T.Y.B.A.

POLITICS PAPER VI

**MAJOR ISSUES IN
CONTEMPORARY POLITICS**

REVISED SYLLABUS OF POLITICS
PAPER VI (APPLIED COMPONENT)
MAJOR ISSUES IN CONTEMPORARY POLITICS

AT THE T.Y.B.A. EXAMINATION

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rivalry between two world powers and the political principles they represented. The United States supported democracy and capitalism whereas the USSR was committed to the ideology of communism.

With the rise to power of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 and because of his new policies of Glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring which meant economic and social reforms) however, the situation began to change dramatically.

The collapse of the Soviet Union transformed the international system from one of bipolarity to unipolarity. The post- cold war period has been marked by the preponderant power at the United States. With an advanced economy, a sound democratic tradition, and unmatched military might, the United States has emerged as a unipolar power.

1.2 Concept of Polarity : Unipolarity, Bipolarity and Multipolarity

Before examining the concept of unipolarity, it is essential to know the meaning of pole or polarity in the context of international politics. Polarity in international relation is a description of the distribution of power within the international system.

According to Robert E. Osgood and Robert W. Tucker " By 'polar system' we refer to the number of centres of military power (whether individual states or coalitions, which are capable of substantially affecting the balance of power in an extensive area of the world – which are independently committed to the support of vital interests distinct from the interests of other centres and, which therefore, might go to war independently of other centres". Polarity describes the nature of the international system at any given period. There are traditionally three types of polar system – Unipolar, Bipolar, multipolar.

Unipolarity in international politics describes a distribution of power in which there is one state with most of the cultural, economic and military influence. A true unipolarity with influence all over the world was difficult to form prior to the 'Age of Discovery" due to lack of communication and information regarding other nations. Some examples at unipolarity in history may be the British Empire from the end of Napoleonic wars to the end of 19th Century, and the US in the post-cold war era.

Bipolarity in international politics describes a distribution of power in which two states have the majority of economic, military, and cultural influence internationally or regionally. Often spheres of

UNIT 1
POST COLD WAR ISSUES

Contents

1.1   Introduction -

Cold War, which was dominant feature of international relations in the post World War II period, finally came to an end with the disintegration of the union of Soviet Socialist Republic in 1991. The term Cold War, refers to the strategic and political struggle that developed after World War II between the United States of America (USA) and its Western European allies known as American Bloc on one hand, and the USSR and communist countries (known as Soviet Bloc) on the other hand. According to a Dictionary of Politics, the Cold War was ' a state of tension between two countries or group of countries in which each side adopts political designed to strengthen itself and weaken the other; the line falling short of actual not war'.

The cold war was a period of conflict, strain and competition between the American bloc and the Soviet bloc. Throughout this period, the international politics was profoundly shaped by the intense

influence would develop, for example, during the cold war most of the western and democratic states would fall under the influence of the USA, while most of the communist states would fall under the influence of the USSR. After this, the two powers will normally maneuver for the support of the unclaimed area.

Multipolarity involves several distinct poles or concentrations of power in international politics. Multipolar systems can be co-operative, even assuming the form of a concert of powers in which a few major powers work together such as in setting the rules of the game and disciplining those who violate them. They can also be more competitive revolving around a balance of power or conflictual when the balance breaks down. One of the best examples of multipolarity may be the pre-World War I Europe. For many scholars the world today may appear to be multipolar. Major powers like China, the European Union, India, Japan, Russia, the US contain over half the world's people and account for 75% of global GDF and 80% of global defense spending.

USA as a unipolar power in the post cold war era :

The 20th Century started out distinctly multipolar. However, after the World War II, a bipolar system (the USA and the USSR as the superpowers) emerged. Then with the end of the cold war and the demise of USSR, bipolarity gave way to unipolarity – an international system dominated by the USA. Many scholars agree that the US emerged from the cold war as pre-eminent global power with the capacity to shape the system in a way previously not experienced in international politics. The US is world's most capable state with global power projection, an expansive economy and nuclear posture, along with the soft power attributes of ideology and technology.

1.2.1 Proponents supporting a Unipolar World view :

It is conventional to begin analysis at the Post- cold war order as unipolar. The arguments put forward in favour of a unipolar world view are as follows:

a) With the status as the sole surviving super power in the post-cold war and post- soviet world, the USA has gained a new validity and strength in the contemporary international system. No other international actor Japan, Germany, France, Russia, China, the European Union, NAM (Non aligned movement) or the United Nation's has the ability to act as a major check upon the USA. Russia has been integrated into the world economy. Germany and Japan tow great economic powers are content to play a subordinate role within the American led system.

b)   Since the end of Cold war, the USA has maintained its international primacy. According to Samuel Huntington, international primacy is ' the ability of one actor to exercise more influence on the behaviour of more actors with respect to more issues than any other government'. The ability of the US to exert international influence is determined by its different sources of power. The size of population and territory, resource endowment, economic capability, military strength, political stability and competence rank high as important sources of power. These capabilities serve to reinforce its position in world politics, giving it greater leverage over other powers.

c)   The US military power far outmatches all other states and the US Navy is approximately the same size as the next 17 largest combined and is far more technologically advanced. The US defence spending now surpasses that of China, France, Germany, India, Japan, Russia and the UK combined. The US is the only power able to project force where and when it desires.

d)   The US exercises preponderant power not only in military sphere but also in the economic sphere, with 20% of global GDP, the US economy remains the world's largest. The US along with its allies plays a dominant role in two important global financial institutions the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These institutions by means of their lending conditions heavily influence the economic and social policies of debtor countries, advancing the neoliberal project of a world market economy.

e)   The US has remained the World's most capable state due to its wide-ranging capabilities. America's composite power has been labeled by Joseph Nye as soft power. Soft power is the pervasiveness of a country's culture and ideology to establish rules and institutions that clearly reflect its interests and preferences.

1.2.2   Implications of Unipolarity :

The transformation of world from a bipolar to a unipolar world has greatly influenced the working of international system. Some of the impacts of unipolarity on international policies can be discussed as below.

U.S. Policy :

Since the end of cold war, the US has actively sought to maintain international primacy. Although not an advertised goal. The US administration has prevented other states from challenging the pre-eminent position of the US. This strategy of preserving unipolarity was clearly enunciated in the Defence Planning Guidance (DPG) in 1992, which stated that the US ' must maintain the mechanisms for

deterring potential competitors from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role'. The conclusion of the DPG reflected the official views about unipolarity.

In the post cold war period, the war against rogue states, terrorism, and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) has been increasingly considered by the US as a matter of vital national interest. In the absence of challenge from any power to its supremacy the US has used its military might and coercive diplomacy to protect its national interest, for example, during the cold war the US administration pursued 'regime change' only in small countries and that too by proxy, but in the post cold war period there are examples of its unilateral interventions in Afghanistan (October, 2001) and in Iraq (March, 2003). Many scholars argue that the unipolarity has given rise to the "American hegemony" in the world today.

1.2.3 Working of the United Nations organization :

The United Nations Organization (UNO) was set up in 1945 following the World War II with the main objective of maintaining international peace and security. During the cold war period, because of the ideological and other constraints of the East-West struggle, the UNO could not fulfill the expectations of the world community. When the cold war ended, it was assumed that the UN would be able to implement the basic purposes for which it was created. However, the old power structure (bipolar) resulted in deadlocks in the security council, the current powers structure (unipolar) encourages the US to bypass it. The role and credibility of the UN have been eroded by the unilateral actions of the US in the post-cold war era.

Under the UN charter, the security council takes decision on the peaceful settlement of disputes and in the event of breach of peace and acts of aggression decided on enforcement measures, including the use of armed force. But the decision to use force against any state has been taken by the US in many of the crises in the post-cold war period. The first challenge to international peace came during the time of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990.

In the early 1990s in the Kosovo Crisis in Serbia (former Yugoslavia) the US led NATO military informed to put an end to human killings (Serbian government's killing at Albanian population at Kosovo). Without the UN involvement and political sanctions, the Kosovo operation was very much NATO's action. At the end of operation, the UN peacekeeping forces were deployed to maintain peace. NATO's self-authorization not only undetermined the UN Security Councils Monopoly on mandating the use of force, it also ignored the claims of Russia and China to play an active and co-operative role in the UN system.

1.2.4 Developing Nations :

During the cold war period, many of the developing countries adopted the policy of non-alignment, which was a policy to remain aloof from the two power blocs, to pursue neutrality in cold war and to maintain an independent role in international politics. The initiative came from India, Egypt and Yugoslavia. From the modest beginning at the Belgrade conference with a participation of 25 nations, the non-aligned movement (NAM) has expanded to include 119 members at Havana (Cuba) summit in 2006.

The rise of NAM symbolized the rise of Third World. However, with the end of bipolarity NAM has lost much of its relevance. NO one can deny that its ability to influence international decision-making as well as to check the growing American role in the United Nations and in the world at large stand limited in the post-cold war period. The NAM Political Declaration (at 14th NAM summit at Havana in 2006) was critical of the Unipolar hegemony of the US and called for the defense of multilateralism and the principles of the UN charter. It called for the urgent restructuring of the UN system. It stated that democracy was a universal concept but no country had the right to define it for the rest of the world.

NAM members constitute two-thirds of the United Nation's membership, but the reality is that the US has totally ignored the NAM declaration. In the post-cold war unipolar world, NAM has failed to play an influential role even in the crisis involving its own member's, e.g. in the Middle East and in Yugoslavia. One of its founder members Yugoslavia has disintegrated. India continues to be a member of NAM, but has moved closer to the US in the post-Soviet World and has become strategic partner of the US in the South Asia.

1.2.5 North-South Relations :

With the end of the cold war, the term 'Third World" has been challenged by many analysis. According to them, the term Third World has no utility in a world where there is no rivalry between the first capitalist world and the second communist one. The term 'Third World' was conceived in the 1950s to describe the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Most of these countries had become independent after the World War II because of the decolonization process and were economically backward. In the post-cold war, the term South is commonly used to refer to the poorer, less industrialized developing countries of the Southern Hemisphere and the term North is used to refer to the more prosperous industrialized countries of the Northern Hemisphere, in international politics.

There are striking continuities between the cold war and post-cold war eras especially in the political and economical relations between North and South. The division between North and South are particularly evident in their differences over the American led invasion of Iraq, the Israel-Palestine conflict and humanitarian intervention, as well as over major economic issues relating to trade barriers, foreign investment, and questions of equity concerning intellectually property right and patent etc. However, the end of cold war has made issues of North- South power asymmetry more salient.

Economic Arena

The cold war provided a context in which there was a competition between the west and the eastern bloc to win allies in the third world. The US believed that the path of liberal economic growth would result in development and that development would result in hostility to socialist ideas. The USSR, by contrast promoted its economic system as the most rapid means for newly independent states to achieve development. With the collapse of the Eastern block after 1989, the neo-liberal economic and political ideology championed by the West has become dominant across the globe. The championing of liberal economic values played an important role in accelerating the globalization process.

The multilateral regimes which are often seen as mechanism at globalization the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) are dominated by the club of rich and powerful states –G8(The US, the UK, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan).

Political and security Arena

Deterring and punishing 'rogue' states, war against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and humanitarian interventions have become some of the important objectives of the US foreign policy in one post-cold war period. The US administration has made it clear that the US cannot let out enemies strike first and to prevent hostile act by its adversaries, the US will if necessary act pre-emptively –that is strike first. All these have served the purpose of preserving the dominance of the US. The US military intervention undertaken selectively to punish rogue states such as Iraq and Yugoslavia have sent the message that opposing the US interests is likely to incur heavy costs. Interventions take place when it suits the strategic and economic interests of the US, for example, in Rawanda and Sudan the US and its allies did not intervene.

The US has initiated new, large scale weapons programme as a means of safeguarding its military superiority and Worldwide Military Presence. The extreme disparity in military power and its political

consequences have been emphasized over and over again since 1990. It was made explicit during the first Gulf War, the bombing of Yugoslavia, the US led military campaign in Afghanistan in 2001-02 and in Iraq in March, 2003. What shocked the countries of South was the enormous destructive power of the US.

1.2.6 Emergence of Multipolar world :

With the end of the cold war and the demise of the Soviet Union, bipolarity gave way to unipolarity an international system dominated by one power, in this case the United States. However, many believe that the US Unipolar Moment is over by the beginning of the 21st Century and we have moved to a Multipolar World.

They have cited the erosion of US primacy and emergence of many centers of power as evidence of a changing international system.

French President Nicholas Sarkozy commented in January, 2008, " The Unipolar world that materialized after the cold war is already over and the word superpower that was popular few years ago is now obsolete. The world will be in the era of relative major powers for the next 30 to 40 years."

1.2.7 Arguments supporting a Multipolar World view :

The arguments in support of the view that the world have become Multipolar can be summed up as follows :-

a) The basic argument is that the international system should not be viewed as unipolar, with the US as the sole superpower, as realists have tended to view it, unipolarity exists only on single narrow military dimensions. If we consider other forms of civilian, economic, institutional and normative power, the world system appears multipolar, alongside the US, there are other major powers and the EU, Japan, Russia, China and India.

b) Second, America's unipolar position as a ' sole superpower' in military domain may not be equated with cost effective global influence. The US use of its unilateral military supremacy to wage preventive war and impose regime change is unsustainable. Beyond the initial months of the Afghan and Iraq wars, Military force proved itself more expensive and less effective.

c) Third, it is also argued that the US does not possess exceptional expertise, capacity, or success in unilaterally wielding non-military instruments at international power. The US level of civilian foreign aid is low. It's expertise in nation building and democracy

promotion is limited. Few would question that efforts to ensure security and re construct public order in Iraq were in effective. In Afghanistan, the Warlords have reasserted power, internal security has collapsed and the country has reemerged as the world's largest exporter of opium.

d) Fourth, the US primacy is being challenged in diplomacy also, after all China proved to be the Country best able to influence North Korea's nuclear programme. The US's ability to pressurise Tehran has been strengthened by the participation of several western European countries and weakened by the reluctance of China and Russia to sanction Iran. The US is dependent on others to support political and economic sanctions or block Iran's access to nuclear technology and materials.

Conclusion :

Thus, the many political analysts and scholars of international politics support the view that the world is in a transitional phase from a unipolar to multipolar structure. Samuel Huntington has proposed that changes in Post- cold war international politics reflect a uni-multipolar system with one superpower and several major powers. On the other hand, Richard N. Hass has written in his article that ' the age of Non polarity' (Foreign Affairs, May/June, 2008). " The United States unipolar moment is over. International relations it the twenty first century will be defined by nonpolarity. Power will be diffuse rather than concentrated and the influence of nation states will decline as that of nonstate actors increases."

According to him, in addition to the six major World Powers, there are numerous regional Powers. Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, Israel, Saudi Arabia, etc. A good many organizations would on the list of power center including those that are global (the IMF, the UN, the World Bank) those that are regional (the African Union, the ASEAN, the EU, etc.) and those that are functional (OPEC, the WHO, etc.). Then there large global companies including those that dominate the world of energy, finance and manufacturing.

There may not be an agreement among scholars and analysis of international politics on whether the world is multipolar or nonpolar, but most of them agree that unipolarity is a thing of the past. The US foreign policy under the new President also reflects the recognition of this reality and a sense of Pragmatism.

1.3 POVERTY

Introduction :

For more than five decades, the world has focused on development and yet the destination is not in sight. The prime focus of development work in the past was on the eradication of poverty and yet it is poverty that had defied all prescriptions. To be sure, radical reforms in the economy and the policy have brought about significant changes in the societies of the developing world. But the ugly face up poverty still refuses to disappear, several activities favouring the poor and against poverty were, and are being, carried out both the individual governments and the international community and yet we have sizable number of the poor and horrifying manifestation of poverty. The Secretary-General of the United Nations admitted in his 1994 report, "Absolute poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy are the lot of the 1/5th of the world population. There can be no more urgent task for development than to attack both the causes and symptoms of these ills. It is a tasks that requires action and commitment. It is an agenda that requires the widest possible distribution of development efforts, the implementation of broad based strategies and the orientation of development efforts towards projects that enhance people rather than national prestige."

1.3.1 Identifying the poor and indexing poverty :

The key question for the social scientists is to evolve a methodology for identifying the poor and for indexing poverty. To quote Amartya Sen : "The requirements of a concept of poverty must include two distinct – but not unrelated –exercises, namely –

i) A method of identifying a group of people as poor (identification) and;
ii) A method of aggregating the characteristics of the set of poor people into an overall image of poverty- (aggregation)."

Who are poor ? There are several ways in which the poor can be identified. Let us discuss some of these criteria and their limitations.

i) Poor are those who could not meet their daily needs.
This is the most commonly used criterion. And those using it reduce the concept of daily needs to nutritional requirements usually expressed in terms of calorie intake, while it is a convenient yardstick; it is deceptive. There are no standards to define the minimal nutritional requirement. There are people who may be regarded as malnourished but they live long lives and carry out arduous tasks that many well nourished coming from the affluent stratum of society many find difficult to do. Moreover, it is not always possible to translate the

nutritional requirement into food requirement.

ii) Poor are those who are socially deprived.
" Social deprivation may lead to the down grading of the social status and may even adversely affect the economic well being of the family or the caste, but such a consequence cannot be equated with poverty. This for two reasons :

a) poverty may exist among those who may not be regarded as socially deprived,
b) Not all those belong to the category of socially deprived groups – caste or tribes – can be classed as poor.

In the present context, one can point a finger at a number of so-called Dalit leaders to indicate that no yardstick can place them in the category of the poor. Just at there are both rich and the poor families in any upper caste, so is also the case in any Dalit Caste. Thus, not only inequality needs to be distinguished from poverty, but poverty should also be delinked from caste.

iii) Poor are those who feel relatively deprived.

Several writings on poverty blur the distinction between relative and absolute poverty. There is a worldwide commitment to 'eradicate' poverty is with regard to absolute poverty and at the level of the people. The concept of poverty line or he measure such as SI (PPP) Per capita per day refers to those who are indeed destitute. In terms of relative deprivation, all those whose income is below the average income can be regarded as non-rich.

There is no easy way to define poverty or identify the poor. People can be rendered poor by a variety of factors. Any strategy for the poverty eradication has to be pro-poor and against the phenomenon of poverty. Those who are living in poverty do not constitute a homogenous group and therefore there cannot be a single replicable prescription for the amelioration of their situation. It is, therefore, necessary for first investigate the context in which a given poor resides, identify the source that has cased his/her poverty.

1.3.2 Manifestation of Poverty :

1) Poor income and dearth of resources (income poverty).
This has four types :

a) Absolute income poverty
b) Low income
c) Relative income poverty
d) Subjective income poverty

2) Starvation and malnutrition

3) Poor health and sanitation causing diseases and decreasing longevity

4) Lack of access to education and other related facilities. In the community context, it may mean non-existence of a school in the neighbourhood, but for a household it may also mean lack of paying capacity for sending a child to school.

5) Homelessness – people without homes, or the community with poor housing such as slums. People can be rendered homeless because of a natural disaster such as an earthquake or a typhoon and may not be in a position to incur expenses in building a shelter for them. Even the well-to-do can become Pauper because of disasters – natural or man made.

6) Unsafe environment

7) Social exclusion and negative discrimination

The above listing would suggest that poverty could be caused not only by low income but also by non-availability of or denial or access to, other facilities and services. Poverty can be caused both at the level of a community or nation and at the level of individual family by population growth.

Similarly, needless consumption and wrong economic policies also affect resources and the environment and impoverish both the family and the community. Urbanization and migration have also been identified as levels. Thus poverty is a complex and multidimensional problem that defies any simple solutions.

1.3.3 Causes of Poverty :

Many different factors have been cited to explain why poverty occurs, no single explanation has gained universal acceptance.

Possible factors include :

1) Economic Causes :

a) Recession, in general, the major fluctuations in poverty rates over time are driven by the business cycle. Poverty rates increase in recessions and decline in booms. Extreme recessions, such as the great depression have a particularly large impact on poverty.

b) Economic inequality – even if average income is high, it may be the case that the poverty rate is also high if incomes are distributed unevenly. However, the evidence on the relationship between absolute poverty rates and inequality is mixed and sensitive to the inequality index used. In addition, to income inequality, and unequal distribution of land can also contribute to high levels of poverty.

c) Food prices poor people spend a greater portions of their budgets on food than major people do. As a result, poor households and those near the poverty thresholds can be particularly vulnerable to increases in food prices. For example, in late 2007 increases in the price of grains led to food riots in some countries. Decreases in food prices can also affect poverty.

2) Governance :

a) Lacking Democracy in poor countries the effctiveness of Governance has a major impact on the delivery of socio-economic outcomes for poor populations. Weak rule of law can discourage investment and thus perpetuate poverty. Failure of governments to provide essential infrastructures worsens poverty. Poor access to affordable education traps individuals and countries in the cycles of poverty. High levels of corruption undermine efforts to make a sustainable impact on poverty.

3) Social Factors :

Over populations and lack of access to birth control methods, crime, white collars, blue color, historical factors such as imperialism, colonialism, wars including civil war, genocide, discrimination of various kinds, such as age discrimination, stereotyping, gender discrimination, racial discrimination, caste discrimination results into more poverty. With this, poor access to affordable health care makes individual less resili onomic hardship and more vulnerable to poverty. Inadequate nutrition in childhood, itself an effect of poverty undermines the ability of individuals to develop their full human capabilities and thus makes them more vulnerable to poverty.

Diseases, specially AIDS, Malaria, tuberculosis, and other overwhelming affect developing nations which perpetuate poverty. Similarly, substance abuse, including for e.g. aclcholism and drug abuse when not properly treated undermines ent to ec resistance and can consign people to vicious poverty cycles.

4) Environmental factors :

Factors like access to fertile land, fresh water, minerals, energy and other natural resources, deforestation, climatic change or environment, desertification of land, draught and water crisis are leading to poverty.

1.3.4 Effects of Poverty :

The effects of poverty may also be causes, as listed above thus

creating a ' poverty cycle' operating across multiple levels, individuals, local, national and global.

i) Health :

Those living in poverty an lacking access to essential health services, suffering hunger or every starvation, experience mental and physical health problems which make it harder for them to improve the situation. One third of deaths. Some 18 mn. People a year or 50,000 per day are due to poverty related causes: in total 270 mn people; most of them women and children, have died as a result of poverty since 1990. Those living in poverty suffer from lower life expectancy. Every year, nearly 11 mn children living in poverty often suffer from hunger. About 800 mn people go to bed hungry every night.

Poverty increases the risk of homelessness. There are over 100 mn street children worldwide. Increased risk of drug abuse may also be associated with poverty.

Diseases of poverty reflect the dynamic relationship between poverty and poor health, which such infectious diseases results directly from poverty, they also perpetuate and deepen impoverishment by snapping personal and national health and financial resources. For eg. Malaria decreases GDP growth by upto 1.3% In some developing nations, and by killing tens of Sub-Saharay Africa, AIDS also threatens the economies, social structures, and political stability of entire societies.

ii) Education :

Research has found that there is a high risk of educational underachievement for children who are from low-income housing circumstances. This often is a process that begins in primary school for some less fortunate children. These children are at higher risk, special placements during the school's hours and even not completing their high school education.

iii) Violence :

Areas strongly affected by poverty tend to more violent. In one survey, 67% of children from disadvantaged inner cities said they had witnessed a serious assault and 33% reported withnessing a homicide.

1.3.5 Eradicating Poverty :

The goal of eradicating poverty in the world through decisive national actions and international co-operation, as an ethical, social, political and economic imperative of humankind. To this end, at the

national level, in partnership with all actors of civil society and in the context of multidimensional and integrated approach. We have to :

a) Formulate or strengthen, as a matter of urgency, for the eradication of poverty, national policies and strategies geared to substantially reducing overall poverty in the shortest possible time, reducing inequalities and eradicating absolute poverty by a target date to be specified by each country in its national context.

b) Focus our efforts and polities to a address the root causes of poverty and to provide for the basic needs of all these efforts should include the elimination of hunger and malnutrition, the provision of food security, education, employment and livelihood, primary health care, safe drinking water and sanitation and adequate shelter and participation in social and cultural life.

c) Ensure that people living in poverty have access to productive resources, including credit, land, education and training, technology, knowledge and information, as well as to public services and participate in decision making on a policy and regulatory environment that would enable them to benefit from expanding employment and economic opportunities.

d) Develop and implement policies to ensure that all people have adequate economic and social protection during unemployment, ill health, maternity, child rearing, widowhood, disability, and old age.

e) Ensure that national budgets and policies are oriented, as necessary, to meeting basic needs, reducing inequalities, and targeting poverty, as a strategic objective.

f) Seek to reduce inequalities, increase opportunities and access to resources and income and remove any political, legal, economic and social factors and constraints that faster and sustain inequality.

Apart from these, the programme of action, proposed by World Summit for Social Development (WSSD) to honour the commitment to eradicate poverty, has focused on following ten points :

i) National policies ought to be formulated to considerably reduce the incidence of poverty while fixing a target date that is regarded nationally feasible.

ii) Support may be sought of international organizations in the national efforts to eradicate poverty.

iii) Tools to be developed to measure different types of poverty in a given country context and immediate relied be provided to those

groups that in high risk category.

iv) Economic policies and national budgets should be regularly reviewed and amended as necessary to meet the objective of poverty eradication.

v) opportunities may be expanded to enable the poor people to enhance their overall capacities and improve their social and economic conditions, ensuring sustainability of resources.

vi) Emphasis may be laid on human resources development and important of infrastructural acilities.

vii)There must be a comprehensive provision for the basic needs of all.

viii)Adequate economic and social protection may be provided to all during periods of unemployment, ill health, maternity, disability and old age.

ix) Policies may be formulated to strengthen the family and contribute to its stability.

x) To assist poverty stricken areas all resources – public and private, be mobilized and involvement at the civil society may be ensured.

It need not be stressed that poverty excluded and marginalizes people. The high degree of illiteracy, malnutrition and ill health and general neglect suffered by the poor results in their having and indifference towards the society and the polity. Economic marginalization leads to civil and political marginalization. The answer therefore, is seen in one mobilization of the poor, and their empowerment.

Conclusion :

To successfully fight against poverty, the need is to first identify the poor families and the poor geographical areas and then to carry out systematic investigations with an open mind to understand the strategies employment to combat it. This will help in building a new theoretical perspective of an interdisciplinary character and in developing a dependable portfolio for affirmative action and prophylactic treatment.

1.4   HEALTH

The generally accepted definition of health is ' a state of

complete physical, mental, and social well being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity' used by World Health Organisation (WHO) since 1948.

In 1986, the WHO in the Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion said Health is a " resource for everyday life, not the objective of living. Health is a positive concept emphasizing social and personal resources, as well as physical capacities."

Overall health is achieved through a combination of physical, mental, emotional, and social well being.

1.4.1 Aspects of Health

1) Physical Health : Physical health refers to good body health and is the result of regular exercise, proper diet, nutrition and proper rest for physical recovery. A strong indicator of the health of localized population is their height and weight which generally increases with improved nutrition and health care. This is also influenced by the standard of living and quality of life.

2) Mental Health : Mental Health refers to an individual's emotional and psychological well being. "A state of emotional and psychological well being in which an individual is able to use his or her cognitive and emotional capabilities, functions in society and meet the ordinary demands of everyday life". Overall health is achieved through a combination of physical, mental, emotional and social well-being.

1.4.2 Social determinants of health :

Social determinants of health are the economic and social conditions under which people live, which determine their health.

The term Social determinants of health grew out the search by researchers to identify the specific exposures by which members of different socio-economic groups come to experience varying degrees of health and illness, while it was well documented that individuals in various socio-economic groups experienced differing health outcomes, the specific factors and means by which these factors led to illness remained to be identified.

Social determinants of health have been recognized by several health organizations such as the public health agency of Canada and the WHO to greatly influence collective and personal well-being. From the list of determinants of health some of the important social determinants are as below :-

1) Income and social status
2) Social support networks

3) Educations and literacy (health literacy)
4) Employment/working conditions
5) Social environment
6) Physical environment
7) Life skills
8) Personal Health practices and coping skills
9) Healthy child development
10) Biology and genetic endowment
11) Health services
12) Gender
13) Culture

With this background let us discuss the some important health issues in globalised world.

1.4.3 Health Issues in the Globalised World :

The 20th Century was a period of steady progress in preventing and controlling a wide range of communicable diseases. Effective public health measures and the development and widespread use of vaccines and drugs have greatly reduced the death toll and disease burden from infectious diseases. Immunization saves an estimated 3 children annually and the percentage of children who die before reaching age of five has been cut in half since 1960. Small pox, formerly a major killer in the developing world, has been eliminated and polio has been declared eradicated in a number of countries. Medical advances have spread, improving health around the world.

Despite this remarkable progress, infectious diseases remain a leading cause of death worldwide, accounting for more than 10 mn deaths every year according to World Health Organization (WHO), including nearly 2/3 of deaths among children under age five. The big three infections diseases HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria, account for more than half all deaths from communicable diseases. These diseases continue to be major public health threats, especially in developing countries, despite years of organized national and international efforts to control them. Vaccines that could effectively prevent these diseases have not yet been developed.

HIV, thus cause AIDS which was virtually unknown 25 years ago, has already infected more than 60 mn people worldwide and more than 20 mn have died, 3.1 mn in 2005 alone. Over 8 mn children under 15 years of age have been orphaned. Of the approximately 40 mn people living with HIV/AIDS today, some 38 mn live in developing countries. AIDS is now the leading cause of death in sub-Saharan Africa. And the fourth largest killer globally. The epidemic has cut life expectancy by more than 10 years in South Africa and Botswana. Meanwhile, HIV continues to spread at varying but unknown rates in

the Carribbean, China, India and Russia.

Another worldwide killer, tuberculosis, causes 8.8 mn new cases each year. (nearly 25,000 a day) and is responsible for an annual mortality of 1.7 mn. Efforts to control it are seriously hampered by drug resistance and by co-infection with HIV. About a third of world's 40 mn. HIV positive people also suffer from tuberculosis, and HIV infection increases the chance of developing tuberculosis ten times. More HIV positive patients die from tuberculosis than any other infection.

