategic power is sought for a three-dimensional strategy being the major zone of uninterrupted mobility much more flexible than the oceanic surface. India is lagging behind China in this respect but its development is complimentary and more significant.

The implication of geo-strategy implies an agreement without alienation of territory where each side feels. About the line of actual control in the India-China border areas there was an 'Agreement of Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility' signed in 1993 when former Indian Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao visited China. Again there was another 'Agreement on Confidence Building Measures in the military field along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China border areas' in 1996 when former Chinese President Ziang Zemin visited India. These two agreements were a sign of positive relationship and formal military stabilization between the two countries. Another geo-political and strategic implications came into force with the talks on Sino-India Border held in New Delhi on October 23, 2003, which may be said to be outcome of the Beijing visit of the Indian Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee in June 2003. India and China held a first ever 'Sino-Indian' navel exercises of Shanghai from 10-14 November, 2003. Before it, India and China are set to bilateral

agreement for review of anti dumping policies on an annual basis as per decision on September 22, 2003. Based on the principles of the Panchheel and mutual sensitivity, India and China launched a determined bid to chart out a road map in the form of joint declaration first ever between them. Vajpayee and his Chinese counterpart Wen Jiabao initiated steps to recognize Sikkim as a part of India and as a result they signed a memorandum on expanding trade through Nathula pass on the boundary.

Indo-Bangladesh border is important for the heavy influx of illegal migrant numbering about 7 million (by 1971 census) from Bangladesh causes concern and the bloody battle on the four thousand long border by killing 15 Indian security men and 2 Bangladeshi rifle jawans that closed the relationship between India and Bangladesh. But the settlement on negotiation comes forcefully under the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) held in Kathmandu in 2002. The bilateral relation between India and Myanmar is less significant in political arena but important in 'Framework treatment' which comes under CLMV rubric (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam) as a special trade treatment of least developed Asian nations which was recently held at Bali, Indonesia on October 2003.

Conclusion

The monsoon Asiatic land is entitled a single entity lying in the marginal regions of the heartland (pivot area) ranged in the vast crescent. The marginal over crescent area has a rugged topography, diverse economy for local resource base and own potentiality for the socio-political upliftment in the region to keep pace with its own ecology. The core area is found to be a powerful state and it is coordinated by the sub-ordinate and contiguous peripheral margins. Between the core and periphery, it exhibits boundaries and territorial significances, which ultimately gives results to form the peripheral dichotomy in terms of religious and economic diversification. From the core peripheral existences centrifugal and centripetal forces occur for the spatial arrangement of a new statehood like Kashmir, Ladakh

and separate sovereignty for North Eastern India and the Sinkiang region of China.

It is a great concern that India's neighbouring countries are using territories for sponsored terrorism by ISI to pursue its anti India agenda. The present geo-political strategy signifies that India, specially, the North east India must accelerate implementation of infrastructural projects, employment opportunities etc to promote harmonious and decentralized development with people's participation adopting good governance or honourably adopting the James Mornoe doctrine which will be regarded as the important component of strategy to reach the diverse ethnic groups in the region.

References :

- Bhattacharyya, N.N. 'Geopolitics of North East India' in **North Eastern Geographer**, Guwahati, Vol.21, No. 1 & 2, pp.74-76.
- Adhikari, S., 1999 (reprinted), **Political Geography**, Rawat Publications, Jaipur pp.450-451.
- Dikshit, R.D., 1982, **Political Geography : A Contemporary Perspective**, New Delhi, Tata McGraw Hill Publishing Co., pp.67-70.
- Basic Statistics of North Eastern Region**, 1995, NEC, Govt. of India, Shillong, pp.194-196.
- The Assam Tribune**, dated 11th December, 2003, Guwahati, pp.1, 3.

RAWLS'S VIEW ON LIBERTY

Seema Roy Kurmi

Liberty, as it stands is more intimately related to human nature as a predominant value than all other human values. The term assumes the great achievement of the intellectual community of the entire world and as a value it has been influencing human civilization since the seventeenth century. It encourages the individual to use it against arbitrary as well as despotic regime and to demand freedom from control, influence, restriction, hampering condition, confinement, captivity and the like. It enables them to act according to their choice. This choice makes the individuals conscious during decision taking for one's own actions which moulds one's pattern of living and thereby gets satisfaction of one's personality and role. For this purpose one should be capable enough to exploit the opportunities for purposeful activities. This enables one to achieve one's self-realization in all areas of work. In order to realize this self-realization a free society is needed. Such a society where a conducive atmosphere prevails could make its people to do things in the right order. A society can at best remain by respecting the people's human nature. A member of a well-borne society necessarily makes oneself to take the right decision at the right moment and avail the correct opportunities among the many. This gives the impetus to gain self-realization.

