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1. The paper may be composed in MS-Words format, Times New Roman font with heading in Font Size 14 and the remaining text in the font size 12 with 1.5 spacing.

2. Notes should be numbered consecutively, superscripted in the text and attached to the end of the article. References should be cited within the text in parenthesis. e.g. (Sen 2003:150).

3. Spelling should follow the British pattern: e.g. 'colour', NOT 'color'.

4. Quotations should be placed in double quotation marks. Long quotes of above 4 (four) lines should be indented in single space.

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Imtiaz Ahmed

Abstract

The Nation and nationalism have infected South Asia so much that not only it ended up partitioning itself into predominantly majoritarian religio-centered communities but also had its members involuntarily uprooted and displaced in millions. Mistrust and enmity otherwise became integral to the idea of South Asia as millions suffering from the trauma crisscrossed each other. This is where South Asia differed from no less divisive and violent Europe of yesteryears. Yet, the West, particularly the erstwhile colonial power - Europe, continued to pied piper the post-colonial or 'national statist' South Asia. In fact, policymakers, academicians and politicians glued to the national state could not help reminding the stakeholders the parallel between the present status of the European Union and the future of SAARC. If this limits the idea of South Asia so does it distorts the idea of regionalism.

Regionalism in South Asia is as much an effort as it is an idea. The idea of regionalism is otherwise entwined with the idea of South Asia, one is no less important than the other. Or, to put it slightly differently, one cannot be attained without the other. It is this entwining that I will try to conceptualize and reflect on both the probable and the achievable. The idea of South Asia is both old and new. If we limit ourselves to the word 'South Asia' then it is new. It will certainly not go beyond the Cold War and the policy of the United States to divide the world into regional groupings. But if we extend the term to include the people and the things making up the region, then it is a pretty old one. The former is more geographical and political while the latter more civilizational and historical. The entwining of the two allows for a multiversity of regionalism in South Asia. I will, however, limit myself to only five.

Firstly, Ashokan. The idea of South Asia that ignites our imagination when reference is made to *Ashokavardhana*, 'Ashoka the Great', is an interesting one, and there are two sides to it. The first one relates to the *darsana* [vision or philosophy] put into practice by Ashoka in the third century B.C. We are best informed about him through the rock edicts that were spread all over India during his lifetime.

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After the horrors of the Kalinga War, Ashoka renounced war as a method of conquest and adopted the creed of non-violence or peaceful co-existence, both as the national and international policy of the Mauryan Empire. In fact, in Ashoka's time we have a complete renunciation of the age-old policy of *digvijaya* [conquest by war] and enunciation of a new policy, that of conquest by the Law of Piety. Interestingly, Nehru, while speaking before Bulganin and Khrushchev in Calcutta on 30 November 1955, made a reference to this:

> Peaceful co-existence is not a new idea for us in India. It has been our way of life and is as old as our thought and culture. About 2,200 years ago, a great son of India, Ashoka, proclaimed it and inscribed it on rock and stone, which exist today and give us his message. Ashoka told us that we should respect the faith of others, and that a person who extols his own faith and decries another's faith injures his own faith. This is the lesson of tolerance and peaceful co-existence and cooperation which India has believed in through the ages. In the old days, we talked of religion and philosophy; now we talk more of the economic and social system. But the approach is the same as before (Ahmed 1993:225-26).

This is a legacy that continues to impact upon the idea of South Asia. However, the second one relating to Ashoka is even more interesting, almost the opposite of the first. And this refers to the silence or rather silencing of the person who had ruled for thirty-six or thirty-seven years for centuries, as Charles Allen contends,

> As far as Brahmanical history was concerned, this Ashoka was unimportant. The compilers of the *Puranas* offered no explanation as to why he should have been named 'great', nor had they anything to say about any Mauryan ruler listed after Ashoka. Indeed, the compilers of the *Puranas* seemed unable to agree as to who exactly had followed Ashoka to the throne of Magadha….(Allen 2012:35).

It is not difficult to see that Brahmanical history was not interested to promote Ashoka or the wisdom that he publicly preached, namely Buddhism. That history is not just 'past' but rather an *enquiry* into the past, and that the 'enquiry,' if officiated or dictated, could end up silencing the embarrassing side of the past is something that scholars and laypeople often forget! This act of silencing has not only haunted our past but has come to be an integral part of our political history. The region has too many of them, the genocidal partition of 1947, the genocide of 1971, the brutal killing of people in almost all the South Asian states, including Afghanistan under the occupation forces, Sri Lanka's annihilation of the Tamil Tigers, Pakistan's onslaught in Baluchistan and FATA, India's battling in Kashmir and the Maoist

insurgency all get silenced in their respective official histories. *Silencing* too then is integral to the idea of South Asia.

Secondly, Kautilyan. This refers to the wisdom of Chanakya Kautilya outlined in his book, *Arthasastra* [The Science of Material Gain]. Kautilya earned his name from *kutila* [crooked], which incidentally is related to the somewhat wrongly translated Sanskrit word for diplomacy or external relations – *kutaniti* [the law of crookedness] or as the Bengalis would tell you, *kutanami*, that is, in the name of crookedness or Kautilya! It is alleged that Kautilya, with the application of 'crooked' or amoral means, helped to transform a small Mauryan kingdom of north-eastern India into one of the greatest empires of ancient India. He is best known for devising the system of *mandala* [circle of states] and suggesting that the "enemy's enemy is my friend." Ashok Kapur in the light of modern India's unfriendly relationship with its neighbours (China and Pakistan) and friendly relationship with the latter's neighbours (Russia and Afghanistan) showed "how Nehru went about creating a [foreign policy] strategy similar to Kautilya's 'circle of states'" (Kapur 1976:47). Not so different was the comment made by KPS Menon, a senior Indian diplomat, who in 1947 pointed out that the "realism of Kautilya is a useful corrective to our idealism in international politics" (*Ibid :77*). And it is this 'crooked' realism that has infected the idea of South Asia, indeed, to a point that when Pakistan plays cricket with the old colonial master, England, the Indians are all ready to stand behind the old colonial master against Pakistan, and inversely when India plays England, the Pakistanis gleefully support the old colonial master and not the neighbour! Now that Bangladesh has made it to the Asian Games final I believe the same would be the case with the fanatic fans of India and Pakistan respectively when Bangladesh would be playing England! Where on earth will you get a region like this? Inclusive yet exclusive!

Thirdly, Mughal. There is already an attempt to silence Mughal's contributions during its five hundred years rule, now limited mostly to Shahjahan's love for Momotaj and the latter's final resting place called the Taj Mahal. But then, certain things the Mughals cherished continue to impact upon the idea of South Asia. And one such thing is the *biriyani*. Derived from the Persian word *beryā(n)* meaning 'fried' or 'roasted,' the word *biriyani* refers mainly to the gastronomic delight consisting of rice, meat, eggs, potato, even one or two fruits, and then cooked with special care with various spices, certainly by a competent chef. Some say that the travellers and merchants from Iran while others say that Akbar the Great [1542-1605] had introduced it to India in the 16th century (Davidson 2002:612). There are now variations of it found throughout South Asia, mostly called by the name of the place or the competent chef, like *Hyderabadi biriyani*, *Bhatkali biriyani*, *Kacchi biriyani*, *Lucknowi biriyani*, *Fakruddin*

biriyani, *Hajji biriyani*, and many more, and has become integral to what is known as the Indian or South Asian cuisine.

Indeed, if we take Akbar's *Din-i-Ilahi* [Divine Faith] then we can easily see his fondness for *biriyani* and the mixing up of different religious pursuits. So is the case with his synthetic calendar, *Tarikh-i-ilahi* [God's calendar], which incidentally went on to 'adjust' the Bengali San and the *Pohela Boishak* (Sen 2005:332). The *biriyani*, in fact, did become integral to the idea of South Asia and percolated to areas beyond gastronomy. In foreign policymaking, for instance, the *biriyani* approach refers to the state's simultaneous use of multiple elements - political, social, economic, history, security, environment, even culture – when negotiating with another state. A good example in this regard would be the 50-clause Joint Communiqué that Bangladesh and India signed following Sheikh Hasina's visit to New Delhi in January 2010. The Communiqué not only included issues related to the 1974 land boundary agreement, supply of electricity, transit, environmental impact of Tipaimukh dam and counter-terrorism but also overseeing the joint celebrations of the 150th Birth Anniversary of Rabindranath Tagore! But then the absence of one item could spoil the whole *biriyani*, as it is now suggested that the absence of Mamata had virtually made Hasina-Manmohan's *biriyani* tasteless! Indeed, in South Asia often inter-state relations get stalled precisely because of the fondness for the *biriyani* approach.

Fourthly, Gandhian. This refers to Gandhi's praxis of accommodation, often of various pursuits, by keeping both means and end [*upaya* and *upeya*] identical. Taking cue from the Upanishadic saying, *eko sat viprah bahuda vandante*, that which exists is one, sages call it by various names, Gandhi succeeded in reconstructing and interpreting the *Bhagavada Gita* afresh. Indeed, in the context of the prevailing social reality, that is, marked by the decline of Buddhism and the rise of neo-Brahmanism, Dvaipayana Vyasa, the author of *Bhagavada Gita*, felt that only by accommodating the 'different currents of thoughts' (Vedic Brahmanism, Upanishadic monism, Sankhya dualism, Yogashastra, Bhagavata theism) could the anti-Brahmanical doctrine of classical Buddhism be totally uprooted and the doctrine of neo-Brahmanism firmly established. And it is this praxis of accommodation to which Gandhi remained firmly committed throughout his life. Vyasa was to show Gandhi the importance of toleration; to the extent of accepting contradictory social forces, if an objective common to all was to be achieved.

But this, far from constituting an eclectic mixture of two or three different doctrines, represented an innovative exposition of the *Gita* from *within*. Gandhi's reasoning goes like this: Insofar as 'accommodation' must mean a situation free from violence, any recourse to a conflictual relationship is sure to hamper the task of accommodation itself. Therefore the cause

of righteous war in the *Gita* must be forsaken and replaced by the practice of non-violence, the latter being the natural and logical element of accommodation. Indeed, led by his innovative interpretation of the *Gita*, Gandhi held to the view that only by practising the non-violent policy of accommodation (the means, *upaya*) could the Indian National Congress hope to unite the various contradictory social forces in the campaign for *Swaraj* and *Ramarajya* (the end, *upeya*).

This, Gandhi pursued throughout his life, often to the annoyance of his opponents, particularly Hindu fundamentalists. Once in Gujarat in a predominantly Hindu locality he was asked to give a modern example of *Ramarajya*, the audience not convinced that such a regime could be established in modern times. Gandhi, to the surprise of all, claimed that there are modern examples of *Ramarajya* and then he went on to say "the period of Hazrat Abu Bakr and Hazrat Umar"! (Gandhi 1941:19; See also, Bondurant n.d.:151). Dipesh Chakrabarty rightly referred to Gandhi as the 'master at civility in opposition' (Chakrabarty 2012:142). Not only did he make a pair of sandals as part of prison labour and presented them to General Smuts but also insisted that Rabindranath Tagore should oppose his views in public when the latter disagreed with Gandhi's assertion that the 1934 earthquake was a 'divine chastisement for the sin of untouchability' (*Ibid*). Again, when the whole nation raised the Indian national flag on 15 August 1947 to mark the independence of the country Gandhi refused to do the same at his *ashram*, lamenting in the wake of the genocidal partition that this is not the *Swaraj* he had wanted. Accommodation of contradictory forces or anarchical accommodation is what Gandhi advocated and this too has come to impact upon the idea of South Asia, albeit contrary to those who keep adhering to a linear or singular understanding of history and that includes the modernists and the fundamentalists alike. Gandhi, indeed, has kept open the space for a post-modern South Asia!

Finally, colonial or Western. "This was the most unkindest cut of all," as Anthony had remarked about Brutus' stabbing of Caesar and so it is with the colonial experience of South Asia coming in the wake of a civilizing mission or what Kipling called *The White Man's Burden*. But then the 'unkindest cut' was not so much because of the time it had taken to bleed South Asia (190 years in Bengal and only 90 years in the rest of India) but for the capacity the colonial power had to keep South Asia mesmerized, indeed, to this day despite the brutality it had suffered. Tagore, back in 1916, made an ingenuous assessment of what the colonial experience meant to this region:

> Before the Nation came to rule over us we had other governments which were foreign, and these, like all governments, had some element of the machine in them. But the difference between them and the government by the Nation is like the difference between the hand loom and the power loom. In the products of the hand loom the magic of man's living fingers finds its expression, and its hum harmonizes

with the music of life. But the power loom is relentlessly lifeless and accurate and monotonous in its production….

I am not against one nation in particular, but against the general idea of all nations. What is the Nation?

It is the aspect of a whole people as an organized power. This organization incessantly keeps up the insistence of the population on becoming strong and efficient. But this strenuous effort after strength and efficiency drains man's energy from his higher nature where he is self-sacrificing and creative. For thereby man's power of sacrifice is diverted from his ultimate object, which is moral, to the maintenance of this organization, which is mechanical….

Nationalism is a great menace. It is the particular thing which for years has been at the bottom of India's troubles (Tagore 1917:57,86-87).

And the Nation and nationalism have infected South Asia so much that not only it ended up partitioning itself into predominantly majoritarian religio-centered communities but also had its members involuntarily uprooted and displaced in millions. Mistrust and enmity otherwise became integral to the idea of South Asia as millions suffering from the trauma crisscrossed each other. This is where South Asia differed from no less divisive and violent Europe of yesteryears. Yet, the West, particularly the erstwhile colonial power - Europe, continued to pied piper the post-colonial or 'national statist' South Asia. In fact, policymakers, academicians and politicians glued to the national state could not help reminding the stakeholders the parallel between the present status of the European Union and the future of SAARC. If this limits the idea of South Asia so does it distorts the idea of regionalism.

Taking cue from the European Union, SAARC, after dilly-dallying for the first few years with technical cooperation, settled for an economic venture with economic integration in mind, believing that once the South Asians are integrated economically, the rest would follow. After almost three decades of economic activities, with the intra-regional trade within SAARC moving from 3.2 percent in the 1980s to just 5.8 percent in 2009, it can safely be said that the outcome is far from promising. European Union, in this context, was hardly the best of the practices to follow. Apart from not having the need to cooperate on certain strategic items like coal and steel the bulk of the South Asians, unlike Europeans, are less geared to reproduce their lives and living as *homo economicus* or economic being. Not for nothing was there a caste or community, indeed, the *Vaishyas*, earmarked to run the economic activities in South Asia! And

it is here that the civilizational and historical discourses could have been relevant for thinking afresh on regionalism in South Asia.

A beginning still has to be made for meeting the challenges and opportunities of 21st century and revisiting the SAARC Charter could not be more appropriate. When SAARC was established in 1985, the state actors, for reasons of want of confidence and mutual suspicion, thought it prudent to insert two 'assuring' clauses or conditions. One, that all decisions would be based on unanimity. That is, unlike the practice of the principle of democracy at home, no majoritarianism, even if it is 7 out of 8, would be accepted in running the activities of SAARC. Second, no bilateral issues could be raised in what is primarily a regional forum. In the beginning of something new and sensitive this is understandable. What is not understandable and somewhat unacceptable is that not only such conditions remain intact and frozen even after 25 years of SAARC's existence but that no time period was fixed to do away with such provisions. And this despite the fact that in the age of globalization and inter-connectedness both the conditions have become unworkable if not self-defeating.

Indeed, not for nothing did Mohamed Nasheed, the former President of the Maldives, finger point at India and Pakistan for the lack of progress of the organization in the 16th SAARC Summit at Thimphu in April 2010. How can the unhealthy relationship between India and Pakistan remain a 'bilateral' one when that same relationship limits the development of SAARC in this region? A quick schooling in dialectics would tell you that one cannot do without the other. Bilateral and the multilateral are dialectically related. Similarly, the practice of democratic norms *within* requires the practice of democratic norms *without*. Otherwise, one is bound to limit and destroy the other!

Secondly, when it comes to reinventing the region and making use of economic globalization, to everyone's advantage there is some merit in Jairam Ramesh's conceptualisation of *Chindia* (a portmanteau word referring to China and India) and how the two economies with 2.5 billion people or over one-third of the world's population could collectively make a difference to the world. To make sense of this, one must take note of the fact that in the eighteenth century China and (undivided) India were the first and second largest economies of the world respectively ((Martin 2009:80; see also Tan Chung 2010). So, what we are witnessing is not just a rise but a *re-rise* of the region provided of course both China and India are able to mend all the fissures both within and outside their respective borders, with India having an added challenge of mending a divisive South Asia.

An important step in this quest would be to provide China the 'full membership' of SAARC. It may be mentioned that currently China, along with Japan, Australia, USA, Iran, South Korea, Mauritius and the 27-member European Union, has observer status in the SAARC. The merit for China's full membership of SAARC lies in the fact that China now is the largest trading partner of almost all the South Asian countries, including India. At the same time, the largest development partner of Pakistan, Nepal and Sri Lanka is also China. The latter is otherwise *economically* a South Asian country and as such having China included in the SAARC process as a full member would not only rejuvenate SAARC as an economic region but would also help SAARC overcome its current limitations resulting from the irreconcilable differences between Pakistan and India. Given the 'Buddhist' and 'geo-civilizational' linkages between China and the Indian sub-continent, as flagged by Tan Chung (2010), *Ashokavardhana*, among many of the great souls of the past, would certainly have taken solace from such an outcome.

Finally, the challenge as well as the opportunities lies in transforming the mind-set and thinking afresh. Indeed, in the multiversity of regionalism in South Asia there is an emphasis on the moral as much as on the political. Again, there is an emphasis on the individual as much as on the collective. And again, there is an emphasis on the economic as much as on the cultural, even gastronomical. And then, there is an emphasis on the anarchical as much as on the unity. If we are serious in transforming the region and making it socially, economically, and intellectually prosperous, then I am afraid there is no option other than taking lessons from the multiversity of regionalism in South Asia. The hope now lies in our personal yet collective creative effort!

Notes

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Inexorable Cross- border Illegal Migrations Entangled in Geopolitical Exigencies in SAARC

Y Yagama Reddy

Abstract

Of various discrepancies between the much-expected regional cooperation and the oft-experienced hostilities, trans-national migration has for long been one of the irritants manifesting in strained relations among the SAARC-member states. During the post-colonial period, political upheaval and transformation could have induced cross-border migrations who would have been logically entitled for refugee status to live in the camps of host country. In the absence of regional initiatives in managing the migrations, cross-border infiltration has assumed alarming proportion, posing challenge to the SAARC character and objectives. Geography, history and politics have conferred on the South Asian countries the poorly demarcated intra-regional boundaries. If the physical proximity and porous borders being conducive to easy-infiltration, the cultural affinities and the illegal migrants becoming captive vote banks of political parties have led the host countries to develop a sort of compassion fatigue towards the inexorable illegal migration process which has henceforth been considered as less important policy issue of any nation-state in SAARC. Of all the SAARC-member states, India has become a centripetal stage for the influx of migrants from its four land-bordering smaller states, none of which has common land border shared with any other state than India. It is in this backdrop the paper analyzes the geopolitical designs of India's ambitious neighbours that would make India to endure demographic aggression/invasion which would be far worse than the possible encroachment of the victims of climate change in the offing.