Maleria is like wise widespread and deadly, especially in children or in its more cerebral form more than a third of world's population now live in areas where malaria is epidemic. Upto 500 mn new clinical cases of malaria occur each year and the annual mortality from the disease in 1.2 mn a year.

In addition to these three major diseases, new infectious diseases can arise. The avian flu (Bird flu) epidemic is caused by type of influenza virus (HSN1) that is potentially deadlier and far more devastating than any other influenza virus to date. In April, 2009, we faced another influenza virus (H1N1) cause swine flue. Also created global panic.

Factors driving the spread of communicable disease :

Infectious diseases can be caused by a wide variety of organisms of different taxonomic lines, including viruses, bacteria, fungi, protozoa. Many factors, social, economic, climatic, technological and environmental shape diseases patterns and influence the emergence and spread of these diseases. The current global socio-economic situations seems to influence and favour these factors. The institute of medicine six major factors that contribute to the emergence and reemergence of infectious disease :-

1) Changes in human demographics and behaviour
2) Advances in technology and changes in industry practices
3) Economic development and changes in land-use patterns
4) Dramatic increases in the volume and speed of international travel and commerce, including movements not only of people but of animals, foodstuffs, and other commodities.
5) Microbial adaptation and change
6) Breakdown of the public health capacity required to combat infectious diseases at the local, state, national and global levels.

What makes communicable diseases a global issue :

Although the great majority of deaths from communicable diseases occur in developing countries, the threat they pose constitutes an important issue for the world as a whole on several counts.

First, the sheet magnitude of the problem makes it a substantial threat to people in all parts of the world and demands worldwide attention and action. Infectious diseases can be a substantial obstacle to countries economic and social development.

Health care costs are growing rapidly in many countries, absorbing a rising share of income and forcing them forgo other badly needed goods and services. Moreover, the heaviest burden of infectious diseases falls not only on developing countries but also on the poorest households within them.

Secondly, communicable diseases do not recognize international boundaries of sovereign states. With the rise of international traffic and commerce that accompanies globalization, diseases can be transmitted easily around the world a disease can now emerge anywhere on the globe and spread quickly to other regions.

Severe acute respiratory syndrome(SARS) was first reported in Asia in February, 2004, and within a few months the illness has spread to more than 2 dozen countries in Asia, Europe, North America and South America before the outbreak was contained. Similarly, Asian flu and swine flu rapidly spread globally.

Third, globalization has far-reaching impacts on public health and international economies the shrinking of the word by technology and the growing interdependence of national economies allow diseases to spread rapidly though trade and travel international air passenger carried SARS across the Atlantic. Within a matter of days its outbreak. The increasingly global nature of food handling, processing and sale are another means of rapid transmission of pathogens. HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis cholera and malaria are examples of infections that have spread from region to region through international commerce.

Fourth, communicable diseases of global scope affect or are affected by global issues such as climate change, malnutrition, biodiversity, access to safe water and migration.

1.4.4 Key elements of Global Diseases Response Plan :

Both WHO and US centres for disease control and prevention have developed response plans for global disease outbreaks some of the key elements of global infectious disease response plan are discussed below :

a) Outbreak Management :

In April, 2000, WHO inaugurated the global outbreak alert and response network to help organize and co-ordinate an international response to any communicable disease outbreak.

b) Disease surveillance :

Disease surveillance is the first line of defence in an epidemic, together with the ability to rapidly conduct on epidemiological investigation and the presence of trained staff and modern laboratory facilities to diagnose diseases accurately and rapidly.

c) National and local public health service :

The basic strategy for fighting communicable diseases in developing countries is to strengthen national and local public health service to the point where they can provide effective service. In too many countries, publicity provided health services still fall short of minimum standards and are especially failing the poor.

d) Health provides :

The millennium development goals are not achievable without an adequately trained, properly without an adequately trained, properly deployed and will supported work force. Although many health service providers have the necessary qualifications and training, can deliver high quality care and are responsible to their patients even in difficult circumstances, the same is not true of many others, and very often even the best providers lack the necessary support system or the equipment and supplies necessary to carry out their functions.

e) Research and Development :

A programme of research on infectious diseases in different parts of the world is another key part of the international response. Research is now under way to develop vaccines against malaria and HIV/AIDS as well as an improved anti tuberculosis vaccine. Similar projects are underway to determine the full DNA sequences of a range of important human pathogens as a way of developing better diagnostic tests, vaccines and drugs.

f) Prevention and control :

Ultimately, the struggle against global diseases must move from a reactive fire-fighting approach to a longer-term strategy or prevention and control in the context of a globalised and rapidly changing environment. Strong health care systems, alongwith improved communication strategies to educate and alert the public about the risks of and prevention; strategies for infectious diseases, are the best long term control measures.

g) The role of the World Bank :

The World Bank developed its first Health, Nutrition and population strategy in 1997 and is currently revising it. A briefing was provided to the Bank's Board of Directors in June, 2006 and a revised strategy completed in December, 2006. Broadly speaking improving public health systems and ensuring adequate health services for the poor are central to the World Bank's mandate of Poverty reduction: better health contributes to higher productivity and income; poor health both results from and exacerbates poverty.

Conclusion :

The Global nature of the threat posed by new and reemerging infectious diseases requires international co-operation in identifying controlling and preventing these diseases. New vaccines and drugs for some of these diseases one global public goods; whose development may be best facilitated and finance globally. Infectious diseases themselves, however, are global public 'bads', generating negative health, economic, and security related externalities that must be dealt with understanding and responding to infectious disease requires a global perspective, conceptually and geographically.

1.5   Question Bank

Q.1 Explain the concepts of Unipolarity, Bipolarity and Multipolarity in world politics.

Q.2. Elaborate on the argument that the post-cold war is unipolar.

Q.3. Discuss the effects of unipolarity on the international politics with special reference to developing nations.

Q.4. Compare between arguments for the unipolar world and multipolar world.

Q.5. Write notes on :
   a) Unipolar world
   b) Multipolar world
   c) Eradication of poverty
   d) Role of WTO in Health problems

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Module 2
Unit - 3
The United Nations- Role of Core and Special Agencies
(1) General Assembly (2) Security Council

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3.0   Objective:

- To study the functioning of UNO
- To study the role of Core Agencies i.e. General Assembly and Security Council
- To study the changing role of UN the General Assembly and Security Council in post Cold-War scenario
- To study role of the World Health Organisations in dealing with new health issues
- To study role and success of UN Development Programme, Food and Agricultural organization in emerging

3.1   United Nations: The Role of core agencies

United Nations Organizations (UNO) is worlds governing body. It was founded on the ashes of the League of Nations, on October 24, 1945, with 51 nations signing the charter of UNO. The immeasurable destruction, depression and suffering of world War- I (1914-1918) and World War II (1939-45) has forced the leaders of the world to rethink of future generations and pledge to stop its repetition in future.

The UN in short, the central site for multilateral diplomacy, and the UN General Assembly is center stage. The UN Security Council is the core of the global security system and is the primary legitimiser of actions initiated to deal with the threats and aggression.The UNs importance, and especially the relative importance of the SC and GA, has risen and fallen over the years as world politics affected the organization.

The Atlantic charter of 14 August, 1941- a joint declaration by the US president Franklin Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winsten Charchill of the England calling for the economic issues and a system of permanent security- was the foundation for the declaration by the UN in January 1942. Twenty six nations affirmed the principles of Atlantic charter and agreed to create a new universal organization to replace the League of Nations. The UN charter was then drafted in two sets of meetings between August and October 1944 at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington D.C. The participants agreed that the organization would based on the principle of sovereign equality of members with all "peace loving" states eligible for membership.

3.1.1   Main Goals of UNO:

The founding legal document of the UNO, the UN charter expression both hopes and aspirations of the founding for a better world. Main goal of UN is maintaining peace and security are the twin principles that all member states shall:
1. Refrain from threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or any manner inconsistent.
2. Settle their international disputes by peaceful means.

3.1.2   General Assembly:

The United Nations General Assembly is one of the core agencies of the UN. The General Assembly, like the League's assembly, was designed as the general debate arena where all UN members would be equally represented according to a One-State, one vote formula. It has power to monitor and evaluate the functioning of subsidiary bodies. It acts as 'Parliament of nations' and provides a forum for multilateral discussion on all important issues covered by the charter.

3.1.3 Composition:

All the members of the United Nations are the members of the General Assembly. Each member has single vote, even though each state can send five representatives to the assembly. The UN charter does not impose any restriction on the member states with regard to the appointment of the delegates to the GA except that Article 8 enjoins upon the states not to make any discrimination on the basis of sex. These representatives have to act in accordance to with the instructions of their respective governments and are directly responsible to their governments. Thus the GA is more of a diplomatic conference than a legislative body.

3.1.4 President

The general Assembly at its first session elects a President for a term of twelve months. As a matter of convention, the President is taken from a minor country. The choice of the candidate for the post of president is made through private consultations before the sessions of the GA and a candidate who is accepted by the majority of the members is elected as President. It is noteworthy that during the cold war years close contest took place for the office of President. This was due to the reasons of polarized world system in US, USSR and Non Alignment Movement (NAM) blocks respectively.

3.1.5 Vice- President and Chairmen of standing committee:

In addition to the president, the GA at its first session also elects seventeen Vice- Presidents and Seven Chairmen for seven standing committees. The committees act as advisory body to the president. However its recommendations are not binding on the president. While electing vice-presidents, an effort is made to provide area wise representation. Likewise the chairmanship of the seven committees is also allocated on the basis of these areas.
   a) Two members from Western European and other States (including USA and Canada).
   b) One member from Eastern European Regions.
   c) Three members from Latin American Regions.
   d) Seven members from Asian and African Regions.
   e) Five seats are given to permanent members of the Security Council.

3.1.6 Sessions of Assembly:

The regular session of GA is held once a year. The session commences on the third Tuesday in September and continues until mid- December. In addition, special sessions of the assembly can also be called at the request of Security Council or majority of the states. Emergency special session can be called in 24 hours on a request by

the Security Council on vote of any nine members, or by a majority of the member states. 2/3 majority in the Assembly is required for decisions on key issues such as international peace and security.

3.1.7 Voting

Decisions on all important questions are taken by two-third majority of the members present and voting. Ordinary matters can be decided by simple majority.

2.1.8 Agenda

The GA conducts its business on the basis of the agenda which is prepared by the Secretary General in the month of July. The Secretary General does not have much discretion with regard to the determination of agenda because there are certain items which must find place on the agenda. Thus the agenda of the assembly invariably includes Annual Report of the Secretary General, reports of other organs of UN, items proposed by the member states.

3.1.9 General Assembly and its function

The main committees of General Assembly and its functions are as follows :-

i) Committee on disarmament and international security

This committee has the responsibility of maintaining peace and order in the international arena. It also works very hard to discourage and stop any kind of arms race in the world. This committee keeps a strong check on various types of arms and ammunition nations have. It plays a vital role in checking and control of nuclear weapons and it materials.

ii) Economic and Financial Committee

This committee looks after all financial matters. Whatever expenditure incurs and aid and donations come from the member states or non-state organizations, this committee has been given the responsibility of maintaining an account. This committee also helps the budgetary committee.

iii) Committee on Social, Humanitarian and cultural affairs

UN general assembly confers the responsibility of humanitarian aid, relief during any form of calamity and promotion and protection of all cultures.

iv) Committee on special political issues and de-colonization

The main function of this committee is to solve the political disputes through peaceful means and diplomatic efforts. On the issues of decolonization this committee has worked tirelessly to enable the erstwhile colonized states to gain a complete freedom.

v) Legal Committee

This committee extends all sort of legal help to the general assembly. It also issues guidelines to the member nations on some issues of global importance, i.e. environmental rules and regulations.

vi) Administrative and Budgetary Committee

To manage such a huge organizations like UNO, it needs an effective administrative set up. This set up is provided by this committee. It looks after recruitment, functioning and needs of the administration. Another very important task is performed by the committee are preparation of annual budget for the UNO.

Delegates from member states attend assembly and committee sessions, participate in efforts to shape agendas and debate and represent national interests. UN diplomats have to deal constantly with many different viewpoints and policies; they have to operate under procedures more akin to those of a parliamentary body than a traditional bilateral diplomacy.

Considering the above organizational setup of the General Assembly, its functions can be explained as under:

i) Admitting aspiring member states to the UNO

It has got the responsibility of considering the admission of any new state into UN's fold.

ii) Electing the non-permanent members of Security Council

GA has got the responsibility of electing ten non-permanent members to the Security Council, for a period of ……… years.

iii) Electing the members of Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOC) and Trusteeship Council.

iv) Appointment of the judges of International Court of Justice. All the nine judges of the ICJ.

v) Appointment of Secretary General of the UNO on the recommendation of Security Council. According to the procedures of UN charter GA cannot appointed without it is duly approved by SC.

3.1.10 Decision making process at General Assembly:

During the early days of UN's functioning, states from the same geographic regions or with shared economic and political interest formed coalitions to shape common position on particular issues and to control. Therefore the principle of "equitable geographical distribution is followed.

The second factor caucusing groups is the 'one state, one vote' principle. Which force the countries to lobby with likeminded members, in order to get passed some resolution or control the GA. Such a system in UN decision making process has affected the

smooth functioning of GA and promoted regionalism in international politics.

3.1.11 Changing Role of General Assembly:

Politics within the GA is an apt mirror of world politics, but not always the realities of power given by the egalitarian principles of one state, one vote. It is the place to set ideas, agenda of world politics, to get ideas endorsed or condemned actions taken or rejected. Any state can propose an agenda item. As membership changed decolonization in the 1960s the assembly's agenda's and voting pattern changed.

From early 1960s to mid 1980, the G-77 endeavored to use its two third majority in assembly to achieve a number of third world countries goals, especially the proposed New International Economic Order (NIEO). The pattern of lopsided voting and frequent condemnations of US policies led the US in particular to regard GA, even the UN in general as a, "Hostile Place" by the mid 1980, however, as a result of the eroding consensus within the G-77 previously noted, changes in soviet and US policies that increased the Security Council's role and increased the importance of the International Monitory Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) for dealing debt and development issues there result has been a steady decline in the assembly's role.

3.1.12 Criticisms:

Many criticisms of the UN are really criticisms of the General Assembly. The number of resolutions passed by the GA steadily increased over time from about 119 annually during the first five years, to a peak of 343 per year during 1981-85 when efforts to reduce the number began, in 1990's the number of resolutions averaged 328 per year (Marin and Bosch 1998). At the 57th meeting of GA in 2002, total 301 resolutions were approved, many passed with little concern for implementations.

Since the end of cold-war, the General Assembly has been marginalized as the epicenter of UN activity of the South, which would like more consultation between GA and SC on peace and security issues. Likewise, with the UN secretariat forced by its most powerful members (the biggest contributors i.e. US, Japan etc) to downsize and streamline in the name of efficiency and improved management, the South has worried that its interests are getting short marginalized.

Unquestionably, the GA needs reforms and revitalization, both in its structure and its functioning. The difficulty lies in accomplishing it despite countless special committees' changes with making recommendations. There has been some progress since the mid- 1980's in reducing the agendas and number of resolutions as well as requiring explicit renewal of programs of funds based on continuing

relevance and effectiveness. Nothing can be done, however, without the political will of a majority of states, especially big powers to reform the General Assembly. That can make it a truly democratic body both by spirit and appearance.

3. 2 The Security Council

Under Article 24 of the UN charter, the Security Council has primary responsibility for maintenance of peace and security and the authority to act on behalf of all members of the United Nations. It is also known as the enforcement agency of the UNO. Charter VI deals with peaceful settlement of disputes, providing a wide range of techniques to investigate disputes and help parties achieve restoration without using force. Chapter VII specifies the Security Council's authority to identify aggressors and commit all UN members to take enforcement measures such as economic sanctions or to provide military forces for joint action. This naturally implies that the Security Council has to work continuously so that it can take quick action in the event of threat to international peace or security.

3.2.1 Composition

The Security Council is a much smaller body than the General Assembly. Initial it comprised of eleven members – five permanent (USA, USSR, UK, France, and Nationalist China) and six non-permanent members elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years. The strength of the non-permanent members was raised to ten in, 1965. Thus the present strength is fifteen with five permanent members, with the Peoples Republic of China replacing the Nationalist China. Non permanent members are not eligible for immediate re-election. While electing the non – permanent members of the SC, the GA takes into account the contributions of the members towards the maintenance of international peace and security. Equitable representation to all the regions is taken into consideration. Each member of the Security Council has one vote.

3.2.2 Functions and Powers

The SC alone has been vested with power to take decisions which the member states are obliged to carry out. The main functions of the SC can be conveniently studied as under. According to the Charter, the functions and powers of the Security Council are:
- to maintain international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations;
- to investigate any dispute or situation which mightlead to international friction;
- to recommend methods of adjusting such disputes or the terms of settlement;

- to formulate plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments;
- to determine the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression and to recommend what action should be taken;
- to call on Members to apply economic sanctions and other measures not involving the use of force to prevent or stop aggression;
- to take military action against an aggressor;
- to recommend the admission of new Members;
- to exercise the trusteeship functions of the United Nations in "strategic areas";
- to recommend to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary-General and, together with the Assembly, to elect the Judges of the International Court of Justice.

3.2.3 Committees:

a. **Standing Committees -** There are three committees at present, and each includes representatives of all Security Council member States. It is further divided into the Security Council Committee of Experts, Security Council Committee on Admission of New Members, and Security Council Committee on Council meetings away from Headquarters

b. **Ad Hoc Committees -** They are established as needed, comprise all Council members and meet in closed session.

3.2.4 Main Functions of Security Council

I. Deliberative Functions

Disputes or situations likely to endanger international peace and security may be brought to the attention of SC by any member of UNO, by the GA, or by the Secretary General. Even non-member state can bring the disputes before the council, provided they accept in advance the obligations of peaceful settlement contained in UN charter. It can also exercise the trusteeship functions of the United Nations in "strategic areas". It is responsible for framing plans for the establishment of a system for the control of armaments. The UN Atomic Energy Commission was set up by virtue of the resolution of the General Assembly, but it is responsible to and operates under the supervision of SC.

II. Enforcement Functions

The Security Council has responsibility to maintain international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations. If any kind of

dispute is reported or brought to its attention, it is invested full power to investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction. Once the cause of dispute is established, the SC recommends methods of adjusting such disputes or the terms of settlement. Another major issue it tackles is to formulate plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments. It may be noted that, to determine the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression and to recommend what action should be taken; the SC can urge the members to apply economic sanctions and other measures not involving the use of force to prevent or stop aggression. Finally, if economic embargo and diplomatic efforts are in vein, the SC have power to take military action against an aggressor.

III. Electoral Functions

The SC enjoys extensive electoral powers which pertain to admission of new members constitution of other organs of the UN. The new members to the UN can be admitted by the GA only on the recommendation of the SC. By virtue of this power SC refused to recommend admission of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania etc. as members of UN. The SC also has power to recommend to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary-General and, together with the Assembly, to elect the Judges of the International Court of Justice. Again the recommendation of SC is essential for the suspension of a member of UN by the General Assembly.

3.2.5 Role of the Security Council

Though the UN charter made the SC the most important organ of the UN, it has failed to play the role which was envisaged for it. Since its inception the SC has not only held fewer sessions but the scope of the political issues considered by it has mostly narrowed down. Prof. Palmer and Perkins have rightly observed, "Although the SC was envisioned as the central agency of the UN, it has not been able to play its expected role. The reason is clear, instead of great power unanimity on which the UN was predicted, the post war years have brought major rights and disagreements among the most powerful nations of the world….." (N D Palmer & H C Perkins: International relations, p. 358)

Three factors contributed to the reduction of the importance of Security Council since 1950s.

1. Adoption of Uniting for Peace Resolution in the 1950 which provided that if the SC fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the matter shall go to the GA for its consideration.
2. The development of several regional security alliances outside the UN like NATO and Warsaw Pact, was not only indicative of lack of unity among permanent members of the

SC but also lack of confidence of the members in the efficacy of the SC as an instrument of collective security.

3. The admission of a large number of independent Afro-Asian countries as members of the UN has tilted the balance in favour if GA.

3.3   Conclusion

In recent years there has been a growing feeling among members that the SC must be an effective body as was originally envisaged by the UN charter. For this purpose, it is proposed that the power and composition of the SC should be revised. There are two types of changes required to be done immediately. First structural changes, here a vital restructuring of the SC is required to be done. It must expand the number of members in to the permanent council, from present strength of five states. To represent the changing reality of the world, the SC has to be restructured without any delay. The population of the world has increased manifold since the formation of SC, but its membership remained the same. Secondly, the SC requires functional changes. It should become more democratic in its decision making process and execution of those decisions. Then only the SC can work as an organization to maintain peace and security in the world.

3.4   Questions

1)   What are the functions of the General Assembly?
2)   How has the General Assembly functioned in the unipolar phase?
3)   What are the powers of the security council to deal with the international conflicts?

Suggesral Readings

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Module 2
Unit - 4
Role of U.N.D.P., F.A.O., and W.H.O about Poverty and Health

4.0   Objectives

- To understand the serious phenomenon of poverty
- To understand various social, economic, political and institutional causes of poverty.
- To study the possible measure to be taken to reduce and eradicate the menace of poverty.
- To study the efforts being made at various level and by different international organizations to control and eradicate the poverty.

4.1   Poverty

UNO it striving hard to address the serious threats swallowing before a large chunk of the population. It is estimated that, today more than 80 percent of world's population is having acess to less than 20 percent of world's wealth and the natural resources.

However, rest of the 20 percent resources and wealth is utilized by 80 of the world's population. In India itself, (according to Arjun Dasgupta committee) more than 77 percent people are living below the poverty line. But the UNO as a world body has taken up the call to fight to the problems of poverty and health, effectively with the assistance of two major agencies the WHO and UNDP.

4.1.1   United Nations Development Group

The United Nations Development Group (UNDG) was created by the Secretary General in 1997, to improve the effectiveness of UN development at the country level. The UNDG brings together the operational agencies working on development. The Group is chaired by the Administrator of UNDP. UNDP also provides the Secretariat to the Group.

The UNDG develops policies and procedures that allow member agencies to work together and analyze country issues, plan support strategies, implement support programmes, monitor results and advocate for change. These initiatives increase UN impact in helping countries achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), including poverty reduction.

Over 25 UN agencies are members of the UNDG. The Executive Committee consists of the four "founding members": UNICEF, UNFPA, WFP and UNDP. The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights is an ex-officio member of the Executive Committee.

4.1.2   Resident Coordinator System

The Resident coordinator system co-ordinates with all the organizations of the UN, dealing with operational activities for development in the field. The RC system aims to bring together the different UN agencies to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of operational activities at the country level. Resident Coordinators, who are funded, appointed and managed by UNDP, lead UN country teams in more than 130 countries and are the designated representatives of the Secretary-General for development operations. Working closely with national governments, Resident Coordinators and country teams advocate the interests and mandates of the UN drawing on the support and guidance of the entire UN family.

4.1.3   United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), is the United Nations' global development network. It advocates for change and connects countries to knowledge, experience and resources to help people build a better life. The UNDP was founded in 1966 to combine the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the United Nations Special Fund. In 1971, the two organizations were fully combined into the UNDP. In 2008, UNDP's entire budget

was approximately $5 billion. UNDP operates in 166 countries, working with nations on their own solutions to global and national development challenges. As they develop local capacity, they draw on the people of UNDP and its wide range of partners.

UNDP is an executive board within the United Nations General Assembly. The UNDP Administrator is the third highest ranking member of the United Nations after the United Nations Secretary-General and Deputy Secretary-General.

Headquartered in New York City, the UNDP is funded entirely by voluntary contributions from member nations. The organization has country offices in 166 countries, where it works with local governments to meet development challenges and develop local capacity. Additionally, the UNDP works internationally to help countries achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

UNDP provides expert advice, training, and grant support to developing countries, with increasing emphasis on assistance to the least developed countries. To accomplish the MDGs and encourage global development, UNDP focuses on poverty reduction, HIV/AIDS, democratic governance, energy and environment, social development, and crisis prevention and recovery. UNDP also encourages the protection of human rights and the empowerment of women in all of its programs.

Furthermore, UNDP publishes an annual Human Development Report to measure and analyze developmental progress. In addition to a global Report, UNDP publishes regional, national, and local Human Development Reports.

4.1.4   Functions

UNDP's offices and staff are on the ground in 166 countries, working with governments and local communities to help them find solutions to global and national development challenges.

UNDP links and coordinates global and national efforts to achieve the goals and national development priorities laid out by host countries. UNDP focuses primarily on five developmental challenges:

4.1.5   Democratic governance

UNDP supports national democratic transitions by providing policy advice and technical support, improving institutional and individual capacity within countries, educating populations about and advocating for democratic reforms, promoting negotiation and dialogue, and sharing successful experiences from other countries and locations. UNDP also supports existing democratic institutions by increasing dialogue, enhancing national debate, and facilitating consensus on national governance programs. This field of activity included UNDP's support of the Elections Reform Support Group which supports the election activities of the Palestinian National Authority.

4.1.6   Poverty reduction

UNDP helps countries develop strategies to combat poverty by expanding access to economic opportunities and resources, linking poverty programs with countries' larger goals and policies, and ensuring a greater voice for the poor. UNDP also works at the macro level to reform trade, encourage debt relief and foreign investment, and ensure the poorest of the poor benefit from globalization.

On the ground, UNDP sponsors developmental pilot projects, promotes the role of women in development, and coordinates efforts between governments, NGOs, and outside donors. In this way, UNDP works with local leaders and governments to provide opportunities for impoverished people to create businesses and improve their economic condition.

The UNDP International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG) in Brasilia, Brazil expands the capacities of developing countries to design, implement and evaluate socially inclusive development projects. IPC-IG is a global forum for South-South policy dialogue and learning, having worked with more than 7,000 officials from more than 50 countries.

4.1.7   Crisis prevention and recovery

UNDP works to reduce the risk of armed conflicts or disasters, and promote early recovery after crises have occurred. UNDP works through its country offices to support local government in needs assessment, capacity development, coordinated planning, and policy and standard setting.

Examples of UNDP risk reduction programs include efforts to control small arms proliferation, strategies to reduce the impact of natural disasters, and programs to encourage use of diplomacy and prevent violence.

Recovery programs include disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants, demining efforts, programs to reintegrate displaced persons, restoration of basic services, and transitional justice systems for countries recovering from warfare.

4.1.8   Environment and Energy

As the poor are disproportionately affected by environmental degradation and lack of access to clean, affordable water, sanitation and energy services, UNDP seeks to address environmental issues in order to improve developing countries' abilities to develop sustainably, increase human development and reduce poverty. UNDP works with countries to strengthen their capacity to address global environmental issues by providing innovative policy advice and linking partners through environmentally

sensitive development projects that help poor people build
sustainable livelihoods.

UNDP's environmental strategy focuses on effective
water governance including access to water supply and sanitation,
access to sustainable energy services, Sustainable land
management to combat desertification and land degradation,
conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity, and policies to
control emissions of harmful pollutants and ozone-depleting
substances.

HIV/AIDS HIV/AIDS is a big issue in today's society and
UNDP works to help countries prevent further spreading and reduce
its impact.

4.1.9   The Millennium Development Goals

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) established
a unifying set of developmental objectives for the global community.
Bringing together United Nations agencies, governments and civil
society around eight key development issues, the MDGs foster
collaborative action to reduce poverty, improve health and address
educational and environmental concerns around the world's most
pressing development problems.   The MDGs are specifically
designed to address the needs of the world's poorest citizens and the
world's most marginalized populations.

MDGs will not be achieved however if their policies,
programmes, monitoring and evaluation do not include persons with
disabilities. While persons with disabilities make up ten per cent of the
world's population, disability is associated with twenty per cent of
global poverty according to the World Bank's findings.   Currently,
there are no references to persons with disabilities either in the MDGs
themselves or in the accompanying body of guidelines and policies,
programmes and conferences that are part of the on-going MDG
efforts.   In addition, the new revisions of the MDGs currently in
process do not include persons with disabilities.

The international community needs urgently to act to
mainstream disability in the MDG processes. This requires policy
makers and technical experts specifically tasked with the
programming, monitoring and evaluation of current MDG
programmes to begin to consider disability so that the next phase of
the implementation of the MDGs will include disability as an important
component of its core mission.

4.1.10   Human Development Report

Since 1990, the UNDP has annually published the Human
Development Report, based on the Human Development Index.
UNDP plays a significant co-ordination role for the UN's activities in
the field of development. This is mainly executed through its
leadership of the UN Development Group and through the Resident

coordinator System.

4.1.11 Criticisms

The UNDP has been criticized by members of its staff and the Government of the USA for irregularities in its finances in North Korea. Artjon Shkurtaj claimed that he had found forged US dollars in the programmes safe while the staffs were paid in Euros. The UNDP denied any wrongdoing, and keeping improper accounts.

4.1.12 Conclusion

The above discussion indicates that, the UNO as a world body is trying its level best to find alternatives to the problems of development and issues related to it. Poverty eradication, improvement of the health facilities, providing education are some of the areas where it is striving hard to achieve its MDGs. UNDP also aims at protection and promotion of human rights a range of activities which it undertakes. However, there are certain financial, political and related constraints which are major impediments in the way to realize MDGs and achieve comprehensive development of human kind.

4.2   Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO)

The FAO was founded at a conference held in Quebec on 16th October, 1945. It was founded with a view to find out means for developing and maintaining an adequate food supply. It is done by encouraging use of modern tools and methods, conserving existing food supplies, searching new sources etc.

4.2.2   Functions

The FAO like other agencies also operates through three organs viz.,

a. The Conference
The conference consists of representatives of the member states. Each member enjoys only one vote. It decides upon the policies of the organization.

b. The Council
Council consists of 49 members elected by the conference. It discharges all the functions of the conference during the intervening period between its sessions.

c. The Secretariat
It is headed by the director General chosen by the?

