CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN SOUTH ASIA : ITS IMPLICATIONS AND A SUGGESTED MODEL FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE

Democracy, Good Governance and Modernity cannot be imported or imposed from outside a country

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General

1.   The motivation for gaining independence from Colonial Empire by the South Asian nations manifested from**, acute sense of deprivation** coupled with **visible suppression of the aspirations.**Mahatma Gandhi, who could visualise the futility of armed rebellion against this unjust but powerful regime in the subcontinent, including its aftermath,unveiled the **weapon of nonviolent movement referred as** *satyagraha*, which had been christened and effectively employed by Henry David Thoreu in USas **Civil Disobedience**, to win independence from the colonial power. Post-independence, the subcontinent in its partitioned avatar, continued with this format of rule of law. Consequently the system of governance continues to have a **"White Colour of British Raj"** implemented by **"Brown Sahibs".** No wonder therefore, **Satyagraha model of Civil Disobedience, remains entrenched in the socio-political culture of the subcontinent.** It has become the most popular form of expressing resentment towards any perceived unjust initiatives/inactivity of government. To further accentuate the situation, **handling of such agitations by security agencies in the traditional Raj style further aggravates people's grievances** leading to violence and sometimes irreversible consequences. With reduced tolerance thresholds of the citizens,**conflict of "us" the government and "them" the people has created a cyclical situation for civil disobedience exacerbating to disorder, often with violent results**. Superimpose the sub nationalist nature of the states, where besides linguistic, cultural, ethnic, religious and cast polarisations we have a volatile classification of rich (haves) and poor (have not's) in a system of rule of law deficits, nations of the subcontinent are*de facto* **ticking time bombs which may implode causing serious security implications.**

Democracy in South Asia

2.   **Nature and Dialectics of South Asian Democracies**. Starting from a turbulent partition in 1947, the developing states of this region are **undergoing tumult from within**

and without, due to imbalanced relationship between state-led institutions and civic forces(Singh, 2008)[i]**, t**he idea of democracy being rooted in history of national movements and struggle against authoritarianism (Upreti, 2013)[ii]. The **variance of democracy of the subcontinent and the West is that the subcontinent sees democracy as a revolutionary process,which necessitates rebellionor disobedience** against the establishment. The dialectics of growth of democracies in South Asia are a manifestation of both internal dynamics and external influences as under:-

a) **Internal Dynamics**.

 i) **Political Structures**. Lack of institutionalized democratization and rule of law supplemented by **pervasive inequalities, in a feudal and elitist polity, institutionalised by the British Raj, threaten the very link between the ruling and ruled classes**.

 ii) **Civil Societies and Grassroots Organisations**. Most of the states suffer from governance vacuums often filled by non-governmental or civil society organisationsthereby, persisting democratisation (Singh, 2008)[iii].

 iii) **Economic Development, Disparities and Governance**. Income disparities are amongst the largest in South Asia (Singh, 2008)[iv]. The key contributors being c**risis in institutionalisation of democratic governance, inefficiency, motivated subsidization, pervasive corruption, unemployment and unstructured urbanization, politics of agitation, religious polarisation, criminalisation of polity and terrorism**.

 iv) **Politics of Identity and Interests**. Consequent to the divergent regional development, the **politics in each of the South Asian countries have got entangled in majoritarianismand class conflicts.**

 v) **Ethnic Nationalism and Religious Fundamentalism**. Given the geo-political configuration of South Asia with its ethno-religious fault lines, it**has fueled not only internal communal disharmony but has also been the**

cause behind trans-national conflicts. As far as Islamic resurgence in Asia is concerned, **Islamic fundamentalism has spread during the last two decades in Pakistan and Afghanistan and raising its head in Bangladesh** (Singh, 2008)[v].

b)   **External Dimension**. There are two facets, firstly, **within the nations of the region there is India centrality owing to asymmetrical national power structure**, more often than not construed negatively with 'big brother' undercurrents and secondly, **extra regional aspect Sino-US competition.**These have manifested in deepening fault lines, instability and fueling Jihadi culture in Islamic societies.