The concept of 'Liberty' attains its real meaning only in relation to restrictions. These restrictions are imposed by the community on the individual otherwise one's liberty gets hampered. These restrictions are obviously significant for establishing liberty. As is universally known, if an individual is left absolutely free, the result is chaos and anarchy. In such a society an individual really has no freedom and has no security and safety. Both 'a completely free society' as well as 'a completely free individual' is a burden in the path of the enjoyment of liberty because a free individual ignores the society and likewise a 'free society' ignores the individual. So restrictions are essential to

strengthen liberty. Both are complimentary to each other. On the basis of these restrictions we get the two concepts of liberty, that is, Individual liberty and Social liberty. These two concepts of liberty dominate the philosophy of liberalism where 'liberty' as a value plays the basic role.

In the sphere of Western political thinking we find the endorsement of the two-fold concepts of Individual liberty and Social liberty. The birth of Classical Liberalism and the Modern liberalism was based on these two types of Liberty. Classical Liberalism developed after the seventeenth century and in this school of liberalism importance was laid on the individual rather than the state. Thinkers like J. Locke, Jeremy Bentham and J.S. Mill are related with this school of thought but after the first World War, Classical liberalism was replaced with Modern liberalism which emphasized on the importance of the state than the individual. The Modern liberalism had its implication on the social concept of liberty. This liberalism was termed as social and positive liberalism and thinkers like Green had an important position in it as he stressed more on the state in comparison to the individual. Thinkers like Laski fell in 'dilemma' as sometimes because of circumstances he supported either the individual or the social concept of liberty. Macpherson beautifully criticizes this liberal tradition and after that the Fabian thinkers like Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russel laid stress on the social concept of liberty. I. Berlin with his conception of negative and positive liberty analyzes the individual and social concept of liberty.

In 1970s John Rawls emerged as the prominent liberal and his liberalism has its root in the American populism, progressivism and pragmatism. In his book, *A Theory of Justice*, he discusses certain political ideas, which directly or indirectly help us to find out his view of liberty. According to him, liberty is not invisible. It can and should be dis-integrated constituents, some of which are more rooted in human interests than others. This decomposition of liberty is achievable carefully and can be affected in the private political interest. In his two principles of justice, he lays stress on the concept of justice. According to him, Each person has an equal right to a fully adequate

scheme of equal basic liberties which is compatible with a similar scheme of liberties for all. In addition to it social and economic inequalities are to satisfy two conditions. First, they must be attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity and second, they must be to the greatest benefit of the least advantage members of society.¹

In the first point, Rawls argues for "equal basic liberties". These liberties are specified in a list. This list induces freedom of thought and liberty of conscience, the political liberties like of association as well as the freedom specified by the liberty and integrity of the person. He opines that the basic liberties of individuals need to be adjusted to one another and they cannot be specified individually. He opines that each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive of equal liberty compatible with a similar system of liberty for all. However, in the later part of his life Rawls replaces the concept of the most extensive total system of equal liberty with one that is defined instead as fully adequate scheme of equal basic liberties which is compatible with a similar scheme of liberties for all. However, it is notable to find that Rawls does not provide a superior position to liberty but rather to a list or scheme of liberties that are described as basic.

Rawls is specific about the basic liberties that should be included in this list. These basic liberties, for example are political liberty (the right to vote and to be eligible for public office) together with freedom of speech and assembly; liberty of conscience and freedom of thought; freedom of other person along with the right to hold (personal) property and freedom from arbitrary arrest and seizure help to attain superior position in his theory of justice. If we compare this point of Rawls's second principle of justice, the first principle attains superiority over the second principle. Rawls's second principle of justice lays stress on the benefit of the least advantaged and maintains that there should be fair equality of opportunities for all.² According to him, none of the basic liberties is to be subordinated to this second principle. They are to be sacrificed only for the greater protection of other basic liberties in conflict with one another. However, Rawls also maintains that rules of order are necessary so that freedom of discussion can be

generally enjoyed. Such regeneration of liberty is essential in order to realize it to a great extent. These restrictions have an important role in the sphere of wider realization of basic liberties because these liberties are essentially related to the moral personalities of those choosing them.

The essential elements of moral personality, according to Rawls, are identified by considering what human capacities are needed for the selection of and compliance with what he calls. "fair terms of social co-operation". These capacities are related to two moral powers which render persons capable of being normal and fully co-operative members of the society over a complete life. These powers are reasonableness and rationality. The reasonableness provides one a capacity for a sense of justice. Besides, it consists in the capacity to understand, to apply and to be moved by an effective desire to act according to the principle of justice, which stresses on fair terms of co-operation. The other element is rationality, which emphasizes on the capacity for a conception of the good. This capacity resides in one's ability.