4.3   World Health Organisation - Health

4.3.1   Introduction

When diplomats met in San Francisco to form the United Nations in 1945, one of the things they discussed was setting up a global health organization. WHO's Constitution came into force on 7 April 1948 – a date we now celebrate every year as World Health Day.

Delegates from 53 of WHO's 55 original member states came to the first World Health Assembly in 7th April, 1948. Top priorities of WHO are: Malaria, women's and children's health, tuberculosis, venereal disease, nutrition and environmental sanitation – many of which we are still working on today. WHO's work has since grown to also cover health problems that were not even known in 1948, including relatively new diseases such as HIV/AIDS.

4.3.2   Objectives

The main objectives of the WHO are attainment by all people of the highest possible level of health. This goal is to be achieves through the combined efforts of the government and people, and involves education concerning to prevailing health problems; proper food supply and nutrition; safe drinking water and sanitation; maternal and child welfare. It also encourages steps towards family planning, immunization against major infectious diseases. Prevention and control are the main steps the WHO takes to ensure a sound health to everyone in the world.

4.3.3   Structure

WHO is the world's largest body to look after the health and health related issues. It is functioning with over 8000 public health experts including doctors, epidemiologists, scientists, managers, administrators and other professionals from all over the world who work for WHO in 147 country offices, six regional offices and at the headquarters in Geneva. They are as following:
a. Copenhagen for European region (HQ)
b. Washington for region of the Americas
c. New Delhi for South-East Asia region
d.   Brazzaville for African region
e. Manila for Western Pacific region
f. Cairo for Eastern Mediterranean region

The World Health Organization (WHO) is the directing and coordinating authority on international health within the United Nations' system. WHO experts produce health guidelines and standards, and help countries to address public health issues. WHO also supports and promotes health research. Through WHO, governments can jointly tackle global health problems and improve

people's well-being. 193 countries and two associate members are WHO's membership. They meet every year at the World Health Assembly in Geneva to set policy for the Organization, approve the Organization's budget, and every five years, to appoint the Director-General. Their work is supported by the 34-member Executive Board, which is elected by the Health Assembly. Six regional committees focus on health matters of a regional nature.

4.3.4   Functions of WHO

The WHO performs following roles in order to keep its promises of making the world free from all kinds of health and related problems:

i. It tries to prevent the spread of disease by providing assistance to the states to check the disease at the source, to prevent it from spreading to other countries.

ii. The WHO tries to cure the disease once it has spread, by imparting scientific knowledge about the disease. It provides necessary training to state personnel, sponsors seminars and conferences fir the exchange of techniques and experience.

iii. It is well known that it was mainly due to the campaign by the WHO against malaria, polio and small pox these disease has been checked.

iv. The WHO held the member states to improve the health administration by imparting education regarding health through training projects to deal with problems like environmental hygiene, check, control and eradication of disease etc.

v. WHO launched a special programme, in collaboration with United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank, of research and training in tropical diseases like malaria, leprosy, schstosomiasis.

vi. It also launched a special programme to prevent and control AIDS through public information and education about the modes of its transmission.

4.3.5   Conclusion

Though the paucity of funds has always been a major constraint for the WHO's activities but nevertheless, it has tremendously important achievements to its credit. It cannot be dined that the WHO has succeeded in securing international co-operation for solving problems when national actions proved ineffective. Thus under the auspices of UNO, the WHO is serving the cause of humanity.

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Module 3
Unit - 5
Globalization, Liberalization & Privatization

Contents

5.0   Objectives

This unit attempts to explain the concepts of Globalization, Privatization and Liberalization. After going through the unit you should be able to :

Trace the origin of the process of Globalization, Liberalization and Privatization .

Critically assess the impact of the processes of Globalization, Liberalization and Privatization

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5.1   Introduction

One of the most hotly debated topics in international economics, over past few years is the growing integration of economies. In the last 25 years the rapid growth in countries like India, China and other developing nations have contributed in the reduction of poverty. But the process of Globalization, Liberalization and Privatization has also generated opposition over concerns that it has increased the gap between the rich and the poor, within and

between the countries, degraded environment. There is no need to study the impact of these processes on developing countries as they are at the receiving end.

5.2   Globalization

5.2.1   Meaning and Definitions

Globalization refers to a process by which regional economies, societies and cultures have become integrated. In economic sense, Globalization can be defined as a process of increasing openness, growing economic-interdependence and economic integration between countries in the world economy. The main stream case for openness rests on the belief that free trade enhances welfare. It is around that free trade results in a more efficient international division of labour as nations are forced to specialize in the production of goods and services in which they have comparative advantage. Thus significant gains could be achieved by removing trade restrictions.

Tom J. Palmer defines Globalization as "the elimination of state-enforced restrictions on exchanges across borders and the increasingly integrated and complete global system of production and exchange that has emerged as a result."

Guy Brainbant says, process of globalization not only includes opening up of world trade, development of advanced means of communications, internationalization of financial markets, growing importance of Multi-National Corporation (MNCs), population organizations, increased mobility of persons, goods, capital data and ideas but also infections, diseases and pollution. The term globalization refers to the integration of economies of the world through uninhibited trade and financial blows, as also through mutual exchange of technology and knowledge.

In other words, Globalization means integrating the domestic economy with world economy. It is a process which draws countries out of their insulation and makes them join rest of the world in its march towards a new world economic order. It involves increasing interaction among national economic system, more integrated financial markets, economies of trade, higher factor mobility, free flow of technology and spread of knowledge throughout the world.

Globalization is the result of systemic trends manifesting the market economy's grow-or-die dynamic. These trends have not been countered effectively by trade-union action or other political activities, the result has been globalization. Globalization is a multi-faceted and irreversible phenomenon. Economic globalization means

opening up the economic system of a nation to the World- to all other countries and to the companies in other countries for all types of trade and commerce. It is manifested through opening and deregulation of commodity, capital and labour markets. Political globalization as resulted in the emergence of transnational elite and the phasing out of the all powerful nation state. Cultural globalization can be seen through worldwide homogenization of culture.

5.2.2 Origins of Globalization

Industrialization in Europe provided fertile ground for globalization. Cheap production of household items using economies of scale and rapid population growth created sustained supply and demand for commodities. Globalization in this period was shaped by imperialism in 19th Century. European conquest of Afro-Asian nations provided ready consumers for European exports. Meanwhile the conquest of new parts of globe, notably sub-Saharan Africa, by Europeans yielded valuable natural resources such as rubber, diamond and coal. The first phase of modern globalization came to an end with the outbreak of World War I in 1914. In fact, some scholars criticized the financial forces of globalization as a factor in creating World War I. In the middle decades of the twentieth century globalization was largely driven by the global expansion of MNCs based in the western countries.

Globalization, since World War II, is largely the result of planning by politicians to break down borders and interdependence thereby decreasing the chance of future war. In July 1944, representatives of forty four nations met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to create a new international monetary order. A consensus emerged, which underscored that, the previous monetary systems which had primarily relied on market forces had proved inadequate. The responsibility of managing the international monetary system, would be handled by governments acting together. United States of America, as the dominant economy and military power, in this phase, assumed the primary responsibility for establishing a post war economic order. The United States and United Kingdom drew up a plan for new system of international monetary management. The plan was approved at Bretton Woods and became an international monetary order, which provided a basis for growing international trade, economic growth and political harmony among the developed market economies. On August 15, 1971, President Nixon announced to the world the end of the Bretton Woods Systems, and that the rules and procedures would no longer be followed by United States.

The global economic system before 1980 was a closed system to a large extent Barriers were created to protect the domestic economy. The volume of global trade was very limited.

The successive oil crisis, the growing instability in the market. But in the nineties economies, fall in the growth rates of the industrialized countries, have contributed to the increasing trend towards, globalization. Growth of MNCs being a significant development, is both cause and consequence of globalization. The emergence of World markets, and an international economic regime, provided the favourable environment for the growth of multinational corporations. Initially such companies were predominantly US-based and sometimes dominated a whole sector of the global economy. For example, General Motors, IBM, Exxon Corporation etc.

The emergence of western Europe, particularly Germany and Japan as major economic powers has to some extent altered the distribution of economic power.
The communist system collapsed one by one and third world nations started opening up their economies, adopting liberal policies.

5.2.3 Impact of Globalization

✴ The technological advances have brought about revolution in communications and transportation. The economic process have become internationalized in a number of key spheres, like communications, production, trade, finance movement of materials and goods between nations has provided access to a range of foreign products for consumers and companies. Freedom of exchange of goods and capital has paved the way for a global common market.

✴ Globalization has resulted in the shifting of industries from rich countries to the developing countries of the Third World where cheap labour is available. Technology has replaced labour as a major factor of production resulting into unemployment and under-employment. In the age of globalization, states intervention to handle unfavorable situations has become difficult commitment to free market economy, compels governments to reduce cost of public welfare, marginalization of large sections of society is inevitable under such circumstances, social and political consequences of globalization, discussed above, are likely to be far more greater within the countries of the Third World than developed nations. For example, the reduction of subsidies by Indian Government has adversely affected farmers, and suicides by farmers has become nationwide phenomenon.

✴ Another consequence of globalization is fragmentation of societies, rise of movements of identities-ethnic, nationalist and religious. Migration of the labour to the industrialized countries has strengthen social conflicts. Recent attacks, for example, in Australia on Indian immigrants has been considered as racial attacks. Free trade has not been automatically, promoted equally the interest of all

the states. Tension between US and European countries over questions of subsidies to agricultural sector has become quite evident.

✦ Globalization has been criticized by some, as it facilitates the creation of the world government which regulates the relationship among the governments. US has been seen as the most powerful player behind the promotion of globalization, given the fact that it has a strong and wealthy economy. However, economic globalization should not equated with the emergence of a global community as a nation, because states continue to assert their national interests over global interests, which tends to produce global insecurity.

✦ Globalization is also blamed for lowering the wages of less-skilled workers by shifting manufacturing units to lower-wage countries. As far as countries are concerned, Globalization arguably benefits rich countries at the expenses of poor countries, further increasing the gap between the rich countries of the North and the poor South. On the other hand there are protagonists of globalization, who argue that, by spreading industrialization to poor countries, disparities between rich and poor countries have been reduced.

Check your Progress :

1) What is globalization ?
2) Trace the origin of globalization.
3) Describe consequences of globalization.

5.3   Liberalization

5.3.1. Meaning of the term

The term liberalization is used, very often to refer to economic liberalization, especially trade liberalization. Generally speaking liberalization refers to relaxation of governmental controls over business. This ensures that business have more freedom to take decisions without much intervention from government, for example, upto 1990s in India business was controlled by the government to extent that it has been referred as "Licence Raj". However, crash in the forex reserve in 1990, compelled the Indian government to sell its Reserve bank gold deposits to raise the forex reserve. On account of which then Prime Minister, Narsimha Rao and Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh decided to relax barriers to business and trade, especially, international trade. Thus after 1990s Indian Government has liberalised its economy.

5.3.2   Historical Background

Liberalization can be traced back to the adherent of industrial revolution. Scientific inventions in Europe intensified production. To sell the excess products, a need for new market places was felt. Consequently, European Companies explored markets for their goods in Asian and African countries, which had ended with the colonization of these countries by European powers. In the beginning of 20th Century, the major economies of the world were following the liberal principles, which some scholars blame for advent of World War I.

After World War II, there has been a expansion in international trade. In 1960 very few countries in the world had open trade policies. Most countries had various types of trade restrictions such as taxes on imports and quotas that restricted import of certain goods. Governments exercised monopoly on exports and other trade policies. By 2000 most of the countries in the World had removed many of these restrictions and were now open to international trade. This is a remarkable transformation and highlights the importance of trade liberalization in the global economy.

Much of the credit is usually given to the 60 years of trade negotiations that has resulted in the ever lower trade barriers under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Since World War II, manufacturing tariffs in industrialized countries have fallen from 40 percent to 4 percent and world trade has increased manifold. The number of GATT members expanded from 23 to 148 and the trade round became the international forum in which member governments agreed on rules for conduct of international trade.

5.3.2.   Critical Assessment

Liberalization enhances welfare, has been the central belief. It is argued that liberalization results in a more efficient international division of labour as nations are forced to specialize in the production of goods and services in which they have a comparative advantage. Thus, significant gains could be achieved by removing trade restrictions. The main beneficiaries of free trade are consumers who do not only pay lower prices for goods but also have more choice.

However, economists also admit that it is possible that some people may suffer as a result of trade liberalization. It could prove ruinous to some firms that are not able to withstand import competition. Workers belonging to these firms lose jobs. Thus, liberalization is not beneficial to everyone, for example, the US President at Seattle, in the WTO meeting, voiced fear of loss of jobs by American labourers to cheap labour from the developing world. Thus,

the benefits of increased trade do not percolate equally to all sections of the society, especially in the developing world.

Liberalization has proceeded further from trade barriers in manufacturing goods to trade in services, intellectual property, and agricultural subsidies, especially after World Trade Organization (WTO), became operational in 1995. Agricultural subsidies provided to their farmers by United States, European Countries and Japan are trade-distorting, encouraging supported farmers to produce more, and this in turn lowers prices and hurts farmers in poor countries. Poor countries want agricultural liberalization in rich countries, yet there has been little progress, which confirms unfairness in trade negotiations.

Trade in services are equally contentious. Non-government organizations have been advocating "social clauses" in trade liberalization agreements relating to child labour, human rights, the environment, wages and working conditions. They demands to impose trade sanctions, on those countries that do not meet international standards. Complications of liberalization at multi lateral level has paved the way for bilateral and regional level agreements outside the WTO framework. It is not clear, whether these agreements assist global trade liberalization or hinder the process. Moreover liberalization can't be seen in isolation. It is only part of a globalization movement.

Check your Progress

1) What is liberalization ?
2) Describe its historical background.
3) Critically assess the process of liberalization.

5.4   Privatization

5.4.1 Meaning - It means selling off public sector enterprises to private industries.

Privatization broadly refers to loosening governmental control over public operations. The phenomenon gained prominence in the 1980s and 1990s when governments in many countries reduced their stake in state-owned industries such as steel, aerospace, railways, oil, postal services, telecommunications, gas, electricity etc. Two decades later, the phenomenon diversified into many variants, such as outsourcing, subcontracting, public private partnerships; extended well beyond the industries listed above.

5.4.2 Trend towards privatization - The acceptance of policy of globalization and liberalization naturally leads to privatisation.

Though the phenomenon of privatization is not new, but

gained momentum only in 1980s under the leaderships of Margaret Thatcher in UK and Ronald Reagan in the USA. British Rail privatized in 1993. A major privatization move at present is that of Japan Post, involves Japanese Post service and the largest bank of the world. Shares of Maruti Udyog Limited were sold in the open market by the Indian government. Various sectors which were exclusively within the domain of government has been opened to private players. Indian government established a separate department of disinvestment to promote privatization.

5.4.3 Factors of Privatization

Trend towards privatization has been due to several factors. Public debt and borrowing requirements in many industrialized nations is one of them. Privatization was regarded as a means to cut debts by selling off state-owned assets and by transferring the responsibility for investment to private entities. Another factor was upcoming paradigm of neoliberalism, which demanded that states relinquish their role in economic affairs so as to restore incentives for economic growth and efficiency. The underlying rationale was that the private sector is more efficient in providing these goods because of the disciplining effects of competition which makes possible the availability of goods at cheaper prices. Moreover, process of economic liberalization put states in direct competition to each other, which needed furthering of the process of privatization.

5.4.4 Forms of privatization

The term privatization can refer to sale or auctioning of state property. However the sale of assets raises problems for public policy if no real contestation from private entrepreneurs is forthcoming. For example, if a privatized entity retains its monopoly position can restrict output, raise prices or extract excessive rents. Network utilities such as railways, water gas and electricity are particularly vulnerable to such scenarios, because the inherent natural monopoly means that consumers have no choice of network.

In another sense, privatization may refer to the allocation of certain functions to the private entities, which were exclusively at the disposal of public domain. For example, a state may decide to provide public service such as education or health care, but may choose to leave the financing, construction or operation of schools or hospitals to the private sector, which then rents the finished projects back to the government. The public-private partnerships which has emerged in many forms, responsibilities, risks and benefits are shared between the public and private sector.

5.4.5 Pros and Cons of Privatization

Proponents of privatization believe that market factors can more efficiently deliver many goods or services than governments due to the free market competition. It is argued that governments have few incentives to ensure that the enterprises they own are well run. This is because of lack of comparison in state monopolies. A private owner, often specializing and gaining great knowledge about a certain industrial sector can evaluate and then reward or punish the management. It has been argued that private companies are likely to work more efficiently, as they have greater incentive to produce more goods and services. Private companies are specialized in their specific functions. Corruption said to be a major problem in state owned companies. Private company ensures corruption free environment in the company. Private companies are accountable to their consumers, hence improvement in production becomes necessary. Private companies are free of political influences.

Opponents of privatization dispute the claims made by advocates of privatization. They believe that government companies which ran inefficiently are likely to be criticized by public and the government may be voted out. They further believe that certain parts of the social terrain should remain closed for private players to protect them from ruthlessness of the market. For example, basic education, basic health care etc. Market interactions are guided by self-interest and profit maximization whereas government's mission is to provide affordability and quality of service to society. Their arguments against privatization is based on the fact that governments are elected by the people and are accountable to the people through legislature. They are not likely to work against the voters and hence state owned companies will work for the benefit of the society.

Privatization is likely to serve the needs of those who are most willing to pay rather than the needs of the majority of citizens that public sector organizations would be obliged to satisfy. Furthermore, the anticipated efficiency gains, critics argue, have failed to materialize, particularly in sectors with a natural monopoly. Finally, many of the estate owned companies have been sold in throw away prices to private companies. For example, sale of Centaur Hotel in Mumbai has been controversial. The effects of privatization are to be assessed in future as it is an ongoing process and will continue for some more years.

Check your Progress

1) What is privatization ?
2) Describe its various positive and negative outcomes.

5.5   Let us sum up :

The process of liberalization, privatization and globalization are together called as LPG. LPG policies in many third worlds countries have proved to be beneficial for the upper class people. The inequalities between rich and poor has widened. It has promoted the spread and strengthening of multinational corporations (MNCs) in many third world countries. The processes of LPG has been facilitated by the international institutions created at Brettonwoods, which include World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization. The role and functions of which we are going to discuss in the next unit.

5.6   Glossary

Multinational Corporations : Companies having subsidiary operations in several countries across the globe.

Human Rights : Rights thought to be belong to all people simply because they are human   beings.

5.7   Suggested Readings

Joan Edelman Spero, 1997 : ' The Politics of International Economic Relations' George A llen and Unwin.

Chernulum F, International Economies, Tata Mcgraw Hill 1988

Bhagwati, Jagdish 2002, "The Wind of Hundred Days : Cambridge, MA : MIT Press.

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Module 3
Unit- 6
The World Bank, IMF And WTO

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6.0   Objectives

This unit attempts to explain the establishment and role of the institutions that have come into existence as a part of the process of Globalisation.

By the end of this unit you should be able to describe role and functions of the

- International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- World Bank (WB)
- World Trade Organisation (WTO)

6.1   Introduction

After World War II, international trade was governed by the Bretton Woods system. The great depression of the 1930s and the collapse of international monetary system, due to change in the economic environment, the need for stabilising the system became

more apparent. In the backdrop of economic nationalism, competitive exchange rate, formation of competing monetary blocs, and absence of international cooperation; in 1944, representatives of forty four nations met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to create a new international monetary order. The conference of Bretton Woods, established a new economic order, based on international economic cooperation. According to new system, the responsibility of managing international monetary system would be assumed by the governments acting together.

The new economic order was designed to prevent economic nationalism, to encourage free trade and to increase international interaction. The system based on liberal economic principles was assumed to promote lasting peace. The United States and the United Kingdom, as major powers, drew up a plan for new economic system. The Anglo- American plan became the first collective international monetary order, approved at Bretton Woods. The new system provided a basis for growing international trade and political cooperation among the developed nations.

The conference at Bretton Woods, created the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. The dream of creating International Trade Organisation realised only in the year 1995, with the establishment of World Trade Organisation.

6.2 The System Of Bretton Woods

Bretton Woods system provided fixed exchange rate system. All countries agreed to establish the parity of their currencies in terms of gold or U.S. dollar. The rules encouraged an open system of interconvertibility of the member countries' currencies. The system also provided for free trade among the countries. The IMF became the enforcing authority of the rules.

The World Bank was created to facilitate post-war reconstruction of Europe. The lending and the credit facilities of these institutions were inadequate for the huge deficits of European nations. To fill this gap United States stepped in and this led to the establishment of the international monetary system which replaced gold standard to the dollar standard. Dollar became the world's currency and United States became the world's central banker. The United States has been and still is the dominant power of the Bretton Woods system.

6.3 International Monetary Fund

The IMF was officially established on December 27, 1945, when the first twenty-nine countries signed its Articles of Agreement. It commenced its financial operations on march, 1, 1947. The IMF is a

specialised agency within the United Nations system. The IMF had 185 member countries in 2007.

6.3.1 Objectives of IMF

The main goal of the IMF is to promote a healthy world economy. The objectives of the IMF are as follows:

- To promote international monetary cooperation.
- To facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade.
- To promote exchange-rate stability.
- To assist in the establishment of a multilateral system of payments.
- To foster economic growth and high levels of employment.
- To provide temporary financial assistance to countries experiencing balance-of-payments   crisis.
- The IMF also strives to reduce poverty in countries around the world.

6.3.2 Structure of IMF

Board of Governors :- The IMF has 185 members. The Board of Governors consists of all these members. The IMF, consists of the Board of governors, an Executive Board, a Managing Director and the staff. The highest authority is the Board of Governors, which consists of one Governor (usually minister of finance or head of the central bank) of each member country. The Board of Governors meets only on the occasion of annual meetings.

Executive Board :- To manage day-to-day work of IMF, Executive Board has been formed consisting of 24 Executive Directors. Executive Boards meetings are held at least three times a week to supervise the implementation of the IMF's policies. The member countries with the highest quota send one Executive Director to the Board. The remaining Directors are elected by the rest of the countries. Being the world's largest economy United States, contributes most to the IMF, providing about 18 percent of total quotas and thus USA have most of the votes. In fact, the Board of Governors delegates, most of its powers to the Executive Board. The Executive Board is chaired by the managing Director, who is assisted by 3 deputy Directors.

Quota :- The status of each member country in the IMF depends on its economic condition in relation with other countries. Every country gets quota, means the maximum amount of aid a member country can get from the IMF. The country has to pay the same amount as its subscription. In April 2009, India has a quota of

1.91% of total quotas of IMF.

6.3.3 Role and Functions of IMF

IMF has three main functions - (1) Regulatory (2) Financial (3) Consultative

Finance :- The largest source of money at the IMF's disposal comes from quota subscription, amount of money deposited by member countries. IMF uses this money to grant loans to member countries with financial difficulties. Each member nation can immediately withdraw 25% of its quota in case of payment problems and it may request more, if this sum is not sufficient. The debts have to be paid back as soon as possible. Moreover, the country must demonstrate how the payment difficulties will be solved. The country with higher contribution can borrow higher sum of money and also has more voting rights. In fact, the process of lending money by IMF involves, payment by the country in its national currency or gold for an exchange of foreign currency. Within three to five years the country has to pay back its debts. Moreover, most of the countries want only the major convertible currencies, viz. U.S. dollar, the Japanese yen, the deutsche mark, the pound sterling, and the French franc.

The IMF acts as an umpire in the international market and takes action to ensue the stability of the world's financial system. Initially, IMF supervised fixed exchange-rate system initiated in Bretton woods. After 1973, the collapse of fixed exchange-rate system, IMF became more involved with member countries' economic policies by providing advice. The IMF strives to prevent economic crises by encouraging countries to adopt what directors perceive to be appropriate economic policies. IMF offers policy advice once a year to each of its members. The fund conducts an in depth analysis of each member country's economic state of affairs. Technical assistance & training is provided to member countries to implement effective policies. Countries under the financial distress are required to develop a policy program supported by IMF financing and continued financial support is conditional on the effective implementation of the programme. In fact, IMF combines three major functions Regulatory, Financial and Consultative.

6.3.4 Critical Assessment of IMF

Role and practices of IMF are not free from criticism, especially concerning the conditionality of financial support, which is provided only if recipient country implements IMF- approved economic reforms. Indeed some critics argue that, the fixed exchange rate system has collapsed, so why this institution remains in existence. IMF's policies of "structural adjustment" has been criticized by the people of the recipient countries. Countries facing a crisis often have little alternative but to accept the terms stipulated by the IMF in order to receive assistance.

IMF policies are implemented under the principle of "one-size-fits-all". The principles behind IMF policies are based on "Washington Consensus". Washington Consensus as the set of economic policies has been labeled as a " neo liberal manifesto". The programme involves devaluation of exchange rate, liberalization of markets where prices are regulated, privatization of public sector enterprises, contraction of public sector expenditure and implementation of restrictive monetary policy. Thus IMF financial support to a government programme concurrently ensures obedient behavior.

6.4   World Bank

IMF works for economic stability whereas the World Bank for development and poverty reduction. These are sister organisations created at the Bretton Woods conference in 1944.

The World Bank was created as counterpart to the International Monetary Fund. Located side-by-side in Washington, D.C., the World Bank was designed to provide development assistance to countries in need, The World Bank has 184 member countries which make up the client base of the organization.

6.4.1   Objectives of World Bank

Reconstruction of war-torn Europe was the central focus of the World Bank's early work. But over the years it has primarily focused on welfare of the developing countries.

World Bank's goals are to improve living standards and to eliminate the worst forms of poverty. It supports the restructuring process of economies and provides capital for productive investments. It encourages foreign direct investment(FDI) by making guarantees or accepting partnership with investors. The World Bank aims to keep payments in developing countries balanced and fosters international trade. It also offers financial services, analytical, advisory and capacity building, to its member countries.

6.4.2. Structure of the organization.

The World Bank is an independent organization of United Nations. Each country that wants to join it, has to be a member of the IMF. The highest authority of the World Bank is the Board of Governors on which each member country is represented by one Governor. Board exercises all power vested in the Bank. The Governors of the Bank have delegated their powers to a Board of Executive Directors, which performs its duties on full time basis. The President of the bank leads the Board of Executive Directors. Traditionally the US President appoints a US citizen as the President of the bank for a five year term.

The confirmation of the appointment is done by Executive Board. Even the Executive Board is dominated by US and other wealthier countries.

6.4.3. Role and Functions

The World Bank has acquired five main affiliates, which now operate under the banner of the World Bank Group. It consists of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD); the International Development Association; the International Finance Corporation (IFC); the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA); and The International CENTRE for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID).

The IBRD focuses on middle income and creditworthy developing countries, while the IDA targets poverty reduction in the poorest countries in the world economy. IDA provides interest-free loans and some grants for programmes aimed at enabling poor countries to meet the United Nations "MillenniumDevelopment Goals (MDGs)".

The IBRD, whose capital is subscribed by its member countries, finances its lending operations primarily from its own borrowings in the world capital markets. The Bank's loans have a grace period of five years and are repayable over twenty years or less. The Bank assesses the repayment prospects of its loans, and for this purpose, takes into account the availability of natural resources, the country's past debt record etc. The Bank's lending is for specific projects which are economically and technically sound. Its General policy is to lend for projects which are designed to contribute directly to economic productivity. Normally Bank does not finance projects of primarily social character such as housing, education and health. Most of bank's loans have been provided for basic utilities, such as power and transport. The bank indirectly encourages promotion of local private enterprise.

Bank has also, in recent years paid attention to Energy, Gas and Oil development. In 1980s the bank started a programme of structural adjustment lending. This programme demands specific policy changes and institutional reforms in less developed countries. The programmes of the bank comprised financial measures, combined with policy advice, aimed at restoring credit-worthiness and growth.

Currently, the World Bank concentrates on the development of the backward nations of Africa, devastated by war or internal conflict. It is also promoting environmental protection programmes.

6.4.4 Changing Character

Since World Bank's inception, till the late 1960s, it was largely committed to project lending, such as hydroelectric energy or railroad transport. Robert McNamara, in 1968 became President and placed poverty alleviation and the development process at the top of its agenda. He shifted the World Bank's mission toward country programming and a region-by-region deployment of project work that was not confined only to an specific sector. Massive allocation of financial support for development research began in his tenure.

By 1973, loans that would enable the developing countries to undertake structural adjustment programmes geared toward policy reform and export promotion. However, coinciding of Structural Adjustment Loans and the 1973 oil price shocks delayed their implementation till 1980s. The advent of 1982 debt crisis, paved the way for World Bank to embrace a new wave of neo-classical economic orthodoxy and to promote the virtues of liberalisation.

In 1989 a new plan for developing-country debt restructuring signaled another shift in the working of World Bank. The World Bank also expanded its role and included, new issues like environmental protection, women and development, private sector reform, and deeper involvement in social service delivery.

World Bank nowadays faces several conflicting challenge- These include the general decline in resources available for official development assistance, a rapidly expanding development agenda, and increasing competition from private lenders and other bilateral and non-governmental aid agencies. The World Bank has also been criticised by various civil society organisations, who are demanding transparency, accountability and self evaluation. Many of these challenges are due to changes that have occurred in the international political economy since the World Bank's inception.

The World Trade Organisation (WTO) was formed on January 1, 1995, replacing multilateral trading order under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). As of July, 2008, WTO had 153 members. The WTO, oversees trade among member nations and acts as a forum for governments to negotiate trade agreements and settle trade disputes. WTO aims at increasing world trade by lowering barriers to the international sale of goods and services.

WTO - World Trade Organization

6.5.1 GATT and WTO - The WTO was established in 1995. It replaced the General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT). which

was formulated in 1945 GATT was not an organization. It was an agreement.