3.   **Core Impediments to Democratic Process in South Asia**. As is apparent from above, regional politics is **faced with fragmentation, ideological erosion, intra-party and inter-party cleavages and leadership crisis**. The core impediments to smooth democratization are as under:-

a)   **Constitution**. Changes have been incorporated at various stages to suit a ruling establishment**,** thereby, making **constitutional process weak and fragmented.**

b)   **Personality Based Political Parties**. It has led to **governance bereft of ideology or national vision**. Thus **political representative has adopted stature of ruler and not people's representative in governance.**

c)   **Population vs. Development**. South Asia holds nearly **25 percent of the world's population with only two percent of the total land mass having** Human Development Index of 0.605, lower than the average of developing countries (Upreti, 2013)[vi].

d)   **Feudalism and Sub Nationalism**. **Feudalism has been the core of South Asian societies and economies for a long time** manifesting in **sharp inequalities and inequities** (Upreti, 2013)[vii].

e)   **National Identity**. South Asian nations are essentially **majoritarian democracies with deep subnational fault lines**. The majoritarian political elite, fuel polarisations with fissiparous consequences (Upreti, 2013)[viii].

f)   **Stability and Good Governance**. Strong centralising trends by political elites, **have denied needs and aspirations of people on the one hand and alienation of various groups and communities from the governmental structures and process** on the other (Upreti, 2013)[ix].

g)   **Politicised Bureaucracy**. The **politicised bureaucracy is suppressive in nature and serves class interest, ignoring popular sentiments through nepotism and unholy nexus** (Upreti, 2013)[x].

h)   **Non Political Actors**. They have encouraged **criminalisation of politics, fueled corruption, favouritism, and decline of democratic processes, values and behaviour** (Upreti, 2013)[xi].

j)   **Stunted Economic Growth**. There are **serious gaps between haves and have not's**. The ethno-regional social unrest and insurgencies **have caused social divisions, political instability and stunted economic growth** (Upreti, 2013)[xii].

k)   **External Influence**. Playing to tune of global powers manifests in **propensity for adapting to idea of aligning/bandwagoning for counterbalancing in perceived inimical neighbourhood** despite changed paradigm.

4.   **Spillover Effect**. **None of the nations, which have been divided by artificial fault line of random boundaries, can isolate themselves from the developments in the neighbourhood**.

Civil Disobedience and Disorder in South Asia

5.   **Civil Disobedience**. John Rawls in his book "A Theory of Justice" in 1971, has justified the cause of civil disobedience. According to Rawls, **civil disobedience provides a**

minority with a method, that makes the majority reflect upon, whether the validity of the act of civil disobedience is in accordance with its sense of justice or not. It is an action that is public, non-violent, conscientious, political, and illegal. **The goal of civil disobedience is usually to change the law or change a government's decision**. Thus the fundamentals of civil disobedience process are as under:-

a)   **Civil disobedience is a public action**.

b)   It is **driven by conviction.**

c)   It **is illegal and defies authority irrespective of consequences.**

d)   It is intended at **preserving or change a phenomenon in the society**.

e)   **It is a political act and exceeds personal interest of participants**.

f)   The **personal consequences of the action are vital.**

6.   **Civil Disorder**.   Political disobedience differs from civil disobedience, in that **political disobedience refuses to engage with the existing political order and looks for alternative ways to express its dissatisfaction, referred as _indirect disobedience_**. It often manifests in civil disorder which cannot be justified for following reasons (Bedau, 1991)[xiii]:-

a)   **These acts involve destruction of property**, **interference with safety and liberty of others and assault on public decorum** (Bedau, 1991)[xiv].

b)   If **law broken is not the law protested, even the unconstitutionality of the latter will not excuse the conduct** (Bedau, 1991)[xv].

c)   **Civil disorder is always an act of rebellion not merely dissent, which cannot be justified in a constitutional democracy** (Bedau, 1991)[xvi].

d)   **Accepting civil disorder would justify social chaos, which is *reductio ad absurdum*** (Bedau, 1991)[xvii].

e)   **If the purpose of civil disobedience is an educative one, then civil disorder fails to accomplish it sufficiently well, given the failure to affect directly the injustice being protested and confusion and harm it causes** (Bedau, 1991)[xviii].

f)   The only act of civil disorder which can be justified is those which **interrupt the enabling or authorising relationship between the protestors and those inflicting or suffering injustice** (Bedau, 1991)[xix].