The much expected regional cooperation among the South Asian countries often stands for scrutiny, if the explicit hostilities are any indication. As a logical corollary, South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) has become a victim of irreconcilable notions testifying to invincible regional cooperation and indifferent performance. The SAARC is not a priority for South Asian states; instead, it is used as 'a vehicle primarily to countervail India' which carries on the task, onto its shoulder, of promoting a regional security order (Sridharan 2008). That the South Asian countries having semblance in a set of similarities appears to be a dubious distinction, inasmuch as the region is a heterogeneous group in several respects (Khadria 2005).

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Geographical contiguity would have naturally conferred on the region a broad correspondence in certain important attributes, like landforms, biotic life, bio-climatology and agricultural economies as well as in human environment encompassing demographic character, polity, legal jurisprudence, accountancy and English as lingua franca-- all owing to the legacy of the colonial rule. About the same time, profound diversity is manifested in religion, wide range of languages and dialects, and ways of life including the values and traditions, leave alone the variations in geographical area, physical character, population size and density, and economic well-being. In the first instance, there is ambivalence in the very geographical character of the region. India, besides being preponderantly larger in its areal extent, is a peninsula with associated islands of various sizes and number. Pakistan and Bangladesh, like India, have access to the oceanic frontage, while Nepal, Bhutan and Afghanistan are the land-locked states in the lofty Himalayan mountain ranges; on the other hand, Sri Lanka and Maldives are essentially the insular realms, with the latter being a cluster of tiny islands in the Indian Ocean.

India has terrestrial boundaries shared with as many as 6 countries (Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh of South Asia, and Myanmar of Southeast Asia, besides China) (see *Table*) as well as maritime boundaries with 6 countries (Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka of South Asia, Myanmar, Thailand and Indonesia of Southeast Asia). On the face of it, India has common land borders with Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh; but surprisingly none of these four countries has common border shared with any one of them. Evidently, geography, history and politics have been at the base of poorly demarcated and porous land borders in South Asia. The spatial configuration of SAARC states, with India being at the centre-stage, is akin to a mega polis with several satellite townships. The boundary between India and Pakistan (3323 km) runs over open and thinly populated areas with no natural dividing features in the southern part. The boundary passes through the densely populated Punjab region, with only one official crossing by road and rail between Lahore and Amritsar. India – Bangladesh border (4097 km) is the largest one running over densely populated open plains. Number of crossings, though existed in theory, has been discontinued in practice for over decades. The Pak-occupied Kashmir has deprived India and Afghanistan of sharing common borders. It is only the Maldives lying far off India without any scope for a common maritime boundary between them.

Vast geographical size (3.3 million sq. km) ranks India at the top, while Maldives with 300 sq. km of area is the smallest of South Asian countries, so much as in the population size (India: 1.2 billion, Maldives: 396,334 as of 2009 estimates) (see *Table*).

Table 1: India's Land Borders with its Neighbours

Name of the Country	Area ('000 Sq. Km)@	Population (millions)$	Length of Land Border with India (Km)*
Bangladesh	148	156	4,097
China	3,705$	1,337	3,488
Pakistan	804	176	3,323
Nepal	147	29	1,751
Myanmar	262$	48	1,643
Bhutan	38	691	699
Afghanistan	647	34	106
India	3,287	1,166	---
Maldives	0.3	0.4	---
Sri Lanka	66	21	---

@ *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Asia*
$ *http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0004379.html*
* *http://www.freshersworld.com/defence/features htm*

Conforming to the area and population size is the GDP of the South Asian countries, with India ranking high (US $ 906.3 billion), followed by Pakistan (US $ 128.8 billion) and Bangladesh (62.0 billion) (*World Development Indicators*, April 2007; quoted in Sridharan 2008, p.24). Despite the long sustained trading contacts with the rest of world, South Asian economics remained the least integrated amongst themselves. Notwithstanding the discrepancies between the much-expected regional cooperation and the oft-experienced hostilities especially with the largest country of India, South Asian states established a regional framework known as SAARC in 1985. Even after 26 years of existence, cooperation among SAARC member states seems to be a myth rather a mirage; and hence SAARC was derided as "a marriage of convenience rather than love" (Zingel 1998). In a multitude of perplexities of this nature, the South Asia Economic Summit, held in Colombo in August 2008 close on the heels of SAARC Heads of State Summit, outlined the strategies, among others, for greater connectivity through promoting understanding of regional development issues and implementing regional cooperation agenda on high priority basis. It was about the same time that the Summit also felt the need for "grater cooperation among the SAARC authorities on

issues of migration," including the suggestion for developing "a safe emigration policy" (*First South Asia Economic Summit Communiqué* 2008).

Types of Migrations

Population movements, as old as human civilization, are related to economic issues, natural disasters, war, civil unrest, religious and ethnic conflicts. Invariably, migrations have economic, social, political and distributional consequences (UNRISD 2009:38). In an increasingly globalized and interconnected world, migrations have assumed significance as a livelihood strategy. Though seen within a larger strategy of poverty reduction, migration is neither an optimistic "solution" nor a pessimistic "problem" (*Ibid :*39). There are multiple forms of population movement ranging from voluntary to forced (involuntary), internal to external, long term to temporary. Though there is no gain-saying in drawing the distinction between the forced external and the forced internal migrations, voluntary and forced migrations have uprooted more than 150 million people world wide (Daiya 2001).

There used to be movement of people within the national boundaries (internal), within the region by crossing the sovereign borders (intra-regional), and across region to the other parts of the world (international). Seldom there is a liberal usage of the terms like sub-regional (internal), trans-national (intra-regional) and out-ward (international) migrations. As can be noted from the glossary on migration prepared by International Organization for Migration (2004), internal migration refers to movement of people from one area of a country to another for the purpose of establishing a new residence temporarily or permanently. Internal migration is broadly of 4 types --- rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural; yet it does not include the internally displaced people (IDP), who are generally the victims of the policies of government than by the violation of human rights by the forces of state and /or armed non-state actors. In fact, those who are uprooted by governmental development policies have less freedom of choice than the victims of generalized violence. The government-displaced ones are often termed as voluntary migrants and not refugees. But in reality, the IDPs are the forced internal migrants (Das, Cahudhury and Bose 2000).

South Asian Migrations

South Asian history is replete with the population displacement and dynamics of migration. People moved out of their counties in the wake of wars, or on ethnic, racial, ideological and religious grounds, and for environmental and developmental reasons as well. During the post-colonial period about 30 million South Asian people moved out of their

countries. Twenty Two million South Asian migrants, constituting 1.5% of South Asian population, lived outside their country of birth in 2005. These intra-regional migrants of South Asia also constitute the largest share (34.5%) of international migration movement in South Asia (*First South Asia Economic Summit Communiqué* 2008), or account for half of all outward migration, according to the Progress Report of UNRISD (2009, p.41). Afghanistan, Bangladesh (4.1 million each) and Sri Lanka (1.5 million) are listed in the top 10 countries of emigration, while India and Pakistan occupy 6th and 10th ranks of the countries hosting the migrants (Haque 2005). India, as per 1991 Census, had 5.7 million immigrants, a large proportion of them are employed in unorganized sector, while substantial numbers are illegal immigrants (Khadria 2005, p.6). It is the low level of economic and social development largely serving as a 'push' factor for illegal migration from Bangladesh and Nepal into India, or from Nepal into Bhutan. The cross-border mobility of people within the region of South Asia is unique by itself. People are not bound by the immigration rules basically requiring passports and / or visas (Khadria 2005:3). In the absence of uniform national policies incorporating migration into their social policy frameworks, there exists a negative competition which hardly addressed the problem of illegal migrations. The boundary between Nepal and India, running over the densely populated plains, is easy to cross-border illegal trade and migration. In the case of India and Bhutan, the border runs through rugged mountainous terrain with deeply dissected valleys. Such terrain-imposed problems - existed in the northern sector of India-Pakistan border as well as the Nepal's border with the Indian states of Uttarakhand, West Bengal and Sikkim-- could sustain the illegal migration uninterruptedly.

Bangladeshi Illegal Immigrants

The geopolitical configuration of Bangladesh, though not an accident of history, traces back to 18th century. The Muslim invaders, who turned the Bengal region into a Muslims-dominant territory lost power to the British in the battle of Plassey in 1757. Bifurcation of Bengal by the British in 1905 was a historical blunder that had sown the seeds for cross-border infiltration. Partition of British India in 1947 into India and Pakistan, to which East Pakistan was incorporated, has pushed India's northeastern states into the state of physical isolation, but for the 24 km wide narrow corridor known as chicken neck/ Siliguri neck.

The policy of preventing the illegal immigrants from the erstwhile East Pakistan, contemplated by P.G. Ghosh, the first Chief Minister of West Bengal in post-colonial India, was said to have contributed to his downfall. His successor, Bidhan Chandra Roy who yielded to the Communists' pressure, put on the back-burner the policy against illegal migrants in 1948

whereupon the Congress and Communists vied with each other in patronizing the infiltrators and getting them enrolled in voters' list (Narayan 1976). East Pakistan liberation from Pakistan in 1971 did in no way inhibit the cross-border illegal migrations, instead it aggravated the crisis. All those who had migrated after the creation of Bangladesh in 1971 are considered illegal migrants. This apparently excludes the pre-1971 influx that was covered by the Mujib-ur-Rehman – Indira Gandhi pact. At least 10 million illegal migrants from Bangladesh are reported to have entered India (Pocha 2004). Though the claim of 15-17 million Bangladesh illegal immigrants seems to be quite staggering, Indian High commissioner in Bangladesh viewed that around 25,000 Bangladeshis were entering India every year (*Daily Star* 21 July 2009). This is almost closer to the figure furnished by the Governor of West Bengal, T.V. Rajeshwar, who termed the problem of Bangladeshi influx as serious. Quoting the State government sources in an article (*Statesman* 6 and 9 April 1990), he put the number of Bangladeshi illegal migrants during the 1972-1988 at 28 lakhs. These illegal immigrants had begun settling in the colonies along the highways and railway tracks. The trans-migration has at subsequent stages transformed into steady flows deep into the urban areas, like New Delhi and Mumbai; and some of these illegal immigrants at later stage moved to the Middle East countries. This is a sort of 'migration industry' (Stephen and Miller 2003) that tends to blur the distinction between labour migration, irregular migration and trafficking.

Thanks to the captive vote bank politics in West Bengal, these infiltrations constituted 17% of the electorate in as many as 56 Assembly constituencies (*Pioneer* 6 October 1992). Paradoxically, Bangladesh Foreign Secretary, Shamsher M. Chowdhury, had outright denied the reports of Bangladeshis staying as illegal migrants in India (Pocha 2004); Bangladesh, on the other hand, accused India of expelling Bengali-speaking Indian Muslims. Definitely, it is difficult to arrive at exact figure of the illegal border crossings into West Bengal, in view of geographical proximity, poorly demarcated borders and cultural affinities. The process of 'becoming Indian' could easily be accomplished, inasmuch as the State and Central governments remained indifferent rather nonchalant to the impoverished migrants owing to the inadequate financial resources and bureaucratic machinery to maintain reliable data base and to carry out the process of 'detection, deletion and deportation' (Ramchandran 2005). Furthermore, Bangladesh migrants have been inadvertently and fraudulently issued official documents, like ration cards, voter identity cards and passports which not only enabled them to become residents and citizens of India, but also the entitled them to avail the same benefits as Indians including purchase of property in India (Ojha 2005). The 'capricious citizenship' (Ramachandran 2005) undermined India's efforts to expel Bangladeshis; on the other hand, Bangladesh stoutly refused to accept these transnational migrants as its citizens saying that they

did not possess the right documents (*Times of India* 14 July 2003). These "irregular" and "illegal" migrants are in possession of dual nationality in both the counties but perceived as undesirable and unwanted by both the countries. This 'capricious citizenship' of transnational migrants has churned chauvinism espousing anti-Muslim sentiments in India vis-à-vis anti-Indian sentiments in Bangladesh. All along with the xenophobic reactions against these transnational migrants, they are blamed for many problems faced by Indians, like unemployment, environmental degradation, domestic and international terrorist activities, escalated crime and lawlessness. No doubt, India's large population, poverty and limited resources could hardly afford to take on Bangladeshis burden.

This is a peculiar geopolitical flux gushed out of religion-and-national security mixture. There have been such border-crossings from Bangladesh into all the north eastern states of India and Bihar (Baruah 2005). Yet, there was visible ambivalent attitude towards the Bangladesh infiltrators, whose growing number, though once considered to be "invisible/ silent invasion", has of late assumed the form of "demographic aggression." West Bengal was vehemently opposed to the expulsion of Bangladeshis not only from its state, but from Mumbai and Delhi until 1990s. All the national and regional political parties, were deeply divided; in fact, many of them developed a sort of 'compassion fatigue' towards the inexorable illegal migrants who have become captive vote banks of political parties. But, in the context of judicial intervention (*Pioneer* 24 September 2003, *Tribune* 19 November 2003, *Outlook* 10 December 2004, *Hindustan Times* 11 December 2004), there were about 6700 illegal migrants deported in 2003 and 2004, as against 2957 deportees between 1995 and 2002 (*Pioneer* October 2004). Later, in pursuance of the "Operation Clean Roll" launched by the Election Commission of India, 13 lakh bogus voters were deleted all over West Bengal.

This simply testifies to the fact that illegal Muslim immigrants, in the range of 15-20 million, have been legalized as voters by the Marxist regime in West Bengal to tilt the electoral balance in its favour. This gains credence in the context of reaction to the 'operation clean roll' from CPIM State Secretary Anil Biswas who strongly believed in captive vote bank as key to the party's electoral success (*Pioneer* 24 February 2004). His reaction had even nullified the West Bengal's Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharya's statement in mid-2003 that his government could "no longer tolerate infiltration."(Quoted by Ramachandran 2005). Perplexingly, it was the same Buddhadeb Battacharya way back in 1992 when he was the State Information Minister who took strong exception to the Election Commission's anti-democratic electoral fraud; and he had then almost stalled 'the operation clean roll' process in West Bengal. The Left Front government's plea of providing living space (*lebensraum*) on

humanitarian consideration grossly ignored the fact that West Bengal had already been over populated with only 3% of land area supporting more than 8% of the India's total population. Unlike the non-Bengali speaking Indians, Bangladesi infiltrators were considered as the vote bank of Communists, because of linguistic affinity. The steady decline in the annual growth rate of population in Bangladesh (1974-1981) and the increase of West Bengal population during the decade of 1981-1991 subscribe to the large scale infiltration of at least 10 million people from Bangladesh (Upadhyay 2006).

Cross-border Infiltrations from Bangladesh into Assam

It was yet another political irony that Assam had been victim of large scale infiltration from erstwhile East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in the context of failure of Nehru-Liaquat Pact (1950), Indira-Mujib Accord (1971) and Assam Accord (1985) to stop 'silent invasion'. The British annexation of Assam (1826) heralded an era of the flow of Bengalese, which assumed the alarming proportions following the partition of Bengal (1905). This was termed as an "invasion of a vast horde of land-hungry immigrants mostly Muslims from the districts of East Bengal" (Singh1990). Gopinath Bordoloi-Congress-led coalition government (1937) though tried to stop the unhindered flow of immigrant Muslims, short-lived in Assam, thanks to the blunder committed by the Congress Party calling for resignation in protest against the British war policy. The succeeding coalition government (1939-1941) led by Saadullah of All India Muslim League (AIML) allotted almost one lakh hectares of land in Assam valley for East Bengal immigrants under the scheme to 'Grow More Food' (Bhuyan and Shibopada De 1999). But, in reality, it was the desire of Assam Muslim Ministers to "Grow More Muslims" (Singh 1990), who later aggressively supported the demand for Pakistan that would incorporate Assam. Though Bordoloi government, which was voted back to power in 1946, was committed to the eviction of illegal immigrates, it was otherwise engaged in saving Assam from the risk of getting included in Pakistan.

Even after independence, there was exodus of illegal immigrants from East Pakistan, which continued to subscribing to the policy of *lebensraum,* a great geopolitical design of AIML. The Nehru-Liaquat Pact (April 1950) was against the spirit of Immigrants (Expulsion from Assam) Act (February 1950); and the Congress looked upon the April 1950 Act as an opportunity to consolidate Muslim vote banks, which ensured Congress rule for thirty years. The government of Bimala Prasad Chaliha in early 1960 aggressively carried out the campaign of flushing out the immigrants much against the plea of Nehru; but his government's Prevention of Infiltration from Pakistan (1964) Act was however put in cold storage on account

of threat of toppling his government by 20 Muslim legislators. At least a million infiltrators were added to the Muslim immigrants already settled during the British rule. Thus, Assam had its Muslim population almost doubled from 19 lakhs (1947) to 36 lakhs (1972).

Even after the liberation of Bangladesh with the help of India, Mujibur Rehman embarked on the old AIML legacy to balkanize Assam through infiltrations. Thus, this geopolitical design, in the first instance, caused democratic imbalance, and later threatened the socio-cultural identity of Assam. All Assam Students Union (AASU) in a memorandum submitted to the 73rd Report of the Committee of Petitions (Rajya Sabha) on 22 March 1982 quoted the official statistics showing that there were 220,690 Pakistan infiltrators detected in the State during the 1950-61 period and 192,339 during the following decade. A total of 100,000 immigrants stayed behind even after Bangladesh liberation. A Report of Union Home Minister in 2001 was reported to have put the illegal immigrants entered India over 5 decades at 15 million (Sengupta and Singh 2004). American studies also reported about the illegal migration of 15-20 million from Bangladesh (Bhattacharya 2001). Yet another Report further maintained that the entire northeastern region was utilized as dumping ground for a large number of foreigners who became captive vote bank of the vested political forces.

The influx, which became a regular feature, was attributed to the increase of 34.98 percent during the inter-censal period of 1961-71. Ironically, in gross violation of all constitutional provisions, the Assam Accord of August 1985 accepted the infiltrators between 1951 and 1971 as genuine citizens of India. Following the landslide victory, the Asom Gana Parishad-led government too fell into the trap of vested interests; and the process of 'detection, deletion and deportation' was put on the back burner, given the fact that during 1983-2000 period , just 1400 out of 10,000 illegals had been deported (Harika 2000). Governor of Assam S K Sinha in 1998 termed the infiltration a "national threat." The illegal immigrants constituting 30 percent of Assam's population of about 26 million are at the centre stage of Assam politics, especially in 40 out of 126 Assembly constituencies (Upadhyay 2005; Kumar 2005). The expediency of the vote bank politics has made political parties turn blind eye towards illegal migrants in Assam. The increasing hold of Bangladeshi migrants over the Assamese polity and society led to the proliferation of 27 Islamic groups fighting against India for Islamic expansionism.