The Brettonwoods Conference of 1944, proposed the creation of an international trade organisation to complement the IMF and World Bank to stabilise the postwar world economy and promote trade. The member states of the United Nations (UN) agreed to the creation of the International Trade Organisation (ITO) at Havana conference in 1948. However U.S. senate rejected the implementing agreement and organisation failed to materialise. The American proposal for a <u>general agreement on tariffs and trade</u> was agreed upon and many nations signed. Thus General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), emerged without any formal organisation. Under this system goods from all countries were to be treated on the same level as that of the most favoured nation (MFN) and allotted national treatment to both domestic and imported goods once they had entered the market. Certain exceptions to the nondiscrimination principle were allowed especially the arrangements which expanded regional trade. Tariff levels were agreed through an intergovernmental negotiating forum, but the system did not provide for any enforcement mechanism or dispute settlement procedure. GATT dealt almost entirely in trade in goods. Services and intellectual property were later addressed under separate agreements- the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and the Agreement on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS)- that were also incorporated into WTO. GATT also contained provisions against unfair competitive practices, such as dumping and subsidies, that are also part of WTO fair-trade rules. Eight rounds of multilayer trade negotiations were completed under GATT. The WTO was created at the conclusion of the eighth round, known as the Uruguay Round.

6.5.2 Structure

The WTO is run by its members. The highest authority of the WTO is Ministerial Conference which meets at least once every two years and is composed of representatives (usually Trade Ministers) from all member states. However, the day-to-day work of the WTO is conducted by General Council, which consists of ambassadors or delegates appointed by the respective countries. The General Council meets several times a year in the Geneva headquarters. In essence, this is the real engine of the WTO and has all the powers of the Ministerial Conference, when that body is not in session. The General Council also acts as the Dispute Settlement Body and the Trade Policy Body.

At the next level there are three more councils, viz. Council for Trade in Goods, Council for Trade in Services and Council for Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS Council). These three councils are responsible for trade in their

respective areas. They consist of all WTO members. There are six other bodies established by Ministerial Conference and report to the General Council. The scope of their coverage is specific, so they are committees. These committees cover issues such as trade and development, environment, regional trading arrangements and administrative issues. Each of plurilateral agreements of the WTO have their own management bodies which report to the General Council. These are on civil aircraft, government procurement, dairy products and bovine meat. Plurilateral agreement gives choice to the members to agree by the rules on voluntary basis.

The WTO Secretariat is located in Geneva. headed by Director-General, who is assisted by Three Deputy Directors-General. The WTO Secretariat has more than 600 staff from varying nationalities. The Secretariat generally performs administrative duties. The Director-General and the WTO staff are expected not to seek or accept any instructions from any government or any authority external to WTO, to maintain the international character of the Secretariat

6.5.3 Role and Functions

The major functions of the WTO include
1) Administration of the WTO agreements,
2) Settlement of trade disputes among the member countries,
3) Monitoring national trade policies,
4) Serving as a forum for trade negotiations,
5) To review the trade policies of various nations,
6) To cooperate with other international institutions such as the IMF, World Bank and the United Nations.

WTO is the only organisation which decides about the rules of the international trade at the global level. The main task of WTO is to facilitate free and fair international trade without any barriers. All decisions in WTO are made by consensus. The dispute settlement mechanism attempts to solve the disputes among the member countries. This mechanism avoids escalation of conflict and war. Dispute settlement procedure involves formal consultations, mediation and a panel set up to hear the arguments examine the legal obligations of the parties and prepare a report for the Dispute Settlement Body to adopt or reject. The Dispute Settlement Body monitors implementation of the report rulings and recommendations and has the power to authorize retaliatory action by the harmed country against the country violating its treaty obligations.

The WTO represents the institutionalization of globalization, with its positive trade expansion effects as well as its negative effects on communities, local industry and human rights. The adverse effects of globalization have given rise to global social movements. Published criticism and consistent protest by activists at

WTO Ministerial meetings as well as annual World Bank-IMF conferences has become order of the day. An estimated 50,000 protestors from around the world, at Seattle in Nov-Dec 1999 protested WTO ministerial meeting. They demanded for a nationalist response to maintain domestic industries and preserve communities without foreign influence.

6.5.4. Critical Assessment

The promotion of liberalization by WTO has intensified resource exhaustion and environmental pollution. Multinational Companies (MNCs)are migrating to developing countries and less developed countries, polluting the environment as these countries are less sensitive towards environment. WTO has been accused of facilitating interests of developed countries on the expense of developing countries. For e.g. The US along with other developed countries attempted to introduce protectionist measures at the third ministerial meeting at the WTO at Seattle.

Doha Round negotiations, which began in 2001, have repeatedly collapsed as developed and developing countries have failed to agree on terms of access to each other's markets. Developed countries want greater access to provide services to fast-growing developing countries, on the other hand developing countries want greater access for their agricultural products. They are demanding, reduction in the subsidies provided to the agricultural activities by the developed countries. It is feared that Doha Round may collapse.

Moreover, Trade liberalisation could not be beneficial to everyone. Firms that are not able to compete imported goods may result in job loss for the workers of those firms. International trade has risen over years, economies have internationalized to a considerable degree. Global wealth and output, however, remain extremely unevenly distributed.

6.6   Let us sum up

The System of Bretton Woods with its fixed rate does not exist any more today. Its institutions, had adjusted to the market forces and survived. United States has been and still is the dominant power in the institutions of Bretton Woods System. Role of these institutions has changed with time. They have facilitated globalization, liberalization and privatization through their policies. Structural Adjustment Policies(SAPs) of World Bank and IMF have benefited some countries and also proven disadvantageous to some third world countries. These institutions are represented by almost all the countries of the world, but the few developed countries are dominating. The voting power in these institutions is not decided by numbers but the financial contribution by the member countries, which

is discriminatory. The Role of the World Bank, IMF and World Trade organisation has widened since their inception.

6.7 Questions -

1) What are the objectives of the IMF ? Is the IMF instrumental in the spread of Liberalization Privatization. Globalization in the contemporary world? How?

2) Examine critically the achievements of the World Trade Organization.

3) Write on World Bank.

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Module 4
Development and Environmental Issues
Unit -7 - Models for Development

7.0   Introduction

Development has always remained and will remain a basic human nature. Human being by nature are always strove to achieve a better ways to life. Therefore the concept of development does not merely remind confined to the economic and industrial growth, but also providing space to the needs and demands of every section of the society. Hence, we find that different people have had proposed different ways out to achieve a comprehensive development of the society and nation. Thus, we find a range of alternatives have been suggested by different thinkers and ideologies to advance the process of development. Main among them are Capitalist model of development, Socialist or Communist model of development and a mixed model.

The basis of the development model therefore would have to be, as so well explained by Schumacher in Small is Beautiful:

- An important part of the development effort should by-pass the big cities and be directly concerned with the creation of an agro-industrial structure in the rural and small town areas.

- Primary need is creation of work-places, literally millions of work-places. We have to maximize work opportunities for the unemployed and underemployed.

- To quote Gabriel Ardant, it is important that there should be enough work for all because that is the only way to eliminate anti-productive reflexes and create a new state of mind that of a country where labor has become precious and must be put to the best possible use.

Concept of Sustainable development

It means achieving a balance between the process of development and protection of environment. It means conservation of resources for the benefit of future generations.

The concept of sustainable development focused attention on finding strategies to promote economic and social development in ways that avoid environmental.

The new development model must satisfy the following criteria:

1. Workplaces must be created in villages and small towns where people are living now

2. Workplaces must be cheap enough for creation in large numbers without high capital inputs and imports

3. Production methods must be simple, not requiring high skills.

4. Production must be mainly from local materials and mainly for local use.

In Indian context we find one more model which derives from the moralistic and value loaded model of development suggested by the father of nation M.K.Gandhi. it is better known as the Gandhian model of development. For better understanding of these models we can examine their nature, advantages and disadvantages as under

7.1 Gandhian model of Development:

Primary to the ethic and moral development. The Gandhian model of development is different from all other models. As it is stated that Gandhian thought on economics and market are highly value loaded and give primacy to the ethical and moral standard of development. Hence, naturally such kind of model emphasizes on a need based society, removal of greed based self centered development of society and economy. Present market capitalism is totally contrasting to the Gandhian philosophy of development.

Gandhiji has emphasized on a balanced development of the society and the nation, with villages having a priority. His ideas on cottage industry, small scale industry, self-sustainability of the rural economy are the bacon of a development with human face.

7.1.1   A Need Based Development

Gandhiji has always appealed to the people to refrain from luxurious life at the cost of others. He emphasized on a need based life, which is free from the greed of materials. Hence, had he been present today, he would have been one of the fierce critic of today's main expansionist and crazy phenomenon of development, the globalization.

The primary driving force behind today's globalization and so-called liberalization is self-interest. It is promotion of self-interest that oils the engines of globalization and the free market is driven by the consumerism borne out of self-interest. Consumerism is growing, without regards to human being. This is so contrary to everything that Gandhiji has thought of.   His aim was to promote care for others, service before self, visitors and neighbors before worrying about ourselves. In fact, what Gandhiji would have thought of this materialistic crazy world? The path we are taking is so much opposite to what he believed and practiced.

In his famous book Hind Swaraj or Indian self rule he has rightly pointed out that, " …a man is not necessarily happy because he is rich and unhappy because he is poor. The rich are often seen to be unhappy, the poor to be happy. Millions will always remain poor. Observing all this our ancestors dissuaded us from luxuries and pleasures."

7.1.2   Advocacy of the Welfare State

Thus Gandhian model of development are based on welfare of each and every person in the society. But today, besides self-interest, globalization promotes consumerism and a craze for possessions. Under this suicidal hunger for more, not only we will never have enough; we will also be destroying and consuming the natural resources at such a fast rate that stark poverty of resources will stare in the faces of our future generations. We are hell bent on destroying nature and the environment under the false promise and glitter of globalization and thus leaving behind a world of conflicts for our future generations.

7.1.3   Advocacy of Small Scale Industries

Jayaprakash Narayan in 1957 has endorsed the Gandhian model of development. He said science and centralized large-scale production and large conglomerations of human habitations are thought to go necessarily together. Nothing could be more absurd. Large-scale, big machine production was profitable to the money makers, but it ultimately result into the concentration of wealth and employment in just a few hands. Hence, Gandhian model laid down the emphasis on promotion of the small scale agencies and rural

economy, to avoid any burden on large cities. The government should strive hard to promote this, rather preferring centralized, big-scale production.

7.1.4   Use of Machine, rather Craze of Machine

Gandhian model of development is strictly in favour of proper use of machinery. Many a people have this misgiving that Gandhiji was against machinery and technology itself, which is totally wrong. In his book Hind Swaraj Gandhiji has categorically said that, "how can I (oppose machines) when I know that even this body is a most delicate piece of machinery? The spinning wheel is a machine; a little toothpick is a machine. What I object to call labour saving machinery. Men go saving labour till thousands are without work and thrown on the open streets to die of starvation…."

It is evident that, he was in favour of a model which is pro-human being, than making profit by exploiting people. Today's world needs lesson from the Gandhian model of development. Hence the urgent need for immediate adoption of the Gandhian model of development to prevent the impending catastrophe looming over us which threatens to destroy the life of our future generations for the promise of a short-term gain of comfort for us.

7.2   Socialist or Marxist Model of Development

The Socialist model developed as a reaction to the capitalist model.

Socialist or the Marxist model of development provides a state run economy and fully restricted market. It aims at achievement of an egalitarian society, where resources and means of productions are not concentrated in a few hands. This model derived its theoretical foundations from the Marxist philosophy. Karl Marx, in his analysis to the social and economic development has drawn a class based division of the society, haves and have not's.

The basic focus of socialist model of development talks about the use of resources and the wealth of the nation, to promote a welfare state. It suggests that, main aim of development is to facilitate human being with basic needs of life i.e. food, clothing, shelter etc. therefore, states policies must be directed in order to realize this objective. There are certain measures suggested for socialist model of development.

7.2.1   Abolition of Private Property

Socialist model of development considers the private property as a major impediment, to achieve an egalitarian society.

Equitable distribution of the property and the resources are not possible in a capitalist society. Hence abolition of capitalism is indeed a necessity. This is achieved through the abolition of concept of private property from the society. Nationalization of means of productions, state ownership of natural resources are some of the measures advocated by the socialist models of development.

7.2.2 Short Term and Long Term Economic Planning

The state forms short and long term plans to realize the ideals of socialism i.e. to remove social and economic inequality. Short term economic policy helps the state to take immediate steps to cater to the basic needs of the people. It also takes certain preventive measures to stop the ongoing oppressive and exploitative policies and laws. Long terms planning consist of radical and comprehensive change into the social, economic and political systems of the nation, for example, industrializations and agricultural reforms.

7.2.3 Soviet Experiment

V.I. Lenin, the leader of Bolshevik revolution has implemented the communist or socialist model successfully, after the success of revolution in 1917. Lang term and short term developmental plans were prepared for the newly established nation. Private property was abolished. All the means of productions and natural resources were nationalized. Within a short period of time USSR made a rapid progress. USSR was regarded as a role model of socialist model of development for several newly independent Asian, African and the Latin American countries. This experiment lasted till 1991. Though it failed due to its own internal shortcomings, but it is still a way to create an welfare state and restrict market capitalism.

7.3   Capitalist Model of Development

Capitalist model of development came into existence with the classical liberalism of 18th century. Adam Smith a renowned economics thinker has advocated a free market policy and lisses fare, in his book the Wealth of Nations, published in the year 1776. The main aim of this kind of model is to promote and free and open competition in the society and economic affairs of the state. It is of that, due to individual interest and open competition, people give their best in order to make greater benefits. The basic instruments to promote this model as follows:

7.3.1 The Market

Market and its forces are central to the capitalist model of development. Every aspect of this model revolves around the market. The market has its own dynamism. It works on the principles of

demand and supply. Everything in the market has a price which is fixed by its forces. Competition is the basic principle and profit market is the basis of the capitalist model. Though everyone in market is free to take part into market competition, but practically in is not possible for those who do not have economic soundness.

7.3.2 Liberalism

Since 17th century onwards the liberal thoughts of John Locke and Adam Smith has promoted the ideas of liberalism. They had talked about promotion of a liberal state which grants full freedom for the open market economy. Liberalism is an idea which demands lissez faire meaning non-intervention from the state. It encourages open competition in market and restricts the state and the government.

7.3.2.1 Classical Liberalism

During the ancient and medieval period the economy was predominantly localized world over. Besides providing a philosophical framework gave a boost to the capitalist economy. In 17th century this thought was largely established by John Locke and Adam Smiths. They have advocated a free market economy, which according to them can bring about a better society. It gives free way to the capitalist power in the state and society. They gradually, become the movers and shakers of the economic and political forces. It also emphasizes upon introduction of such as ending up license-quota system.

7.3.2.2 Neo-Liberalism

During the later half of the 20th century, the concept of welfare state was challenged by the subsequent economic recessions and political changes. The classical liberalism, which has ended with the wars and market depression, was gradually being restored in the form of neo-liberal economic policies across the world. Neo-liberalism led to the restructuring of majority of the states, to match the changing realities of the post-cold war era. After disintegration of the Soviet Union, market capitalism has stretched its wings across the worlds. Developed countries have an opportunity to make money by promoting their interests of the Multi National Companies (MNCs). Here the interests of the small and poor countries are at stake.

7.4 Mixed Economy Model of Development

This model of development is largely based on the use of both the capitalism as well as socialist models of economic development. After the end of World War II in 1945, a lot of colonized countries have started asserting for their independence. Thus, the 1960s and 1970s seen a fast growth in number of newly independent

states.

Third world countries have been in need of promoting economic development, along with preservation of their newly achieved freedom. Hence, they did not join the either Cold-War rivalry i.e. USA led capitalist bloc and Soviet Union led socialism or communist bloc. They rather preferred to remain neutral under the banner of Non Alignment Movement (NAM), which championed the cause of third world nations. These countries have formed their economic policies by incorporating the good principles from both the models.

This model is better known as mixed economic model of development. In such type of models, development is given due importance over ideological commitment. Pre 1991 Indian economic model was designed on the lines of mixed economic model. So, such kinds of models are useful for the societies and nations in transition. They get enough time and space to restructure their economic and political policies to match their own needs. They also develop their own resources and infrastructure, with the help of developed nations.

7.5   Conclusion

Though, there has always been different list of models suggesting one particular or another type of economic development. But today's market capitalism has over powered other models by forcing the world to restructure the world economy according to the demands of the market forces. Today the state governments are losing their grips over their national economies because of the increasing pressure from MNCs, World Bank, IMF and WTO etc. it's a ripe time in the era of recession that the world community must dwell upon creating a democratic and liberal face of economic development.

7.6   Questions

1) Discuss the relationship between development and environment.

2) Discuss the capitalist model of development.

3) Explain the socialist model of development.

4) Explain the Gandhian model of development.

5) Elaborate on the tree major models of development.

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Module 4
Unit - 8
Environmental Movement

8.0   Objectives

- To study various types of environmental movements.

- To study the importance of these movements in order to achieve a sustainable developments with human face.

- To study main aims and objectives of these movements.

- To study achievements and challenges before these movements.

7.1   Narmada Bachao Andolan

Narmada Bachao Andolanis a non-governmental organisation (NGO) that mobilised tribal people, adivasis, farmers, environmentalists and human rights activists against the Sardar Sarovar Dam being built across the Narmada river, Gujarat, India.

A quick look at the ground reality would disabuse anyone of the real nature of the dam-builder's enterprise. Large dams imply large

budgets for related projects leading to large profits for a small group of people. A mass of research shows that even on purely technical grounds, large dams have been colossal failures. For no large dam in India has it been shown that the resettled people have been provided with just compensation and rehabilitation.

At a more abstract level, the questions that arise in the Narmada Struggle challenge the dominant model of development (of which Sardar Sarovar dam is a prime example) that holds out the chimerical promise of material wealth through modernization but perpetuates an iniquitous distribution of resources and wreaks social and environmental havoc.

Narmada Bachao Andolan is the most powerful mass movement, started in 1985, against the construction of huge dam on the Narmada River is the India's largest west flowing river, which supports a large variety of people with distinguished culture and tradition ranging from the indigenous (tribal) people inhabited in the jungles here to the large number of rural population. The proposed Sardar Sarovar Dam and Narmada Sagar will displace more than 250,000 people. The big fight is over the resettlement or the rehabilitation of these people.

The Narmada Valley Development plan is the most promised and most challenging plan in the history of India. The proponents are of the view that it will produce 1450 MW of electricity and pure drinking water to 40 million people covering thousand of villages and towns. But the opponent says that this hydro project will devastate human lives and bio diversity by destroying thousands of acres of forests and agricultural land. On the other hand it will overall deprive thousands of people of their livelihood. They believe that the water and energy could be provided to the people through alternative technological means that would be ecologically beneficial. Led by one of the prominent leader Medha Patkar, it has now been turned into the International protest, gaining support from NGO'S all around the globe. Protestors are agitating the issue through the mass media, hunger strikes, massive marches, rallies and the through the on screen of several documentary films. Although they have been protesting peacefully, but they been harassed, arrested and beaten up by the police several times. The Narmada Bachao Andolan has been pressurizing the World Bank to withdraw its loan from the project through media. NBA's mode of campaign includes hunger strikes and garnering support from noted film and art personalities (notably Bollywood film actor Aamir Khan). Narmada Bachao Andolan, together with its leading spokespersons Medha Patkar and Baba Amte, were the 1991 recipient of the Right Livelihood Award.

In 1985, after hearing about the Sardar Sarovar dam, Medha Patkar and her colleagues visited the project site and noticed the project work being shelved due to an order by the Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India. The reason for this was cited as "non-fulfillment of basic environmental conditions and the

lack of completion of crucial studies and plans". While <u>World Bank,</u> the financing agency for this project, came into the picture, Patkar approached the Ministry of Environment to seek clarifications.

8.1.1   Formation of NBA

There were groups such as Gujarat-based Arch-Vahini (Action Research in Community Health and Development) and Narmada Asargrastha Samiti (Committee for people affected by the Narmada dam), Madhya Pradesh-based Narmada Ghati Nav Nirman Samiti (Committee for a new life in the Narmada Valley) and Maharashtra-based Narmada Dharangrastha Samiti (Committee for Narmada dam-affected people) who either believed in the need for fair rehabilitation plans for the people or who vehemently opposed dam construction despite a resettlement policy.

While Patkar established Narmada Bachao Andolan in 1989, all these groups joined this national coalition of environmental and human rights activists, scientists, academics and project-affected people with a non-violent approach.[8]

8.1.2   Aftermath

Within the focus of Narmada Bachao Andolan towards the stoppage of the Sardar Sarovar dam, she advised addition of World Bank to their propaganda. The Morse Commission, appointed in June 1991 at the recommendation of The World Bank President Barber Coinable, conducted its first independent review of a World Bank project. This independent review stated that "performance under these projects has fallen short of what is called for under Bank policies and guidelines and the policies of the Government of India."

8.1.3   Supreme Court's decision

Patkar led Narmada Bachao Andolan had filed a written petition with the <u>Supreme Court of India,</u> the nation's apex court, seeking stoppage of construction on the Sardar Sarovar dam. The court initially ruled the decision in the Andolan's favor thereby effecting an immediate stoppage of work at the dam and directing the concerned states to first complete the rehabilitation and replacement process.

Subsequent to the court's verdict, Press Information Bureau (PIB) featured an article which states that: "The Narmada Bachao Andolan has rendered a yeoman's service to the country by creating a high-level of awareness about the environmental and rehabilitation and relief aspects of Sardar Sarovar and other projects on the Narmada. But, after the court verdict it is incumbent on it to adopt a new role. Instead of 'damning the dam' any longer, it could assume the role of vigilant observer to see that the resettlement work is as humane and painless as possible and that the environmental

aspects are taken due care of."

8.1.4   Criticism

The Narmada dam's benefits include provision drinking water, power generation and irrigation facilities. However, the campaign led by the NBA activists has held up the project's completion, and the NBA supporters have indulged in physical attacks on local people who accepted compensation for moving.[18] Others have argued that the Narmada Dam protesters are little more than environmental extremists who use pseudoscientific agitprop to scuttle the development of the region, and that the dam will provide agricultural benefits to millions of poor in India.

8.2   Chipko Movement

In the 20th century, it began in the hills where the forests are the main source of livelihood, since agricultural activities cannot be carried out easily. The Chipko movement of 1973 was one of the most famous among these. The first Chipko action took place spontaneously in April 1973 in the village of Mandal in the upper Alakananda valley and over the next five years spread to many districts of the Himalayas in Uttar Pradesh. It was sparked off by the government's decision to allot a plot of forest area in the Alaknanda valley to a sports goods company. This angered the villagers because their similar demand to use wood for making agricultural tools had been earlier denied. With encouragement from a local NGO (non-governmental organization), DGSS (Dasoli Gram Swarajya Sangh), the women of the area, under the leadership of an activist, Chandi Prasad Bhatt, went into the forest and formed a circle around the trees preventing the men from cutting them down.

The forests of India are a critical resource for the subsistence of rural peoples throughout the country, but especially in hill and mountain areas, both because of their direct provision of food, fuel and fodder and because of their role in stabilising soil and water resources. As these forests have been increasingly felled for commerce and industry, Indian villagers have sought to protect their livelihoods through the Gandhian method of satyagraha (non-violent resistence). In the 1970s and 1980s this resistance to the destruction of forests spread throughout India and became organised and known as the Chipko Movement.

8.2.1   Achievements of the movement

The Chipko protests in Uttar Pradesh achieved a major victory in 1980 with a 15-year ban on green felling in the Himalayan forests of that state by order of India's then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. Since then the movement has spread to Himachal Pradesh in the North, Kamataka in the South, Rajasthan in the West, Bihar in the East and to the Vindhyas in Central India. In addition to the 15-year

ban in Uttar Pradesh, the movement has stopped clear felling in the Western Ghats and the Vindhyas and generated pressure for a natural resource policy which is more sensitive to people's needs and ecological requirements.

The Chipko Movement is the result of hundreds of decentralised and locally autonomous initiatives. Its leaders and activists are primarily village women, acting to save their means of subsistence and their communities. Men are involved too, however, and some of these have given wider leadership to the movement. Prominent Chipko figures include: Sunderlal Bahuguna, a Gandhian activist and philosopher, whose appeal to Mrs. Gandhi results in the green-felling ban and whose 5,000 kilometre trans-Himalaya footmarch in 1981-83 was crucial in spreading the Chipko message. Bahuguna coined the Chipko slogan: 'ecology is permanent economy'.

Chandi Prasad Bhatt, one of the earliest Chipko activists, who fostered locally-based industries based on the conservation and sustainable use of forest wealth for local benefit. Dhoom Singh Negi, who, with Bachni Devi and many village women, first saved trees by hugging them in the 'Chipko embrace'. They coined the slogan: 'What do the forests bear? Soil, water and pure air'.

A feature published by the United Nations Environment Programme reported the Chipko Movement thus: 'In effect the Chipko people are working a socio-economic revolution by winning control of their forest resources from the hands of a distant bureaucracy which is concerned with selling the forest for making urban-oriented products.'

8.2.2 Conclusion

"The solution of present-day problems lie in the re-establishment of a harmonious relationship between man and nature. To keep this relationship permanent we will have to digest the definition of real development: development is synonymous with culture. When we sublimate nature in a way that we achieve peace, happiness, prosperity and, ultimately, fulfilment along with satisfying our basic needs, we march towards culture." Sunderlal Bahuguna

Mr Ghanasyam Raturi, the Chipko poet, whose songs echo throughout the Himalayas of Uttar Pradesh, wrote a poem describing the method of embracing the trees to save them from felling:

'Embrace the trees and
Save them from being felled;
The property of our hills,
Save them from being looted.'

The Chipko protests in Uttar Pradesh achieved a major victory in 1980 with a 15-year ban on green felling in the Himalayan forests of that state by the order of Mrs Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India. Since then, the movement has spread to many states

in the country. In addition to the 15-year ban in Uttar Pradesh, the movement has stopped felling in the Western Ghats and the Vindhyas and has generated pressure for a natural resource policy that is more sensitive to people's needs and ecological requirements.

8.3   Greenpeace Movement

8.3.1   The history of Greenpeace

The Green Peace Movement was founded in 1971, at Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. Its headquarter is based in Amsterdam, Netherlands. It was motivated by their vision of a green and peaceful world, a small team of activists set sail from Vancouver, Canada, in an old fishing boat. These activists, the founders of Greenpeace, believed a few individuals could make a difference. It created many of the most-famous international "greenpeace" campaigns, and has worked vigorously for well over three decades in its continuing fight for whales, dolphins, and ocean wildlife.

In this section, we'll try to clarify what we see as differences between the By about 1973, the phrase had been shortened to a word, Greenpeace, and an organization called "Greenpeace Foundation" was established in Vancouver, Canada. It was this ragtag group of idealists and visionaries who first did an at-sea protest of whaling in 1975, and conducted the high-profile campaign against the clubbing of baby harp seals off Newfoundland beginning in 1976.

8.3.2   Objectives of Green Peace

Early Greenpeace member Canadian Ecologist Patrick Moore left the organization in 1986 when it, according to Moore, decided to support a universal ban on chlorine in drinking water. Moore has argued that Greenpeace today is motivated by politics rather than science and that none of his "fellow directors had any formal science education". Bruce Cox, Director of Greenpeace Canada, responded that Greenpeace has never demanded a universal chlorine ban and that Greenpeace does not oppose use of chlorine in drinking water or in pharmaceutical uses, adding that "Mr. Moore is alone in his recollection of a fight over chlorine and/or use of science as his reason for leaving Greenpeace." Paul Watson, an early member of Greenpeace has said that Moore "uses his status as a so-called co-founder of Greenpeace to give credibility to his accusations. I am also a co-founder of Greenpeace and I have known Patrick Moore for 35 years Moore makes accusations that have no basis in fact".

A French journalist under the pen name Olivier Vermont wrote in his book La Face cachée de Greenpeace that he had joined Greenpeace France and had worked there as a secretary. According to Vermont he found misconducts and continued to Amsterdam to the international office. Vermont said he found classified documents

according to which half of the organization's € 180 millon revenue was used for the organization's salaries and structure. He also accused Greenpeace of having unofficial agreements with polluting companies where the companies paid Greenpeace to keep them from attacking the company's image. Animal protection magazine Animal People reported in March 1997 that Greenpeace France and Greenpeace International had sued Olivier Vermont and his publisher Albin Michel for issuing "defamatory statements, untruths, distortions of the facts and absurd allegations"

To promote non violent actions for the protection of forests. Creating awareness among the people by placing themselves in harm's way for other species and for the environment were very motivating. To pressurize the law making bodies of the state to protect the ecology.

8.3.3 Priorities and campaigns

On its official website, Greenpeace defines its mission as the following:

Greenpeace is an independent global campaigning organisation that acts to change attitudes and behaviour, to protect and conserve the environment and to promote peace by:

- Catalysing an energy revolution to address the number one threat facing our planet: climate change.
- Defending our oceans by challenging wasteful and destructive fishing, and creating a global network of marine reserves.
- Protecting the world's remaining ancient forests which are depended on by many animals, plants and people.
- Working for disarmament and peace by reducing dependence on finite resources and calling for the elimination of all nuclear weapons.
- Creating a toxic free future with safer alternatives to hazardous chemicals in today's products and manufacturing.
- Campaigning for sustainable agriculture by encouraging socially and ecologically responsible farming practices.

Along with this, the central philosophy of that original "Greenpeace" organization was nonviolent direct action on behalf of planet earth. It borrowed from the Quaker philosophy of "bearing witness" to wrongdoing; and made the world a witness to the issues it highlighted through action. It was an inspiring concept, and it created a movement.

The images of individuals placing themselves in harm's way for other species and for the environment were very motivating. So much so, that groups spontaneously began forming around the world to rally to the "greenpeace" ideals. All of them, of course, called

themselves Greenpeace. This began in the USA with the forming of several organizations (including this one), followed by more each year. These groups tended to take on national and international projects, to have a regional flavor, to be mostly unfunded, and to be grassroots oriented. They focused on different issues with no overall coordination, but did a lot of good work; indeed, a lot of the movement's all-time best work, against enormous odds.