7.   Thoreau's and Gandhi's concept of civil disobedience is defeated by method adopted **in modern day democracies since it manifests as indirect action or civil disorder.** However, it **has come to stay, with potential to threaten the very process of democratic governance**. Besides being unconstitutional, this challenge manifesting from competitive politics, ethno-religious affinities and motivated civil society movements **need to be contained, albeit through alternative/refined methods of governance.**

8.   **Forms of Civil Disobedience/Disorder in South Asia**. The major forms of disobedience movements prevalent in South Asiaare *strikes/lockouts, bandhs/hartals and Dharnas or a combination of two or more.*The resistance movements are triggered for variety of reasons, spreading in spectrum from individual protests to sub nationalism, with or without vested interests and essentially in form of disorders.

9.   **Response to Civil Disobedience in South Asia**. Response to call for civil disobedience/disorder **varies over a wide spectrum - from outright rejection to firm support.** In some cases it may even be called fickle, which is exploited by media, antinational forces and inimical agencies/states to pursue their interests. Yet another peculiarity is that **perceptions can be influenced and changed with considerable ease**. Some of the characteristic features of response to civic disobedience/disorder by public and governments in the region can be elaborated as under:-

a)   **Public**. The level of prudence in support or dismissal varies essentially depending on **literacy rates, prosperity levels and unemployment rates**. However, sub national issues do invoke greater participation irrespective of literacy, prosperity or employment levels. In the

modern day context, heightened intolerance spread through motivated media, adds to the woes internally and regionally.

b)   <u>Government</u>. The response of the governments vary from "No response" to "Over response", **mostly in the domain of employing force, giving a pass to dialogue between government and the governed.** Another characteristic of the governments' is to **manipulate legislative processes** to **subvert judiciary,** so as **to justify their actions and reduce their existential insecurity**.

<u>Implications of Civil Disobedience/Disorder</u>

10.   <u>**Political Implications**</u>. The characteristic nature of South Asian Region with ethno-religious **fault line spill overs has a contagion effect of civil unrest or disorder** in political arena. Having similar genealogical past they suffer from similar symptoms both in nation's internal and external political discourse. Dr Dan Braha, a prominent social scientist in Massachusetts University in his work on the subject of civil unrest states - **social and political stress accumulates slowly on the regional grid… and this social unrest activity can lead to further instabilities and avalanches of unrest** (Braha, 2012)[xx]. Thus in regional context, notwithstanding the perception of nationhood amongst political hierarchy, political unrest is unavoidable and lends to**destabilising of internal consolidation as well as regional balance.**

11.   <u>**Social Implications**</u>. Being a highly politicised society, civil unrest has spillover effect on social arena as well. Most of the times, it is fuelled by political exigencies. The ramifications of this, is **lack of trust amongst neighbouring societies**, **sense of threat to identity** and consequent aggravation of **social polarisation**.

12.   <u>**Economic Implications**</u>. The biggest impact of civil disorder is on the economic development of a nation. The socio-political distrust has ramifications towards lack of economic integration and **skewed development of the region,** which consequently remains **embedded in poverty and inequity**.

<u>Governance Deficits</u>

13.   Though democracy is an unavoidable imperative for the South Asian region it comes with its complications. It requires a two way commitment of citizens and good governance. Unfortunately, both these aspects have been misinterpreted, mismanaged and misgoverned through "**ruling party"** not "**governing party"** overtones.   The manifestation is lack of continuity, capricious, self-suiting and survivalist policies, which **focuses on ends of achieving power not the means**.

14.   **Good Governance**. Good governance has eight major Characteristics, with responsiveness to the present and future needs of society (UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific, NK)[xxi].

15.   **South Asian Scenario**. It needs no emphasis that,fulfillment of above fundamental requirements holds the key to curtailing civil disorder in any country. Analysis of each of these eight pre-requisites of good governance in the four democracies of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka to identify the deficits in good governance, *based on perceptions evident from open media sources in absence of confirmed inputs from authorised sources,*in a vertical quantified model gives us a revealing picture which is described below:-