Nepali Illegal Migrants in Bhutan

From early 20th century, people from Nepal began settling in Bhutan; and their number had swollen so much as to cause tension to the Bhutan King. Citizenship Act of 1958 gave amnesty for all those who could prove their residence for at least 10 years before 1958. As a result, "Nepalese" Bhutanese, comprising a third of Bhutan's population, became the citizens of Bhutan. Skilled and unskilled construction workers in major infrastructure projects led to the migration of people of Nepalese origin from India. Widespread illegal immigration and lack of integration into the political and cultural mainstream led to growing social dichotomy and posing threat to national unity of Bhutan. Though the border with Tibet had been closed to immigration, most of the 4,000 Tibetan refugees had become citizens of Nepal (*Encyclopedia.com*). The Government policy of "one nation-one people", promulgated in 1980s, sought to preserve Bhutan's cultural identity. The 1985 New Citizenship Act, which attempted to control the flood of illegal immigration, rendered Nepali Bhutanese illegal immigrants. In September 1990, there were large scale protest marches which were tainted with arson and massacres of ethnic Nepalese in the southern part of Bhutan. The Bhutan government expelled 100,000 Nepali Bhutanese who fled to refugee camps in eastern Nepal. (*Encyclopedia of the Nations--Asia and Oceania-Bhutan*). King Jigme Singye Wangchuck, who authorized the anti-immigration drive in Bhutan, quoted the Census as having turned up 113,000 illegals (*The New York Times* 6 June 1993). The Joint Ministerial-level Committee could not resolve the issue of ethnic Nepalese refugees, despite series of meetings held since 1993.

It is believed that there are 162,500 Nepalese accounting for 25% of the Bhutan's total population. And, there are 104,235 refugees; a large number of them would join the cadres of Maoists to the extent of posing threat to Bhutan's security (Chandrasekharan 2004 a; Chandrasekharan 2004 b; Chandrasekharan 2005). As the Indo-Tibetan border is open, citizens of Bhutan are free to live and work in India. Yet there was no cross-border migration as of 2005 (*Encyclopedia.com*). But two separatist groups from Assam-- ULFA and NDFB and one West Bengal-separatist group, Kamatapur Liberation Organization-- entrenched their bases in Bhutan. Though initially reluctant, Bhutanese government in the recent times resorted to military action in late 2004 to bale out these Indian insurgent groups within its borders (Chandrasekharan 2004 b). The confirmed nexus between the ULFA and Maoists has become a major concern of security in southern Bhutan. As the bilateral negotiations between Bhutan and Nepal for more than a decade and a half brought forth no results, India's involvement was largely favoured. But India has been consistently reluctant, given the closest relations between

Bhutan and India. In view of the fact that the majority of refugees are illegal immigrants from Nepal and India, it assumes the form of geopolitical crisis involving Nepal, India and Bhutan.

Free Flow of People across Nepal's Borders

Conversely, Nepal has also become a home to an estimated 20,000 Tibetans as of 2003, besides more than 103,000 Bhutanese of Nepal origin in different camps of eastern Nepal (Haque 2005). India-Nepal open border is also conducive to the migrations of Indians and the smuggling of goods into Nepal. The Gurung Commission Report of 1983 found that 97 percent of the total immigrants in Nepal were of Indian origin allegedly controlling the commercial and industrial sectors in Nepal's Terai region and indulging in tax evasion (Dash 1996). On the other hand, there are 25,000 people of Nepalese origin seeking refugee and asylum in India.

Pakistan, an Asylum for Afghan Migrants

Pakistan has also been a victim of refugees ever since the Soviet invasion in 1979 when 3.5 million Afghans crossed into Pakistan (Priyanca Mathur Velath 2009). As of 2002, there were 2.2 million Afghans in Pakistan, making Pakistan the host to one of the largest refugee populations and putting Afghanistan at the top of the list of refugees-origin countries; though the refugees started returning to Afghanistan, most of them stayed back.

Climate Change-Relentless Border Crossings—Geopolitical Exigencies

It is of much relevance to make a mention of the possible intra-regional migration flows that would entail the global warming. The much expected global warming would have its adverse impact on South Asia. A mean annual increase in temperature just by few degrees would set in motion a chain of reactions. The glaciers on the Tibetan plateau are the source of Asia's biggest rivers, including Brahmaputra, the Indus and the Ganges flowing into the Indian sub-continent. If the rise in temperature induces melting of Himalayan glaciers, there would be enormous drainage through the Himalayan-origin rivers. Concurrent melting of the polar ice-caps and glaciers around the world would lead to the rise in global sea level resulting in submergence of low-lying areas including river deltas, coastal plains and small and low-lying islands. Consequently, the densely populated coastal based cities would face the risk of getting inundated, besides losing the agriculturally productive lands in the coastal fringes. If it were the case, parts of Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Maldives and several parts of India would be the worst victims of rising sea level that would ignore the political frontiers. In that event, unclear rather disappeared borders would become contested boundaries becoming highly

susceptible to proxy war, and mass migration the associated ethnic conflicts and social unrest centring on water and land resources (Pai 2008). The climate-change makes India to become a centripetal stage for intra-regional migration from all other SAARC countries. This would also set the stage for re-enacting the captive bank politics by the vested political parties; and India would become an arena of geopolitical game often provoking other external powers to interfere in it.

Conclusion

Confining the scope only to the South Asia's intra-regional migration, this study makes no attempt to study either the migrations from the countries external to the SAARC region (viz., from Myanmar into Bangladesh and from Tibet into India/Nepal) or the emigration patterns from the SAARC countries to different parts of the world. South Asia's long and convoluted history of illegal migration owes to political upheaval and transformation as much as to the poorly demarcated borders and cultural affinities. These cross-border/trans-national migrations, often referred to infiltrations, do hardly qualify for institutional protection as per the rule of law; and hence the situation in South Asia seldom affects both national security and inter-state relations.

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Trends in Mobility of Refugees in South Asia: Tri-Dimensional Diagnostic Approach

G Sathis Kumar & S Ramaswamy

Abstract

Refugees are people who have lost the protection of their State of origin by crossing an international border. Even if a refugee population constitutes ordinary civilians, providing refuge to one's neighbours' citizens is, to say the least, a challenge to inter-state relations. This is the case, despite the assertions that providing asylum should be perceived as a peaceful and not an 'unfriendly' act. As people without the protection of a State, in a world where political and legal identity is inextricably linked with citizenship and nationality, refugees have been construed as a continuing challenge to States' efforts to regulate relationships between themselves. Most economists welcome the migration from lower- to higher-wage countries, since voluntary migration from lower- to higher-wage areas increases allocative efficiency, allowing the world to make the most efficient use of available resources and thus maximize production. Further, Asia and Africa are the regions were maximum percent of refugees originated and the same regions are also in a list of most preferred destinations for the refugees from different parts of these regions and other parts of the world as well. Thus, understanding the trends in mobility of refugees in these regions is necessitated. In this context, in addition to the conventional way of approaching (geographical) the trends of mobility of refugees, this paper visualizes mobility of refugees from the grounds of classification of countries by using economic parameters (measured by per capita income) and classification of countries, based on socio-economic parameters (measured by human development index); at the end, based on the knowledge gained from the analysis and discussion on trends in mobility of refugees in South Asia, the major findings and recommendations are presented

Key Words: Refugees, Geography, Per Capita Income (PCI), Human Development Index (HDI) and South Asia.

Introduction

Human history has been as much a story of movement[1] as it has been of settled habitation. This has been an important factor in world civilization; enrichment of cultures; spread of technology and globalization and, thus, gives birth to the concept 'migration' – which is an integral part of social as well as economic well-being of humankind.

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Generally, migration has been classified into internal and international migration. One of the most significant social phenomena of our times is that of the large-scale inter- and intra-national migration of people. The world's population is becoming increasingly mixed as hundreds of thousands of individuals and families move each year across the international frontiers and in many cases, from one continent to another, and often from one hemisphere to the opposite side of the world (Christensen 1982). Most of these people travel and migrate in search of improved livelihoods, better wages and standard living conditions. Human Development Report (2009) estimates that approximately 740 million people are internal migrants – almost four times as many as those who have moved internationally (200 million people). Among the people who have moved across national borders (international migrants), just over a third moved from developing to developed countries—fewer than 70 million people, and most of the international migrants moved from one developing country to another or between developed countries. Among all internal and international migrants, the people forced to migrate are refugees[2], who generally face the problems of insecurity and conflicts posing specific challenges. There are 14 million refugees living outside their country of citizenship, representing about 7.0 per cent of the world's migrants. Most of them remain near the country they fled, typically living in camps until the conditions at home allow their return, but around half a million per year travel to developed countries and seek asylum there (UNDP 2009).

The story of human movement marks a paradigm shift in attitude, which calls for easing barriers to human movement within and across borders. In the conventional wisdom, international migrants cause a 'brain drain' in their countries of origin and, except for a minuscule percentage at the higher end, take away jobs and strain precious resources. Modern wisdom looks at it in a different way; that immigrants do not crowd out locals from the job market; rather they boost economic output by encouraging investment in new businesses and initiatives (The Hindu 2009). Though, wisdom on migration and migrants underwent a dynamic change, the barriers to mobility and provisions of better livelihood with access to basic needs are especially highly warranted for refugees who have left their usual place of abode and crossed an inter- and intra-national frontier, with the explicit aims of searching for safety; and living in peacefully without politically determined threats to their lives (Christensen 1982). The over-the-top understanding of the literatures on migration commonly distinguished the refugees from the economic migrants, as someone who is forced to migrate, rather than somebody who has moved more or less voluntarily (Black 2001). Therefore, many researchers attempted to study their mobility under dynamic context of the socio-economic, political and other causes of refugees.

Dynamism in Approaching the Refugees: Genesis and Historical Snapshot

During the period between early 1920s and late 1930s, the very first and wide refugee problem emerged mainly because of uneasy political situations and two world wars, which produced the bitterness of ideological divisions (Holborn 1938). Though many people affected by the above said calamities left their place of habitation to escape from insecurity, violence, etc, nations were not worried about the people who moved in search of safe and better livelihood. It is recorded that until the 1940s, no generally accepted rules and regulations were initiated for dealing with the right of refugees, and duties and responsibilities of origin and host countries (Schmidt 1945). In the late 1940s and early 1950s, historical initiatives to establish international organizations like League of Nations, and United Nations were worked out, and they initiated to build international organizations for dealing with the huge number of people (refugees) who were the victims of two world wars, with the objective to cover all the aspects of refugee movements including refugee admission, and rights of the refugees (Weiss 1954). Thus, the historical fountain to take care of the refugees that is United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established in the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Moreover, many changes and add-ons were suggested to incorporate in the powers, objectives, working areas, partners, rules and regulations of UNHCR, for instance, regarding the granting of asylum, need of an agreement between UNHCR and a number of states, according to which each country agrees to admit refugees assigned by UNHCR (Melander 1981). Further, it stressed that the refugee incidents can be reduced through repatriation or settlement assisted means by international organizations like UNHCR. But, it was questioned by many researchers that whether the expansion of the services for refugees brings a permanent solution to the problem of refugees and it remains implicit in the notion that refugees should eventually be able to change their status and lead their normal lives (Gordenkar 1981). Further, the researchers came out with a solution to integrate the refugees into the society of normal population and counseling to integrate the refugees into the society. Thus, it is advised to set up a research programme to focus on matters related to possible long-term settlement of refugees, which should make use of intergovernmental organizations, national research institutions and effective involvement of experts and specialists who have been doing a host of research in the area of refugees' management (Christensen 1982).

However, the initiatives towards viable solutions to the problems of refugees were started in the early 1980s by UNHCR and it has been continuously increased in the budget provisions and spent on social and economic activities yielding viable solutions. It is observed that increased budget provisions and spending cannot automatically bring solutions to the

problems of refugees (Stein 1986), and countries favoring out migration, for whatever reasons, can be expected to oppose efforts taken by the countries of destination to regulate the entry of their nationals. Such opposition is expressed through diplomatic channels, through criticism in the domestic or international media, through retaliatory measures, or even through support for certain political groups in the receiving country. So, many researchers insisted that the use of refugee admissions as a tool of foreign policy is an increasingly dangerous political, domestic and social game (Teitelbaum 1984). They suggested that international response to the needs of the uprooted should be strengthened; protection in the context of human needs should be assessed; the enforcement of existing laws related refugees needs to be reinforced; and new initiatives are required to enable the international community to respond in a coherent manner to the tremendous humanitarian problems of displacement. Further, it is experienced that the top-down planning usually assumes no significant changes in socio-cultural, political-economic, or physical context of the problem. A plan for viable solutions to the problem of refugees, created without the participation of local residents and refugees devalues their local knowledge; and a learning-process approach seems the only way to address systematically the unanticipated consequences, to integrate those who suffer negative impacts along the way, and to include those who help to offer unanticipated solutions (Koenig 2002). It is strongly suggested that the following can be considered for potential implications of refugee policy; exiled communities are not necessarily treated as isolated communities, and the implication is that recent initiatives in both host countries and countries of origin to mobilize diasporas in the development process must be extended to refugees; and physical return is not the only way to integrate the refugees in post-conflict reconstruction (Koser, and Hear 2003). From the findings and conclusions of earlier literature, available in the field of refugee studies, it is derived that the nature, purpose and patterns of refugee movement have been continuously changing over the period, due to dynamic changes in the causes, which influence and induce to move and seek asylum. In addition, it deals with the dramatic changes in treating and approaching the refugees by national governments and international community. In accordance with these changes, the method of approaching and studying the refugees also underwent prominent transformation.

Research Objective and Methodology

The prime objective of this study is *to illustrate the trends in mobility of refugees in South Asia of concern under UNHCR from the international perspectives, in the context of world geography mosaic, economic development (measured by the per capita income) and human development (measured by human development index).* This study is based on secondary data and information that are considered as pillar and foundation for the present exercise. The

secondary data was collected and compiled from different sources such as books, journals, records, documents, and all other published reports, which are documented by Governmental Organizations (GOs), academic and research institutions at the local, national, and international level.[3] The data on population concerns to UNHCR were compiled from Statistical Year Book of the UNHCR, 1994 – 2005, and data for the same period have been taken for analysis, interpretation, and discussion. In addition, the Report on State of World Refugees, published by the UNHCR occasionally, is also consulted to collect data and information on the situation and conditions of world refugees. The variables / data heads used in the study are: number of refugees by country of asylum, number of refugees by country of origin, mobility of refugees from country of origin to asylum, resettlement departures from first asylum countries, major voluntary repatriation and returned refugees. The data compiled were used for analyzing the pattern and trends of mobility of refugees from tri-dimensional perspectives namely geography, economic wealth, and human development. It is to be noted that in addition to conventional geographical dimension on the refugees' data, the economic and human development dimensions on the refugees' data are considered in the study. For geographical dimension, the country level refugees' data were classified by UN Major Regions, for economic dimension, data were classified by per capita income of the countries, and for human development dimension, data were classified by human development indexes taken for the study. Tools such as documentary analysis, statistical compilation, reference and abstract guides and content analysis were made use of while compiling the data. The data compiled were used for analysis. Statistical tools such as Percentage and Trend Analysis were employed in analysis and interpretation of the data.

Results and Discussion[4]

The complexity of refugee flows, both in terms of their causes and their manifestations, demands correspondingly complex responses. The totality of the problem – from causes to solutions – requires careful examination. A comprehensive response – includes understanding immediate causes of displacement, development of structures for longer-term mediation, and incorporation of development plans – must address all the reasons for flight, and the legitimate concerns of all the parties. It will take into account, as appropriate, the rights and obligations of refugees and other affected populations, of the receiving countries and the countries of origin, opposition groups, third countries and international organizations (UNHCR 1993). In this context, the developing countries, where majority of the world's refugees are found, and states which are struggling (and often failing) to meet the needs of their own citizens express growing concern about the pressures placed on them by the prolonged presence of large populations of

refugees, on the one hand. On the other, are the industrialized states, where the challenge to refugee protection derives primarily from the arrival of asylum seekers from poorer regions of the world. While the number of such asylum seekers has diminished significantly in recent years, and the majority originates from countries that are affected by armed conflict and political violence, governments and electorates in the developed world tend to perceive these new arrivals in very negative terms (UNHCR 2006). The causes and factors driving the mobility of refugees is predominant in Asian and African countries. In the South Asian countries, the refugees have emerged because of the socio-political, ethnic and economic ill treatments by the governments and conventionalists on the marginalized people. With these observations, some of the significant scales of the mobility of refugees in South Asia have discussed and the findings are as follows:

Concentration of Refugees: When looking at the number of people as refugees categorized by their country of asylum, the world trends show a slight decline in the number of refugees by their country of asylum over the reference period (that is from 1994 to 2005). Since, African and Asian countries are the major victims of refugees according to the several evidences obtained from the secondary data and earlier studies on mobility of refugees, the number of refugees by their country of asylum were significantly high in the continent of Africa and Asia followed by Latin America and the Caribbean, North America and others. South Asia also reflected the same trend [Fig.1 (A)] and in South Asia, Srilanka is dominating followed by India, Afghanistan and others [Fig.1 (B)].

Fig.1.Number of Refugees by Country of Asylum
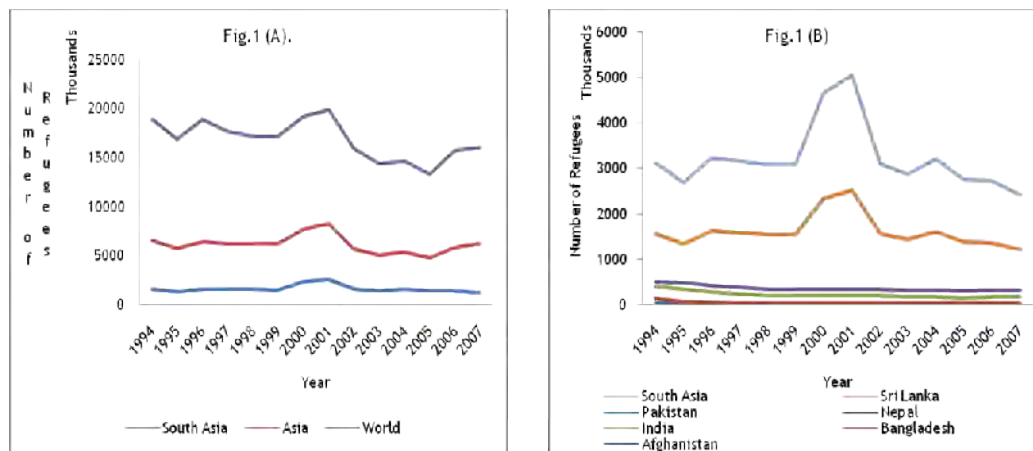
On an average, more than 40 per cent of the refugees by their country of asylum are concentrated in Asia. Further, South Asian countries, on an average, provide asylum to more than 12 per cent of the world refugees and more than one fourth of the Asian refugees (Table.1).