This was the initial spread of the Greenpeace movement, which was a set of ideals and methods adopted by many good people. These early "greenpeacers" did their best to try to be these "Warriors of the Rainbow". (A book by this name, penned by early GP luminary Bob Hunter, chronicles this early phase and is highly recommended reading.)

To prevent unlimited further proliferation of new corporations, the existing USA "Greenpeace" organizations agreed to trademark the name in 1978; this was done in Portland, Oregon. By this time, meetings of the Greenpeace corporations were bringing enthusiasm and diversity to the movement, and these entities increasingly worked in cooperation toward common goals.

8.3.4 Difficulties faced by Green Peace

However, several crucial events affected the history of the movement at this point. Campaigner Tom Falvey linked up the San Francisco Greenpeace organization with an organization called "Parker/Dodd", a direct-mail fund-raising firm which offered a deal they couldn't refuse: the firm would front the development of a national direct-mail campaign and deliver them the profits. Soon the San Francisco Corporation began raking in millions of dollars as the sole recipient of national fundraising. Much good work was done, but the SF organization acquired an imperial attitude and - via checkbook - established themselves as the "main" Greenpeace corporation in the USA: "Greenpeace America" while the rest of the "Greenpeace" corporations in the world remained largely unfunded. Soon, there was a lawsuit between "Greenpeace Vancouver" and "Greenpeace SF" . Greenpeace Vancouver thought that - as the founding organization - it should lead the movement, and therefore run the development of corporations around the world. They had a good moral and legal argument. Greenpeace SF, on the other hand, had money, and argued that no single entity should run the movement (as SF had, in effect, been trying to do itself).

8.3.5 Legal Difficulties

Again, however, the demands of a movement were not perfectly suited by human institutions and bureaucracies. Increasingly, it became apparent that what was being developed was a "multinational corporation" and not a movement per se.

As "Greenpeace" spread across Europe, one thing became apparent about the "international council" setup: there were lots of little countries in Europe, and only the USA and Canada involved in N. America. Thus, the voting majority (one vote per country) quickly made the uber-Greenpeace a eurocentric organization. This had a number of effects on the development of this large entity. For one thing, the US and Canadian organizations had traditionally focused largely on wildlife conservation, but Europeans had killed off most of their interesting wildlife centuries earlier and were more interested in disarmament. Of course, the North American organizations were actively committed to averting nuclear war as well, but there was a difference. The prevailing European disarmament activism of the time was anti-USA.

8.3.6. Achievement

when it comes to protecting the environment, this issue raises the whole spectre of "globalization", the world trade organization, and regional trade treaties versus environmental standards. World "free trade" is now being pushed as the only answer for the world economy. This negates, as its first action, all trade barriers such as national environmental concerns. Thus, previously, while you might have wealthy nations buying all sorts of products from around the world and wreaking damage, you also had relatively well-developed regulatory systems within these nations which could be used to address and mitigate this damage once it was pointed out. This supplied the leverage with which ALL environmental goals have ~~been won to date: whaling, driftnets, trade in endangered species,~~ rainforest conservation, etc.

8.4   Friends of the Earth

Friends of the Earth International (FOEI) is an international network of environmental organizations in 77 countries.

Friends of the Earth International are the world's largest grassroots environmental network and they campaign on today's most urgent environmental and social issues. They challenge the current model of economic and corporate globalization, and promote solutions that will help to create environmentally sustainable and socially just societies.

In contrast to many other NGOs operating internationally, Friends of the Earth International is structured from the bottom up as a confederation of groups. Each country has its own separate organization, which in many cases existed and campaigned in its own right before choosing to affiliate to the global network. The groups conduct their own campaigns and coordinate their activities through the umbrella body Friends of the Earth International. The national groups are often composed of grassroots local groups working in their own areas.

FOEI is assisted by a small secretariat (based in Amsterdam) which provides support for the network and its agreed major campaigns. The executive committee of elected representatives from national groups set policy and oversee the work of the secretariat.

8.4.1. History

Friends of the Earth was founded in 1969 in the United States by David Brower after his split with the Sierra Club based in part on their reluctance to challenge the construction of nuclear power plants. It became an international network in 1971 with a meeting of representatives from the U.S., Sweden, the UK and France. For further historical details see articles on the national FOE organizations.

Current campaigns focus on clean energy and solutions to global warming, protecting people from toxic and new, potentially harmful technologies [clarification needed], and promoting smarter, low-pollution transportation alternatives.

8.4.2 Campaign issues

A friend of the Earth considers environmental issues in their social, political and human rights contexts. Their campaigns stretch beyond the traditional arena of the conservation movement and seek to address the economic and development aspects of sustain ability. Originally based largely in North America and Europe, its membership is now heavily weighted toward groups in the developing world.

The current campaign priorities of Friends of the Earth internationally are:

- economic justice and resisting neoliberals
- forests and biodiversity
- food sovereignty
- climate justice and energy

The campaign priorities are set at the bi-annual general meeting of Friends of the Earth International. In addition to the priority campaign areas Friends of the Earth International has a number of other campaign areas which are active internationally. They include:

- Desertification
- Antarctica
- Water
- Maritime
- Mining and extractive industries
- Nuclear power (see nuclear debate)

All FoE International campaigns incorporate elements of

three core themes which are:

- Protecting human and environmental rights
- Protecting the planet's disappearing biodiversity
- The repayment of ecological debt owed by rich countries to those they have exploited.

8.4.3 Friends of the Earth groups

The Friends of the Earth organizations in each country are themselves many-tiered networks reaching from grassroots activists up to the national pressure group which campaigns for environmentally progressive and sustainable policies. The groups and activists at all levels also carry out educational and research activities.

Friends of the Earth groups are required to act independently of party political, religious or other influences; be open, democratic and non-discriminatory in their internal structures; and be willing to cooperate with other organizations who are working for the same goals. These are conditions of remaining a member of FOEI.

The national groups work on the main issues affecting their own country and choose to participate in the international campaigns of FOEI which are relevant to them. In turn, the local (grassroots) campaigners can work on local, national and/or international campaigns.

8.4.4 Structure of the network

The member organization in a particular country may name itself Friends of the Earth or an equivalent translated phrase in the national language, e.g., Friends of the Earth (US), Friends of the Earth (EWNI) (England Wales and Northern Ireland), Amigos de la Tierra (Spain and Argentina). However, roughly half of the member groups work under their own names, sometimes reflecting an independent origin and subsequent accession to the network, such as ERA (FOE Nigeria) and WALHI (FOE Indonesia).

Friends of the Earth International (FoEI) is supported by a secretariat based in Amsterdam, and an executive committee known as ExCom.The ExCom is elected by all member groups at a general meeting held every two years, and it is the ExCom which employs the secretariat. At the same general meeting, overall policies and priority activities are agreed.

In addition to work which is coordinated at the FoEI level, national member groups are free to carry out their own campaigns and to work bi- or multi-laterally as they see fit, as long as this does not go against agreed policy at the international level.

8.4.5 Achievements of FOE

Over the last 40 years, Friends of the Earth members, activists and staff have:

✶ been the first to raise the alarm and draw attention to new environmental problems;
✶ eliminated billions in taxpayer subsidies to corporate polluters;
✶ reformed the World Bank to address environmental and human rights concerns; and
✶ stopped over 150 destructive dams and water projects worldwide;
✶ pressed and won landmark regulations of strip mines and oil tankers;
✶ banned international whaling.

The Domestic Program, which seeks to eliminate subsidies for environmentally destructive activities that damage public health and natural resources at tax payers' expense; global warming and false solutions to global warming such as "Clean Coal", bio-fuels, and nuclear reactors; chemical and biotechnological safety issues; and transportation infrastructure reform.

The International Program is working to ensure that environmental concerns are a part of the emerging global system of trade and is using tools like shareholder resolutions to drive for more corporate accountability. the International Program is also involved in international climate negotiations, such as those with the UNFCC.

8.4.6 Conclusion

The environmental movements across the world have created a wave of creating the awareness among the governments and non-governmental organizations. Today's increasing threat of the climate change and environmental movements can be met effectively.

8.5 Questions

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Section Ⅱ
Module 5
UNIT - 9
HUMAN RIGHTS: MAJOR LANDMARKS IN THEIR EVOLUTION

Contents

9.0   Objectives :

At the end of this lesson you will be able :

1) To understand the concept and meaning of human rights
2) To know the major landmark in the development of human rights
3) To know the importance of human rights
4) To recognize the relevance of UDHR and other important documents.

9.1   Introduction

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights (UDHR)."

Human Rights refer to the 'basic rights and freedom' to which all human being are entitled. They have been defined as 'basic moral guarantees' that people in all countries and cultures allegedly have simply because they are people calling these guarantees. Rights suggests that they attach to particular individuals who can

invoke them, that they are of high priority and that compliance with them is mandatory rather than discretionary. Human Rights aim is to identify both the necessary negative and positive prerequisites – for good life, such as rights against torture and right to health care. This aspirations has been enshrined in various declarations and legal conventions on human rights issued during the last fifty years.

Human rights derive from the inherent dignity of the human being. The preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) mention that, the recognition ot the equal inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, that human right are understood as rights which belongs to any individual as a consequence of being human. Human rights by its very concepts and definition are as universal, inherent and unalienable universal in the sense that, they do not just apply to individual as a 'citizen' or 'group' but to all persons regardless their group identities. Inherent in the sense that they are the birth rights of all human beings and people enjoy them simply by virtue of their human existence and as such, they do not have to be guaranteed to them by any superior or sovereign authority. And inalienable means, people cannot agree to give them up or have them taken away from them.

9.2   Meaning and definition :

Rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can be at his best human rights are very essential for the development of human beings, therefore, A.J. M. Milre wrote, " there can be no human community without rights. Coming to this point plano and oltan have stated that, 'Human rights are those rights which are considered to be absolutely essential for the survival and personality development of human being'.

According to said, " Human Rights are connected with the dignity of the individual, the level of self-esteem that secure personal identity and promote human community". Human rights are based on the human nature, human dignity and the existence of good society. The protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 passed by Indian parliament defines that " the rights related to life, liberty, equality and dignity of the individual guaranteed by the constitution or embodied in the international covenants and enforceable by the courts in India."

Scot Davidson offers a very precise and up to date definition of the subject. According to him, 'the concept of human rights is closely connected with the protection of individual from the exercise of state, government or authority in certain areas of their lives, it is also directed towards the creation of societal conditions by the state in which individuals are to develop their fullest potential.'

Above mentioned all definitions of human rights clearly indicates that, human rights whether recognized or not belongs to all human all times, every places and no can be try to violate or alienate these rights.

9.3   Major landmark :

The term human rights have been existed, since the rise of human civilization, but in 1215, the concept of human rights first presented and the process of reorganization commence, when the rebellion of feudal barons against King John of England brought about the proclamation of magna carta, which enumerates a number of what later came to be known of as human rights.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in Europ, two schools of thought have contributed to the evolution of the concept of human rights. First, is the liberalized school advocated by philosopher such as, Hobbes, lock, Rousseau and Bentham, John Lock, the father of 'Natural rights'. The rights belonging to person by nature and because he was a human kind, not by virtue of his citizenship of a certain nation or a membership on a particular social or religious group. Lock argued in his writing those of three natural rights like –

- Right to life
- Right to liberty
- Right to property

Are self evidently necessary as they existed in the state of nature before mankind entered into civil society through the social contract. This doctrine of natural rights which born in the Hobbes, Lock and Rousseau's writing could not popularized, but the universal rights took root and it had greatly influenced the drafting of various declarations and inspiration for revolutions. Later on, as well Philosophers like, Thomas Pain, J.S. Mill and Henry David Thoreau expanded the concept. Thoreau is the first Philosopher who used the term 'Human Rights' in his treaties 'civil disobedience'. This work has been extremely influential on persons as Leo Tolstoy, M.K. Gandhi, and Martin Luther King.

The other proponents of human rights were English Philosopher John Stuart Mill, in his "Essays on Liberty" and American Political Theorist Thomas Pain in his essay " The rights of man". The 19th century was witnessed the number of issues were taken centre stage. They included brutal working conditions, slavery, starvation, child labour, violation against women, many of them still taking in the early 21st century are considered very important. Second, the Marxist school of thoughts, which led by the great German philosopher Karl Marx and his followers, believed that the full realization of individuals self is possible only within the society.

Consequently, they gave more importance to the economic and social rights than the individual rights.

However, the concept of human rights was in a rudimentary form in ancient times, in formation stage in middle ages – and fully grown in the 20th Century with the formation at the United Nations and proclamation of UDHR on 10th December, 1948.

9.3.1 Magna Carta – 1215 :

Magna Carta is the first movement and document on human rights. Through the Magna Carta, first time in the history, the people fought for rights against state or king – and – demanded freedom from the control of state. This happen, in the year of 1215, when the rebellion of feudal barons against King John of England brought about the proclamation of Magna Carta, the great charter signed between the King John of England and feudal barons, the charter various issues were taken into consideration what later came to be known as human rights. It became a symbol of struggle against oppression. It consists of a preamble and 63 clauses. The content of magna carta may be divided into several groups with clause concerning : The Church feudal law; subtenants; town, trade and merchants; reform of the law and justice; control of the behaviour of royal officials; royal forest; and guarantees for the kings adherence to the charter. It is worth maintaining that some national constitutions which are in force today, such as that of the USA, contain ideas and formulations traceable to magna carta. Among them were –

► The rights of the Church to be free from interference of State or its authorities.

► Right to property – the rights of all free citizens to own and inherit private property and free from excessive taxes.

► It given the rights to widow to own property who chose not to remarry.

► Established the principles of equality before law.

Although, this charter only considered the rights of feudal and wealthy people and given them some rights and protected from the intervention of state in their activity, but could not provided the rights to all citizens of the Nation. However, the charter determine as the milestone in the development and creation of human rights culture in English Society.

9.3.2 English Bill of Rights – 1689 :

The English Bills of Rights, formally called as " An Act Declaring the rights and liberties of the subject and setting the succession of the crown." is an activity of parliament of England, which

passed by it in December, 1689 is one of the basic instrument of the British Constitution. Resulting from the struggle between the royal power, the people and parliament, the Act aimed at protecting the rights of parliament by presenting the monarch from exercising " the pretended power of suspending of laws". It was a re-statement in legal form of the declaration of rights presented by the convention parliament to William and Mary in March, 1689, inviting them to became joint sovereign of England. In United Kingdom (UK) the Bill of rights is further accompanied by magna carta, Habeas Corpus Act, 1679, and Parliament Act, 1911 and 1949 as some of the basic documents of the uncodified British constitution. The Bill inspired in large part of the United States Bill of Rights.

In the English Bill of Rights following rights were considered –

- ► Freedom royal interference with the law
- ► Freedom to petition to monarch
- ► Freedom from standing army during a time of peace
- ► Freedom to elect member of parliament without interference from the sovereign
- ► Freedom of speech and debates

9.3.3 American Declaration of Independence - 1776 and Bills of Rights 1791 :

As I mentioned above, in the 18th Century the philosophers like Hobbes, Lock, Rousseau, Bentham and Thomas Pain demanded various rights for citizens and established an environment by their writing for the creation of the democratic principles in the society. Consequently, most of the British colonies in North America proclaimed their independence from the brutul of British empire – on 4th July, 1776 through the introduction of the well known document.

"The Declaration of Independence"

Thomas Jefferson, the well known philosopher one who wrote the draft of the declaration. This is the milestone document in the establishment of democratic principles. The document contains the political philosophy and principles, which are still in force and serve as a symbol of liberty for the country. The document claim that all men are graded equal and are endowed with unalienable rights, life, liberty and the persuit of happiness. Through this declaration, the world society first time experienced democratic principles and values such as :

- ► Limited government
- ► The democracy
- ► The universality and very important
- ► The individual freedom

American Bill of Rights – 1791 :

The philosophy expressed in the declaration influenced the adoption of the 1791 "American Bills of Rights" and of various national and international human rights instruments.

With the proclamation of the 'Declaration of Independence, America created its own constitution, while doing this many political thinkers, like, Thomas Jefferson, demanded the inclusion of the "Bill of Rights" in the constitution. But the opponents rejected this demand and claimed that there were already the rights been included in the Declaration, so there is no need of separate provision of the Bill of Rights. When the draft of constitution sent to federal states of America for acceptance, many of the states denied to adopt the constitution unless the Bill of Rights included in it. Ultimately in 1791 the Bill of Rights accepted and included in American constitution, and itself through this Bill constitutionalized the human rights. The Bill covers a wide range of the most important civil liberties and individual rights as they were interpreted at the end of the 18th Century impose limitations on federal and state governments. This bill consists rights as –

►   Rights to speech and news papers
►   Right to freedom from detention
►   Right to open trial
►   Right to equality
►   Right to vote

9.3.4   France Declaration of the Rights of Man – 1789 :

As mentioned earlier, political thinking appreciated to the many revolution in the world history. The France revolution also inspired by the writing of such thinking, like, writing of J.J. Rousseau, Montesquieu and John Lock. In the year of 1789, people of France overthrow their monarchy and established first France Republic. Out of the revolution came the 'declaration of the rights of man and of the citizens'. The Rousseau's writing and the principles of the age of enlightment were rational behind the first revolution. Thomas Jefferson, the prime author of the US- Declaration, was in France at the time as US Diplomat, so he also guided to France member of constituent Assembly, while drafting the Declaration of "Right of Man and of the citizen". It contain 17 Articles, the Declaration represents of the basic charters of human liberties and is characteristic of 18th Century French thought; which strove to specify principles that are fundamental to man therefore universally applicable. The main principles of the Declaration was that : " Men are born and remain free ….. and equal in rights…." (Article 1) which was specified as the right to … liberty, property, safety and resistance to oppression. (Article 2). Article 4 stipulates : Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else. Article 6 states that : Law is expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally or through his representative, in its foundation. All citizens, being equal in the eye of the law, are equally eligible to all dignities and to all public

positions and occupations.' It is mentioned in Article that : ' No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the case and according to the forms prescribed by law : Article 10 provide for freedom of opinion and religion and Article 11 proclaims freedom of expression Article 17 proclaims the right to property as ' an violable and sacred rights.'

Thus, this was most important event in the history of development of human rights and the democracy.   The important values which contributed by the Declaration to world society are the basic principles of democracy today are –

- ► Liberty
- ► Equality and
- ► Fraternity

The declaration defines single of personal and group rights for all men, which was influenced by the doctrine, that, ' the men are born free and remain free and equal' in rights. Social distinction may be founded only upon the general good'.

9.3.5 International Bills of Rights :

With the mass destruction of people and large violation of human rights in World War II. The world leaders did not want to face such war and killing of innocent people again, so, they came together and form United Nations Organization (UNO) in 1945. The UN introduced its charter which is the foundation upon which a large body of international human rights law has been built. In 1946, the UN established a commission on Human Rights (CHR) which had to work on International Bill of Rights which consists The universal declaration of Human Rights (1948), The International Covenant on civil and political Rights (1966), The International covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and the two optional protocols to the latter, namely optional protocol to the international covenant on civil and political rights (1966) and the second optional protocol to the international covenant to civil and political Rights, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty (1989). The Bill is guided by the principle of equality in rights and non-discrimination. It has played a major role in the development of international human rights laws.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) –
The global movement on human rights is founded on and inspired by the UDHR. The UDHR was the first International common accepted document by world wide. This declaration was adopted by the General Assembly of United Nations on 10th December, 1948. As a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations it consists 30 articles which gives civil and political rights; economic, social and cultural rights to the human beings – universally without and distinction and considerations.

UDHR, provided the basic for the formulation by the United Nations of covenant and conventions, declarations and recommendations on specific aspects. The rights proclaimed in the UDHR can be broadly divided into two parts. The first regarded to the civil and political rights, which include : the right to life, liberty and security of the person, freedom from slavery and torture; equality before law; protection against arbitrary arrests, detention or exile, the right to own property; political participation; the fundamental freedom of thought conscience and religion, opinion and expression, and the right to take part in the government of his/her countries. The second are economic, social and cultural rights, which relate to amongst others; the rights to work, equal pay for equal work; the right to form and join trade unions; the right to an adequate standard of living; the right to education and the right to participate freely in cultural life.

b) The covenant on civil and political rights (1966) and
c) The covenant on Economic, social and cultural rights (1966)

The limitation that UDHR operated as a statement of ideals, which was not a legally binding covenant and had no machinery for its enforcement. Though, for making UDHR binding legal document over ratifying state the General Assembly adopted on 16th December, 1966, two covenants for the purpose of observance of human rights. The two covenants came into force in December, 1976. The International covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights (ICESCR) and the International covenant on civil and political Rights (ICCPR), allowing for complaints to be made by individuals on violation of their rights embodied in the covenants. In adopting this instrument, the International Community not only agree on the content of the each rights set forth within UDHR, but also on measures for their implementations.

9.3.6 Other landmark documents :

Besides, above important landmarks in the evolution of human rights. There are some other international documents available which also galvanized the human rights movement. For instance –

a) The international convention on elimination of all forms of racial discriminatiton – ratified in 1968
b) The convention on rights of the child – acceded in 1992.
c) The convention on elimination of all forms of discrimination against women – 1979 and
d) Vienna World conference on Human Rights – 1993

9.4   Conclusion :

As mentioned earlier, the UDHR has influenced the constitution and legal system of many countries. Many countries are

signatories to the covenants on human rights which implies that they have undertaken to implement them. The principles of the Declaration are equally applicable. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the government to protect and promote all these rights.

However, indisputable achievements in codification and the progressive development of international human rights law have not met with equal success in the observance of the latter. Regrettably human rights are being violated in many parts of the world. Development in their implementation depends on the knowledge of relevant standards and procedures. Obviously, the fundamental freedom can only be observed when they are known. Therefore, education for human rights is great importance.

9.5   Question Pattern :

1) Explain the theoretical development of human right concept ?
2) Write the evolution of human rights movement ?
3) Write notes on –
   a) Declaration of the "Rights of Man".
   b) UDHR – 1948
   c) ICCPR
   d) ICESCR

9.6   Suggested reading –

1) IRA (edited), Human Rights : emerging issues (New Delhi – Kilaso Books) 2005;
2) Janus2 symondies and Vladimir volodin (edi), A guide to Human Rights; (Paris – UNESCO Publishing) 2003.

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UNIT -10
THREE GENERATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Contents
10.0   Objectives
10.1   Introduction
10.2   Three generations of human rights
    10.2.1   First generation
    10.2.2   Second generation
    10.2.3   Third generation
10.3   Conclusion
10.4   Question Bank
10.5   Suggested readings

10.0   Objectives -

- To understand the concept and development of three generations.
- Came to know the rights – considered in each generations.
- To know the significance of the human rights and its classifications.
- To distinguish the rights of three generations

10.1   Introduction :

The failure of the World community to guard effectively the human dignity resulted in horrifying atrocities during Second world war. Consequently, the charter of United Nations was signed on 26th June, 1945. And proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) on 10th December, 1948. The date, which later came to known as the International Human Rights Day.

This efforts to achieve international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental liberty for all without any distinction, later gave rise to consideration of various rights of human beings which later classified into three categories well known as "Three generations of Human Rights'.

10.2   Three generations of Human Rights :

The division of human rights into three generation was initially proposed in 1979 by Czech Jurist " Karel Vasak " at the International Institute of Human Rights in Strasbourg.   Vasak's

theories have primarily took root in European values, this division follow the three watch words – The French revolution – Liberty, equality and fraternity.

The Generations are reflected in some of the rubrics of the charter of fundamental rights of the European Union and United Nation.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948 :

The UDHR was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10th December, 1948. The Declaration which consists 30 Articles, entitles the various civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights – is not a legally binding document. It proclaims "a common standard of achievements for all people and all Nations." It is the basis of the classification of the Human Rights.

The UDHR, Article 1 and 2 of the Declaration states, that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, and everyone is entitled to all the rights set forth in this declaration without distinction of any kind – such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political and other opinion, National or social origin, property, birth or other status."

Article 3 to 21 guarantees civil and political rights – rights to life, liberty and security of person, equality before law and many other rights – to all human beings.

Article 22 to 27 deals with various economic, social and cultural rights – the rights to social security, to work, right to equal pay for equal work and others, to which all human beings are entitled.

Article 28 to 30 maintain that everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which human rights set forth the declaration, may fully realized.

The UDHR is the basic document upon which all the human rights efforts and treaties are based its aftermath and even the theme of the classification of human rights in three generations are rooted in the Universal Declaration of Human rights.

10.2.1 The First Generation of Human Rights :

The rights included in this generation begun to emerge as a Theory during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and were dealing essentially with liberty and participation in political life. They are fundamentally civil and political in nature. Two main ideas were at the central thinking during the period of those of personal liberty and of protecting the individual from excesses of the state. These rights

were meant to impose 'negative obligations on governments to desist from interfering with the exercise of individual liberty'.

The First Generation comprises of Civil Rights – provides minimal guarantees of physical and moral integrity and also individual own sphere of belief – civil rights guarantee one's personhood and freedom from state sanctioned interference or violence.

The legal rights – normally also known as "civil rights" provides procedural protection for people in dealing with the legal and political system, i.e. protection from arbitrary arrest and detention.

Political rights – are necessary in order to participate in the life of the community and society.

Civil and political rights uphold the sanctity of the individual before the law and guarantee his or her ability to participate freely in civil, economic and political society.

Civil or legal and Political rights –
Following are the rights included in this category –

- Right to life, liberty and security of the person
- Rights against slavery
- Rights to be free from arbitrary interference with one's privacy
- Right to human dignity
- Right to equality before law
- Right against discrimination on the basis of any kinds of distinction
- Rights against torture or in human treatment
- Right to freedom of speech and expression
- Right to peacefully assemble and association
- Right to equal protection of law
- Right to conscience and religion
- Right to vote and be elected in periodic and genuine elections
- Right to have an equal access of public services
- Right to criticize the government
- Right to citizenship etc.

The rights of First Generation were first enshrined at the global level by 1948 – in 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights' (UDHR) through its Article – 3 to 21. And the International "covenant on Civil and Political Rights – 1966 and two optional protocol to the ICCPR.

These rights also known as the " Liberty oriented Human Rights ".

Check your progress :

Write the answers in one sentence :

a) What are the rights included in First Generation ?
b) What are the basic document of the First Generation right ?
c) Who classified the rights in three generations ?

10.2.2 Second Generation of Human Rights :

The Economic, Social and cultural rights, including the rights of minority community are collectively known as the Second Generation of human rights.

These rights are fundamentally social, economic and cultural in nature. Demand and claim for these rights began in nineteenth century upon state. With the aim of promoting and protecting economic and social security through economic and social – upliftment of the marginalized section of the society. These rights are based on the ideas of equality and guaranteed access to essential social and economic goods, service and opportunities. The rights became a subject of global recognition with the effect of industrialization and the rise of working class. These rights – social, economic and cultural are more positive in nature in that they make it the duty of the state to ensure that these rights are realized.

Following are the important rights included in this category –

Economic Rights –

- Rights to works or employment.
- Right to adequate food, clothing and housing and standard of living.
- Right to equal pay for equal work.
- Right to property.
- Right to form and join trade unions and strike the work.

Social and Cultural rights –

Are those necessary for full participation in the life of society, community's cultural way of life. These includes –

- Right to social security
- Right to protect motherhood and childhood
- Right to participation and maintain cultural life
- Right to education
- Right to found and maintain family
- Right to protect physical and mental health
- Right to health care, etc.

The economic, social and cultural rights were covered by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) through its Article

22 to 27 and the – International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights (ICESCR)-1966 and also in the European Social charter.

These rights also known as the 'Security oriented Human Rights' as it provides for social, economic and cultural security.

Check your progress :-

Fill in the blanks :

a) Second generation rights consists _____ , _____ and _____ rights.

b) _____ and _____ these two are the basic documents of second generation.

c) Second Generation rights are _____ oriented rights.

10.2.3 The Third Generation of Human Rights :

The Third Generation rights are known as the 'Development oriented rights'. These rights are a response to the global phenomenon of interdependence. They have evolved in response to various new concerns over which international consensus has emerged in recent years. These includes environmental, cultural and developmental rights. They are concerned with the rights of groups and peoples rather than of individuals and include such rights as the rights of self determination and the right to development.

They are a very recent origin in the late twentieth century. Third Generation Human Rights are those rights that go beyond the more civil and social as expressed in many progressive documents of International Law, including the 1972 Stockholm Declaration of the UN conference on the human environment. The 1992 Rio- Declaration on – Environment and Development and other pieces of generally aspirational 'soft law'. And also these rights are guaranteed under the Declaration on the right to development, adopted on 4th December, 1986 by UN General Assembly.

The Third Generation human rights remains largely unofficial and thus has an extremely broad spectrum of rights, including –

- Right to development
- Right to self determination
- Right to social and economic development
- Right to a healthy environment
- Right to participate in common heritage
- Right to peace
- Right to communicate
- Right to humanitarian assistance
- Right to intergenerational equity and stability

The promotion and protection of human environment not only important for the well being of people but for the economic development as well all over the world. Therefore, every individual has the right to enjoy natural environment free from the pollution. Drinking water, fresh air, protection and conservation of forest and ecology, are having very much part of the right to life.

10. 3 Conclusion :

The concept of 'Human Rights' is as ancient as human civilization. The history of mankind is marked by efforts to ensure respect for the dignity of human beings. Human rights are simply defined as the rights which every human being is entitled to enjoy and to have protected. The struggle for the recognition of human rights and the struggle against political, economic, social and cultural oppression, against injustice and inequalities, have been integrated part of the history of all human societies. Thus, these classification of Human Rights in three generation is not only for the understanding the rights, but it also represented development of human thinking.

The beginning of state, people demanded civil and political rights as they seemed it is important for the human beings existence. After the well settlement of social life. The people began to demand for the right which would be essential for the development of all member of human society, those economic, social and cultural rights.