> a)   **Regional Perspective**. Regional perspective gains significance in the analysis from the aspect of spillover effect which takes place in the region consequent to manmadefault lines.   The graphic representation of the governance deficit given below at figure 2indicates that the overall average of governance in the region is less than 60% which implies that besides options for disobedience within, these can overflow into regional neighbourhood as well.
>
>> i)   **Comparative Analysis**.
>> aa)   India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have a good participative contribution to governance and maintain a reasonable degree of rule of law.
>>
>> ab)   Transparency is lacking below average in all countries less in India.

ac)   Responsiveness and effectiveness of democratic governance are reasonably better in India and Bangladesh.

ad)   Consensus building is poor in all countries less India.

ae)   Inequity and lack of inclusive development remains the poorest facet of democratic governance in all the countries of the region.

af)   While some semblance of accountability can be seen in India, it is well below par in other countries.

ii)   The biggest contributors to poor governance are lack of transparency and consensus, socio-economic inequities, ineffectiveness of the administrative machinery and lack of accountability.

iii)   It is apparent that the economic inequities within and in the region, as also lack of consensual politics, impact both internal governance and regional cooperation the most.

iv)   The major role of governance deficit from accountability aspect emanates from poor state of democratic institutions, in terms of their freedom and ability to institute proper checks and balances on each other resulting in rampant corruption.

b)   **India**. The governance deficit particularly to India is as under:-

i)   The governance index at 76% is by far the best in the region which is at 59%.

ii)   The biggest contributors of governance deficits are in the fields of inequity, governance effectiveness and accountability of government and other institutions.

iii)   Both social including gender inequity and economic inequity contribute significantly in its governance deficits and hence can be attributed as the key factors for civil unrest or disobedience.

iv)   Improper use of resources and lack of accountability of the governance mechanisms towards these, which have off late been highlighted with increased transparency, are a major cause of civil unrest. Huge discretionary powers with stake holders only add to the corrupt practices.

c)   **Pakistan**. Analysis is given below:-

i)   The governance index at 48% is way below the regional average of 59% and hence has major impact on the region.

ii)   Lack of consensual politics, socio-economic inequity and poor accountability of the governance are the major causes of unrest.

iii)   Major contributors towards poor governance overall are gender bias, non-democratic party structures, unstable legal framework, lack of transparency, poor responsiveness of democratic institutions, absence of consensus amongst political parties and government institutions, across the board lack of accountability and mediocre effectiveness of administrative machinery.

iv)   In particular, consensus building, inequity and poor accountability are the key contributors besides military interventionism. High gender bias emanating from radicalism and absence of democratic institutions add to it.

d)   **Bangladesh**. Analysis of governance is enumerated below:-

i)   The governance index at 56% is approaching the regional average of 59% and hence has emerged more stable as compared to Pakistan.

ii)   The key contributors to governance deficits are lack of responsiveness of the democratic institutions, poor consensus amongst political parties, inequity, effectiveness and efficacy of civil administration and lack of accountability at every level.

iii)   Specific impediments include decisions within rules and regulations, government mediation in consensus building, absence of civil societies, lack of responsible private sector and poor perception of governance structure as a whole.

e)   **Sri Lanka**. The perceived governance deficits are listed below:-

i)   Like Bangladesh, Sri Lanka too is close to the regional average of 59% at 55% in so far as democratic governance is concerned.

ii)   Lack of transparency, inequity especially social and lack of accountability are the major deficits.

iii)   The major contributors towards this include biased majoritarian dispensation of governance, perceived violation of human rights during the Tamil conflict, lack of decisions within rule and regulations, lack of government intervention towards consensus building, social and economic inequity, lack of effective civil society and poor participation of private sector.

Good Governance through Rule of Law in South Asian Democracies

16.   **Rule Based Governance**. The South Asian model of governance varies from the West, in that, it is characterised by relation based governance rather than rule based governance (Shaomin Li, 2006)[xxii]. The key feature of this form of governance is that it is party oriented, with little or no third party validations possible. In contrast, rule-based governance largely relies on public information, namely, publicly verifiable information. It would be **evident that democracy to succeed needs rule based governance,** since the stake holders include supporters, opponents and the vast majority of onlookers/fence sitters.

17.   **South Asian Model**. Be that as it may, **it may be well-nigh impossible or even fatal if a "shock therapy" were to be undertaken** to change from relation based to rule based

governance. A more pragmatic approach would be to **go for an "incremental approach" wherein relation based governance is allowed to succumb under its own contradictions.** This is imperative because rule based governance cannot be established unless there is some semblance of stability, public order, national character, awareness and literacy. Besides, the cost involved in ensuring establishment of fool proof oversight and democratic institutions would be far too high, both politically and economically, in some of the nations.