Rawls regard justice as fairness. His conception of fair good is related to the two aspects of moral personality, reasonableness and rationality. Rawls considers that these two aspects are related to his "concept of original position". It helps participants to secure an agreement on the fair terms. These terms are called principles of justice. This justice helps the participants to advance their final ends and enables them to secure conditions suitable for the minimal realization of their moral powers. The participants lay stress on social co-operation subject only to constraints of the original position. In the absence of specific information about the determinate final ends which participants seek to advance they, according to Rawls, should be guided by the "list of mean". This list of means would enable them to reach the final end. This "list of means" is related to all-purpose means. Rawls call them primary good. He regards them as necessary primary conditions for realizing moral powers.³ He discusses about five primary goods. These goods are :

(1) Rawls discusses basic liberties. In the sphere of basic liberties, he

emphasizes freedom of thought and liberty of conscience. The freedom of thought and conscience were also super exalted by the writings of Jhon Locke and J. S. Mill. Rawls regards these liberties as the background "constitutional conditions". These liberties, according to him, are necessary for the development and the full and informed exercise of two moral powers, i.e., reasonableness and protection of a wide range of determinate conceptions of the good within the limits of justice.

(2) One Should get, according to Rawls, freedom of movement and free choice of occupation against a background of diverse opportunities. These opportunities allow the pursuit of diverse final ends give effect to a decision to revise and change them, if one desires so.

(3) According to Rawls, the primary goods are related to powers and prerogative of offices and positions of responsibilities. This gives birth to various self-governing and social capacities of the self.

(4) Income and wealth, according to Rawls, are needed to achieve directly or indirectly a wide range of ends, whatever they happens to be.

(5) According to Rawls the social bases of self-respect are also related with the conception of primary goods. These bases are those aspects of basic institutions normally essential if individuals are to have a lively sense of their own worth as a person and to be able to develop and exercise their moral powers and to advance their aims and ends with self-confidence.⁴ Thus, Rawls has sought to extend Mill's vision in this sphere of allocation of 'primary goods' and he rejects the tenets of utilitarianism based on material well being of the individual as thought by Bentham. He opines that income and wealth must be subordinated to the primary good, which aims at guaranteeing a scheme of basic liberties, and this scheme must be equally distributed. Thus Rawls is conscious about happiness particularly of individuals. He negates Bentham's utilitarianism because it negates the happiness of individuals and so it is not suitable on the moral grounds. Thus, he tries to maintain a chain between the most advantaged and the least advantaged individuals in a social setting. He brilliantly argues that

social life can not be reduced to a sum total of individual transactions. It is an idea of mutual co-operation where the more talented can benefit from their talent and opportunities in collaboration with the less talented. Rawls is also conscious about how these liberties can be realized in the actual political context. In this sphere he emphasizes the importance of the constitution. He opines that it will provide a just and a workable political procedure without any constitutional restriction on legislative outcomes. However, this initial emphasis is not final. The basic liberties according to Rawls are associated with the capacity for a concept of the good. It must also be respected, this requires constitutional restrictions against infringing equal liberty of conscience and freedom of association. This conscience strengthens the individual's rational interest.⁵ The constitution provides a just political procedure and under this procedure individual conscience remains secure. It provides guarantee to the basic liberties. Thus, the individual agreements which alienate these liberties cannot be enforced by law. In this way we find that Rawls provides importance to constitutional law, the supreme position in the sphere of safeguarding individual liberties.

The above analysis of concept of liberty helps us to find out different aspects of this value. However, above analysis is not sufficient. But, it is not possible to include all the aspects here. Through this analysis an effort has been made to understand Rawls concept of liberty.

References :

1. Jeffrey Paul, "Rawls on liberty", Zbigniew Pelczynski and Jhon Gray, (eds.), *Concept of Liberty in Political Philosophy*, Athlone Press, London, 1985, p. 376.
2. *ibid.*, p. 378.
3. *ibid.*, p. 381.
4. *ibid.*, p. 382.
5. John Rawls, *Political Liberalism*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1993, p. 331.

DECLARATION

1. Name of the Journal : Journal of Politics
2. Language : English
3. Time of Publication : September, 2005
4. Name of the Publisher : Registrar,
Dibrugarh University
- (a) Nationality : Indian
- (b) Address : Dibrugarh University
Dibrugarh - 786 004
Assam.
5. Place of Publication : Rajabheta, Dibrugarh
6. Name of the Printer : Anjan Chetia
- (a) Nationality : Indian
- (b) Address : Dibrugarh University Market
Complex, Dibrugarh.
7. Name of the Press : AC COMPUTER NETWORKD
(ACCN PRINT)
8. Name of the Editor : A.U. Yasin
- (a) Nationality : Indian
- (b) Address : Dibrugarh University
Dibrugarh - 786 004
Assam.
9. Owner of the Publication : Dibrugarh University
Dibrugarh.

The above declaration is true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Editor