At the present stage after getting industrialization of world society and people enjoyed benefits from the development, but this development challenged the existence of human beings. Hence, the new claim for new rights became. The rights people feel important for the enjoyment of life.

10.4 Question pattern :

Q 1)   Evaluate the classification of human rights in three
          generations ?
Q 2)   Write the importance of civil and political rights ?
Q 3)   How the economic, social and cultural rights are essential for
          the development of human life ?
Q 4)   Write notes on :
          a) Third generation of human rights
          b) Right to development

10.5 Suggested readings :

1) IRA (Edited), Human Rights : Emerging issues; (New Delhi
     – Kilaso Books), 2000.
2) Website : www.humanrightsinitiative.org/pub
3) Adil – VI – Yasin & Acharya Upadhyay, Human Rights; New
     Delhi, Akanksha Publishing House.

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Module 6
UNIT - 11
FEMINIST MOVEMENT

Contents :

11.1   Introduction :

Feminism is mainly focused issues and seek gender equality. Feminism is the concept, which lack precise definition. It has so many dimensions that it becomes almost impossible to unify them in one single definition. Feminism comprises a number of social, cultural, political movements, theories and philosophies concerned with discrimination against women and women rights. It is an ideology that appeals to the self-esteem of a woman.

11.2   Meaning of the Feminist Movement :

Feminism is the movement for women's liberation, which aims to make women socially equal to the men, but this is a simplistic definition, which overlooks the fact that even men are unequal due to factors such as caste, race, class etc. Women's movement refers to a series of campaigns for reforms on such as domestic violence, maternity leave, equalpay, women's suffrage, sexual harassment's and sexual violence. The movement's priorities vary among nations and communities.

Feminism is broad movement embracing numerous phases of women's emacipation. It is freedom from society's oppressive restrictions, freedom to express her thoughts and to convert them freely into action. Feminists demand the acceptance of women's right to individual conscience and judgement.

Definition is by <u>Barbara Berg</u> as given in her "The Remembered Gate : Origins of American Feminism". covers a variety of dimensions of feminism.

"Feminism in the struggle to end exist oppression. Its aim is not to benefit society and specific group of women (e.g. white women, upper caste women, rich women etc.) It does not priviledge women over men. It has the power to transform all our lives in a meaningful way".

The must straightforward definition of feminism says that is a movement for social, cultural, political and economic equality of men and women. It is a campaign against gender inequalities and it strives for equal rights for women.

11.3 Trends or Types of Feminism :

Feminism is multidimensional in nature. It is not unified philosophy. Feminism means different things to different individuals or groups. Hence, often the word feminisms is used to indicate the different trends or subtypes in feminism.

These include :

- Liberal feminism
- Radical feminism
- Separatist feminism
- Anarcha feminism
- Cultural feminism
- Socialist feminism
- Marxist feminism
- Eco feminism
- Equality feminism
- Conservative feminism
- Moderate feminism
- Maternal feminism
- Essentialist feminism
- Third world feminism
- Reformist feminism

1) Liberal Feminism :

Liberal femist focus on individual empowerment. It seeks individualistic equality of men and women through political and legal reforms, without altering the structure of society. It believes in absolute freedom and rationality of women. Equality of women can be achieved through system reforms without any need to alter the structure of society. In the United states and much of the Western World, liberal feminism is the most mainstream form of feminism. According to liberal feminism following have been important issues for liberal feminism.

- Equal voting rights
- Equal opportunity to work and equal pay for equal work

- Right to education for women
- Freedom from sexual exploitation
- Reproductive right

Liberal feminism sees all people as equal, therefore there should be equality for all.

2) Radical feminism :

Radical feminism considers the male-controlled capitalist system is the root cause of women's oppression. It believes that women can be free only when they do away with the inherently oppressive and dominating system. According to it, women's subordination is universal though taking different forms time to time. It stressed on reconstruction of society is necessary. It focused on social reforms, social change and revolution. Argues against institutions like patriarchy. Until patriarchy is transformed on all levels, the system will remain unjust.

3) Separalist feminism :

The most extreme form of radical feminism is separatism which advocate total break with men. It does not support heterosexual relationships. Advocate separation from men, physically, emotionally, psychologically.

4) Anarcha feminism :

It combines feminism and anarchist beliefs. It views fight against patriarchy as an essential part of anarchist struggle against state. They believe that class struggle and anarchy against the state.

5) Cultural feminism :

Focuses on women's inherent differences from men, including their natural kindness, tendencies to nurture, pacifism, concerns for others. Argues for increased value placed on culturally designated "Women's work."

6) Socialist Feminism :

Socialist feminists focus on collective change and empowerment of women. Socialist feminism criticizes the patriarchal capitalist system as exploiter of women. According to them, women are held down because of their unequal standing in born the workplace and domestic sphere. Hence, it demands that the state must make laws and undertake measures to end this exploitation. These may include equal wages act, payment for domestic work etc.

7) Marxist Feminism :

Argues that capitalism is the root cause of women's oppression. Marxist theory assumed that Society is divided into two hostile classes viz. "Haves" and "have nots ". The class of "Haves" exploits the class of "Have nots". The exploitation reaches the peak in the capitalist society. Hence, end of capitalism would ultimately lead to

the socialist society. Marx did not give separate attention to the exploitation of women in the capitalist society. He felt that end at the class oppression would automatically end the gender oppression as well. Marxist feminists disagreed with Marx on this point. While accepting general premises of Marx, they separated gender phenomenon from class phenomenon.

8) Eco Feminism :

Argues against patriarchal tendencies to destroy the environment, animals. Eco feminism establishes link between ecology and feminism. It brings the truth that domination and exploitation of women stems from exploitation of the environment.

9) Equality feminism :

Focuses on gaining equality between men and women in all domains (work, home, law, sexuality) . Argues that women should receive all privileges given to men and that biological differences between men and women do not justify inequality.

10) Conservative feminism :

Conservative feminism critizes the feminism which "adopts a male of carrism and public achievement as female goals, thereby denying women's need for intimacy, family and children." They fear that "equality means death to the family." They often reject the popular feminist epigram" the personal is political".

11) Moderate feminism :

It sees the importance of change within institutions. Argues for small steps toward gender equality.

12) Material feminism :

Late 19th century movement to liberate women by improving their material conditions, removing domestic responsibilities such as cooking and housework, and allowing women to earn their own wages.

13) Essentialist feminism :

Focuses on "true" "biological" differences between men and women, arguing that women are essentially different from men but equal in value.

14) Third Wave feminism :

It is popular among younger women. Third wave feminism is very individualistic, At though it does not reject political activism, it is focused more on personal empowerment as a starting place for social change.

15) Reformist feminism :

They believe that gender inequality can be eliminated through

legislative or electoral reforms without the need to after the capitalist system itself. e.g. National organization for women.

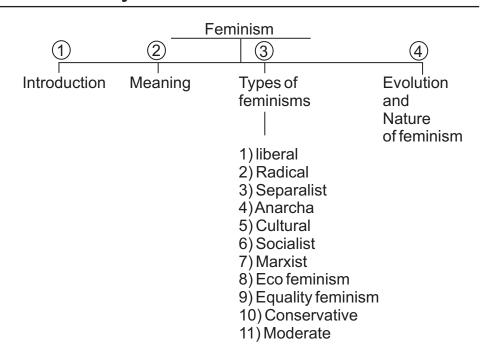## 11.4 Feminist movement : Evolution and changing nature :

Feminism is an action oriented ideology. Hence, it gave birth to the feminist movement. Sometime feminist movement is thought to be the same as the Women's liberation movement.

1) women's liberation movement is only a small part of the wider feminist movement.
2) The feminist movement is not a movement against men.
3) It is liberation of the entire human kind by ending all sorts of exploitation.
4) It is personal empowerment of women.

The Roots :

The feminist movement is generally said to have begun in 1848 with the Seneca Falls conference. However, its root can be traced back to 18th Century. Christine De Pizan, a late medieval writer was possibly the earliest feminist writer in the western world. Feminist thought began to take a concrete shape during the enlightenment with thinkers such as Lady Mary, Wortley Montagu and Marquis de Condorcet who championed women's education. The first scientific society for women was founded in Middleburg in Dutch Republic in 1785.

11.4 Summary Table :

Feminism

① Introduction
② Meaning
③ Types of feminisms
④ Evolution and Nature of feminism

Types of feminisms :
1) liberal
2) Radical
3) Separalist
4) Anarcha
5) Cultural
6) Socialist
7) Marxist
8) Eco feminism
9) Equality feminism
10) Conservative
11) Moderate

12) Material
13) Essentielist
14) Third wave
    feminism
15) Reformist
    feminism

During the period of French Revolution two of the first works, which can be truly called feminist, appeared. They were :

a) The Declaration of the Right of Woman and female citizen :

French revolutionaries adopted the famous declaration of rights of man in 1789, which was based on liberty, equality and fraternity. However, Olympe de Gouges brought to the notice that it did not talk about the female citizens and their rights. Thus, she ridiculed it to be discriminatory and brought an alternative declaration. "Declaration of the Rights of woman and female citizen".

b) The vindication of the Rights of women :

This work by Mary Wollstonecraft published in 1792 became a   milestone in the feminist movement. Harriet Martineau is known as " The Mother of Sociology". She highlighted the importance of women's issues as an essential component   to study of society. She recommended that attention should be paid to the status of women as an indicator of a society's moral status.

10.5 Three waves of Feminist Movement :

There are many feminists and many different theories. However the History of the movement has divide into three waves It began in the western world in the late 18th century. Each wave deals with different aspects of feminist issues.

The First Wave : It was oriented around the station of middle or upper class women mostly in U.S .and U.K. The focused was on women's suffrage, equal legal and political rights.

First Wave feminism began in England : Around the nineteenth century. Mary Wollstonecraft and her "vindication of the Rights of women" are regarded as the milestones of the feminist movement. She advocated Social and Moral equality among men and women. Her works gave tremendous inspiration to the later suffragettes.

Another person whose name must be mentioned here was John Stuart Mill who championed the cause of women's sufferage. He made a considerable contribution to the women's cause with his book the subjection of women in the mid 19th Century. His wife and

great feminist Harriet Taylor significantly influenced Mill's thoughts. In 1918, the Representation of the people act was passed which granted voting right to women over the age 30 who owned a house. In 1928, this was extended to all women over eighteen.

First Wave feminism in U.S. :

The First wave feminism in U.S. commenced with the Seneca fall convention and continued up to the passage on 19th constitution Amendment Act, at 1920 granting voting rights to women citizens.

Seneca Falls Convention :

The credit to organize convention on Women's right goes to Elizabeth Candy Stanson. She organized the convention on July 13,1848 at Seneca Fall, New York, to discuss the social, religious, civic status of women and their rights. The convention brought forth a number of instances of inequality related to women. Some of these were :-

a) Woman had no right to vote,
b) Women had not place in the law making bodies yet had to obey the laws,
c) Married women had no right to property (90% of American women above 25 years of age were married at that time)
d) Women had to pay property tax but had no representation in the executive body, which would lay down taxes,
e) Women were denied entry to many careers such as law, medicine etc.
f) Women did not have equal wages,
g) Women could not take higher education,
h) Women had insignificant role in the affairs at the church,
i) Women were completely dependent upon men etc.

After two days of discussion and debate, 68 women and 32 men present at the convention signed a Declaration of sentiments. It outlined grievances and sets of agenda for the women's rights movement.

A set of 12 revolutionaries was adopted calling for equal treatment of women and men under the law and voting right for women.

Seneca Fall convention was followed by the National Women's Right convention held at Worcester. It had 1000 participants.

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Candy Stanson formed the National Women Suffrage Association in May, 1869. Its primary objective was to achieve voting rights for women by means of amendment to the constitution. Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell

along with others formed American Women Suffrage Association. Both these organizations were merged in 1890 to form National American Women Suffrage Association. It carried out state-by-state campaigns to obtain voting rights.

In 1893, Colorado became the first American State to grant voting rights to women. It was then followed by many other states. Finally, in 1920, 19th amendment was made to the U.S. constitution granting white women the right to vote. The first wave of U.S. feminism is believed to end with this victory.

The Second Wave :

In this feminist movement attempt was to combat social and cultural inequalities. The second wave of feminist activity began in the early 1960 and lasted till 1980. By 1960 women in most of the Western countries were granted voting rights by respective states. They were made constitutionally subordinate to their made counterparts. Hence a new kind of feminist activity evolved in 1960 which demanded social, cultural and economic equality for the women.

"The Feminine Mystique work of Betty Friedan published in 1963 gave the agenda for the second wave. She criticized all the false belief systems, which were created by the patriarchic society (termed as sexist stereotypes by the feminists). For instance, she criticized the idea that women could find fulfillment only through childrearing and homemaking the Patriarchy make women believe that they could find their identify and meaning in their lives only through the male members in the family like father, husband and children. She criticized that such a system causes women to completely lose their identity in that of their family.

Betty Friendan's work was a reflection of the urban upper class white American Women. After the end of the Second World War, U.S., emerged as a super power and its economy flourished. New Developments in technology revolutionized the household work e.g. use of mixer, washing machines, etc. Made the household tasks easier and faster. However, because the household work has considered the domain of women, their status still went down. On one hand, the white American women had equal voting rights but on the other hand, their social, economic status was pathetic. They had totally lost their self-identity.

Thus, Betty correctly identified this, which led to the search for self-identity, which finally led to different sort of feminism after 1960.

It was in this wave that the 'women's liberation' word was used for the first time. It sought to imitate the men while criticizing the patriarchy. It was, criticized by the black feminists and others as

extremely narrow and superficial.

As mentioned above, the Second Wave feminism was concerned with gaining full social and economic equality for the women.

It attempted to break all the chains that would limit the freedom of women including the family. The feminists strived to make women economically independent. This resulted in a fight for gaining the right to contraception and birth control, which were universally restricted until the 1960. It gave the right to control the size of family to women.

The second wave feminists achieved significant gains in U.S.A. Most of the educational institutions opened doors for women and began the era of co-education. Career prospects for women widened too. Women entered so far male-restricted careers. Organizations like ALSSA (Air Line Stewards and Stewardesses Association) fought a long battle to get equal rights in employment. Women airline flight attendants were fired once they were married. As the average age of a woman getting married was 20 years, it could not provide a very long career for women air flight attendants. Dusty roads and Nancy Collins campaigned for removal of age restrictions and this coincidently brought the battle for equal rights in work place. Thus second wave feminism is largely concerned with issues of equality.

The Third Wave :-

It is a continuation of a reaction to the perceived failures of second wave feminism. It began in the 1980 and continuing to the present. It is individualis form of feminism among younger women." Third Wave feminism " is the term used to refer diverse strains of feminist activity. The first and second waves of feminism were largely related to the activity of upper class white women of the western developed countries. Like all feminism, the third wave focuses on economic, political, social and personal empowerment of women. This newer form of feminism focuses more on the individual empowerment of women and less on activism. It celebrates women's journeys to build meaningful identities in the complex contemporary world.

Characteristics of Third Wave Feminism -
1) It celebrates women's multiple and contradictory identities in today's world. It encouraged to build their own identities from the available.
2) It encourages personal empowerment and action. Third wave feminists to think of themselves as survivors, not victims.
3) Although Third Wave feminists do not reject political

activism, the emphasis is more on using one's personal empowerment as a starting point for societal change.

4) Third Wave feminism celebrates emotions and experiences that traditionally have been labeled as "Unfeminine". Women are to be angry, aggressive and outspoken.

5) It celebrates women's sexuality and encourages women to explore sexual options and express themselves in whatever ways they feel comfortable.

6) It celebrate diversity.

How is the Third Wave Different from the second wave?

The second wave focused on the activist goals such as, sex discrimination law, abortion rights, social, economic, cultural equality. Third wave feminists continue this tradition of activism, but the philosophy is more oriented towards individual empowerment than it is towards activism and social change.

Third wave redefined women and girls as assertive, powerful. There was also a realization that women are of many colors, ethnicities, religions and cultural backgrounds. The third wave embraces diversity and change. In this wave there is no all-encompassing single feminist idea.

Third wave feminism also consists of debates between difference feminists such as the psychologist Carol Gilligan who believe that these are important differences between the sexes and those who believe that there are no inherent differences between the sexes and contend that gender roles are due to social conditioning.

Contemporary (third wave) feminists such as Katha Pollitt, Nadine Strossen consider feminism to hold simply that women are people. Similarly, feminist like Christina Hoff Sommers vehemently criticized the feminists of the second wave as gender feminists,' who advocated preferential treatment for women and portrayed women as victims. On the contrary, Sommers proposed "Equity Feminism" which would aim at full civil and legal equality.

There are many currents in the third wave. Some of the third wave feminists prefer not to call themselves feminists. They deal with issues that seem to limit or oppress women as well as other marginalized identities. Consciousness raising activism and widespread education are their tools. Story-telling is a productive way in which the third wave feminists raise-consciousness and exemplify instances of oppression. As a result, feminists magazines like Bitch, Bust, Off Our Backs, and Ms. Have been successfully in relaying women's concern and personal stories related to the feminist movement.

Third wave feminisms central issues are that of race, social class, and sexuality. They are also concerned with the workplace issues like sexual harassment, unfair maternity leave policies, and motherhood support for single mother by means of welfare, childcare and respect for working mothers as well as mothers who decide to leave their careers to raise their children fulltime. They want women to seen as intelligent, political beings with intelligent and political minds. They also want to put attention to the media's unhealthy standards of women, the portrayal of women as sexualized objects catering society to the men's needs and anti-intellectualism. proponents of third wave feminism claim that it allows women to define feminism for themselves by incorporating their own identities into the belief system of feminism is and what it can become through one's own perspective. It stressed on feminism can change with every generation and individual. It ensure that all forms of discrimination are eradicated in all cultures.

Third wave includes the feminism developed in post-colonial world. Post-colonial or third world feminists highlighted that the current deprived conditions of women in the colonies is due to the colonial exploitation on racist, classiest and religious grounds. Chandra Talpade-Mohanty and Sarojini Sahoo criticize western feminism as ethnocentric and for its neglect of women in the third world countries. They believe that the question of sexual liberty is a major question for third wave feminists in Europe but it is not that important for the Asian-African feminists.

11.6 Impact of Feminism :

Impact
1) Civil Rights
The feminist movement has effected change in society. e.g. women's suffrage, greater access to education, equitable pay with men, the right to initiate divorce proceedings, the right of women to make individual decisions regarding pregnancy and the right to own property.
In international law, the convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women is an international convention adopted by the United nations General Assembly and described bill of rights for women. It came into force in these nations ratifying it.
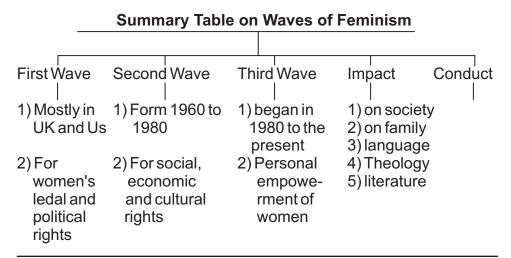
2) Language - The advocacy of gender-neutral language reflects.

3) Theology - Reconsiders the traditions, practices , scriptures of religions from a feminist perspective. e.g. increasing the role of women among the religious authorities, reinterpreting male dominated imagery and language about God, studying images of women in the religious sacred texts.

4) Literature - The feminist movement produced both feminist fiction and non-fiction and created new interest in women's writing. It also prompted a general reevaluation of women's historical and academic contributions.

5) On family - Rampant illegitimacy and sexual disease, widespread divorce and a generation of unloved, and uncured for kids.

11.7 Conclusion

There is criticism against third wave feminism for its lack of single cause. The first wave feminists fought for women enfranchisement. The second wave fought for the right of woman to have access to and equal opportunity to the workforce and ending the legal sex discrimination. The third wave feminism, lacks such a cohesive goal. There is not much difference than the second wave though it criticized the second wave.

11.8 Summary Table on waves of feminism

Summary Table on Waves of Feminism

First Wave	Second Wave	Third Wave	Impact	Conduct
1) Mostly in UK and Us	1) Form 1960 to 1980	1) began in 1980 to the present	1) on society 2) on family 3) language 4) Theology 5) literature	
2) For women's ledal and political rights	2) For social, economic and cultural rights	2) Personal empowerment of women		

11.9 Question Bank

Q.1 Write an essay on the three waves of feminism.
Q.2 Define feminism. Describe various types of feminism.
Q.3 Trace the evolution of feminist movement in the west.

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Module 6
Unit - 12
WOMEN IN POLITICS
(WITH REFERENCE TO INDIA)

Contents :

11.1 Introduction

Feminism in India is a set of movements aimed at defending equal political economic and social rights and equal opportunities for Indian women.The feminist movement in India is <u>qualitatively much different from that in US</u> & Western Europe. The feminist movement in the western world is generally studied in 3 waves, first wave from 19th century up to 1920, second wave1960 to 1980, third wave 1990 onwards. The first wave was characterised by its long fight for achievement of voting right in particular & other constitutional-legal rights in general. The feminists had to fight for bringing the change through constitutional amendments. In India, however, women fortunately did not have to fight for equal rights because <u>the constitution of India granted universal Adult Franchise and other civil-political rights to all</u> including women. Other notable fact is that India was fighting against the British Rule for freedom exactly at the same time when first wave feminism flourished in the western world. The fight for political freedom had become more important than demand for women's rights during the freedom struggle.

12.2 Phases of Feminism in India :

The history of feminism in India, can be divided into three phases.

1) Beginning in the mid nineteenth century, initiated when male European colonists began to speak out against the social evils of sati.

2) The second phase from 1915 to Indain Independence. When Gandhi incorporated women's movement into quit India movement and independent women's organization began to emerge.

3) Third phase - past independence, which was focused on fair treatment of women in the work force and right to political parity.

12.3 Defining Feminism in Indian context :

Feminism in India is changed over time in relation to historical and cultural realities, levels of consciousness, perceptions and actions of individual women and women as a group.

The widely used definition is "An awareness of women's oppression and exploitation in society, at work and within the family, and conscious action by women and men to change this situation."

Constitutional provisions for women in India

The constitution of India declared equality as one of the Fundamental Rights. It also guaranteed equal protection of the law, equal opportunities in public places. The Hindu code passed as seperate acts and rewrote the Hindu laws of marriage and divorce, adoption and inheritance.

1) **1850 to 1995 -** The first phase of feminism in India was initiated by men to uproot the social evils of sati, to allow widow remarriage, to forbid child marriage, and to reduce illiteracy

2) **1915 to 1947 -** Second phase women began to get education, their social status definitely elevated due to the efforts of social-religious reformers. They started participating in public life. There was a good participation of women in the anti-partition, Swadeshi and Boycott Movement, in the activities of Indian National Congress and also in the revolutionary groups. Mahatma Gandhi became the national leader of the INC. Gandhiji's philosophy of non-violence and satyagraha attracted many women, towards the freedom movement. Their number increased through the non-co-operation movement, anti-liquor campaigns, boycotting foreign goods, hartals,marches, civil disobedience movement, popularising Khadi and Swadeshi etc.

3) **Feminism past - 1947-** Post independence feminists began to redline the extent to which women allowed to engage in the work force. However, feminist in the 1970 s challenged the inequalities that had been established and

fought to reverse them. Now, in the 21st century, the focus of the Indian feminist movement has gave beyond treating women as useful members of society and a right to parity, but also having the power to decide the course of their personal lives and the right of self determination.

12. 4 Rise of women's organisations in India

Women thus began to work collectively against the male-dominance at the beginning of the twentieth century. They found that their oppression was from the traditional male-dominated patriarchic Indian Society. The women's movement in India thus linked patriarchy with other structures of oppression.

During the freedom movement, three types of organisations of women emerged.

1. National Council of Women in India (1925).

It was a branch of International Women's Council. This organization had support of the British rulers. Lady Tata took active part along with other women in families of rich industrialists. The organisation used to undertake a number of constructive welfare activities for the women. Even before the formation of NCWI , Women's India Association was formed in 1917 in Chennai. It had close links with Madras Theosophical Society.

2. All India Women's Conference (1927).

This organisation was set up originally to discuss the issue of female education.Princesses of upper class women ran it. Soon, it was taken over by the prominent leaders of freedom movement such as Sarojini Naidu, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Anusuyabai Kale, Aruna Asaf Ali, Hansa Mehta etc. It broadened the base of the organisation. It was realized that the issue of female education could not be addressed without looking at other issue such as purdah and child marriage. From here came the realisation that these women-related questions could not be separated from India's political subjection. Thus, the AIWC came to point where it stressed the political good of self- government as a means to achieve women's aspirations.

3. Leftist organisations :

The above-mentioned two organisations did not include within their realm of lower class women. They remained organisations representing the interests and issues at upper middle class urban women.

After the Bolsheivk Revolution of 1917, many young educated women started working, for the women of lower strata, farmers, workers, labourers etc. They realised that these women were exploited due to the feudalism and landlordism. Thus, women's organisation inspired by the leftist ideology took birth in 194os. Women's self-defense (ATMA-Raksha) Committee was formed in Kolkatta. It worked very hard during the Bengal famine. It was due to this Organization that rationing system was introduced in India. It actively participated in the ' Tibhaga Agitation' of farmers. In Punjab, women's 'Self Defense League' was formed. It did significant work during the partition of India. It later came to be known as 'Lok stree sabha' which worked against the domestic & other forms of violence against the women. In Andhra Pradesh, Andhra mahila sangham worked against the exploitation of women at the hands of rich landlords. In Chennai, Golden Rock shramik sangha, in Mumbai, Parel Mahila Sangh were formed.

After Independence, these varied leftist organisations held a convention at Kolkatta in 1954. They were merged to form an all-India organisation, which was named as National Federation of Indian Women. NFIW focus attention on women's struggle for equal rights in all spheres of life and for improvement in their living conditions.

11.2.1 Post-Independence phase:-

Global developments and its impact on feminist movement in India.

In the western world, the feminist movement that fought for women franchise in the 19th century lost its vigor after 1920 achievement of the equal civil-political rights especially the right to after 1920 vote for women. Meanwhile the world faced world war II U.S.A. emerged as a strong super power and its economy was unaffected by the war. New technological changes revolutionised many spheres including the domestic one. The invention of washing machine, mixers, & similar home appliances reduced the domestic burden of urban upper-middle class white American women. However, these developments led to decline in the status of women as domestic work was regarded as less important. Women realised that they were far behind the men as long as social, economic & cultural equalities were concerned. This was despite the fact that they enjoyed equal civil and political rights. All this finally culminated into the 'second wave' of feminism in U.S. The Indian constitution granted equality, freedom from discrimination based on gender, religion. Also seven five year plans were developed to provide health, education, employment and welfare to women. Despite the achievement of equal civil & political rights in 1950, the status of women in patriarchic Indian society was pathetic.

After1960 there were a number of agitations by youth & marginalised sections across the world e.g. Black Movement in USA, Students' revolt in Paris, Dalit Panthers in India, birth of Naxalite Movement etc. All such developments had a definite impact on the feminist Movement.

UNO declared 1975 as 'International Year of Women' followed by 'International Decade of Women'. These steps globalised women's issues. Various national governments were obliged to take reviews of status of women & design plan of action to improve it. All the global developments stated above had a major impact on feminist movement in India.

Feminist activities in India - The new social movements took birth in 1960s & 1970s. Women followers of Mahatma Gandhi who saw economics and social change as more important than legal and constitutional right. They focused their attention on grass-root projects. They gave boost to feminist activity during this period. Some such examples are:

A) Shramik Sanghtana was established by organizing tribal Bhilla community in Dhule district of Maharashtra. It led a massive campaign against the domestic violence.

B) SEWA Ila Bhatt, the Gandhian activist in 1972 formed the self-employed women's Association.

C) United Women's Anti-price Rise Front

The socialist leader Mrunal Gore formed it.

D) A student movement against price rises in Gujarat developed along the same lines to form Nav-Nirman (1974) led by middle class women.

Now, a start was made to form women's organizations along lines completely different from the pre-Independence ones. There was no effort to form all-India organizations. New women's organisations were local and tightly knit, with focused agendas.

The declaration of Emergency in 1975, drove many radical leftist women underground and their networks fragmented.

After the Emergency, however, new forces emerged. From around 1978, city based women's groups were founded, some of which had strong roots in leftist politics. These autonomous organisations focused on raising consciousness about gender issues. There were also localized struggles like the Chipko Movement and the Bodhgaya Movement (with a radical demand for women's land rights). Slowly these new feminist movements acquired national character.

The movement was committed to do feminist politics. There were countrywide protests by women on a case of custodial rape, the Mathura rape case. In addition, agitations against dowry were common. The feminist organisation forced the government to amend the laws to end such crimes against women. Hence, the organisation also focused on providing services to individual women to enable them to gain advantages given in law. This casework was significantly different from the welfare work of earlier women's groups. The earlier groups sought amelioration, the new groups sought recognition and realisation of rights.

However, in 1980s, Shah Bano case led to conflicts among the feminist groups and thus was a big setback to the feminist movement in India.

12.5 Summary Table - Feminism in India

Summary

① Introduction

② Phases of feminism in India
1) beginning in 19th century
2) After 1920 to 1947
3) Past 1947

③ Defining feminism in Indian context and constituti - onal provisions

④ Rise of women's organization in India

During the freedom movement
1) NCWI
2) AIWC
3) Leftist orgs

Post Independence
1) Global development and its impact
2) Feminist activities

12.6 Political Participation of Woman in India

A Historical overview

Despite equal civil & political rights since 1950, the political participation of women in India is very low. Loksabha formed after elections in 2004, has only 49 women M.P.s; which is only 9.1% of the total strength of Loksabha. In Rajyasabha the number of women M.P.s is 23, which is only 9.5% of its total strength. Women's Reservation Bill demanding 33% reservation for women in parliament as well as legislative bodies has not yet been passed due to varied reasons.

Let us take a quick look into the history of demand for women's participation in India, which began from British time.