18. <u>**Governance Imperatives**</u>. The key imperatives for governance in the region can be enumerated as under:-

    a)   <u>**Consensus**</u>. Requirement of **dedicated effort for inland and regional political consensus**, encouraging greater tolerance and mutual respect, including, constitutional amendments if need be.

    b)   <u>**Transparency, Accountability and Rule of Law**</u>. **Accountability through transparency within rule of law** is next imperative. There is need to cohesively **review the archaic colonial laws** to encourage convergences thereby curb the menace of misinterpretation and manipulation.

    c)   <u>**Equity and Inclusiveness**</u>. Lack of **inclusiveness and inequity needs to be addressed on priority**. While economic inequity is a vital issue, which can be addressed by individual nations through a progressive inclusive growth initiatives, **social inequity needs to be looked at as a regional problem** and addressed both through internal as well as regional mechanisms.

    d)   <u>**Justice**</u>. South Asia, a civilizational, pluralistic agrarian society has peculiar need of jurisprudence. **It has two major dimensions which are key causes for unrest i.e., social justice and land.** Towards this end, legislative has to contribute immensely towards **evolving pragmatic legislations on these two fundamental issues.**

    e)   <u>**Zero Tolerance to Corruption**</u>. It is well known adage that "you get a government that you deserve". While rule of law is the way forward for the top down

path, **zero tolerance at societal level needs to come about through greater awareness, social boycott, stringent anti-corruption mechanisms, literacy and effective whistleblower protection mechanisms**.

f)   **Regionalised multilateral approach**.

Recommended Strategy

19.   **Desired End State**. The desired end state should be **to achieve governance mechanism within rule of law with adequate space for dissent or disobedience, albeit restricted to a threshold level well below its enlarging into mass disorder and unrest**.

20.   **Means**.   I**t entails people's participation in governance mechanism, ensuring consensus based legislation, establishment of a transparent, accountable and responsive government structure which undertakes equitable and inclusive growth with effective and efficient delivery system within the framework of rule of law**. I**t is apparent that shock therapy would not be suitable in fragile nature of our revolutionary democracies.** Therefore, it would be more prudent to adopt an **evolutionary transformational approach towards graduating into rule of law** letting bottoms up correction take effect. Needless to emphasise that for this, **governance mechanisms have to develop adequate tolerance for initial disorder and quick responsiveness towards rectifying this by eliminating relational structures in governance through transparency and accountability.**

21.   **Ways**. The approach to resolve any dissent/disobedience/disorder essentially has to be processed in a planned sequential manner which entails following:-

a)   **Acceptance of Problem**. Governments have to realise that that there is no smoke without fire and **accept that every dissent has a genuine cause**.

b)   **Analysis of the Problem**. Having accepted the problem, the next step should be to analyse the problem. This is the **period where governments have to develop tolerance for disorder/disobedience** and allow venting of people's concerns.

c)   **Consensus Building**. Having analysed the problem, the next step should be to evolve options and place it before the stake holders to build a consensus. **Media can be exploited in this phase to deliver the discourse to the public thereby exposing vested interests and encumber relational politics with its contradictions**.

d)   **Legislation**. The next step is to embark on a **widely debated and transparent evolution of legislation or law**. In context of South Asia, this step **has to be fast tracked owing to impatience which emanates from social, religious, political and ethnic conflicts**.

e)   **Judicial Acceptance**. **Judiciary needs to ensure that legislations are equitable and inclusive for all segments of society irrespective of ethnic, linguistic, religious or class differences i.e., has pluralistic parity.**

f)   **Concurrent Development of Delivery Mechanism**. From the stage that acceptance of the problem takes place, the government of the day has to concurrently develop the delivery or enforcement mechanism. This would not only **make these agencies effective at finalisation of the process but also make them stakeholders in affecting the rule of law**. Care needs to be taken to ensure that the delivery and enforcement mechanisms are given **reasonable autonomy and their institutional strengths are supplemented by statutory powers so as to enable effectiveness and efficiency**.

g)   **Review Mechanism**. Having constituted the legal framework and its delivery mechanism, the **constantly changing nature, character and environment of the globalised world necessitates that the laws are reviewedperiodically in a time based transparent mechanism.**

22.   **India**. The priority sectors along with recommended approach are as under:-

a)   **Priority I**. Social and economic equity with inclusiveness.

b)   **Priority II**. Efficacy and effectiveness of the implementation regime replacing discretion with transparency.

c)   **Priority III**. Accountability through integrated federal mechanism and merit based executive. Judicial intervention should be encouraged and justice dispensed against erring agencies and authorities on priority.