It is derived from the UNHCR Statistical Year Book(s) that since the causes for emergence of refugees is highly prevalent in the countries of Asian and African region, for the most part, major proportions of refugees emerged from these regions. It is inferred that in the total number of refugees by their countries of origin, major proportions of refugees concentrated in the countries of Asian and African regions.

Fig.2. Number of Refugees by Country of Origin
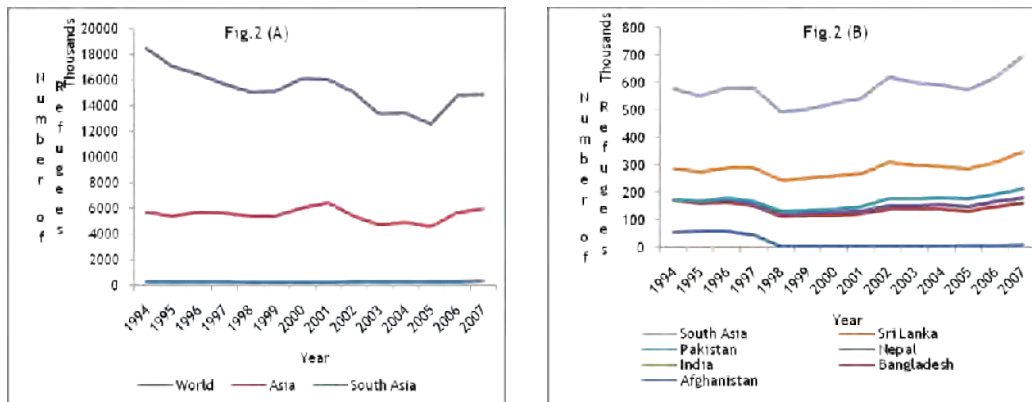
In the Asian continent, South Asia shows the constant trend in this regard [Fig.2 (A)] and in South Asia, Srilanka is dominating with numerous refugees produced, followed by Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and others [Fig.2 (B)]. For instance, in 2007, South Asian countries alone produced 6.21 per cent of refugees from the Asian continent (Table.2.), in which Bangladesh, Srilanka and Afghanistan were significant contributors, who are continuously facing severe socio, economic and political conflicts in the history of their survival.

Mobility of Refugees from Country of Origin to Country of Asylum

While looking at the mobility of refugees from their country of origin to country of asylum from geographical dimension, it is observed that most of the mobility of refugees took

place between countries within the particular region. Since, the concentration of refugees was high in Asia and Africa, these regions closely reflected the trends in mobility of refugees within and nearby locations that too in the same region. Among the total mobility of world refugees over the reference period, almost, in all the years, Africa and Asia, jointly shared about 80 per cent of refugees. Further, in all the years, more than one-third of world refugees moved within Asia and the same was reflected in the case of Africa also. Thus, it is observed that the mobility of refugees from one region to another seldom happened and number of refugees of this kind is a meager one.

In the case of South Asia, the trend shows that majority of refugees originated from South Asia moved within South Asia, that is to another country in the same region., which almost reflects the trend of mobility of refugees in South Asian region. [Fig.3(A)] Human development dimension of analysis on mobility of refugees in South Asia reveals that refugees originated from South Asian countries moved to MHDI countries almost in the same proportion of regional (South Asia) and international trend (World) followed by VHHDI countries with a constant proportion [Fig.3 (B)].

Further, economic dimension of analysis on mobility of refugees in South Asia derived that the majority of the refugees originated from South Asian region moved to LMCs followed by LICs [Fig.3 (C)].
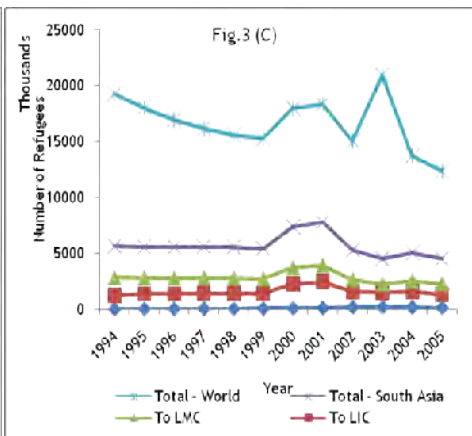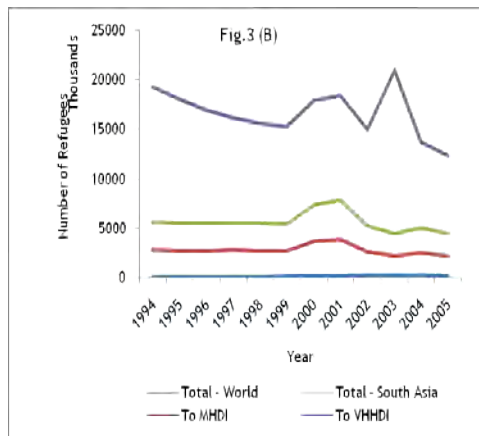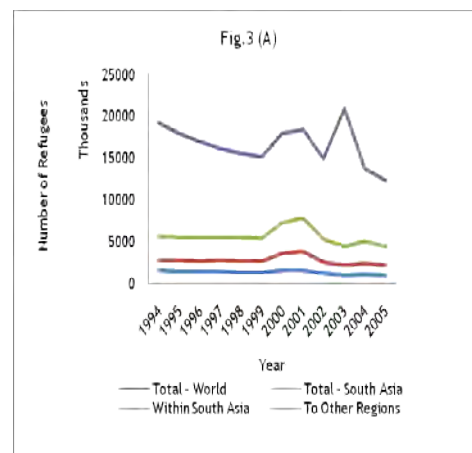
Resettlement Departures of Refugees by First Asylum Countries

Resettlement is generally offered to refugees, who are admitted temporarily to a country of asylum, who cannot return to their home country and who face particular protection problems. Moreover, the UNHCR facilitates permanent settlement in a third country, through identifying resettlement places, medical screening, arranging for travel and facilitating measure for integration of refugees in the country of resettlement (UNHCR, 1997). It is found that the total number of refugees' departure for their resettlement in first asylum courtiers show an increasing trend with little fluctuations during the reference period. With very little fluctuations, the trends in number of refugees originated from countries of South Asia, who found resettlement opportunities in their first asylum countries, show an increasing trend [Fig.4.].

Fig.4. Resettlement Departures from First Asylum Countries in South Asian Countries
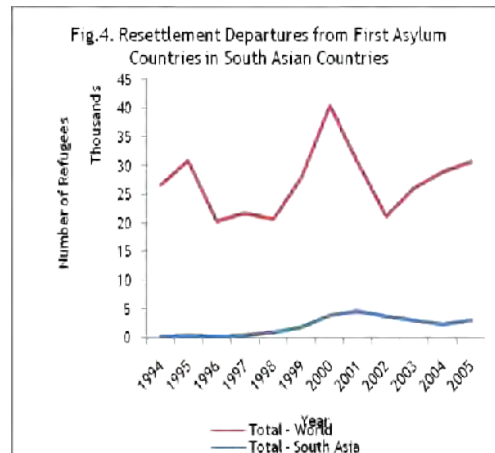
Voluntary Repatriation

Voluntary repatriation covers preparations for departure to the country of origin, transportation and others. In most cases, it also involves activities in the country of origin, including organizing facilities and assistance during the initial phase of reintegration. The discussion on voluntary repatriation to the country of origin ended with a fact that almost 99 per cent of refugees voluntarily repatriated to their country of origin from / within the same region, where they lived as refugees. With lot of fluctuations, the trend in voluntary repatriation was declining over the reference period. Majority of the voluntary repatriation occurred within Asia, Africa and Oceania (Sathis Kumar 2010). These are due to non-availability of basic facilities in countries of origin and prevalence of static conditions, which cause refugee-like situations and produces refugees in their respective home countries.

Returned Refugees: Returned refugees or "returnees" refer to those who have repatriated voluntarily to their place of origin and who remain of concern to UNHCR for a limited period after their return. For these purposes, data were segmented on the basis of a cut-off period of

two years. For instance, the returnee population at the end of 2007 consisted of those who returned during 2006 and 2007 (UNHCR, 1997). Further, the data on returned refugees for the period 1997 to 2007 (except 2003) were collated and used for analysis. Here, the number of returned refugees are taken, discussed and analyzed from the perspective of their country of

Fig.5.Voluntary Repatriation of Refugees in South Asian Countries

Fig.6. Returned Refugees in South Asian Countries
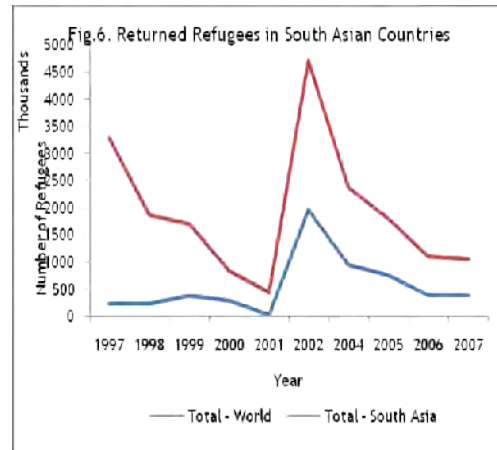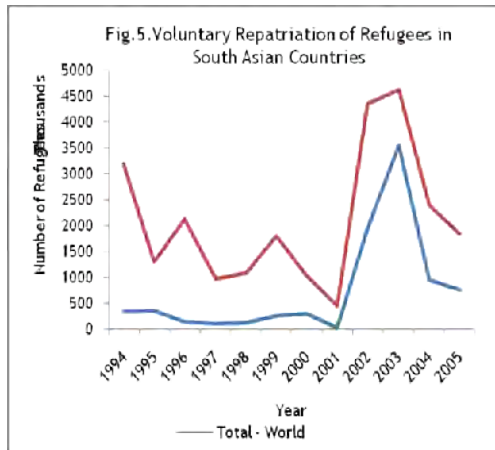
asylum (that is, from which country, they went as refugees). The trends and pattern of returned refugees by their asylum countries from 1997 to 2001 show that the total number of returned refugees by their asylum courtiers initially decreased and suddenly increased in 2002. Thereafter it again showed a declining trend, and the same trends were reflected in the number of returned refugees in South Asia [Fig.5]. All the major regions namely Africa, Asia, North America, Latin America and the Caribbean, Oceania and Europe reflected the decreasing trend of returnees during 1997 – 2002, increasing trend during 2001 – 2004 and a decreasing trend thereafter.

Conclusion

In theory, every individual has equal opportunity to enjoy and expect a safe, secure and better socio-economic and political environment, which provides him / her for accessing the resources and rights without any restrictions and limitations. But, in practice and in reality, because of irrational behaviour and attitude towards ill-treating the weaker-sections of the society, in various forms namely ethnic, political, economic and linguistic partiality and thus, individual or a group of individuals are neglected in accessing resources and rights. Many researchers at the international level and a few at the national level are also dealing with the gap between theoretical and practical problems and issues with facts, figures and evidences in

provision of access to resources of all kinds and the rights of different types that enable to meet the basic social, cultural, economic and political needs of refugees. For solving all these refugee issues, what we need today is, international understanding, cooperation and coordination in social, cultural, political, and economic and environmental arena that may lead to an equalitarian society, for which UNHCR has been serving the welfare of refugees. Thus, from the experience of analyzing the trends in mobility of refugees in general and trends in mobility of refugees in South Asia in particular, it is recommended that implementable initiatives and sincere efforts should be taken for the active participation of all countries of the world in protecting refugees who can be included in the mainstream development and society. Because, after the sixty years of establishment of UNHCR, many countries (including India) have not signed the UNHCR Convention (1951) and Protocol (1967) and have never lent their support to protecting the refugees in accordance with international laws, norms and conditions as directed and implemented by UNHCR. Further, it is also recommended that since, the concentration of refugees and allied issues are large in Africa and Asia, especially South Asia, regional level independent organizations can be established like Organization for African Unity (OAU) - which deals with the regional refugees' issues and their welfare programmes. Hence, it is suggested that there is a need for regional cooperation which can easily solve the problems of emergence of refugees and suggest sustainable solutions to the problems in providing asylum to the refugees.

Notes

1. The human movement is due to the social, economic, political, cultural forces and motives; and it may acquire an intra and / or inter-national character. In the present context, the human development refers to international in character and move(s) with any one or more said purposes and motives.

2. Refugees are the people who are uprooted by persecution, conflict, and famine in all ages of the world history, from the land of their own and forced to run away to a different place for the safety of their life by leaving their belongings and dreams behind.

3. The sources of data and information collected include Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences – pertaining to 'possible ways out' of the 'refugee problem'; International Migration Review – focusing on analysis of, recommendations for refugee policy, and concern on more problematic aspects of refugee experience; Journal of Refugee Studies – spawning the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration, which serves as an independent community of scholars and practitioners working on refugee issues; and the research reports and working papers of the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University, Oxford, England.

4. The results and figures discussed in this section are manipulated from scripts of the unpublished doctoral research report of the first author of this paper.

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Table.1. Number of Refugees by Country of Asylum in South Asia														
Countries	**Number of Refugees by Country of Asylum**													
	1994	**1995**	**1996**	**1997**	**1998**	**1999**	**2000**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**
Afghanistan	19100	19600	18800	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	32	35	42
Bangladesh	116200	51100	30700	21600	22300	22200	21627	22200	22000	19800	20449	21098	26311	27573
India	258300	274100	233400	223100	185500	180000	170941	169500	168900	164800	162687	139283	158366	161537
Nepal	103300	124800	126800	129200	126100	127900	129237	130900	132400	123700	124928	126436	128175	128181
Pakistan	1055400	867600	1202700	1202700	1202500	1202000	2001466	2198800	1227400	1124300	1290984	1084694	1044462	887273
Sri Lanka	0	0	0	0	30	20	16	0	0	0	63	106	162	182
South Asia	1554294 (12.54)	1339195 (12.07)	1614396 (12.91)	1578597 (13.98)	1538428 (14.14)	1534119 (14.14)	2325287 (20.22)	2523401 (21.81)	1552702 (15.32)	1434603 (15.44)	1601145 (17.28)	1373654 (16.26)	1359517 (13.83)	1206795 (12.48)
Asia	4978000 (40.16)	4442600 (40.05)	4808900 (38.44)	4729600 (41.88)	4744730 (43.60)	4768250 (43.95)	5383417 (46.81)	5770500 (49.87)	4187800 (41.33)	3642855 (39.21)	3801709 (41.02)	3452469 (40.86)	4537754 (46.16)	5111659 (52.87)
World	12393400	11091500	12508100	11292800	10882870	10849840	11498602	11570400	10132000	9290135	9268334	8450521	9831349	9668966
Source: Compiled from different issues of Statistical Year Book of UNHCR. *Note: Figures in the parenthesis represents the percentage to world.*														

Country of Origin	Country of Asylum	Year											
		1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
	Australia	0	0	2200	2200	2400	3100	4400	6300	6900	7200	8000	8100
	Canada	4400	4600	5100	6000	6800	7900	9100	11400	13000	14600	15200	15500
	Denmark	500	700	1000	1300	1500	2300	3500	4800	5800	6400	6400	6400
	Germany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	52300	47000	38600	3100
	India	22400	19900	18600	17500	16100	14500	12800	12000	11400	10300	9800	9700
	Iran	1623300	1429000	1414700	1411800	1400700	1325700	1482000	1482000	1104900	834700	952800	920200
	Netherlands	2100	3600	7800	12000	16000	20300	23600	26000	26000	26400	25900	25100
	Pakistan	1053000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	2000000	2197800	1226600	1123600	1290400	1084200
	Tajikistan	700	600	1200	2200	3600	4500	15400	15300	3400	3300	1800	1000
	Turkmenistan	400	3000	3100	5500	1100	1400	1500	1500	1300	1200	1000	700
	UK	100	800	1300	1900	3500	4600	5700	15100	20300	21700	22500	22500
	USA	500	6200	3800	2700	1900	2600	4300	7400	8900	9600	9000	8800
	Uzbekistan	2600	8000	2800	3100	1100	1000	8300	4300	5700	5500	5200	4700
Afghanistan	Total	2710000	2676400	2661600	2666200	2654700	2587900	3570600	3783900	2486500	2111500	2386600	2110000
	Germany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2500	3200	3200	5900
	USA	1000	2300	4400	5500	5900	6200	6400	6100	6700	5700	5200	5400
India	Total	1000	2300	4400	5500	5900	6200	6400	6100	9200	8900	8400	11300
	Canada	2700	2600	2300	2000	2300	3000	3900	5800	7000	8000	9700	10600
	Germany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9300	9200	8700	10800
Pakistan	Total	2700	2600	2300	2000	2300	3000	3900	5800	16300	17200	18400	21400
	Canada	21500	18000	14900	11800	10200	9700	10600	13200	12900	12600	12100	11100
	France	0	15500	15800	16000	15900	15600	15200	15800	15900	15100	15300	15600
	Germany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17400	15100	12900	15300
	India	73500	55100	62200	66500	70300	66400	64700	64100	63800	60900	57300	50700
	Switzerland	300	300	300	10100	400	7000	13700	9400	5800	3700	3000	2600
	UK	12100	11500	10000	9400	9200	8400	10600	11800	9500	8000	8100	8100
Srilanka	Total	107400	100400	103200	113800	106000	107100	114800	114300	125300	115400	108700	103400
	To Other Regions	1672200	1506700	1490700	1503500	1482500	1423300	1618200	1636200	1335500	1058200	1164600	1101500
	Within South Asia	1148900	1275000	1280800	1284000	1286400	1280900	2077500	2273900	1301800	1194800	1357500	1144600
	To VHHDI	45200	66100	68900	80900	76000	90700	111000	133100	220200	213500	203800	174900
	To MHDI	2775900	2715600	2702600	2706600	2692900	2613500	3584700	3777000	2417100	2039500	2318300	2071200
	To HIC	45200	66100	68900	80900	76000	90700	111000	133100	220200	213500	203800	174900
	To LIC	1152200	1283600	1284800	1289300	1291100	1286400	2101200	2293900	1310900	1203600	1364500	1150300
South Asia	To LMC	1623700	1432000	1417800	1417300	1401800	1327100	1483500	1483500	1106200	835900	953800	920900
Total South Asian Refugees		2821100	2781700	2771500	2787500	2768900	2704200	3695700	3910100	2637300	2253000	2522100	2246100
		(11.88)	(11.49)	(12.40)	(13.37)	(13.96)	(13.43)	(14.02)	(14.04)	(11.31)	(5.09)	(10.94)	(11.66)
Total World Refugees		13663800	12458900	11435300	10597100	10044600	9883590	10579300	10566500	9779400	16425360	8720700	7899500

Table.3. Mobility of Refugees from South Asia: Classification by Geography, Human Development Index and Per Capita Income of the Country of Origin

Source: **Source**: Compiled from different issues of Statistical Year Book (1994-2005) of UNHCR.
Note: Figures in the parenthesis represents the percentage to world.