- In 1917, a delegation of Indian women put up before Secretary of state, Edwin Montague its demand for franchise.

- In 1920s, the right to vote was granted to propertied women. However, women were not allowed to participate in legislative bodies.

- In 1930, women were allowed to enter the legislatives. Muthulakshmi Reddi became the first women legislator. The change was largely due to the efforts of women's India Association.

- In the Round Table Conference held in 1930, two women activists, Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz and Radhabai Subbarayan, pleaded for 5% reservation for women in the legislatures.

- Government of India Act, 1935, broadened the franchise base. It provided for formal induction of women in the political process both in reserved and general seats.

- Provincial elections held under the Act returned 56 women in various provincial assemblies while 30 women were elected to the central Assembly.

- The constitution makers gave equal civil-political rights to women but they did not accept the idea of reserved seats for women.

- Through the 73rd &74th amendments in 1993, 33% reservations have
been provided to women in local -self government institution.

Agenda before the Feminist Movement in India

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the feminist movement in India is qualitatively different from its western sets of socio-economic problems. Women are victims not only of the patriarchic system but even the social, economic cultural systems in India. Hence the feminist movement in India has a broader agenda that can be discussed as follows:

1) Violence against women:- In the Patriarchic India society, women are given subordinate status. They have to fulfill their familial duties of daughters, sisters, wives, daughter-in-law etc. It has been estimated by a report of UNO, that two thirds of married Indian women are victims of domestic violence. About 70% of women in age group at 15 to 40 years are victims of rape, abuse and similar such instances. They also suffer from mental and emotional torture.

Dowry deaths are the worst kind of violence against women in India. Feminist movement took up the issue and undertook massive campaign against it. It resulted in legislation, which required any death of a woman within seven years of marriage to be investigated as a murder.

Due to frequent efforts of the activists, Domestic violence Act was passed in 2005.

2) Sexual harassment at workplace:- The feminist movement in India has brought the issue of sexual harassment at workplace to the centre stage. The working women often fall prey to the sexual demands of their male colleagues and superiors. The women are often forced to have sexual relations for getting promotions or transfers.

In 1997, the feminist lobbying against this, succeeded as the Supreme Court issued a suggested 'code of conduct' at the workplace to check sexual harassment during the Vishakhavs state of Rajasthan judgment.

3) Female Foeticide :- Between the years of 1991 to 2001, the female male ratio of the population of India fell from 94.5 girls per 100 boys. This is evidence of natality inequality and indication that sex-selective abortion has become more pervisive. One of the main reasons behind this decline is the growing incidence of female-foeticide. The birth of a baby-boy is believed to be necessary to attain 'Moksha'. Girls are often though to be financial burden and hence female foeticide is common even in educated-urban families. Medical practitioners have misused modern technologies such as ultra-sound sonography.

The feminist movement thus demanded banning the sex determination tests.

4) Development:- India opted for 'Planned economy' after Independence. Planning commission under the chairmanship of the Prime minister began to make five-year plans. Ambitious projects like power plants - Thermal, Hydel, National & State highways, basic industries etc. were undertaken. However, most of these were modeled on the Western model of development. They benefited only a few rather than the masses. They led to environmental degradation largely.

Feminist movement believed that there has been a very close relation between the environment and women. Often, the exploitation of environment directly affects life of women. Thus, the movement brought to its agenda the environmental issues as well. It brought to the notice that the model of development accepted by Indian policy makers has resulted in the increasing impoverishment of weaker sections & caused a severe ecological crisis while serving the interests of the dominant class / caste groups. The movement

therefore wholeheartedly supported struggles like those against Narmada Dam, mechanized agriculture at the Chilka Lake against nuclear bases, against the promotion of tourism industry at the cost of basic needs of local people & of the ecological balance. It believes that such struggles present alternative models of development.

5) Work :- The feminist movement notes the fact that there is declining participation of women in non-agricultural sectors & Majority of the women workforce is concentrated in the unorganised sector of the economy. Women are forced to take those jobs, which men do not care for unskilled, semi-skilled, low-grade office jobs. In addition when manual jobs traditionally performed by women are mechanized, men take up their work. e.g. electrically operated flour- mills replacing the traditionally hand-made by women. On one hand, women are considered unfit for heavy manual labour but both in formal & household work, women do the heaviest jobs.

6) Health :- WHO defines health as 'socio-cultural of economic wellbeing of the individual'. Thus health is much broader concept & not just absence of diseases. The feminist movement wants everybody to have such broader perspective on women's health.

It has been observed that government as well as international agencies like UNICEF and WHO often operate on the premise that women's primary role in the society is that of being mothers and keepers of family health. It is assumed that it is women's ignorance, which leads to high rates of infant and maternal mortality rather than poverty, malnutrition and lack of medical facilities.

Feminists criticize government policies to link up relief worker employment schemes with pressure for family-planning.

7) **Uniform Civil Code (UCC) :-** India is a land of religious diversity. There are four personal codes (One each for Hindus, Muslims, Christians & Parsis) in India which deal with personal matters such as marriage; divorce, inheritance, adoption etc. Though UCC was included in the Directive Principles of the state policy (Part-IV) of the constitution; there still exist 4 different personal codes. The resistance to UCC comes from the community leaders because it destroys the cultural identity of minorities, the protection of which is the bedrock of minority interests.

The UCC came on feminist agenda because such a code would end discrimination against women presently seen in every religion. Interestingly, demand for a UCC was made by All India women's conference in 1937. Feminist groups welcomed the supreme court's judgment in Shah Bano case. However, the decision of Rajiv Gandhi's government under pressure from certain minority groups to revert the decision was a big shock for the feminists demanding UCC.

8) Reservation in representative bodies :- Despite equal right to vote and right to contest elections, women's participation in politics is significantly low. There is therefore the demand made by feminist groups to grant reservation to women in representative institutions. Reservations are needed because political parties are unwilling to give candidature to women in large numbers. The reservations would increase women's political participation considerably. Their presence in legislatures would lead to changes in direction of debates & policy.

At present, 33% seats are reserved in local self-government bodies after the passage of 73rd & 74th amendment acts. However, there has been no reservation in State & Central legislature in favour of women due to delays in the passage of women's Reservation Bill.

12.6.2 Challenges before feminist movement in India :-

Political Participation of women depends on a number of factors such as socio- economic development, geographic conditions, culture, nature of political system etc. Women are not a homogeneous group & there are variations based on caste, class, ethnicity, religion, education cultural background etc.

Hence the obstacles faced by one group of women or an-individual woman are different than the other women. For instance, poor rural women face obstacles in the form of class (poverty) and caste. While urban, upper middle class women may face obstacles in the form of obligations imposed by the patriarchic family or society.

Various obstacles in the political participation of women in India are as follows :-

1) Political Obstacles:

The political obstacles in women's political participation can further be discussed as follows:-

a) The Masculine model of politics and male style polities:

Politics and political life is largely organized according to male norms & values and in some cases even male life style. For instance, politics is often based on the idea of 'winners & losers', ' competition &confrontation' rather than on systematic collaboration and consensus. It results in women either rejecting politics altogether or rejecting male style politics. Women tend to give priority to societal concerns, like social security, national health, and children's issues, which are least priority area in male-dominated politics.

The masculine model of politics is reflected in the parliamentary work schedule which requires a lot of time away from families. In addition, the party and constituency work, committee work, a lot of time is required for the MPs and legislators. To build network of loyal activists, sympathisers, media support requires a lot of time. This demand of time automatically restricts women's participation as they are overburdened with family responsibilities. Women are obliged to pay their socially prescribed nurturing roles of mother, wife, and sister and so on. Many women in politics actually struggle to balance family life with the demands of work that often involves late hours, much traveling and few facilities. That probably would explain why women in politics often from the politician-families.

b) Political Parties :

The political parties who depict themselves as the advocates of women's emancipation, themselves have failed to give enough representation to women. This is true even of those parties which have women as party presidents e.g. INC, Trimool congress, AIADMK etc. Women do play significant role in campaigning and mobilizing support for their parties. Yet they do not get any significant position in party's organizational structure. The double standard adopted by various political parties can be understood from some of the following facts:

★ Women are not given much candidature.
★ Women are given candidature from the constituencies with less chance of success for the party.
★ Women candidates are not given sufficient financial support.
★ Women are not given sufficient guidance.
★ Women activities are not given place in party's decision making.
★ Ruling party does not give important portfolios to its women ministers.

Political parties are bedrocks of democracy. However, they are not committed to give real meaningful representation to women. They are based on patriarchic society. This is not only true in India but is a worldwide truth. That is why there are only 11% women leaders across various political parties of the world. Ambitious women politicians often have no choice but to establish their own party to remain significant in politics. This can be illustrated by examples of Ms. Mamata Banerjee (TMC), Uma Bharti (Bhartiya Janshakti Party) etc.

c) Electoral system and constitutional legal provisions :

The type of electoral system plays an important role in women's political participation. Countries having Majoritarian system have less number of women representatives. However, the system of proportional representation increases chances for women's

representation in legislature. This has been best illustrated from the experience of Nordic countries like Finland, Denmark and Sweden etc.

In addition to changes in electoral system, positive changes of constitution and laws also help to increase women's political participation. Right to vote, right to association assembly, right to contest election are basic political rights to ensure steady participation of women in politics. In country like Rawanda, certain number of seats (24 of 80 in the lower house & 30% in the upper house) have been reserved for women. Argentina has passed a legislation requiring political parties to give 30% seats, to women. Such measures help largely to increase political participation of women.

d) Corruption and criminalization of politics :

Politics has become very expensive affair in recent times. Despite the strict limits declared by election commission on electoral expenses, elections in reality are very costly affair. Hence, those with money power are favourites of political parties requires a lot of monetary expenditure. All this has brought in corruption in politics on a very large scale. Corruption is systematically institutionalized. In India even, Prime ministers, Chief Ministers etc. have faced charges of corruption, which indicates the depth of the problem. In addition to money power, muscle power also plays a crucial role in politics. Politicians are often believed to have links with local goondas to international mafia gangs. Not just this, but many lumpen elements have entered the political arena to combine their muscle and money power with the state power. All this gives a negative picture to a layman. Politics is regarded as 'dirty game' and women find it difficult to be part of this system.

e) Approach of the government officials :

The elected representative or the politicians have to meet government officials quite frequently in order to fullfill their promises to the electorate. However, women representatives often face resistance and non-cooperation of the administrative officials, largely due to gender insensitivity. This reduces interest of these representatives in politics.

2) Socio- economic obstacles :

There is a close connection between socio-economic status and political participation of women.

a) Triple role women play : Women are forced to play a triple role when they enter politics- they have to work at home, in their jobs and in the political institutions. It is very hard for a woman to sustain this triple burden. There are hardly any mechanisms to reduce the burden of women in fulfilling their domestic responsibilities. In particular poor women who are engaged in long hours of non-waged productive activities in rural areas such as collection of water, fuel,

fodder, grazing cattle, childcare etc., the absence of support services to free women to participate in political activities limits their participation. Even urban women are not freed from domestic and work-place responsibilities. Thus, politics becomes the last choice for most of the women overburdened with almost compulsory household and workplace responsibilities.

b) Poverty and unemployment : According to UNO estimates, about 1.8 million poor exist in the world and 70% of these are women, 19.3% of Indian population lives in poverty. The incidence of poverty in rural India is 21.3%. Poverty is the greatest barrier in political participation of women. Many women are forced to work in unorganized sector with meager daily wages, which also limits their participation.

c) Illiteracy : World's largest number of illiterate women are in India. (According to 2001 census, 46% of women are illiterate against 24% of men. Among S.C. & S.T. women, illiteracy is as high as 76% & 81% respectively.) Because of this, the women lack access to information. It makes women dependent on men for understanding the rules, and run the administration. They lack confidence due to illiteracy.

d) Caste : Women belonging to lower caste have lesser access to public fora. This makes it difficult for these women to represent & articulate the voices of their constituencies and their demands are often overlooked by the dominant sections of the society.

Social divisions based on caste also limit the potential for gender solidarity between women, thereby disabling them to develop a common political agenda.

e) Lack of formal training mechanism : Politics is a full time profession & requires special skills like any other business. However, surprisingly very few mechanisms to impart formal training are available. This lack of training makes women dependent on men politicians.

3) Psychological and cultural barriers:-

a) Traditional roles : In many countries, including India, traditions continue to emphasize women's primary roles as mothers and housewives and to restrict them to these roles. Women's role is generally apolitical in most of the societies.

b) Lack of confidence : The patriarchic society successfully imbibes its values in minds of most of women. Women are made to believe that their existence is only due to male members of the family whether father, husband, brother or son. She is convinced to accept subordinate position in family as well as in society. This results in lack of confidence of women.
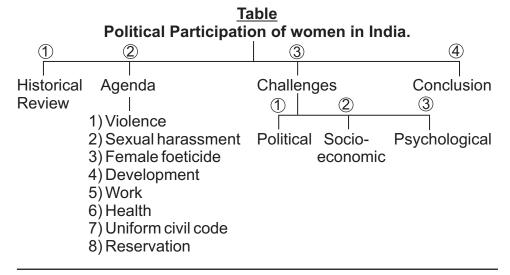
c) The Perception of politics as 'Dirty' : Women often perceive politics as a ' dirty' game. This restricts their confidence in their ability to participate in political processes. Corruption, extortion, criminalisation, hypocrisy etc. lead to such image of politics.

12.7 Conclusion :

Despite the progress made by Indian feminists movements, women living in modern India still face many issues of discrimination. India's patriarchal allure has made the process of gaining land ownership rights and access to education challenging. In the past two decades there has also emerged a disturbing trend of sex-selective abortion.

The 20th century saw women gain access to political, economic and social rights due to efforts of many feminist activists. All these achievements are leading to important change in women's lives but there is still a long road to go. Women continue to face both old and new challenges. Despite positive legal constitutional changes, women face a number of hurdles in political participation.

12.8 Summary - Political Participation of women in India.

Table
Political Participation of women in India.

① Historical Review   ② Agenda   ③ Challenges   ④ Conclusion

Agenda
1) Violence
2) Sexual harassment
3) Female foeticide
4) Development
5) Work
6) Health
7) Uniform civil code
8) Reservation

Challenges
① Political   ② Socio-economic   ③ Psychological

12.9 Question Bank

Q.1 What are the obstacles in the meaningful political participation of women in India.

Q.2 Explain how the feminist movement evolved in India.

Q.3 Write Short notes :
a) Objectives of feminist movement
b) Three waves of feminism
c) Feminist movement in India – Post-independence period
d) Types of feminism

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Module 7
UNIT - 13
TERRORISM

Contents

13.0 Objectives

This unit attempts to explain the term terrorism, its nature, types and causes. After studying this unit, you should be able to define the term 'terrorism' and understand different types of terrorism and be able to differentiate between state sponsored and Anti state terrorism.

13.1 Introduction

The term "terror" has been derived from a latin word 'terrere' which means, to frighten. The term terrorism is a disputed term and many of labeled those as terrorists do not accept it. There is no consensus to the definition of the term terrorism, various government agencies use different definitions of terrorism. It is because of the nature of acts of terrorism and fact that the term itself is politically and emotionally charged.

13.2 Meaning Of Terrorism

13.2.1 Definitions

United Nations General Assembly describes terrorism as " Criminal act intended or calculated to provide a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular person for political purposes are in any circumstances unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be involved to justify them."

The Encyclopedia Britannica defines terrorism as " the systematic use of violence to create a general climate of fear in a population and thereby to bring about a particular political objective."

Terrorism generally has following features:
(i)   It involves political aims.
(ii)   It is designed to generate fear in a target audience that contains beyond the immediate victims of the violence.
(iii)   The perpetrators are identifiable with an organization.
(iv)   Terrorist actions are used to improve the power situation of their organization.

13.2.2 Nature of Terrorism

Terrorism has been described as the "weakest form of irregular warfare", with the purpose of altering the political landscape. Terrorist groups are weak because of the lack of broader public support and therefore resort to insurgency and revolution. They lack broader support as their goals for change are based on radical ideas, which are acceptable to only a small percentage of population.

Terrorist may not be confused with criminals. Criminals indulge in any act for the financial gains or personal issues. For example, kidnappers, who ask money as a ransom may be regarded as criminals but not as terrorists. Hijackers of the Indian Airlines Aeroplane in the year 1999 demanded release of the four terrorists in exchange of the plane which the Government of India accepted it, was purely an act of terrorism.

Terrorism is a form of psychological warfare that intends to generate fear among the general public. For example, attack on Indian Parliament on Dec, 13, 2001 was to create panic situation in our country. The motive behind the attack was to demonstrate the vulnerability of the security situation in India.

13.2.3 Types of Terrorist Groups

Terrorist groups may be catgorised into four types:

(a)   Left wing terrorists: It emerges from the intellectual class

of the society and have strong desire to move the economy in the right direction. e.g. Naxal groups in India.

(b) Right wing terrorists: This group involves themselves in pro- government and pro-national activities and are reactionary in nature. e.g. Reign of terror in France.

(c) Separatists: Such terrorists are imbued with a sense of nationhood and want their state or territory to be recognised as an independent entity. e.g. Babbar Khalsa International.

(d) Religious terrorism: Religious terrorism is a terrorism performed by groups or individuals, the motivation of which is typically rooted in the faith based tenets. e.g. Al-Qaida. Currently religious terrorism dominates the world scenario. Although this classification is not perfect as many groups have mix of these ideologies, but usually one ideology or motivation dominates within a particular group or organization.

Check your progress

(1) What is terrorism?
(2) Enumerate different types of terrorist groups.
(3) What is nature of terrorism?

13.3 State Sponsored Terrorism

13.3.1 Forms of State Terrorism

State sponsored terrorism can be discussed in two forms: one is, use of terror by States against their own citizens to control them and another is, sponsorship of terrorist activities in other states. Chinese army using tanks to crush students protest in Tianmen Square in the year 1989 has demonstrated former kind of terrorism, whereas United States, sponsorship of Afghan guerillas fighting against Soviet Union, is of latter type terrorism.

Moreover the most common form of state involvement with terrorism is to further foreign policy objectives. The states involved in it have an advantage, as it can deny any involvement in the act. Sponsorship can take many forms, such as encouragement by state's media, funding and logistical support. Very often state's intelligence agencies work as an agent between governments and terrorist groups. It becomes very difficult to establish link between states and the terrorist organizations.

State sponsored terrorism has a long history. In the late nineteenth century, Russia provided support to revolutionary groups in the Balkans trying to set up Slavic state, During world war I,

Germany supplied arms to the Irish nationalists fighting British government. In the late twentieth century, many states have backed terrorist groups. Weaker countries have found the technique, a useful method to strike out at opponents, who outperform them in terms of conventional military strength.

The main sponsors of terrorism have been radical Middle Eastern States (Iran, Iraq, Syria and Libya), the Soviet Union, North Korea, South Africa, United States and Israel.

13.3.2 Modes of Sponsorship

Sponsorship of terrorism can be graded from limited support to full sponsorship or even control. A state can for example, support a terrorist group by refusing to extradite an accused terrorist. At the other extreme, a sponsoring state may be closely involved in planning and controlling specific terrorist acts. The specific types of support that may be given to terrorists include intelligence support, training and use of the state's diplomatic network. Material support may include the provision of high technology, weapons and explosives, logistics asset and transportation of state may also permit the use of its own territory as Pakistan has provided, terrorists active in Kashmir a safe haven.

Technical experts of the sponsoring state are often involved in aspects of terrorist operations. Reports indicate that the massive truck bombs that devastated U.S. facilities in Lebanon in the 1980s were prepared with assistance from Syrian explosives, even though terrorist groups can obtain many weapons from the black market. In 1985-86, the provisional IRA received some 120 tons of arms and explosives from Libya.

The training of professional terrorists is often hard to distinguish from that of guerillas. When states assist in such training, often the most useful step is in providing basic and advanced military training for recruits. Sometimes, if the sponsored group is virtually part of the state's armed forces, then the group's military training is carried out alongside that of army troops. For example, until the late 1980s, Palestinians attended regular military courses in the Soviet Union.

Moreover, specific instruction has also been provided to sponsored groups. Cuba issued a handbook to Latin American revolutionary groups giving instructions on sabotage techniques against vehicles, telephone and electrical systems and gasoline supplies. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) issued similar instructions to Nicaraguan contras in its own handbook on covert warfare.

Check your progress.

1) What are various forms of state sponsorship of terrorism?
2) What are the ways in which states sponsor terrorist groups?

13.4 Anti-state Terrorism

13.4.1 Causes of Anti-State Terrorism :

Anti-state terrorism can be described as terrorism from below or dissident terrorism committed by non-state actors against governments. Political violence by non-state actors has long been viewed as a necessary evil by those sympathetic to their cause. Terrorists have historically justified their deeds as indispensable tactics to defend a higher cause.

To understand the problem of terrorism, we must ask ourselves, questions like why do people take up arms against governments and social systems? What weapons are available to the weak when they decide to confront the strong? Do the ends of anti-state dissidents justify their chosen means? Exploitations by the state actors is a frequently cited reason to explain the non-state actors' intervention by means of violence. Such grievances are often ignored by state officials. For e.g. Terrorists in Jammu and Kashmir often blame Indian Army's atrocities on common people as their reason to resort to violence.

13.4.2 Dissident Terrorism

Policy experts and academicians have designed a number of models that define dissident terrorism. We shall discuss firstly the revolutionary terrorism. Revolutionary terrorism is the threat or use of violence aimed at effecting complete revolutionary change. The objective of the revolutionary dissidents are to destroy an existing order through violence and build a relatively well-designed new society. Revolutionary terrorists view existing order as regressive, corrupt and oppressive. They want to establish new order, which will be progressive, honest and just. Marxist revolutionaries, for example, have a general vision of Communist party led egalitarian classless society.

In fact revolutionary dissidents are often less in number as compared to the established political system and are gunned down by state security agencies. They view unconventional war to destabilize the central authority. Thus terrorism becomes a practical alternative to disrupt government administration and symbolizes the weakness of the existing system. For example, Marxist revolutionary movements in 1950s to the 1980's operating in rural areas waged guerilla warfare against the government's security forces, often unsuccessfully.

Therefore urban terrorism became a widespread phenomenon in many countries during that period.

National dissidents champion the national aspirations of groups of people distinguished by their cultural, religious, ethnic or racial heritage. The championed people generally live in conditions in which their interests are subordinate to the interests of another group or a national regime. They mobilize a particular demographic group against another group or government. They are motivated by the desire for some degree of national autonomy, such as democratic political integration, regional self- governance or national freedom.

Nationalist sentiments can arise in many social and political environments. It may be a minority living among a majority group or a majority national group living in a region politically dominated by the government of another ethnic group such as Tibetans. These national groups have a distinct cultural, ethnic and regional identity that sometimes, exist within the borders of several countries. For example, Kurds, divided across Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria.

Nationalist dissidents have often used terrorism to achieve their goals. They resort to this method to undermine their political opponent as it has been seen as a practical option, as opponents possess overwhelming military power. An example is the Provisional Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland.

Anti-state dissident terrorism is directed against existing governments and political institutions, attempts to destabilize the existing order as to form a new society. Their goal is to defeat the state and its institutions. Often anti-state terrorism is directed against specific governments and occurs within the borders of a particular country. The histories of every nation give rise to specific anti-state environments that are unique to their societies. The following examples illustrate this.

During 1960s, leftist terrorism predominated the scene in United States, at the height of anti- Vietnam war and people's rights movements. Bank robberies, bombings and property destruction were the common method used by dissidents. But in the 1980s, right-wing terrorism began to predominate when some racial supremacists, religious extremists and antigovernment members of Patriot movement adopted strategies of violence.

Dissidents believe that their cause is not only likely to end in victory but that victory is in fact inevitable. That is why they persist in their war. They avoid direct confrontation because of comparative weakness. Nevertheless, they believe in ultimate victory. They have an utopian vision of victory, as they believe that God will ensure them final victory.

13.4.3 Future of Terrorism

Terrorism is a dynamic phenomenon, which means that it is changing with wider shifts in the character of human society. Societies are becoming increasingly interconnected and interdependent in terms of their economic, political and social needs, so terrorism too is changing and evolving a global logic. In terms of the issues that can motivate the people to anger and violence, in terms of the new technologies that allow for the emergence of formal and informal networks of individuals who share this anger, the forces of globalization have unleashed a powerful force that is likely to challenge states in future.

In a world increasingly dominated by single superpower, some smaller states outside the western mainstream will continue to give covert support to terrorist groups in a bid to influence international affairs.

Check your progress.

1) Explain the causes of terrorism.
2) Discuss various types of dissident terrorism.

13.5 Peace Movements

13.5.1 Peace and Peace Movements

Peace is often defined as the absence of violence. However, there is considerable disagreement over what forms of violence need to be absent. This disagreement is reflected in the list of winners of Nobel Peace prize. which includes the names of some controversial figures like U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (1973), Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso (1989) and various international organisations. These actors have contributed to world peace through diverse ways and thus diversity of opinion remains about what peace is and it is promoted.

Some scholars of peace, maintain that peace needs to be encompass equality, socioeconomic factors and social justice. In fact, there is a growing interest in the role of non-violent social movements, particularly in struggles for equality in domestic political situations, in achieving and maintaining peace. A more minimalist definition of peace focuses on the absence of physical violence between political actors. For the most part, absence of military violence has been focused, while discussing peace. Peace movement is often used as a synonym for pacifism. But in discussing peace movements it is helpful to differentiate between the periods before and after 1945. Since world war II, peace movements have had distinctively new patterns of

mobilization and organization, and many of them have been protest against violence or the military per se.

Peace movement is a specific coalition of peace organizations that, together with elements of the public seek to remove threat of war or to create institutions or cultures that obviate recourse to violence. Peace organisations are people with shared commitment to common values and traditions, like religious pacifism, or to a programme such as world federalism. Such groups form coalitions in order to enlist public support in response to salient issues. If the issue is war or a specific war threat, peace coalitions take the form of antiwar movements. Historically specific peace movements have affected national policies, international institutions and so on. For example, anti-Vietnam war movement led to the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

13.5.2 Origin of the Peace Movements

The origin of the peace movements can be traced back to French revolution, that created conditions, which allowed peace movements to arise. Convictions matured within the pre-revolutionary bourgeois society that there is no rational argument to justify war. The mass experience of war following the French Revolution of 1789 and Napoleonic rule gave the impulse for the organization of an individual peace mentality. The time spanning from the end of the Napoleonic era to the beginning of the age of imperialism was a take-off period for peace organisations. They emerged from two sources: on the one hand religious motivation and on the other hand a predominantly philanthropic rationalistic motivation leading to the foundation of the first peace societies on the continent in Paris in 1821 and Geneva in 1830. The discourse of both focused on how to ban war as a means of conflict resolution and to get this idea generally accepted nationally and internationally.

From 1901 onwards the supporters of peace movements called themselves 'pacifists' and their programme 'pacifism'. World war I created a deep rift within the international peace movements and cut the national peace movement's flexibility to a considerable extent. The new pacifism formed more solid base for international organisations. The international congress of pacifists in the Hauge in 1915 led to the short lived 'Central Organization for a Durable Peace'.During the interwar period ,peace movements were marked by the coexistence of radical pacifist positions with the moderate orientation of traditional peace organization on widening of their social base into the working classes. The nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki as well as the postwar strategy of nuclear deterrence developed in the course of the East-West confrontation gave new dimensions to the discussion on war and peace. Originated from the U.S. and directed against the Vietnam war, a radical peace

movement staging a new type of mass protest and with the characteristic of the 'New Social Movements' came into being.

13.5.3 Causes of emergence of Peace Movements

The experience of the world war II and the lessons derived from it have had an important impact on thinking about war and peace. Technological developments have transformed the nature of warfare and so promoted widespread popular movements to prevent a nuclear warfare. Number of peace groups and variety of peace campaigns have multiplied in North America and North-West Europe, where a tradition of peace action was already well established. Peace Movement has spread to other parts of Europe and other continents where previously it was non-existent.

The national peace societies gradually felt the need of international movement. From 19th Century international peace conferences began to be held. By the beginning of 20th century, a large number of peace societies had emerged on the international arena. But they failed to stop the World War I in 1914. During this period, these societies gave up their universal stand and responded to nationalist call. After the war, the peace proposals failed and could not stop World War II. The World War II was most horrifying, most murderous weapon, the atom bomb was used in the war for the first time. The war ended with the beginning of new age named as Nuclear Age. The new age gave birth to new fears and also dangers of total destruction of the civilization if the nuclear war broke out. Thus the fears of nuclear war gave birth to new peace concept, new debates and new movements.

Check your Progress.

1) Define concept of peace.
2) Trace the origin of the Peace movements.
3) What is the major cause which gave birth to new Peace movements?

13.6 Let us sum up

In this unit we have defined the term 'terrorism' as a strategy of violence, used by people who do not understand reason, and act against the government or state to achieve their goals. Terrorism has been classified as left wing terrorism, right wing terrorism, separatist terrorism and religious terrorism. State sponsored terrorism has been used by the states to suppress its own citizenry to achieve foreign policy objectives. Indifference of the state, towards their dissatisfied group of people, has often worked as a fuel to burn the flame of violence, Technology has broadend the network and strength of terrorist organisations. Given the inequalities in international system,

the menace of terrorism will haunt our future generations to come. Peace movement has emerged as a hope for reconciliation of the groups who resort to violence. Peace movement has been trying to prevent future wars at the international level which emerged after the various crisis. Nuclear weapons and their prospective use has provided the people raise their voices often against their governments. Let us hope, there would be no occurrence of the World War III, in the given atmosphere of various peace movements working in the current world scenario.

13.7 Glossary

Guerilla : It is a member of an irregular armed force which engages itself in fighting with the government force.

13.8 Suggested Reading

Richard Devetak, Anthony Burke and Jim George, An Introduction to International Relations (Cambridge   University Press,2007)

April Carter, 'Peace Movements, International Protest and World Politics since 1945' (Longman Group UK Limited, 1992)

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Module 8
UNIT - 14
CIVIL SOCIETY
Nature and Role and Case Study of
Amnesty International

Content :

14.0 Objectives :

After studying this lesson you will be able :

- To understand the meaning of civil society
- To know the rise and theoretical development of the concept
- To describe the role and significance of civil society
- To know the rise and programmes of Amnesty International.