23.   **Pakistan**. The priority recommended is as under :-

a)   **Priority I**.   Consensual politics devoid of religionisation of politics or politicisation of religion.

b)   **Priority II**. Accountability through tandemisation of the three organs of executive, legislative and judiciary.

c)   **Priority III**. Equity and Inclusiveness by generating people's participation without bias and effective federal structure.

d)   **Priority IV**. Transparency and Responsiveness of a supreme political establishment. Towards this end it needs to absolve itself from shackles of two nation theory.

e)   **Priority V**. Rule of Law independent of religious dogmatism.

f)   **Priority VI**. Participation of weaker sections of society and minorities through greater emphasis to unbiased literacy.

24.   **Bangladesh**. The priority sectors which need to be addressed are recommended below:-

a)   **Priority I**. Accountability through an independent judiciary and effective and efficient civil services. **Political patronage needs to be avoided like plague and transparency affected in its dealings**. It may entail shock therapy approach. The **government needs to slowly push out NGOs from the service delivery mechanism, which is in its domain**.

b) **Priority II**. Consensual political environment **adopting a semi shock based transformation to rule based governanc**e wherein it seriously embarks on strengthening autonomy of its democratic institutions such as judiciary, anti-corruption department, police and intelligence forces, economic enforcement agencies, election commission etc.

c) **Priority III**. – Transparency, Responsiveness, Effectiveness and Efficiencythrough implementation of RTI and autonomy in functioning of the civil services. Politicisation of civil services needs to be curbed like plague.

25. **Sri Lanka**. Sri Lanka has its dynamics related to majoritarian dispensation which is by far the most devastating for the nation which needs to be addressed post haste.

26. **Addressing Spillover Phenomenon**. The three major aspects in this area are religious, emigrational and confrontational/competitive politics. Following issues, which are often neglected citing bilateralism, need to be resolved in SAARC on priority:-

a) **Illegal migration** and effective **border management mechanisms**.

b) **Cross border crimes and terrorism** through **multilateral judicial mechanism**.

c) **Consensus on trade arrangements.**

d) **Containment of ethnic and communal conflagration in coordination.**

e) **Boundary demarcation and equitable sharing of resources.**

Conclusion

27. South Asia despite its rich geo-strategic location, geo-political importance, geo-demographic concentration and socio-economic diversity is the most fragmented and impoverished region of the world. Its plurality and social vibrancy makes it essential to adopt liberal and inclusive democracy with **greater tolerance and patience**.

28.   Specific to the nations in the region, whose disparities have been accentuated by creation of manmade fault lines, **the ends, means and ways have been recommended in context of mitigating civil disobedience/disorder/unrest**. The suggestions are only guiding principles which need to be suitably tweaked in keeping with the priorities so as to transform to a rule based governance within the individual countries as well as a regional neighbourhood as a whole. As highlighted earlier, **the region suffers from the bane of spillover effects and unless the regional dynamics are not addressed concurrently, national peace and unity would keep getting destabilised by sporadic incidents**.

29.   The **revolutionary DNA of the region precludes status-quoism**. Hence civil disobedience is something which cannot be dispensed with altogether in the region in near future. There has to be **tolerance built in the governance mechanism** and suitably tampered with responsive changes with speed and urgency. Towards this end **it may not be imprudent to review the respective constitutions to make it more region oriented than only nation oriented or alternatively evolve a constitutional framework for SAARC to affect coordination**. Within the nations, majoritarian approach which is based on "divide and rule" concept of our colonial masters cannot guarantee stability and order and need to be discarded.**Consensual not suppression and cooperative rather than confrontationist socio-economic and political direction, suitably tampered with higher threshold of tolerance and patience, is the way ahead.**

i**ENDNOTES**

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