Table.4. Resettlement Departures from First Asylum Countries in South Asian Countries												
Countries of Origin	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Afghanistan	309	422	300	546	979	1774	3943	4624	3821	3141	2454	3140
South Asia	309 (1.17)	422 (1.38)	300 (o.14)	546 (2.56)	979 4.94)	1774 (6.76)	3943 (10.80)	4624 17.73)	3821 (21.83)	3141 (13.64)	2454 (9.23)	3140 (11.41)
World	2633 6	3042 8	2011 3	2133 5	1978 1	2622 6	36528	26086	17496	23027	2658 9	27515
Source: Compiled from different issues of Statistical Year Book of UNHCR. Note: Figures in the parenthesis represents the percentage to world.												

Table.5. Voluntary Repatriation of Refugees in South Asian Countries												
Countries of Origin	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Afghanistan	329400	347700	144900	86500	107000	252900	292400	26000	1957200	355400	939800	750759
Bangladesh	0	0	0	16500	13400	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Srilanka	8100	10100	0	0	100	100	0	0	500	4500	9900	2700
South Asia	337500 (11.83)	357800 (37.67)	144900 (7.26)	103000 (11.68)	120500 (12.25)	253000 (16.26)	292400 (39.36)	26000 (5.97)	1957700 (8.16)	355850 (33.14)	949700 (65.41)	755464 68.74)
World	2851900	949601	1995100	882201	983800	155600 0	742700	435300	2398800	107370 0	145180 0	109900 0
Source: Compiled from different issues of Statistical Year Book of UNHCR. Note: Figures in the parenthesis represents the percentage to world												

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Table.6. Returned Refugees in South Asian Countries									
Countries of Origin	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007
Afghanistan	221800	193700	359800	292484	26092	1957958	940469	752090	387917	373856
Bangladesh	16500	29900	13400	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
India	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	23	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Pakistan	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	2	n.a.	n.a.	1	2	6
Srilanka	n.a.	110	210	16	14	466	10040	2700	375	2000
South Asia	238300 (7.83)	223710 (13.53)	373410 (28.10)	292523 (53.00)	26108 (6.99)	1958424 (71.13)	950509 (66.11)	754791 (73.11)	388295 (54.78)	375862 (54.77)
World	3042200	1652830	1328740	551856	416183	2753177	1437738	1032453	708800	686274
Source: Compiled from different issues of Statistical Year Book of UNHCR. Note: Figures in the parenthesis represents the percentage to world.									

In Search of Medieval Asian Seafarers and Islamic World System

Anas S

Abstract

Traditional interpretations of the world system are profoundly grounded in European or western experiences. Taking the cue from the history of Indian Ocean, this paper attempts to identify the existence of alternative world systems. It seeks to conceptualize and understand the role of Muslim merchants in Indian Ocean trade, through the merchant networks and trading diasporas during the Medieval period. The distinctive features of Arab Muslim merchant networks which provide instance for understanding Islamic world system are to be analyzed in the light of new conceptual frameworks.

Introduction

The Islamic World System is not a new coinage. Different scholars have engaged with the debate on the systemic character of Islam and its historical context. According to Richard M. Eaton, "In the post-thirteenth century period, Muslims also constructed a world system, but one radically different from that modelled on *Homo economicus.* It was, rather, a world system linking men and women through informal networks of scholars and saints, built on shared understandings of how to see the world and structure one's relationship to it. Above all, it was a world system constructed around a book 'the *Qur'an'*" (Eaton 1993: 31).

To quote Samir Amin "Arab Islamic world was part of a larger regional system which I call Mediterranean system"(Amin 1993:253). From this clarification, he put forward the importance of systemic character of Arab Islamic entity. In another sense, Andre Gunder Frank called this Islamic system as a 'trading world-system' that existed till 1500 CE (Frank 1993:209). On a similar note Janet L. Abu-Lughod observed "a long standing, globally integrated 'world-system,' to which Europe had finally attached itself" (Abu-Lughod 1989: 275-76). Richard M. Eaton joins this debate by saying historians of Islam are beginning to realize that in the post-thirteenth-century period, Muslims also constructed a world system.

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John Obert Voll views "the pre-modern entity of the Islamic world as a world-system" (Voll 1994: 219) in which he argues 'Islam as a special World-System'. These views are basically concerned with the expansion of economic and social connectivities especially by Muslim trade and faith networks, which historically have cut across political boundaries in efforts to incorporate people into uniform structure.

'World system' is a term coined by historians and made familiar by Immanuel Wallerstein to designate a political-economic unit, articulated by cross-continental trade networks and larger political units extending far beyond the boundaries of individual nation states, and linking them together in a larger functioning unit (Wallerstein 1984). The concept of the Islamic world system has stretched out beyond the composition of Wallerstein's system analysis. Wallerstein's empirical examination and demarcation of the world was generally based on economic capabilities; therefore he called the early world system as 'world-economy' (Wallerstein 1976:230). The modern- world system was conceptualized by the perspective of economic capital that he divided into core, periphery and semi-periphery. But the Islamic system is extremely indebted to socio-economic and historical temperament of medieval Orient, which was basically shaped by religious and merchant networks. The denomination of Islamic system was mostly of a sociological and religious nature, and was differentiated from the economic perspective of modern world system.

The Islamic world system, on the other hand, can be defined as a pre-capitalist world system functioning in the framework of specific political, socio-economic, cultural and religious interactions (Voll 1984). It differs from the *umma* or global Muslim community, in terms of the former's emphasis on politico-economic and religious networks. The concept of *umma* –a theological conceptualization- leads to endorse individual Muslims imagination of a 'global Islamic community' strictly adhered to the text and envisions different forms of religious associations. The Islamic world system, on the other hand, pays little attention to the 'revealed religion' while imagining a wider society of associations and networks. The religion of 'the text' holds only an insignificant position in the entire scheme of imagination. In place of it, the traditions of 'living Islam' come to dominate the Islamic world system. The system of finance and banking adopted by the Muslim traders at different stages of history, for instance, has a potential to challenge basic notions of Islam. For example one of the predominant Muslim merchant group Al-Karimis from Egypt followed their own economic system that was totally different from broad Islamic economic pattern (Ashtor 1956:45-46).

There have been numerous trans-national trade networks and interconnected world economies, before the development of a capitalist world economy. In the genealogy of these world systems, the Islamic world system occupies an important place. This Islamic system comprised diverse networks of interaction among people and cultures with considerable diversity and yet was able to draw on some common elements. Nevertheless, there was no

hegemonic power or imperialist internationalism at its core. Rather, it consisted of several subunits with distinctive structures and functions.

The idea of the Islamic World System (Muslim, to be more specific) can be applied to a wide variety of political, commercial or religious networks, which are yet to be duly acknowledged by the system theorists. The experiences and insights attached with Islamic world system, speak mainly of a plurality of related but diverse set of subsystems. In the Indian Ocean context, the Islamic World System finds manifestation through two divergent orders. The first was trade based especially by merchant groups or traders in diaspora. The second was faith-based, where the major actors were preachers, scholars and *Sufis*. And each order along with the backup of major dynasties and princely states ensured and contributed to the making of the Islamic world system.

The spread of Muslim merchants through the Indian Ocean ports was facilitated by frequent conversion to Islam in the port towns, where native merchants often found the 'egalitarianism' and 'universality' of the new religion very much appealing. The movement of people formed the basis for the construction and consolidation of ideas, economic systems, political institutions, artistic tradition, etc. Islamic culture remained the prime source for the amalgamation of subcultures and integration of spaces. This ultimately led to a cosmic space on the basis of faith. The Muslim trade and scholars' network gave a new systemic structure to this wider space.

As we examine the world system at the political level, we seem to be suffering from an excess of frameworks that critically assess the Euro-centric international system. One particularly potent argument in this context is that of Immanuel Wallerstein. According to him, the modern nation state exists within a broad economic, political, and legal framework of the past which he calls a "world system" (Wallerstein 2004). By tracing out the history of a comparatively benign 'Oriental Globalization' developed in the East between 1300 and 1800 C E as a prototype, Hobson presents the East as the early developer of the world system (Hobson 2004). In this context, John Obert Voll has applied the world system theory to conceptualize Islamic expansion in the rest of world. He says "I consider the implications of Islamic history for world-system theory, because I think that the Islamic experience represents a special case that suggests a different way to formulate a world-system analysis" (Voll 1994:214).

According to Fernand Braudel, between 1500 and 1800 CE three world economies existed in the 'Far East' (Islam, India and China) which he called 'super world-economy.' Then he clarifies:

> The Far East taken as whole, consisted of three gigantic world economies: Islam, overlooking the Indian Ocean from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, and controlling

the endless chain of deserts stretching across Asia from Arabic to China, India, whose influence extended through the Indian Ocean, both east and west of Cape Comorin; and China, at once a great territorial power- striking deep into the heart of Asia- and a maritime force controlling the seas and countries bordering the Pacific. And so it had been for many hundreds of years. But between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, it is perhaps permissible to talk of a single world economy broadly embracing all three (Braudel 1984:484, Arrighi 1999:220).

Abu- Lughod in her work *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350,* furnishes a similar argument, saying that a world economic system, based on pre-existing regional trade networks in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, Central Asia, and China, that spread all over Eurasia, Southeast Asia and Eastern Africa, had existed prior to the early modern period. In the light of these new conceptualizations, one can, in no uncertain terms, see the fragmented elements of a world system in the Arab Muslim trade networks.

The Indian Ocean trade which was a rallying point for four major civilizations Perso-Arabic, Indian, Indonesian and Chinese, became the major locale for the oriental systems to flourish. With Arab Muslim trade and faith based networks, Islam had acquired a systemic character. Cross-cultural interactions of Arab Muslim merchants, trading diasporic networks, their Muslim trading partners and scholars with a mission of preaching Islam gave a structure to it. This network stretched from the inner Asian territories of the Manchu empire in China and the small princely states of South India to the Muslim communities settled in Bosnia and Sub-Saharan Africa.

As John Obert Voll observes, there was a period of imperial unification of Indian Ocean trade system begun by the Arab-Muslim conquests in the seventh century and continued by the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates. This system continued to exist even after the collapse of the Abbasid Caliphate as Islam became an important component in many societies outside West Asia. As a result, by the fifteenth century, the Islamic entity was an inter-civilizational one with wide and extensive reach in regions wherever the merchants and scholars moved in.

However, the historical events which contributed to the making of an Islamic World System alongside the Indian Ocean trade were not linear. So it is difficult to define it in the standard terms of world-systems theory. It consisted of a set of fragmented and non-linear episodes with local and global players. Muslims formed the majority of the population in areas as far apart as Morocco and Sumatra, as the port cities of the Swahili coast of east Africa and the agricultural plains around Kazan on the Volga, in the latitude of Moscow. In many of the lands between, even where they did not form the majority, Muslims were socially and politically dominant and Muslim traders, or other traders from Muslim-ruled states, formed their most active and continuous link with the outside world.

In the sixteenth century, Muslims reached the height of their political power. A large part of the Islamic World ruled was under three large empires, whose good organization and prosperity aroused the admiration of Occidentals: the Ottoman, centred in Anatolia and the Balkans; the Safavid, in the Fertile Crescent and the Iranian highlands; and the Mughal or Timuri, in northern India (Hodgson 1970:99-123). But Muslim power was not limited to these major empires. In the Indian Ocean, there were several little Muslim states and independent trade clusters working at the international level.

Before the advent of European powers, the Islamic system had dominated and existed like any other oriental systems. Therefore in the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, the Muslims found themselves at a peak point not only in political power but also of cultural creativity which formed the core areas of Muslim culture. Different scholars had discussed about this 'Islamic golden age' and their supremacy in different areas like art, language, literature and science[1]etc.(Hodgson 2004:41). However the discussion of 'Islamic system' is different and that has created through the connectivity of Muslim society by the exchange of materials or expansion of trade and religious networks. Therefore, the above mentioned progress and process of 'golden age' also took place as a parallel phenomenon. According to Bertold Spuler, Muslims were neighbours of all significant power structures through trade especially Western Europe, Black Africa, India, Indonesia, China and central Asia (Spuler 1970:17). Later on, with the Portuguese entry in the sixteenth century began the process of European hegemony mainly through the mechanisms of basic transformation of economic and scientific life. This period witnessed the denaturing and undermining of the economic and cultural life of the Muslims (Hodgson 1970:101).

In the sixteenth century, the Muslim people, taken collectively, were at the peak of their power; by the end of the eighteenth century they were prostrate. The Safavid empire and even the Timurid empire of India were practically destroyed, and the Ottoman empire was desperately weakened; and such weaknesses could no longer be compensated by internal developments at the old pace, but invited Occidental intervention-which occurred massively, directly and indirectly. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the parallel power, wealth, and culture of the Chinese were subjected to the same fate (*Ibid* 122). But according to Abu-Lughod, World Systems do not rise and fall in the same way that nations, empires, or civilizations do (Abu-Lughod 1989:367). The power structure of Systems was shifted from one core to another, which also suggests that the modern Eurocentric World System emerged from the fall of Islamic, Mongolian and other systems.

Multi Centred or Multi Polar Islamic System

Islamic World System had been a reality with the aspect of diverse 'centres' or 'poles'[2] (Borsa 1990:5) resembling the character of any other oriental world systems. The liberal merchant space has maintained the unified character and without any unified centre or any

hegemonic nature. It was totally against the paradoxical arguments of Eurocentric scholarships. Hobson has summed up the different arguments by Eurocentric scholars. They argue, "significant global trade could not have existed before 1500 CE because there was an absence of capitalist institution and then, significant trade on a global level was simply impossible because transport and technologies were too crude" (Hobson 2004:32). Here, in conceptualizing the Islamic System, this portion is analyzing the role of important port cities and trading centres and frequent interactions of Muslims in the making of Islamic system. Abu-Lughod mentions the character of Muslim domination, "in the thirteenth century, also, there were sub-systems (defined by language, religion and empire and measurable by relative transactions) dominated by imperial or core cities, as well as mediated by essentially hinterland-less trading enclaves" (Abu-Lughod 1993:78).

The rise of Islam gave them a new unity and a rallying ideology, and Muslim networks displaced previous trading patterns or historically they engaged with different centres. This 'Arab -led -period' can be classified on the basis of special epochs. First the rise of the new-Islamic Arabs of Mecca and Medina in the early seventh century, second the Ummayad Caliphate of Damascus from the mid-seventh to the mid eighth century, third the Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad from the mid-eighth till the early tenth century; and last the Fatimid Caliphate of Cairo from the tenth through the eleventh century (Kearney 2004:40). In the post eleventh century, different core centres had emerged and that was strategically helpful for Muslim expansion.

During the seventh century, Mecca[3] (Eaton 1993) developed as one of the important centre of Islamic culture and was famous as an international hub for trade and faith. Hodgson says, "after a century, the empire ceases to be a strictly Arab state; it came to be dominated by the converted peoples in the name of a supranational Islam" (Hodgson 1970:106). The cosmopolitan character of Islam or universality resulted from the long distance trade. Social flexibility was a reason in the construction of cosmopolitan high culture of Muslims (Margariti 2008:543-577). The city of Mecca played a significant role in this process, and then Mecca emerged as a centre of Muslim merchant and faith.

The Abbasids caliphate and their commercial life was remarkable; they had connections with Baghdad and other cities of Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, or from the Maghreb or had commodity movements from the Byzantine Empire, from Spain or even from Italy. Products of Islamic countries have reached the entire world; especially silks were exported not only to the west of Islamic world, but even to Europe (Spuler 1970:17). In the long period of Islamic history Baghdad functioned as a centre of the Islamic world. Cairo had taken a significant role during the Fatimid and Mamluk period and they had helped different independent merchant groups to emerge in international trade like the Al-Karimis. Fernand Braudel describes the economic activity of Islam after 800 C.E. in the following terms:

'Capitalist' is not too anachronistic a word. From one end of Islam's world connection to the other, speculators unstintingly gambled on trade. One Arab author, Hariri had a merchant declare: 'I want to send Persian saffron to China, where I hear that it fetches a high price, and then ship Chinese porcelain to Greece, Greek brocade to India, Indian iron to Aleppo, Aleppo glass to the Yemen and Yemeni striped material to Persia'. In Basra, settlements between merchants were made by what we would now call a clear system (Hobson 2004:43, Fernand 1995:71).

These major centres worked on the support of universally extended coastal and inland Islam, which could be considered as a core of ancient or oriental/Islamic system[4] (Beaujard 2005:411-465).

However, in the post eleventh century, Islam had extended and sustained new centres mainly through coastal areas, which was based on networks of trade and faith. For instance Patricia Risso explained "coastal East Africa was drawn into the Islamic maritime sphere after 1200 C.E., by the end of the fifteenth century there were between thirty and forty independent coastal towns that had been founded by immigrant Muslims" (Risso 1995:46). The Muslim had created another centre like Southeast Asia[5] (Houben 2003:149-170) by merchants and Sufis, a majority of which was by the Indian Muslims especially from Gujarat, Bengal, and the Coramandel coast. This exchange of trade that brought other opportunities and mercantile communities were instrumental in carrying out Islamic missionary work; they converted hundreds of people on the east coast of Sumatra and north coast of Java. South Indian coastal areas were operated by enormous merchant networks from diverse parts of the world, and Malabar,[6] Kayalpattanam and Mangalore could be considered as centres of international trade especially by Muslim merchants.

Dionisius A. Agius has mentioned about different merchant centres in the Arab region, "For centuries it was an established centre for trade with the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. The fertile provinces of Yemen and Hadhramaut in the southwest, Oman in the southeast and Al-Bahrayn (the islands of Failaka and Bahrain, Qatif, Hasa, Tarut Island and Qatar) on the east coast of the Persian Gulf, were all important centres for the exchange of commodities and technological innovation" (Agius 2008:37). They operated not only as particular merchant centres but also as centres of Muslim universality just before the European domination.