14.1 Introduction :

Civil Society is combination of the totality of voluntary civic and social organization and institutions which is the basic of a functioning society as against to the state and commercial institutions of market.

After the collapse of communist regime in 1991 the term civil society is often used by critic and activist as a sources of the rights to resistence to and domain of social which is the activist feel need to be protected against globalization. This is, because, it is seen as acting beyond boundaries. However, the civil society has many definitions under many perspective by various intellectuals.

14.2 Civil Society : Meaning and History

Civil society the set of various associations which are neither the part of state nor family. Therefore, civil society includes voluntary associations and corporate bodies.

The term has been used with different meanings by different thinkers since the Ancient period, but the uptodate and comprehensive definition of 'Civil Society' in the contemporary modern sense is given by the London School of Economic Centre for 'Civil society's working definition is as follows :

" Civil society refer to the arranging of uncoerced collective action around shared interest, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of space, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, development, non- governmental organizations (NGO), community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, collections and advocacy group.' ……………

The Theoratical History of Civil Society :

Following is a short overview of the thoughts of some philosopher who, down through the ages, talks on the concept civil society.

In classical period Socretes, Plato, Aristotal had defined this concept. According to Socretes, in Polish, the Greek, City State, the people spends their communal life and by to obtain the 'good life' in the inherent conflict between their individual needs and the needs of their society. According to him, they try to resolve the conflict through public argument using dialectic method, a form of rational dialogue to uncover truth. Plato, classified a personal soul in three part: Appetite, Spirit and reason or wisdom. Only one part of soul dominates at a time to the person's nature, and an account of it. According to Plato, the individual carry out their activities and behave among them in civil manner. For Aristotal, the state is a polity which is ruled by the middle class, and the polis was an ' association of association ' that enables citizens to share in the virtuous task of ruling and being ruled.

In the middle ages – Christianity became the official religion of the Roman empire, Saint Augustine wrote his ' City of a God, the belief was in a god who is the superior in the society and the will of God think

for the welfare of all the people. Martin Luther and John Calvin founded the protestant sector of Christianity against to the Roman Catholic church. Their idea to the civil society was, that the people should be free to choose their own religious commitments.

During the age of Reasoning and age of Enlightment – Thomas Hobbes, John Lock, J.J. Rouseau and Immanual Kant were the pioneers of civil society. Hobbes believed that – in their original ' state of nature', people regarded – themselves as equal to all others and in competing for search resources, lived in a society of " all against all " consequently, life was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short". Upon realizing that such a state of constant struggle for individual power limits, social development and common wealth, people would seek a new basis for society in which civic virtues are derived from natural laws –like- all persons out to seek peace and one should respect was the right of others in order to safeguard one's own rights. John Lock was the person who popularized the concept of natural rights – are the basic principle of civil society. He based his ideas on the doctrine of a God given natural law, which posits that individual has certain rights those could not be withdrawn from them, such as, rights to life, liberty and property which lock believed essential for the fully realization of civic life. Both Hobbes and Lock considered civil society as a community that maintains civil life, the realm whose civic virtues and rights were derived from natural law. They underlined the co-existence of state and civil society. According to Rousseau the state is the arena for defining the nature of the common good and civil liberty emerges when all people are willing to abide by the general will. For Kant, the main principal of civil society was that, people should treat other people as ends in themselves rather than means to the ends of others. Both Roussea and Kant argued that human beings are rational and can shape their destiny. Hence, no need of an absolute authority to control people.

During the 19th Century G.W.F Hegel and Karl Marx were the great Philosophers whom writing galvanized the idea of civil society. In the early 19th Century, Hegel completely changed the meaning of civil society, traced evolution within historical context and given rise to a modern liberal understanding of it as a form of market society as opposed to institutions of modern society. He, envisioned civil society as a separate sphere from the state, in which people were both working as well as consumers of other people's work. He argued that, the civil society is a human creation and not as a metaphysical reality. This Hegel's theme was taken further by Karl Marx. According to Marx, civil society was the basis where productive forces and social relations were taking place, where political society was the superstructure. Therefore, he argued that the state is as the defender of the interest of bourgeoisie, and he consider the state and civil society are the executive arms of the bourgeoisie. In the mid 20th Century Antonio Gramsci, popularized the term civil society and hegemony. Gramsci put civil society in the political superstructure, and underlined the

crucial role of civil society as the contributor of the cultural and ideological survival of the hegemony of capitalism.

The contemporary or which also known the post-modern idea of civil society first developed by the European Countries by 1980's. In 1990's the emergence of non-governmental organizations and new social movement galvanized to the civil society, and it became as an alternative social and world order. In 1990's the idea was seen as the anti-globalisation movement and transition of many countries to democracy. The term civil society is often used by critics and activists as a reference to source of resistance to and the domain of social life which need to be protected against globalization.

14.3 Nature of 'Civil Society' :

The nature of Civil Society can be seen in its following characteristics.

- Civil society is voluntary association form for the common goal.
- Civil society believe in law and the relation based on consent rather than force.
- Civil society is different from state and market.
- It is not interested in power, politics and decisions of state.
- Civil society is a non-profit association, it believe in service not in profit.
- Today, civil society is became the part of democracy.
- Today civil society is known by the name of groups, such as Non-
  Governmental organizations, Trade Unions, social movement, student associations, etc.

14.4 Role and significance of civil society :

Since the rise of civil society it is plying major role for the upliftment of the Weaker section of the society, specially since its modern inception. Today, the whole world known as the democratic society and in it Civil society is plying a role as the bridge between state and people and also a 'Watch dogs' on state and its activities.

- Civil Society's role can be understood through following points :

- Role in development and alternative models -

Due to the wide innovation in technology and its application lead to the establishment of various development project. These efforts taken by state and its authority for development brought many changes world wide. But, besides, it also create challenges before society to face these new challenges. Many social movements took root in 20th Century, such as, environmental movements, feminist

movements, human rights movements and many others. These movements developed new models and strategy for development – which develops the theories like, social justice, participation, empowerment and sustainability. In this process civil society played crucial role and build social movements like Narmada Bachao Andolan, Chipako Andolan and many others world wide.

- **Role as resource centre -**

Civil society carry out studies and research on the various social problems and issues and provides knowledge to the society as a knowledge expert and resource centre.

- **Works for democratization of society and administration -**

To establish and develop democratic culture, transparency, efficiency and justice in national and inter-governmental institutions. The Civil Society, especially NGO's keep watch on the functions of these bodies and demand free and fair in its administration.

The Civil society blamed that, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisation working under influence and for the interest of US and its allies.

- **Role as Advisor -**

Today, the violation of human rights, degradation of Environment, are the most crucial issues across the world. In such areas Civil Society organizations working for past many years, due to their efforts and large experience in the field. Therefore, the NGO's are playing advisory role in various national and international bodies. Like, the Amnesty International, International Committee on Red Cross, Human Rights watch providing knowledge and advise to the United Nations and other governments and organizations.

To conclude, Civil Society is simultaneously a goal to aim for a means to achieve it, and framework for engaging with each other about ends and means. When these three faces turn towards each other and integrate their different perspectives into a mutually supportive framework, the idea of a civil society can explain a great deal about the course of politics and social change, and serve as a practical framework for organizing both resistance and alternative solutions to social, economic and political problems (excepted).

Although, here we have to study the three important NGO's influencing policies and functioning of Governments and many other International bodies with UN are 'Amnesty International', 'Consumer International' and ' International Committee on Red Cross'.

14.6 "Amnesty International"

Popularly known as AI is an international Non-Governmental organization. Its mission is to conduct research and action to prevent and end the violation of human rights and demand justice for those whose right have been violated. It works to mobilize public opinion and to keep pressure on government and its authority. The AI was awarded the 1977 Noble Prize for its 'campaign against torture' and the UN prize in the field of human rights in 1978.

14.6.1 Rise and Development :

In the year 1961 a group of lawyers, journalist, writers and other offended frustrated by the sentencing of two portugese college students to 7 years in prison for having drunk a toast to liberty.'

In his significant news paper article ' the Forgotten prisoners' published in London Observer's Sunday Supplement on 28th May, 1961, London based lawyer Peter Benenson, Eric Barker and other formed a appeal for Amnesty and he told the story of six prisoners to whom he called 'Prisoners of Conscience' from different countries and different background. He asked to people from all over world to support this movement and write a letter to their Government wherever is such kind of prisons.

After a year long movement Peter Benenson had decided that the appeal would form the basic of permanent organization Peter Benenson, Eric Barker, David Aster, announced on 30th September, 1962 that the appeal officially was named "Amnesty International".

Thus, in 1961 the Amnesty International and the modern human rights movement were both born.

14.6.2 Structure :

It is voluntary organization but have a small number of paid professionals. AI has a group of activist, known "section". Section coordinate basic AI activities. Each section has Board of Directors. In 2005, there were 52 sections worldwide. The smaller group known as structures. If there is no section or structure exist people can become "International Member", they can participate in International council but has no right to vote.

- **International Council -**

All representatives of section or structure are represented by " International Council (IC)" led by the IC chairperson. Section and structure have right to appoint their one or more representative to the council. The function of IC is to appoint and hold responsible internal governing body. The IC called after every two years.

- **International Executive Committee (IEC) -**

IEC led by its Chairman, consists eight members and treasurer. It elected by International Council and meet biannually. The function of IEC is to take decisions on behalf of AI, and implement the strategy made by IC.

- **International Secretariat (IS) -**

It is accountable to conduct daily affairs of AI under direction from the IEC and IC, It is headed by a Secretary General and run by 500 professional staff. IS operate programmes, organization research, and campaigns. It is located at London.

14.6.3 Objectives :

AI's vision can be seen in following sentence :

" AI's vision is of a world in which everyone enjoys all of the human rights enshrined in the UDHR and other human rights standers."

AI contribute to the observance throughout the World of human rights for this purpose AI adopt is mandate as a objectives – they are –

- To promote awareness of universal declaration of human rights and other documents.
- To oppose violation of the rights of person freely to express his opinion and free from the discrimination based on any kinds of disparities.
- To prevent arbitrary detention and imprisonment, death penalty, and torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment.

14.6.4 Role and Campaign –

Amnesty International (AI) primarily targets governments, but also criticize to non- governmental bodies and non-state actors. Following are the seven key areas AI deals with -

- Women's rights
- Children's rights
- Ending torture
- Abolition of death penalty
- Right to refugees
- Right of prisoners of conscience
- Protection of human dignity

AI works for the free education to all children worldwide, fight for impurity from system of justice and against discrimination, torture,

end of the child labor and soldiers; to free all prisoners of conscience, promote economical, social and cultural rights of marginalized groups, protect human rights defenders; to stop unlawful killings in armed conflict and maintain human dignity. These are the functions which AI carry out.

● **Spread awareness about human Rights :**

AI's special aim is to spread awareness about the human rights and it safeguards among the people worldwide. Its main campaign is to mobilize public opinion in the form of individual, country or thematic campaign. For this purpose AI developed many techniques such as, direct appeal, use media and publicity works and public demonstration.

● **Protection of human dignity :**

All over the world, people in poverty are demanding dignity. They want an end to the injustice and exclusion that keep them trapped in deprivation. They want to have control over the decisions that affect of their lives. They want their rights to be respected and their voices to count.

● **Death Penalty :**

More than two third of countries of the world have abolished the death penalty in law or in practice. While 58 countries retained the death penalty in 2009. Death penalty is a ultimate denial of human rights. It is the premeditate and cold-blooded killing of human being by the state. It violate the right to life proclaimed in UDHR.

Amnesty International, opposes the death penalty in all cases without exception regardless of the nature of the crime, the characteristics of the offender; or the method used by the state to kill the prisoners. For instance, AI has condemned the execution of two Japanese men in the first death sentences carried out since the country's new government came in power last year. And also, in the case of, AI opposed the execution of two people for 'eloping', carried out in Taliban – controlled village in the province of Kunduz, in Afganistan.

● **Women's Rights :**

Violence against women is often ignored and rarely punished. Women and girls suffer disproportionately from violence both in peace and in war, at the hands of state, the community and the family. A life free from violence is a basic right.

Amnesty International campaign to stop such violence against women. – It pushes for the implementation of existing laws that guarantee access to Justice and service for women. It calls for new laws to be enacted that will protect women's rights. It demand an end to law that discriminate against women. AI, urges the ending of violence against women perpetrated by the state and its agents. It also works to empower women.

- **Counter Terrorism with Justice :**
Government responses to the threat of terrorist attacks have led to working to the framework of international human rights. States are resorting to practice which have long been to justify them. AI accuses to U.K. Government of developing a " shadow justice system" that impose severe restrictions on the rights of individuals suspected of terrorism related activity.

- **To stop irresponsible Arms Transfer :**
In order to stop irresponsible arms transfer globally, AI has joined with Oxfam and the International Action Network on small arms, to set up the control arms campaign since 2003. The campaign calls for a global Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) that would establish strict rules for the International transfer of arms and held irresponsible arms suppliers and dealers to account. The Control Arms Campaign has gone from strength to strength. When it was launched, AI had only a handful of government support. Control Arms petition gathered the support of more than one million people worldwide.

The AI's activities in the promotion and protection of human rights can also be known understand through the following periods .

- **Role in 1970's :**
During this period AI continued to work for prisoners of conscience, but besides, it widened purview to include 'fair trial' and oppose to long time detention without trial and torture of prisoners. AI drew reports from the countries where torture allegation seemed high and organized international conference on torture. It created public opinion and put pressure on National Governments. In this period AI also worked for disappearances. For its campaign against torture AI was awarded by 'Nobel Prize' in 1977 and UN prize for human rights efforts in 1978.

- **Role during 1980's :**
Through out the 1980's AI sustained its earlier issues, but also taken into consideration including extra judicial killings, military security and police transfers, political killing. In this decade AI criticized by many governments, i.e. USSR alleged that AI conducted espionage, Argentina government banned A's 1983 report.

- **Role during 1990's :**
The ethnic conflict took place during 1990's in Angola, Persian Gulf, East Timor, Rwanda and Yugoslovia. AI worked for the refugees, racial or ethnic or religions minorities and their rights. In this period only, AI worked against death penalty and published a report ' when the state kills'. AI demanded the set up of UN High Commissioner for human rights (established in 1993) and an International Criminal Court (established in 2002).

- **Role during 2000's :**
At the beginning of 21st century, AI would have to change its strategy and turn to the challenges arising from globalization,

terrorism and the reaction to the 11th September, 2001 terrorist attacked in United States. Due to the globalisation AI's scope widened and AI began to work on economic, social and cultural rights.

In the half of the decade AI turned to violation against women; control on the world arms trade and effectiveness of UN. The US attacked in Afganistan and Iraq during this decade.

14.7 Concluding Remark –

Since its inception AI worked for to promote and protect human rights and human dignity, which are its basic aim and spread awareness among the people about their rights.

But, during cold war period and in recent time AI criticized by many writers and state. USSR, Mexico, Argentina, Cuba and many others alleged that, AI works for the super power and its allies.

While collecting data for its report, AI works with the National Government machinery and considered only oneside opinion, therefore, the reports published by AI are not impartial, as many alleged. But still AI working for the human rights, i.e. the significance of Amnesty International.

14.8 Questions :

1) What significance Civil Society has in contemporary world ?
2) Explain the concept of civil society and its role ?
3) What are the Amnesty International's objectives ?
4) Explain the role of AI in the promotion of human rights ?
5) State the historical development of civil society ?

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Module 8
UNIT - 15
- CASE STUDY-
CONSUMER INTERNATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

Contents :

15.0 Objectives :

At the end of this lesson you will be able –

- To know basic consumer rights and the mechanism for their protection.
- To know the functions of CI and The Red Cross.
- To understand structure and role of both the bodies.
- To know the campaign of both organization.

15.1 Introduction :

In the last unit we studied the civil society – meaning, its development and "The Amnesty International" and a NGO as well.

In this unit we are going to discuss the Consumer International (CI) and the Red Cross. Both are International NGO's which are working for the promotion and protection to the rights of human beings. The both organizations are committed to serve human beings and maintain law and order in the society.

15.2 Consumer International – (CI) :

CI is an International, independent, neutral and voluntary organization working for the consumer rights worldwide.Before coming to CI, we first will see the basic consumer rights.

15.2.1 Development of Consumer Rights :

The emergence of industrial and market society changed the pattern of relation among and between the consumer and industrialist. The growing industrialization, huge production of the goods and the tendency of getting more benefit from the goods, lead to the large violation of consumer rights.   Consequently, the consumer rights movement came into existence in US in the evening of 19th Century.

In the decade of 1960's two phenomenon happened which galvanized to the development of consumer rights.

First one, on 15th March, 1962 the then President John F. Kennedy said in his speech of the session by US legislature, 'Consumer by definition include us all. They are the largest economic group, affecting and affected by almost every public and private economic decision. Yet they are the only important group whose views are often not heard. Further he set four basic consumer rights and defined as follows :

a) Rights to safety – to be protected against products, production process and service which are hazardous to life.
b) The Right to be informed – to be given the facts needed to make an informed choice, and to be protected against misleading advertising.
c) The Right to choose – to be able to select from a range of products and services.
d) The Right to heard - to have consumer interest represented in the making and execution of government policy.
   This list elaborated by the current consumer movement and added four more rights.
e) Right to the satisfaction of basic needs - To have access to basic, essential goods and services; adequate food, clothing, shelter, health care, education, public utilities, water and sanitation.
f) Right to redress - To receive a fair settlement of just claims, including compensation for misrepresentation.
g) Right to consumer education - To acquire knowledge and skills needed to make informed, confident choices about goods and service.
h) Right to healthy environment - To live and work in an environment that is threatening to the well being of present and future generation.

With this effort of international consumer movement and in the commemoration of President Kennedy's speech, the 15th March, since 1983 being celebrated as the World Consumer Right's Day.

Second one, in the year 1960, the Consumer International (CI) was founded with the aim to protect the rights of consumer.

Establishment of Consumer International (CI) :

The process of Globalisation created a global market society, dominated by the trans-National and multi-National corporations (MNC), the God of MNC's is only profit, for fulfilling this purpose they make and implement their strategy without considering consumer's interest. This trend led to creation of consumer movement and establishment of many national and international organization and education of consumer rights among the people worldwide. Among them consumer international is most influencial, effective and important organization. CI, is the World Federation of consumer organizations that, functioning together with its members and servicing as the independent and authoritative global voice of consumers. With more than 220 member organizations in 115 countries CI is building a strong international movement to help, protect and promote consumer everywhere. This modern and new movement is necessary to secure a fair, safe and sustainable future of consumers in 9 increasing global market, specially dominated by international and multi-national corporations, which has the only aim to get profit without any consideration of consumers rights. CI is non profit organization formed in 1960.

15.2.2 Structure –

CI – established in   :   1960
At   :   London
President   :   Samuel Ochieng
                        (since 1st November,2007)
Members   :   220 member organizations
                        in 115 countries
Divisional offices :   Malaysia,
                        Santiago (Chilli), Harare (Zimbabwe)
                        London (UK)
Weblink   :   www.consumersinternational.org

The Execution of CI –

CI is democratic federation governed by the "General Council". The Council's member is elected by all the members of General Assembly – a body of representatives of all members organizations, in CI's World Congress held every three years.

- President - Samuel Ochieng is the president of CI, elected General.

Assembly on 1st November, 2007 for four years.
- Vice President – James Guest – United States
- Secretary – Saree Aongsomwang – Thailand
- General Council - Consists president and 19 members, elected by the General Assembly. The council appoints an 8 members executive body from its members – to Which some important responsibilities are delegated, who must meet at least twice a year.

15.2.3 Objectives :

Consumer International is the main founding signatory of the "International NGO Accountability – Charter " and fully committed to its basic principles of legitimacy, transparency and accountability. These basic principles are the basic values of the functioning of CI and the objectives or vision of CI are reflected in these values, are :

a) The highest standards of ethical conduct
b) Independence from business, government and party politics
c) Mutual solidarity among CI members
d) Integrity, transparency and accountability
e) Inclusiveness

Besides, CI is emphasizing to keep the rights of consumers at centre point of decision making. CI's vision is a world where everyone has access to safe and sustainable service and good, watch the policies, activities of MNC, promote to the organizations to work for consumer rights.

15.2.4 The role and programme of CI :

CI is an international body which has to promote and protect the consumer's right everywhere worldwide. CI seek, that the corporation are the responsible and demands government action to keep consumer interest first. CI is committed to acting as a 'global watchdog' campaigning against any behaviour that threatens, neglect or abuses the principles of consumer protection. CI, works and consider the following issues, for its programme and plan of action for the purpose of promotion, education and protection of consumer rights. They are – climate change and energy issues – consumer education, corporate, social responsibility and standards, drug market, intellectual property, rights and food security.

Consumer education –

Main objectives of CI is that to spread awareness and education among the people about their consumer rights. For this purpose CI force to the states to start consumer education in their education system. Almost all states accepted the demand. Besides, CI help to people build their own organization for promoting the

consumer rights in various nations.

Consumer protection laws –

Since its inception CI influencing the decision and functioning of UN and other organizations. In 1985,the General Assembly of UN introduced the general guideline for states to protect consumer rights. CI was involved to drafting these guidelines. Therefore, with the UN guidelines CI helped to many countries to create their own consumer act, like, South America, South Pacific and Africa. India passed consumer protection act in 1986. India adopted 6 out of 8 consumer rights.

Corporate Social responsibility and standards –

Corporate should be sensitive to the needs and demands of their consumers and provide them quality and standard goods. The main objectives of CI is to protect the rights of consumer, in this regard, CI watch and guide corporate sector to protect and promote consumer rights.

Besides, CI taken many social importance issues in discussion and build a movement for them. CI demanded that food security is one of the basic consumer right and the state should be provided adequate food for all.

CI's main aim is to secure and promote to consumer interest. It doing this by –

- Working with national member organization to influence government policies, show market place abuses get grass root support.

- Pressing consumer concerns through official representation global bodies, so working with them it try to seek consumer interest. The bodies are UNO, WHO, ISO, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNCTAD, WTO and many others.

Thus, CI is working with and watching state policies since its inception, therefore, today the people became more aware about their rights.

Check your progress :

Answer the questions in one sentence –

a) What is the Consumer International ?
b) What are the consumer rights ?
c) What is status of CI ?
d) Who is the President of CI ?

15.3 The International Committee on Red Cross (ICRC):

ICRC is non-governmental organization popularly known as "Red Cross" based in Geneva, Switzerland. Signatories of Geneva convention of 1949 and their optional protocols of 1977 and 2005, have given the ICRC a authority to protect the victims of international and internal armed conflicts.

It is the most honored organization and one of the widely recognized organization in the world, which awarded by three " Noble Peace" prizes in 1917,1944 and 1963. ICRC, is an impartial, neutral and independent organization whose exclusively humanitarian mission is to protect – the lives and dignity of victims of war, internal conflict and to provide them with assistance. During the period of conflict, the ICRC is responsible for directing and coordinating the movements – international relief activities. As the custodian of the Geneva conventions, the ICRC has a permanent mandate under International law to visit prisons, organize relief operations and reunite separated families.

ICRC has some basic principles, through and upon which it carry out its function and could not compromise with them – are – Humanity; impartiality; neutrality; independence; voluntary service; unity and universality.

15.3.1 ICRC and its History :

In Jun 1859, a Swiss businessman "Henri Dunant" while returning from Italy to Swiss, he visited a small town of Solferino in the evening of June 24. He witnessed the Battle of Solferino a Austro-Sardinian War. In a single day, about 40,000 soldiers of both side died or were left wounded, he was shocked. At that time only he felt that it is necessity of an impartial group of people who can work for this injured people while war or battle. He wrote a book entitled "A memory of Solferino" in 1862 and a copy was send to all military official and all top officer all over the world and demanded to set up an international organization.

Geneva Convention –

In Geneva on 9th February, 1883, Henry Dunant founded the " Committee of Five" with him four other members from well-known families. AS a investigatory commission, their aim was to examine the Dunant's ideas and organize an international conference. Dunant himself, Gustave Moynier, Louis Appia, Theodore Maunior,and Guillaume – Henri Dufour were the founders of the committee. After few days the five decided to rename the committee and called – International Committee for Relief to the wounded". In October, 1863,

the International Conference organized by the committee and made a written proposal as the final resolution of the conference – adopted on October 29, 1863. Exactly, one year later, the Swiss Government invited the governments of all countries, to attend an official conference. Sixteen countries sent a total of 26 delegates to Geneva. On August, 22, 1864, the conference adopted the First Geneva Convention.

In 1876, the Committee adopted the name " International Committee of the Red Cross" which is still continued.

In 1907, the 1964 Geneva convention was revised for the first time for the "Amelioration of the condition of wounded, sick and shipwrecked members of Armed Forces at Sea ", which known as "The Hague Convention of 1907", the second Geneva Convention. The 1929 Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war known as the third Geneva Convention. And the experience of World War II, on August 12, 1949, the fourth Geneva convention was adopted for "relative to the protection of civilian person in time of war."

On the basis of above mentioned fourth Geneva convention and due to its effort for protection human rights, the UN General Assembly on October 16,1990, decided to grant the ICRC observer status for its assembly sessions and sub committee meetings.

15.3.2 Structure –

The ICRC has its headquarter in Swiss city of Geneva and has external offices called a 'delegations' in about 80 countries. It has 2000 professional employees. Today total 15000 staff are working with ICRC. Decisions are often made in a collective way. Today the Directorate and the Assembly are leading organization of ICRC.

Directorate –

Is the executive body of the committee which carry out the daily management of the ICRC. It consists a "Director General" and five other members. These are appointed by the Assembly.

Assembly –

The Assembly has a membership of a maximum 25 Swiss citizens. The Assembly is a basis and responsible for defining aims, guidelines, and strategies and supervise the financial matters of the committee. Duration of members for four years.

Assembly Council – (AC)

Assembly elects five member for Assembly Council, which is the actually acting body of Assembly. It is responsible for organizing Assembly meeting and coordination within the Committee. Normally President and two Vice-Presidents been elected for the Assembly Council. Currently, Olivier Vodoz and Christine Beerli are Vice Presidents.

The President –

The Assembly selects, one person as a President of the Committee for the term for four years. The President automatically became a member of all bodies of ICRC. He is responsible for all activities of ICRC. Currently Jakab Kellenberger has appointed at President since 2000.

15.3.3 Objectives –

ICRC's objective is to promote and protect to human rights and human dignity and provide assistance during war. It also works to spread human rights education worldwide.

Main objectives of ICRC IS –

- To spread education worldwide with the help of National Committees, individuals, among the people about their rights .

- Coordinate to the national, international organizations and individuals working for humanitarian assistance.

- To create or force to states to maintain peace and stability in the society.

- To provide medical and humanitarian assistance and maintain human dignity during war or conflict.

- To carry out study project and publish report yearly on its activities.

15.3.4 Role and campaign –

ICRC, is a neutral and independent organization stands for the protection life and human dignity during international and internal conflict. According to 1997 "Seville Agreement" it is the ' lead agency' of the movement in conflict. The ICRC's role can be understand through the following points –

Work for humanity –

ICRC is a humanitarian organization, it works with the main aim to provide service to the wounded people during war time. It also works for the victim of prisoners, refugees, civilians with the humanitarian ICRC visits to the military camp and serve to the victims.

Protection to civilians –

During the war time not only soldiers affected but the innocent civilians also killed by the both side. Therefore, to secure the life of civilians the ICRC controls weapons and try to the state would not use the high power weapons. For this, ICRC commented the original Geneva Convention in 1949 and made new convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war; and made it binding on its signatories.

Disappearances –

During the wartime many people disappears or killed by opposite party. ICRC found out the disappearances or the death body of them.

International humanitarian law –

According to International humanitarian law, the war should be fought with certain principles. During the war, the any party would not harm civilians, women and children. ICRC watch whether the states are not violating international humanitarian law and its principles. For this purpose ICRC can visit to the military camps of the state. For instance, during second world war ICRC visited to the German Military Camps. By the end of the war, 179 delegates had conducted 12,750 visits to camps in 41 countries.

Disaster Assistance -

The large increase in the number of natural disasters worldwide in recent days prompted the ICRC to devote more attention to disaster preparedness activities and provide assistance. ICRC provides with assistance to millions of people annually ranging from refugees to victims of natural disasters.

Health and care -

Too many people die as a result of no access to the basic health services and fundamental health education. Therefore, health care has become important for humanitarian assistance, and for the ICRC's task. Through its programmes, ICRC enable communities to reduce their vulnerability to disease, and prepare for and respond to public health crisis.

Capacity building programme -

Guiding and supporting to development of its societies is one of the basic function of ICRC. The capacity building programme and activities of ICRC includes : management and volunteer training, improving branch structure, planning, fund raising and gender equality.

Besides, ICRC, also carry out some other important activities, like – hospital services, blood bank, HIV/AIDS programmes, home for disabled servicemen, vocational training centres, maternity help, child and family welfare, nursing, preparedness and prevention of communicable and infections disease, relief operations in fire, railway and other accidents and disasters.

15.3.5 Concluding remarks –

ICRC is the lead agency in the Red Cross movement, but it has criticized by within the movement and by other National Government. While working during World War II German Red Cross refused to

cooperate with ICRC and blamed that it is working for German enemy states.

In spite of all the above blames the Noble Peace Prize winner ICRC is still one of the largest and most respected humanitarian and non-state actor in the International system. Its efforts have provided aid and protection to victims of armed struggle in numerous conflicts for over a century.

15.4 Questions :

Q 1 Explain the objectives of consumer international.
Q 2 Write the role of consumer international in the protection and promotion of consumers rights.
Q 3 Explain the role of International Committee of Red Cross
Q 4 Describe the development and objectives of ICRC.

15.5 – References –

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