The important coastal 'centres' had a significant role in connecting Islam with the World in the early period. Al-Bahrayn (lit. the Two Seas) stood collectively for a number of places: Hasa, Qatif, the islands of Bahrain, Qatar, sometimes extending to Oman. They were prosperous in commercial items like dates, fruit, manufacturing cotton textiles and fishing. Another, historical and archaeological evidence observed about the important strategic ports

like Julfar (today's Emirati coast), and Jumayra (near Dubai) were probably trading centres and believed to have flourished in the Abbasid period (AD. 749-1258). Then most of its maritime trade was gradually transferred to Siraf and John M. Hobson called Siraf as an 'Islamic port' (Hobson 2004:40). It has been thought that Siraf became the main harbour in the Persian Gulf during the ninth century and its success was understandable because of its natural harbour. Siraf had several trading partners: Sohar in the Persian Gulf, Mantai (northwestern tip of Sri Lanka), Athar (south of the Red Sea), and in the Lamu archipelago in East Africa (Manda, Shanga, Pate) (Agius 2008). Old Hormuz had captured most of the trade of the Indian Ocean, controlling sea ports on the Arabian littoral of the Northern Gulf: Ras al-Khaimah, Julfar and Al-Bahrayn, as well as the Omani coast (Khor Fakkan, Sohar and Qalhat). By the start of the fifteenth century, Hormuz was not only the commercial outlet but an international trading centre reaching out to Europe.

In the Red Sea corridor, Aden was one of the most celebrated centre and ancient ports on the Southern Arabian coast and by the twelfth century, many Egyptian, Persian and Indian merchants had settled there. Further to the east of the Sinai Peninsula lay Ayla (modern Aqaba) which was one of the bustling ports. The other centre of Red Sea ports, Jeddah, Aidhab, Suakin and Quseir al-Qadim were commercially linked with India and East Africa. Jeddah was the pilgrim port for Mecca and the emporium of Yemen and Egypt; it grew into an important seaport where ships with spices and drugs from India put in every year. Between the tenth and twelfth centuries the Indian Ocean corridors of Arabia like Persian Gulf route and Red Sea route were in competition with Abbasid caliphate and Fatimid.

In the East African ports or centres, during the tenth century, the Muslim commerce was established with East Africa between the Persian Gulf and Southern Arabia. Muslim settlers were found in several East African towns; they were called Shirazis, a general term for the Perso-Arabian Muslims inhabiting East Africa. The Shirazis are said to have traded slaves, ivory and ambergris. The main ports of call were Mogadishu, Merca, Barawa, Manda, Ungwana, Malindi, Gedi, Mombasa, Pemba, Zanzibar, Mafia and Kilwa[7]; towards the end of the fifteenth century there were thirty towns listed, from Somalia to Sofala. Apparently, each town had its independent status, administered by merchants.[8] Erik Gilbert points out "Islam arrived on the Swahili coast as early as the eighth century, and Swahili has been written with Arabic script since at least the seventh century" (Middleton 2000, Gilbert 2007).

The other 'centres' in the southern coast of India stood at important crossroads between the Western Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia. It has worked as a hub of merchants from different regions met and traded products of all sorts. Mangalore and Cambay were the chief ports where ships put into trade dates for other commodities and timber; building materials, teak planks and jungle wood were all available from the Malabar coastal hinterland whose timber trade goes back into antiquity. Mangalore was a large and busy harbour at the time when Ibn Battuta visited it in 1342; there were, he reports, about 4,000 Muslims "living in a suburb

alongside the town". South of Mangalore lies Calicut (now in Kerala), a much larger port; in fact Ibn Battuta calls it "one of the largest in the world". To it came merchants from China, Sumatra, Sri Lanka, the Maldives, Persia and Yemen. Duarte Barbosa too commented on the cosmopolitan nature of the port; there were Arabians, Persians, Gujaratis and Khurasanis, collectively known as *paradesi*s or foreigners, many of whom were expatriates who had for a long time settled in Calicut. Timber trade activity was centred on Calicut and along the southern coast numerous workshops were found for shipbuilding and repair (Agius 2008). The coastal regions of South India witnessed the emergence of indigenous Muslim merchant groups like Mappilas of Malabar, Marikkars from Coramandal coast, Tamilnadu and Navayids from southern Karnataka. Muslim merchants of South India also had an undeniable domination on the oceanic trade of the region with the help of Arab and Persian trading groups in the medieval period. On one side, these groups enjoyed the patronage of the local rulers like Zamorins of Calicut, Ali Rajas of Kannur, King of Cochin, Adil Sha from Bijapure and Kuthab shahi in Golkanda. On the other, they were well connected to the political dynasties like Mamluk, Ottomans and Safavids through their Arab Persian counterparts.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, major Muslim states had been established in the Mediterranean world, Iran, South Asia, Central Asia and the sub-Saharan Africa. Different Islamic empires played significant roles for this broad expansion and Islam was actively endearing converts beyond boundaries of these empires in Southeast Asia, south-eastern Europe, and elsewhere. The significant article by Robert Irwin "The Emergence of the Islamic World System 1000-1500" has clearly explicated the growth and expansion of Islamic World system through the Muslim empires.

Merchant /Missionary Combination of Islam in the Indian Ocean Region

From very early times, the Indian Ocean was lively with sailors, traders, religious men, and migrants moving in search of goods, new lands, or the great unknown. Over the centuries these exchanges transformed the Indian Ocean into a unified space. Milo Kearney has noted that Indian Ocean formed a central hub of long trading belt (Kearney 2004:2). Merchant and Missionary networks played a significant role in this process. It integrated or connected together vast economic and cultural blocks like the shores of Africa, the Arabia, the Persian, the Indian, and the Malay-Indonesian and as far as the Chinese shores. The Islamic power and civilization had boosted and shaped this universal process of integration, especially by traders and preachers. The emergence of Islam in the mid sixth century CE resulted in profound changes in the whole situation of Indian Ocean. According to Pearson "It was already a place of movements, circulation, contacts and travel over great distances. It could be that Islam fits well into this sort of environment" (Pearson 2003) The dominant religious circulation in the Indian Ocean was being done by Muslims; these circuits of Muslims imply not only an exchange of goods, but also an exchange of knowledge, beliefs, values and culture. It was not only the interconnections or the size of the networks but the regularity, intensity, and speed of the

exchanges that resulted in the different regions being progressively integrated and shaped into a World-System (Beaujard 2005:412).

Various religions have spread into the rest of world along with merchant routes like Islam. This Islamic world system was clearly tied to commerce and the growth of the system was ensured by the integration of its different parts through the channels of trade. D. Lombard has called the Indian Ocean before the fifteenth century the "Islamic Sea;" (*Ibid* 451) Michael Pearson considered Indian Ocean as a "Muslim lake" (Pearson 2003:95). In Islam, religion and trade (merchant and missionary) formed a continuum. That means, Muslims had maintained 'merchant' capitalism by the private entrepreneurs or independent groups. According to Beaujard "capitalism developed not only within the states but also within the context of the trans-national networks," almost similar to the reasons that led to the creation of a modern capitalist system. Nevertheless, in the pre-modern systems, religious networks played relatively a major role rather than character of modern states. The Indian Ocean had a vital role in consolidating this pre-modern merchant capitalism or system, which was the relation between the cores as well as the peripheries and there was no domination between each other. Therefore in the thirteenth century, among these broad Afro-Eurasian (Islamic System) systems, Europe was simply a periphery.

One of the major strands of Muslim trade from the Western Indian Ocean was handled through the Mesopotamian-Persian Gulf route. It was here and in the region of Oman that an annual trade fair was held before and after the coming of Islam, attracting merchants and traders who came across to Awal (modern Bahrain), Sohar and Dabba, the then capital of Oman. Another reason for rapid expansion of Muslims began by Sea-borne trade and trade through the desert routes was the wealth, strength and glory of Islam and in the first centuries (from the beginning of Islam) strengthened links between the towns of the mainland and the coastal towns. The *hajj* (pilgrimage), the fifth pillar of Islam, accelerated sea trade as thousands of pilgrims and merchant-pilgrims made their way to Mecca and Medina by sea[9], stopping at coastal towns where they often traded goods. And this Muslim world wide interaction stretched beyond the narrow geographic and economic boundaries of Indian Ocean (McPherson 1992:7).

Trans-national networks of the Muslim diaspora had mobilized on the basis of trade and faith, especially Al-Karimi merchants from Egypt and Hadhrami religious and trading diasporas from Yemen. They were vital for connecting centres of the Islamic system. From the eighth and ninth centuries onwards the world witnessed a period of expansion of Muslim commerce on all main routes of the Indian Ocean (Wink 1995:5). The Indian Ocean was a cofactor to link these different regions. During the eleventh century, Muslim mercantile diasporas moved beyond the political boundaries of Islam (Ilias 2007:442, McPherson 1992:131). According to Dionisius A. Agius, "the sea proved no barrier to human enterprise; trade and cultural interaction brought together the great civilizations of China, India and Islam" (Agius 2008:3).

Patricia Risso examines the intersection of Islamic and Indian Ocean histories with special attention to the relationship between littoral Asia and land-based empires. She argues that Islam made possible a commercial hegemony in the Indian Ocean region and says that Muslim networks became so successful that they pushed aside older patterns of trade, but Islam helped to shape events rather than determine them (Risso 1995:18).

The nature of Muslim merchant/missionary combination produced a commonality of religious experience with the diversity of local practice. The significant features of this combination are clear in transparent process of 'tolerance' of local tradition.[10] The Islamization in the coastal region has been rapidly shaped by the local people in the entire shores of Indian Ocean. This transoceanic link of Muslims could have connected between different space, people, culture, language and ethnicity into a unified system. The cosmopolitan identity has naturally formulated in the local people by this cosmopolitan nature of Indian Ocean networks. Roxani Eleni Margariti explained "the notion of Indian Ocean cosmopolitanism is the historiographical emphasis on the mobility, fluidity, and multiple interconnectedness of the pre-modern Islamic world. The connection between the two and the link between Indian Ocean cosmopolitanism and an essentially harmonious pre-sixteenth-century Indian Ocean world emerges in Marshal Hodgson's and Janet Lippaman Abu-Lughod's foundational studies on the nexus between Islamic and world history" (Margariti 2008:548).

At last, the dawn of Islam set the final form on the mercantile boundaries of the Indian Ocean world. As a universal religious and cultural system, Islam provided its followers with a worldview which stretched into the rest of the world mainly through merchants and missionaries. People have worked in the Indian Ocean before the coming of Europeans and also defined different boundaries for the Indian Ocean world. They perceived different combinations of markets and cultures as part of their particular worldview of Islam. With the establishment of the Arab Islamic empires, maritime merchants, as individuals and as distinct economic groups, missionary networks began to emerge more clearly. The great expansion of maritime trade and missionary networks which occurred with the foundation of the Arab Islamic empires pushed the Muslims to the forefront of the history of the Indian Ocean world (McPherson 1992).

In the historical evolution of Islam it can undoubtedly be said that there existed a world system like any other oriental world system. The main features of this Islamic space were connected by diverse factors like trade and faith. Its expansion was extremely active and worked beyond the boundaries of so called empires or states. The understanding of the modern world system is helpful in tracing this system, because the set of similarities and characters of the modern world system had happened before the establishment of that. However the Oriental world system was absolutely peaceful and not hegemonic. Therefore different scholars evaluated the modern world system as the continuation of Oriental world system. At last, the

Islamic World system was prominent throughout the Oriental system and that was gradually degraded like any other Oriental system by the presence of European or Western expansion.

Notes

1. John M. Hobson (2004) explained about the Islamic golden age like, the Islamic intensive (productive) innovations and technological/ideational refinements were crucial. The possible invention, though certain development, of the lateen sail enabled long-distance sailing, especially in the Indian Ocean. So too did the development f the astrolabe in conjunction with the many breakthroughs in Islamic astronomy and mathematics. Paper manufacturing began after 751CE. Textile manufacturing was especially important: Syria and Iraq were famous for their silk manufactures, while Egypt led the way in linen and woolen fabrics. Muslim also used impressive dyes. Islamic influence is revealed by the many Arabic (and Persian) terms that were imported into European languages. See *The Eastern Origin of Western Civilization,* London: Cambridge University Press, 41.

2. Giorgio Borsa explained about the Braudelian argument of poles based on urban capitalism then he explained his arguments related to Indian Ocean and poles, "I would hesitate to apply this 'rule' to the Indian Ocean world in the sixteenth-to-eighteenth centuries. This appears to have been a multi-polar system, based on a number of thriving ports cities, most of which rose and declined during our period. Going clock wise, I shall mention Aden and, later Mocha and Jiddah on the Red Sea; Hormuz and, after its destruction by the Persians and the English in 1622, Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) and Basra in the Gulf; Cambay, Surat and, in the late eighteenth century, Bombay in Western India; Kollam, then Calicut and Cochin on the Malabar coast; Muslipatnam and, after the fall of the Kingdom of Golconda, Porto Novo on the Coromandel; Sanargaon, Hoogly and, after its capture by the Dutch and the meteoric rise of the Bugis, Riau and Penang; Acheh, Bantam, Macassar and, after they were taken by the Dutch, Batavia, in Indonesia," See in Giorgio Borsa (ed.)(1990): "Recent Trends in Indian Ocean Historiography 1500-1800," in Giorgio Borsa, *Trade and Politics in the Indian Ocean: Historical and Contemporary Perspective,* New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, p.5.

3. Mecca may have been the main mid-way stopping point for Red Sea traders, distributing goods on through Arabia and up to the Fertile Crescent by camel caravans. The *hajj* or pilgrimage to Mecca at least once by all the faithful if feasible brought a boost to shipping from the many Moslems who sailed to Mecca's port of Jeddah. See Milo Kearney (2004): *The Indian Ocean in World History*, New York: Routledge, 60-61, Eaton says, "During the half century or so before the emergence of Muhammad, Meccan merchants are said to have become long-distance traders who entered and even dominated international trade routes connecting Yemen to the south with Syria to the north and ultimately India with Europe. The rise of Mecca as the hub of an expanding international trade network," Richard M. Eaton (1993): "Islam History as a Global History," in Michael Adas, *Islamic & European Expansion: The forging of a Global Order,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

4. Philippe Beaujard explained about the importance of ancient cities and he has conceptualised on the basis of world system analysis, he says " The prominent cities belong mainly to the great powers that control the cores of the system: Luoyang, Chang'an (Han empire), Rome, Alexandria (Roman empire), and Ctesiphon (Parthian empire) in the first centuries of the Christian era; Chang'an, Luoyang (Tang empire), Baghdad (Abbasid empire), Byzantium (Byzantine empire), and Cordoba (Umayyad caliphate) from the seventh till the tenth century; Kaifeng, Hangzhou, Tanzhou, Jizhou (Sung empire), Merv (Seljukid empire), and Kalyani (Chalukya empire) in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; Pekin, Hangzhou, Quangzhou (Yuan empire), Delhi (sultanate of Delhi), and Cairo (Mamluk empire) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and Pekin, Hangzhou (Ming empire), Vijayanagara (Vijayanagara empire), Cairo (Mamluk empire), and Istanbul (Ottoman empire) in the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century." See in Philippe Beaujard (2005): "The Indian Ocean in Eurasian and African World-System before the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of World History*, 16:4, 411-465.

5. The spread of Islam to various parts of coastal India set the stage for its further expansion to island Southeast Asia. Arab traders and sailors regularly visited the ports of Southeast Asia long before they converted to Islam.

These trading links were to prove even more critical to the expansion of Islam in Southeast Asia than they had earlier been to the spread of Buddhism and Hinduism. As the coastal trade and shipping of India came to be controlled (from the 8th century onward) increasingly by Muslims from such regions as Gujarat and various parts of south India, elements of Islamic culture began to filter into island Southeast Asia. But only in the 13th century after the collapse of the far-flung trading empire of Shrivijaya, which was centered on the Straits of Malacca between Malaya and the north tip of Sumatra, was the way open for the widespread proselytization of Islam. See detailed explanation in Vincent J. H. Houben (2003): "Southeast Asia and Islam," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 588:149, 149-170.

6.   India's southwestern coastal region Malabar saw the dramatic growth of local Muslim communities. Rich in pepper, cardamom, and ginger, and strategically located at the midpoint of Indian Ocean trade routes, Malabar did, however, fall within the orbit of Arab maritime commercial influence. From at least the ninth century, when the oldest surviving mosque appeared, Arab merchants had established a fixed residence in port cities along the spice rich coastline. By the fourteenth an fifteenth centuries, when the pace of this trade quickened and the entire Indian Ocean came alive with Arab dhows loaded with spices and textiles, a substantial resident community of Arab traders appeared in Malabar, living under the protection of Hindu kings (who profited handsomely from the trade). Eventually, a sizable Muslim community emerged through Arab intermarriage with the local population. In the sixteenth century, the appearance of the Portuguese, aggressively hostile rivals for the pepper trade, dramatically solidified the Malabar Muslims, transforming a loosely knit body of merchants and their local affiliates into an armed community with fixed social boundaries. Of great significance for Indian history, the confrontation also illustrates an important theme of global history: the clash of two expanding and ideologically hostile trade diasporas, each adhering to a universal religion. See in Richard M. Eaton (1993): "Islam History as a Global History," in Michael Adas, *Islamic & European Expansion: The forging of a Global Order,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, Dionisius A. Agius (2008): *Classical Ship of Islam from Mesopotamia to the Indian Ocean*, Leiden: Brill, Michael Pearson (2003): *The Indian Ocean,* London: Routledge, 73-80, Uma Das Gupta (2001): *The World of the Indian Ocean Merchant: 1500-1800 Collected Essays of Ashin Das Gupta,* New Delhi: Oxford University press,421-446, Ashin Das Gupta (2004): *India and the India Ocean World: Trade and Politics,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press,1-32, and (1967) *Malabar in Asian Trade:1740-1800,*Cambridge. And Jan Kieniewicz(ed.) "Asian Merchants and European Expansion: Malabar Pepper Trade Routes in the Indian ocean World-System in the sixteenth century" in Karl Reinhold Haellquist, *Asian Trade Routes,* Curzon Press, Sanjay Subrahmanyam (2004): *The Political Economy of Commerce Southern India 1500-1650,* New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 116-120. Engseng Ho (2007) noted, the word Malabar derives from the Arabic word *ma'bar,* meaning 'crossing' in "The Two Arms of Cambay: Diasporic Texts of Ecumenical Islam in the Indian Ocean," *JESHO,* 50(2-3), 352.

7.   Ibn Battuta described, Kilwa as 'one of the most beautiful and best built towns' that he had witnessed on his many travels throughout much of the world. See in John M. Hobson (2004): *The Eastern Origin of Western Civilisation,* London: Cambridge University Press, p. 41.

8.   Chandra Richard De Silve (1999) explained, "When the Portuguese arrived in these ports, they found that the rulers and traders of these city-states were Muslims."See "Indian Ocean but not African Sea: The Erasure of East African Commerce From History," *Journal of Black Studies*, 29(684), p.687.

9.   Kenneth McPherson explained, "The great annual Muslim pilgrimage, the *hajj,* focused upon the Holy Cities of Mekka and Medinah in the Hejaz, remains a living symbol of the universality of Islam. From the earliest centuries of Islam tens of thousands of Muslim pilgrims, from Morocco to insular South East Asia, have taken part each year in the *hajj*. The Holy Cities were at the centre of a great Islamic cultural and information network which, by the fifteenth century, linked Muslim communities from West Africa to southern China and the Philippines, across Central Asia and the Indian Ocean," see in Kenneth McPherson (1992): *The Indian Ocean: A History of People and the Sea,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press,124-125.

10. The expansion of Islam has taken place in different coastal regions and that was different from the notion of mainstream Islam that transformed into new local version. "The first expatriate Muslim communities were located on the north-east coast of Africa, in Ethiopia and Somalia, and along the coasts of southern India and Sri Lanka. In time these expatriate communities became an integral part of local life; no longer exotic they frequently established their own expatriate communities, thereby pushing the boundaries of Islam further to the south and east. Mogadishu and Kilwa were major agents in the Islamisation of ports and people to the south; the Muslim settlements along the Malabar and Coromandel coasts were vital to the Islamization of insular South East Asia. See in Kenneth McPherson (1992): *The Indian Ocean: A History of People and the Sea,* p.131, Michael Pearson (2003): *The Indian Ocean.*

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Industrial Modernity, Poverty Alleviation and Sustainability: Some Facets of Gandhi's Environmental Ethics

Shri Krishan and Manjeet Rathee

Abstract

Gandhi, it is believed, envisioned an ideal agrarian society and provided a critique of industrial modernity. The paper tries to demonstrate the changing views on Gandhi with regard to machinery and industrial society and how Gandhi dealt with the problem of poverty and sustainability. Gandhi believed that the root-cause of contemporary madness was 'unnatural accumulation of hoards in the pockets of the few, and want in the midst of plenty in regard to the rest.' He also evolved the ideas about education, employment and development and this vision still has implication in our contemporary times which is facing a severe crisis, both ecological and social. However, without romanticising his creed, we wish to highlight his limitations which were rooted in his strong belief in individualism and his equally fundamental faith in the sanctity of private property even to the extent of making the dominant social classes the guardians of public wealth stemming from this private property.

Introduction

The world is facing an acute environmental crisis today that affects agriculture, industry, urban-life, and energy-requirements. Some suggest that we have already reached the carrying capacity and that without a radical change in our consumption, production processes and waste disposal, life will not be able to sustain itself. In turn, planetary life-support systems and resources required to sustain this demographic and economic growth are decreasing at an alarming rate. The optimists believe that measures to reduce the environmental impact of consumption and production stimulates total factor productivity, producing benefits for economic growth and the environment simultaneously. Globalisation is further polarising the gap between the rich and the poor. Gandhi's ideas offer some deep insights to tackle this predicament. Many of his concepts were designed to help people concretely in their quest for obtaining their livelihood and self-sufficiency in food-production so that no one went hungry or without useful work.

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His second key assertion tells us that while the basic needs of all people should be met, there should also be awareness regarding a limit on consumption. As is well known, Gandhi's thinking on socio-economic issues was greatly influenced by the American writer, Henry David Thoreau and the Russian thinker Tolstoy and John Ruskin. Our focus in the paper would be on Gandhi's vision regarding full employment, use of technology and the kind of decentralised and participatory development that he advocated. We shall also explore how the idea of basic education and craft-based vocational education was central to Gandhi's solution to economic ills created by unimaginative imitation of Western models of development.

Gandhi's Vision of Agrarian Society

Gandhi envisioned the villages of India providing the ideal setting for maintaining traditional values and practices as well as defusing power. It was his local site for a just, equitable, stable community based on full employment and contentment, if not affluence of the scale which industrialism could furnish. Such an ideal, economically insular village perhaps never existed in history; it existed in Gandhi's imagination only. Gandhi realised that absolute self-sufficiency was not possible to be achieved in the modern world. He remarked that the humble cultivator had to depend for certain necessities of life on the middleman. In his own world, "Interdependence is and ought to be as much the ideal of man as self-sufficiency. Man is a social being. Without inter-relation with society he cannot realise his oneness with the universe or suppress his egotism."[1] Ramachandra Guha (1997), like many others, ascribes to Gandhi's village-centric notion of development and decentralisation to the extent that villages assume control of their own economic and political powers, as also to his diagnosis of the ills of industrialism.[2] However, Gandhi's metaphor of rural India as an ideal society is not meant to provide a determinant solution to the challenges of capitalistic or even socialist modernisation and his critique involves disapproval of several strands of parasitism.

Gandhi's Notion of Development, Full Employment, Self-Sufficiency

Gandhi emphasised creation of full employment. The full employment of human resources, according to him, was the primary need of the country. Gandhi felt that to make India industrial by concentrating labour in one place would kill the nation. He wrote: "To make India industrious by providing healthy and necessary supplementary occupation in the cottage is to make India healthy, wealthy and therefore happy and contented."[3] Gandhi believed that full employment cannot be attained through the development of large scale industries. In his views, these industries generally use capital intensive and labour saving technologies, and do not provide sufficient employment opportunities. Moreover, in an unindustrialised country like India, most unemployed people lived in rural areas. The cause of rural underemployment was rooted in the seasonal nature of agriculture. Moreover, rural labour was attached to rural way of life due to religious, cultural and social reasons, and, therefore, it would be disruptive if they left their homes to seek employment in the urban industries. Thus, Gandhi argued that large

scale mechanisation and mass production provided no solution to the problem of unemployment in agriculture-based, over-populated economies like India.[4]

Gandhi's Critique of Modern Civilisation and Later Revisionism

Gandhi wrote disdainfully condemning the western civilisation in Hind Swaraj (Quoted in Diane M. Jones, 2000:171): "This land of ours was once, we are told, the abode of the Gods. It is not possible to conceive of Gods inhabiting a land which is made hideous by the smoke and the din of mill-machinery and factories, and whose roadways are traversed by rushing engines, dragging numerous cars crowded by men who know not for the most part what they are after, who are often absent-minded, and whose tempers do not improve by being uncomfortably packed like sardines in boxes..." This image of Gandhi remains stuck in popular minds as well as in scholarly discourses.[5] It was this that moved Gandhi to his somewhat hyperbolic claim that machinery as the chief symbol of modern civilisation, represented a great sin. However, by 1919 his views on machinery do begin to change and the process continues right up to 1947, as he gradually comes to concede some positive aspects like time and labour saving, even as he warned against the negative ones of concentrating wealth and displacing workers (Anthony Parel 1997:164-170).

Gandhi found modern technology, for example, of railroad and hospitals as a 'necessary evil'. What he condemned the most in the modern civilisation was its 'worship of the material, the worship of brute in us' or its 'unadulterated materialism.' But being a practical idealist, he declared during the height of the non-cooperation days that he was not aiming at the *Swaraj* described in the Hind Swaraj, or destruction of railways, hospitals, law courts and all machinery and mills as that would require "a higher simplicity and renunciation than the people are today prepared for."[6] In a public meeting at Bombay, in 1921, he said: "*Only when mill machinery could be manufactured in India he would have no objection to build as many mills as they liked*."[7] (Emphasis ours) But he remained an advocate of simpler machinery and even declared that for the Hindu householder, five *yajna* or offerings or sacrifices through physical labour were essential: 'the oven, the pestle, the quern, the pitcher and the spinning wheel.'[8]

It is well known that Gandhi preferred walking to riding motorised vehicles. When his car accidently crushed a man to death in Almora in 1929, he felt deep anguish and remarked-"I have already felt the fact riding in cars makes men proud. The chauffeurs who drive them are vain and hot-tempered."[9] But he remarked at another place that he himself had not banished the personal use of modern conveniences like railways and telegraph, and therefore, he certainly was not expecting the nation to discard their use. He said:

"I would advise the nation to make a limited use of these agencies and not to be feverishly anxious to connect seven hundred fifty thousand villages of India by telegraph and railways."[10]

Gandhi was, thus, against unrestricted free play of anything that was technically feasible regardless of other social cost of its introduction. In an article Bullock vs. Car in *Navjivan*, he commented:

"It seems that we have reached a stage when we simply cannot do without railways. If, however, we realise that railways have not been on the whole a blessing to the country we can restrict their use when we get power. Similarly, even if we cannot banish the motor-car altogether, we must limit the sphere of its use. Everyone should feel that we simply cannot have our fields ploughed by machine and leave the bullocks entirely at the mercy of human beings."[11]

Gandhi knew, even if instinctively, that the modern world had changed and the wheel of time could not be turned back. In a letter to Nehru, Gandhi agrees with him that the simplicity he desired would not be possible and that 'a number of things ...will have to be organised on a large scale.' (Quoted in Ronald Terchek, 1998:124) Gandhi noted, even much earlier than this, that he would "favour the use of the most elaborate machinery if thereby India's pauperism and resulting idleness be avoided."[12] In another context, Gandhi remarked:

"I do visualise electricity, ship-building, ironworks, machine-making and the like existing side by side with village handicrafts. But the order of dependence would be reversed. Hitherto the industrialisation has been so planned as to destroy the villages and village crafts. In the state of the future, it will subserve the villages and their crafts."[13]

Gandhi remarked that the physical geography of a country had a predominant role to play in determining its culture and form of economy. He believed that India with its teeming population could hardly imitate the Western model of development. "How could India afford to replace human labour or 'the solar power stored in 300 million Indians' with steam or such other power?[14] However, a pragmatic shift in his position was quite visible regarding the practical benefits of technology. Gandhi advocated production by the masses and use of appropriate small scale technology. He preferred the decentralisation of small units of production and vehemently criticised the concentration of large scale industries in urban centres. Gandhi wanted production to occur in the homes of the masses, particularly in villages. One advantage of the village and cottage industries is that they increase employment. Another advantage is related to the consideration of efficiency. However, Gandhi had no objection to the use of machinery to increase production and to lessen the burden of grind on the workers. He was against the indiscriminate multiplication of machinery but for him, human consideration was supreme, and that of science and technology was secondary.

Gandhi's thinking on socio-economic issues was greatly influenced by the American writer, Henry David Thoreau and the Russian thinker Tolstoy and John Ruskin. Gandhi sought to target European-made clothing and other foreign products, as not only a symbol of British

colonialism, but as the source of mass unemployment and poverty in India. The Import of European commodities left many millions of India's workers, craftsmen and women without a means of livelihood. By championing homespun *khadi* and clothing and Indian-made goods, Gandhi sought to incorporate peaceful civil resistance as a means of promoting national self-sufficiency. It also provided villagers an additional source of income in their lean season. With that objective in mind, he launched a cooperative effort to promote education, health care, and self-sufficiency by producing clothes and food that were made locally.

Rural Vocational Education and Crafts in Gandhi's Scheme

While designing basic education for India, Gandhi's concern was for village children who were poor and did not have access to educational facilities. According to Gandhi, there are four components of basic education. These are craft, art, health and education. Gandhi emphasised the need for educating the child through manual work, not as a side activity, but as the prime means of intellectual training. Economically, the Gandhian notion of education was designed to create productive labour since the emphasis was on job-oriented education. Craft is the pivot and centre of Gandhian education. Education is closely linked with socio-economic development of a nation. Any system of education that does not cater to the needs of a society is meaningless and useless. Gandhi did not intend craft education to be a substitute for book education, but on the contrary, he wanted to make it a crucial adjunct to it. In Gandhi's scheme of basic education, vocational training or work experience was of utmost importance. In his views vocational training creates the psychology of dignity of manual labour. Gandhi's primary emphasis was on the three H's (Head, Heart and Hand) rather than the three R's (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic). It also helped in the creation of self-employment. (Mahatma Gandhi - Reprint 2008:176-79; Grace C. Huerta 2009:47-48 and Krishna Kumar 2005:181-86)

Gandhi's Notion of Bread, Labour and its Implications for Food Security

The concept of food security has emerged as a key factor in emerging notions of human-security. In 1970s, the world faced a severe food crisis. This led to a re-examination of the definition of food security. It was recognised that the affected people were vulnerable, despite the availability of food supply in the markets because they did not have enough money to buy food at prevailing prices. It also became evident that the technical success of the Green Revolution did not automatically ensure rapid and dramatic reductions in poverty and hunger. The World Food Summit (1974) defined food security as the availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic foodstuffs to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and prices. In 1983, Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) expanded its concept to include securing access by vulnerable people to available supplies ensuring that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to the basic food they need. The World Bank Report, *Poverty and Hunger* (1986), focused on the time dimension of food insecurity. It made a clear-cut distinction between chronic hunger

related to problems of structural poverty and low incomes and temporary hunger or food insecurity, which resulted from natural disaster, economic collapse or situations of violent conflict. The concept of food security was broadened to mean 'access of all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life.' While discussing food security, attention was generally focused on protein-calorie deficiencies or intake of less than specified quantum of such food items. By the 1990s, it was recognised that food preferences and tastes could be culturally determined. So, the World Food Summit (1996) adopted a more complex definition. It was stated that food security, at individual, national, regional and global levels is achieved when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. One important norm used consistently for defining poverty line relates to nutrition, the energy intake criterion in particular. The Government of India (GOI) has been using a minimum dietary energy requirement norm of 2400 kcal per person per day for the rural sector and 2100 kcal for the urban sector while the Food Agricultural Organisation norm for India as a whole for 2003-05 is 1770 kcal.[15] We only wish to emphasise that the challenges posed by chronic as well as temporary hunger not only continue but have increased in the age of globalisation. Can we get some vision from Gandhi on this issue?

Gandhi laid stress that one could earn his living only if he did physical labour. He felt that all men must engage in some physical labour and service so that they could rightfully earn their daily bread. By this, he had sought to bring about dignity of labour. (Ajit K. Dasgupta 1996:36-43 and also see Parmeshwari Dayal 2006:210-12) Gandhi made it mandatory for physical labour to be undertaken by his pupils at the Tolstoy Farm and later his Ashrams in India. The doctrine of bread labour asserted that it was a moral imperative that one must earn one's bread by the sweat of one's brow: "He has no right to eat who does not bend his body and work." Bodily labour is a duty imposed by nature on human beings. And one who eats but does not do any manual work in effect steals food. Bread labour was not work done under economic compulsions for others to eke out a miserable livelihood. Gandhi believed the additional benefits of this would include erasure of caste distinctions and apart from this, favourable treatment of women and local communities will achieve self-sufficiency in food supply too.

The Russian writer T.M. Bondaref was the first to put forward this idea. Tolstoy took it up and gave it wide publicity. Gandhi, on reading Tolstoy made it an integral part of his philosophy. Gandhi recognised physical labour as a biological necessity. The body needs physical labour almost as much as it needs food, air and water. Gandhi thought that the human body was meant solely for service, never for indulgence. This service was impossible without bread labour, otherwise described in Gita as *yajna*. The Gita says that anybody who eats without performing *yajna*, in Tolstoy's language bread labour, is a thief. With rightful practice of bread-labour, there would be no scarcity of food for anyone and poverty as the 'worst of violence' would disappear too, argued Gandhi. To quote him: "The cause of the inequalities we see in the world, of the contrasts of wealth and poverty, lies in the fact that we have forgotten

the law of life. That law is the law of "bread labour". On the authority of Chapter III of the *Gita*, I call it *yajna*. The *Gita* says that he who eats without performing *yajna* is a thief and sinner. Tolstoy has said the same thing...If every one of us did bodily labour to earn his food, we would not see the poverty which we find in the world. One idler is the cause of two persons starving, for his work has to be done by someone else."[16]

Gandhi's Insights for a Sustainable World and Critique of Unregulated Capitalism

Gandhi provides a parameter on how choices related to development should be made. He insisted that whenever one is in doubt, one should recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man and think about how the contemplated steps and activities are going to be of any use to him? Will it bring him back to control over his own life and destiny? The second key assertion tells us that while the basic needs of all people should be met, there should also be awareness regarding a limit on consumption. Although the pressures on nature had not become so acute in Gandhi's lifetime and there were no crisis either of ozone depletion or of climate change, he had the prescience to see that our planet's capability to support consumption was not limitless. The Mahatma said: "Nature has enough to satisfy the needs of everyone but nothing to satisfy the greed of even a few."(Quoted in Pyarelal 1958:552) As stated earlier, Gandhi envisioned the villages of India providing the ideal setting for maintaining traditional values and practices as well as defusing power. It was his local site for a just, equitable, stable community based on full employment and contentment, if not affluence of the scale which industrialism could furnish. The following words of Gandhi point to his broader concerns which can prove to be guiding principles of a sustainable world culture:

"Man is made to obey the machine. The wealthy and middle classes become helpless and parasitic upon the working classes. And the latter become so specialised that they too become helpless. The ordinary city-dweller cannot make his own clothing or produce and prepare his own food. The cities become parasitic upon the country, industrial nations upon the agricultural nations. Those who live in temperate climates are increasingly parasitic upon tropical peoples. Governments upon the people they govern. Armies upon civilians. People even become parasitic and passive in regard to their recreation and amusements."

Gandhi was obsessed with what Lorenz (1989:6) calls 'the irreversible vicious-circularity of some aspects of technical and economic development.' The technocratic religion that believed in technical viability of achieving anything that was technologically possible, was a product of 'the Great Promise of Unlimited progress- the promise of domination of nature, of material abundance, the Utilitarian greatest happiness of the greatest number.'(Eric Fromm 1981:xxiii) Gandhi constructed the theory of 'Sarvodaya' based on Ruskin's ideas to counter this predominant mode of thinking of his times. Gandhi tried to reconstruct the concept of private property. One can have private property but not for one's own use. It should be utilised for societal needs. This proposed restriction on human wants and needs makes Gandhi different

from present-day bio-economics dominated by a managerial ethos and notions of resource-engineering. Gandhi believed that everybody could not be rich and that wealth at one pole was the result of deprivation at the other end. It was like the process of one bucket emptying out to fill the other bucket. This opinion was based on Gandhi's reading of John Ruskin. This is how Gandhi redefined Ruskin:

"Political economy consists in the production, preservation and distribution, at the fittest time and place, of useful and pleasurable things....Careful reflection will show that what we really desire through acquisition of wealth is power over other men—[power] to acquire for our advantage the labour of a servant, a tradesman or an artisan. And the power we can thus acquire will be in direct proportion to the poverty of others..... So that growing rich means contriving that as large a number of men as possible shall have less than we have....Equality among men is certainly not possible. But conditions of scarcity, unjustly created, injure the nation."[17]

The modern western industrial society which rested on private property, profit and a Machiavellian notion of power, did not appeal to Gandhi. To acquire, to have and to multiply wealth were considered sacred and unalienable right in the capitalist acquisitive society. (Tawney 1920) To oppose this, Gandhi made use of the ancient Indian notion of '*Aprigraha*' or non-possession of unnecessary material goods.[18] Gandhi went to the extent of equating unlimited consumption and acquisition of wealth to a kind to stealing. To quote him again (Quoted from Thomas Weber 2004:210):

"If I take anything that I do not need for my immediate use, and keep it, I thieve it from somebody else. I venture to suggest that it is the fundamental law of nature, without exception, that Nature produces enough for our wants from day to day, and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in the world, there would be no starvation in the world."

Gandhi further contends that economic and natural resources ought to be better managed in the service of common good. Gandhi believed that the market forces by themselves were not capable of achieving this aim and hence, the market has to be made subservient to societal needs. Unfettered accumulation of wealth was unhealthy and to be avoided at all cost. He wrote:

"Wealth is like a river. A river always flows towards the sea, that is, down an incline. So, as a general rule must wealth go where it is needed. But the flow of wealth, like the course of a river, can be regulated... If dams are built across these rivers to direct the water flow as required, they will irrigate the soil and keep the atmosphere pure. Similarly the uncontrolled use of wealth will multiply vices among men and cause starvation; in brief, such wealth will act like a poison."[19]

Gandhi discovered the profound and inherent connection between capitalism, colonialism, militarism and racialism and how they were about the exploitation of natural and human resources of the earth. It may appear that Gandhi is condemning the processes of large scale mass production but his simultaneous frontal attack on the consequent processes of urbanisation, environmental degradation, loss of moral fibre in society due to one-dimensional and unbridled accumulation of wealth, and its linkage with colonialism, armed race and racialism that account for his popularity with the masses and his contemporary relevance as well. It was his contention that the mania for mass production was responsible for the world crisis.[20] He believed that the root-cause of this madness was '*unnatural accumulation of hoards in the pockets of the few, and want in the midst of plenty in regard to the rest.*'[21] He linked the migration of people from villages to cities with the emergence of industrial factory production and other social ills. He wrote:

"To seek to acquire wealth by establishing big factories is likely to lead to sin. ...present-day capitalists are responsible for widespread and unjust wars. Most of the wars of our times spring from greed for money... All [white] nations look upon the black races as their legitimate prey."[22]

Some of Gandhi's diagnosis of social ills resemble Henry David Thoreau's, despite the fact that he only read his essay on Civil Disobedience, and probably not his more substantial work *Walden* (Henry David Thoreau - Reprint 2006:27-44) where Thoreau also talked like Gandhi of superfluities of life, condemned 'the wealthy as the most impoverished class of all, who have accumulated dross, but know not how to use it, or get rid of it, and thus have forged their own golden or silver fetters', and advocated a life of 'voluntary poverty'. Both emphasised upon the role of luxuries as a hindrance to spiritual elevation of mankind. They were aware that how besides the servitude imposed from without by industrialism which works for the enrichment of corporations; man had become 'a slave-driver of oneself', and in need of self-emancipation. Gandhi while having similar views on self-imposed limitations of wants and a simple rural life, free from corrupting influences of material luxuries, was more influenced by the humanistic traditions and privileged superiority of human reason. Some of the anarchist ideas of Prince Kropotkin[23] expressed in his *Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow* (1899), especially related to peasant ownership, small business, a model of decentralised economy, and a critique of bureaucracies as wasteful and slothful, also resembled Gandhi's notions.

Gandhi, it appears was not relying simply on the religious-ethical viewpoint in rejecting 'modern way of life' or exemplifying the traditional reverence for nature and life-forms. He was not wedded to a romantic notion of nature and environment. Thoreau romanticised nature and other living beings equally, believed in the extravagance and prodigality of nature and made contributions to the early ideas of forest conservation and warned against the 'egotism of the race of humans' (Donald Worster 1985:60-110). There has

been, of course, a great deal of stress lately on a kind of 'eco-golden age', where preservation of sacred groves and other folk practices are viewed as 'ecological practices' (Emma Tomalin 2009:87). Gandhi reinvented Indian traditions and the utopian and anarchist ideas drawn from Henry David Thoreau, John Ruskin, Morris, Tolstoy and Kropotkin to question the prevailing model of development which sought to maximise GNP at all costs, human and ecological.

According to Ramachandra Guha (1997), Kumarappa was one of the pioneers of Indian environmentalism. He worked with Gandhi on village reconstruction and conducted important surveys about the agrarian economy. Guha (2006:223-36) has delineated several hallmarks of Kumarappa's approach in dealing with "soil-maintenance, water conservation, recycling, village forest rights, and protection of artisans." Kumarappa was remarkably articulate for an economist in an era when professional economists were not at all concerned with the depletion of natural resources and its relationship with ecological violence. He wrote in his best-known work, *Economy of Permanence*,

"The world possesses a certain stock or reservoir of such materials as coal, petroleum...iron, copper, gold etc. These, being available in fixed quantities, may be said to be 'transient', while the current of flowing water in a river or the constantly growing timber of a forest may be considered 'permanent' as their stock is inexhaustible in the service of man if only the flow or increase is taken care of"(Quoted in Mark Lindley 2009:50).

We now know that even the most abundant resource like water is not inexhaustible or limitless! Another facet of Gandhian idea was his notion of decentralisation. Elaborating on the structure of decentralised rural republics, Gandhi said:

"In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever-widening, never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual, always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one's life composed of individuals never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units....therefore, the outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle but give strength to all within and derive its own from the centre" (Quoted in Khoshoo and John S, Moolakkattu 2009:111).

Conclusions

The discourses of sustainability were ingrained in Gandhi's ideas and for him an ounce of practice was always worth a ton of preaching. The food, clothing and employment for all were his ideals of an economic constitution for India as well as for the rest of the world. His practical realisation of these goals was embedded in notions of equity and sustainability and this ideal can be realised "only if the means of production of elementary necessities of life

remain in the control of the masses. These should be freely available to all, as God's air and water are ought to be: they should not be made a vehicle of traffic for the exploitation of the others. Their monopolisation by any country, nation or group of persons would be unjust" (Quoted in Khoshoo and Moolakkattu 2009:71-72).

However, without romanticising Gandhi, we would like to point out a few constraints of Gandhian ideas. First was his strong belief in individualism and second his equally fundamental faith in the sanctity of private property even to the extent of making the ruling people and the dominant social classes the guardians of public weal stemming from this private property. Self-aware and responsible individuals with a capacity for altruism were, in Gandhi's thinking, the basic constituents of good society everywhere. The enemy of the autonomous individual and therefore of good society was the unbridled power of the state, the unregulated market economy. According to Gandhi, the conscience of the individual was the only legitimate form of government. Gandhi averred that "*Swaraj* will be an absurdity if individuals have to surrender their judgment to a majority." Gandhi always upheld the sanctity of private property even though he tried to reconstruct the concept of private property. That is why individual needs have to be restricted to the minimum. According to Kriplani (1975), he had his own ideas about the capital-labour relationship also. He considered the workers as partners, working for public good, and mill owners as their trustees. Any quarrel between them must be settled through arbitration mutually agreed upon. Gandhi was simply relying on the notion of some kind of personal paternalism, although the institutionalised forms of paternalism had already emerged in Europe (Body 2009:204-230) and the colonial state had also started using it in the colonies in the form of labour legislation. The notion of 'trusteeship' configured labour relations in an asymmetrical manner, thus inhibiting the scope of emancipation for the toiling workers.

Notes

1. "*Our Helplessness*", February 24, 1929, Gandhi: *Collected Works* (Publication Division), Vol. XL: 23.

2. Guha, RamChandra (1997): "Mahatma Gandhi and the Environmental Movement" in Guha, Ramchandra and J. Martinez-Alier (ed.) *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South*, Earthscan Publications Ltd, London, pp.156-57.

3. Mahatma Gandhi, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV, p.112 (All references to Gandhi's Collected Works are taken from www.gandhiserve.org/cwmg/cwmg.html if not indicated otherwise)

4. According to the National Sample Survey Organization's sample survey in 1999-2000, out of total workforce of 397 million, only 28 million workers are employed in the organised sector and remaining in the unorganised sector.

5. For example analysing Gandhi's educational discourse, Krishna Kumar feels that Gandhi located the problem of education in the dialectic of man versus machine in which while the man represented the universal man, the machine represented the industrialised West. See Kumar, Krishna, "Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948)", in Prospects: *The Quarterly Review of Education*, Vol. 23, No.3/4, 1993, International Bureau of Education, UNESCO, p.507-517

6.   Gandhi, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, p.249 & p.260

7.   Gandhi, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIII, p.25

8.   Gandhi, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIII, pp.400-401

9.   "Speech at Almora", Aaj, 4-07-1929, Mahatma Gandhi, *Collected Works*, Vol.XLI, The Publication Division, Govt. of India, p.70

10.   Gandhi, (*Young India*, 17-11-1921), *Collected works*, Vol. XXV, p.103

11.   Gandhi, Mahatma, Vol. XXXVI, *Navajivan,* 8-8-1926, p.178.

12.   *Young India*, November 3, 1921

13.   *Harijan*, January 27, 1939.

14.   'Urban Vs Rural', Young India, July 25, 1929, Gandhi: *Collected Works*, Vol.XLI (Delhi: Publication Division), pp.220-21

15.   The FAO norms are changed periodically; they were 1740 for the period 1990-92 and 1750 for 1995-97 (see http://www.fao.org/es/ess/faostat/foodsecurity/index_en.htm).

16.   Speech On Birth Centenary of Tolstoy, September 10, 1928, in Gandhi, *Collected Works, Vol. XLIII, pp.*8-9

17.   *Indian Opinion*, 13/06/1908 , Gandhi, *Collected Works*, Vol. VIII: 368-69

18.   The term *aparigrah* is just the opposite of *parigrah* which means 'to amass', 'to accumulate', 'to compile', 'to seize', 'to hold', and 'to receive or accept gifts'

19.   *Sarvodaya*, VIII, Indian Opinion, 4/7/1908, Gandhi, *Collected Works*, Vol. VIII: 419-21.

20.   In an interview to *Callender in London on October 16, 1931* when asked if he felt that mass production will raise the standard of living of the people? Gandhi answered: "I do not believe in it at all. There is a tremendous fallacy behind Mr. Ford's reasoning. Without simultaneous distribution on an equally mass scale, the production can result only in a great world tragedy. Take Mr. Ford's cars. The saturation point is bound to be reached sooner or later." See Gandhi, *Collected works*, Vol. LIV, p.22

21.   Gandhi, *Collected works*, Vol. LIV, p.23

22.   *Sarvodaya*, IX, *Indian Opinion*, 18/7/1908, Gandhi, *Collected Works*, Vol. VIII, pp.455-459

23.   See Bramwell, Anna (1989): *Ecology in the 20ᵗʰ Century: A History*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, pp.16-70.

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Fostering Social Inclusiveness through Readdressing Indian Land Administrative System

N K Kumaresan Raja

Abstract

The paper attempts to establish a theoretical framework of the dynamics of social exclusion and inclusion that exists within the legal, rational establishment of the Indian political system. The institution of 'Land Administration', one of the oldest public organizations of India is employed as a medium for explaining the theoretical framework. The paper consists of three parts and sets forth to (1) apply the evolved theoretical framework upon 'Indian Land Administration', as a postcolonial public institution promoting exclusion, (2) identify the specific areas of interventions for fostering systemic inclusiveness in order to augment the Constitutional mandate (3) attempt a study on the Act of 'Land Acquisition' seen embedded within the agency of perpetuating exclusion both social and economical and (4) evolve a case for active academic intervention for strengthening Land Administration as a congenial academic and research area.

Introduction

The administrative system of India as it exists today drawing its origin from its lengthy political and administrative history since medieval times adjoining Colonialism and admixture with a distinct form of social order, is knitted closely to political and economic hierarchy. This complicated and complex system as a product of 'Oriental thinking' with indigenous identity has been supported by a Constitution by and large reflecting Eurocentric jurisprudence and liberal discourse. The colonial instrument of 'Land Revenue Collection' per se became the system of land administration after independence. These combinations indeed unwittingly have created a system of Public Administration fostering a perpetual exclusion counter balanced by a legally forced inclusion ushered by the mandate of the Constitution. Although the debates around the nature of Indian Constitution centre around its identity of being unitary and federal, very little is discussed about the mandate it upholds for fostering Inclusion at all levels.

Having emerged as the largest populist liberal democracy inheriting a legacy of a three century old colonial history, diverse political and cultural identities, with multicultural and pluralistic societies concomitantly linking each other to an indigenously developed caste system, India has become a country with a spectrum of social order. This social order is closely related to the design of economic distribution of the population integrated politically with a

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strong federal government with a decentralized system of governance which is still at a rudimentary stage. With over 65 to 70% of its population directly dependant on agricultural and allied activities, sustainable development in rural India has been constantly the unit of analyses evident in the successive five year plans of union governments as well as in the laudable election manifestos of political parties - both regional and national. In other words, sustainable development could be factorized as the 'state's response' for ushering development sponsored through the state apparatus.

Any approach to foster sustainable development especially in rural areas will be completely inadequate without understanding the importance of "access to land", by the stake holders with a view to reap the fruits of welfare state. Land has been always a basic resource and a potential source of political power; access to land and control of land thus has become synonymous with the power structure of the society. As a sequel, landlessness has been a salient feature of the socially excluded sections of the society (Amartya Sen 2000).

This being an innate feature of the Indian 'society', the onus of addressing the issues of social exclusion and fostering inclusiveness becomes the responsibility of the State (Thorat:2008). More particularly in an age and environment of economic globalization and the consequent emergence of market economy manifested with the various policy initiatives in recent times, it has become imperative to achieve an all inclusive growth through land administration (Kumaresan Raja 2005).

The meaning of 'land administration' as 'the process of determining, recording and disseminating information about ownership, value and use of land, when implementing land management policies' has proved to be a guiding principle in policy documents, research programmes, and in education and training of land administration across the globe as per United Nations Standards. Although other definitions are widely employed (Dale and Mc.Laghlin 1999) with the aforesaid understanding being challenged (Fourie 2002), the United Nations definition/ meaning still stands firmly, especially when land administration is interpreted in a broad sense in modern context.

Problem of Interpretation of Land Administration in India

In the Indian scenario, much attention has not been given to land administration unlike other countries obviously due to the complexity of the very understanding among academia and Administrators as to what land administration all about? Indian land administration literature instead of providing a comprehensive understanding of the issues related to land administration, addresses an entirely different set of objects. Much space has been devoted to advocating and

approximating the exactness of the discipline that is, whether the focus of land administration should be (1) strongly pro-market, (2) state-managed collectivism, or (3) based on ideas of economic equality. Not a single research work on social or economic geography has been done in Indian universities as on date with non empirical research methods such as Hermeneutics of Phenomenology as it happens in the West. Despite the ample availability of scope for Post Structuralist approaches in micro studies centering on land and administrative system such as the National Rural Employees Guarantee Scheme, we do not find any research centered on land in India.

Shielded by colonial hangovers, the concept of "state managed collectivism" has been monopolized by the bureaucracy. This aspect of land administration could be never accessed by the intelligentsia for assessment or for suggesting policy corrections as in the state of Tamil Nadu, where in the year 1988, a document on "Land Policy", was drafted on the initiative of Shri. P.Sukhavaneshwar, the then Commissioner of Land Administration, Chennai- 5, which too however was not publicly accessible. The approach on land administration on the basis of the ideas of economic equality is manifested through the volumes of literature on Land Reforms. According to what is understood since the times of P.S Appu, the noted Land Reforms Expert, a civil servant turned writer, the scope of Land Reforms is confined to Land Ceiling Acts and Distribution of Surplus Ceiling. What happens next or the implementation aspect was not given as it was towards state sponsored acquisition of land from land lords. Further, what was the real dynamics of land administration was never reflected in the literary realms as land mark issues like abolition of board of revenue in very many states, abolition of hereditary village officers, resettlement operations, evacuee properties and common pool resource land have little or no significance on academic researches since Independence. Hence the theory and practice of administration in India has been always divorced from each other. These literatures had little or no control over the implementation of Land Reforms.

The ripple effect of pro-market ideas on Indian Land Administration has been fully realized recently in the formation of "Special Economic Zones". The authoritarian iron hand of Government in invoking ordinances for compulsory land acquisition for public purpose is now employed to benefit corporate sectors and multinational companies. This has resulted in hues and cries on the R&R (Rehabilitation and Resettlement Issues), leaving development induced displacement of indigenous population. The issue has been so complex that the Indian Parliament has been contemplating on a bill on Rehabilitation and Resettlement for quite a long time and has been indecisive.

This identity crisis of contemporary Indian Land Administration on   (1) "What should mean Land Administration in the era of emergence of market economy? (2) How far the existing institutional set up of Land Administration could be adjusted accordingly? –are questions that need to be answered to identify the crux of the 'inclusive frame work' that is said to be the whole idea, aim and the scope of the Welfare State, realized through the institution of land administration.

The Situation of Indian Land Administration in a Nutshell

Operationally, in India, the subject "Land Use" (Item No.18, List II, Seventh Schedule of Indian Constitution stipulates Land to be in State List) is in state list and not in Union list or even in concurrent list, whereas Transfer of property other than agricultural land, registration of deeds and documents come under "Concurrent List" (Item No.6, List III) of the Indian Constitution where the Union Government can enact legislations if and only if governments of various states agree. However the subject 'Registration' is in concurrent list and emerging issues like "Rehabilitation and Resettlement" would find them in the Union List due to the residuary powers vested with the Central Government as enunciated in the Indian Constitution. Strangely, the Acts and Revenue Laws enacted during colonial times dates to a period when there was no democracy and federalism. The colonial concept of land administration overlaid established patterns of land distribution on a rent seeking agenda which resulted in the restriction of the local populations' access to productive land which was also deliberated upon in the Proceedings of the Regional Workshops on Land Policy Issues Asia Program that was organized in June 2002 on the theme 'Comparative Study of Land Administration Systems With special reference to Thailand, Indonesia and Karnataka (India)'.

 Subsequent state involvement in the post colonial situation made the situation worse. Whatever method was employed by the independent Indian government whether by collectivizing land or claiming state ownership to all land or fostering social equality through land administration, in most cases it resulted only in economic inefficiencies, ineffective bureaucracies and social injustice.

After much waters have flown in the six decades after Independence, we now witness that the rights of people directly dependant on land often remain legally insecure. The situation is grimmer in the cases of indirect dependants, of rural non-farm domain who are more vulnerable (Thorat 2006). This vulnerability results in the delineation of the marginalized sections from having an access or control over land and other natural resources. Without access to and control of land, no state sponsored affirmative action based rural development

programmes could be optimally harnessed. Thus within this matrix of non accessibility and alienation from the mainstream, a systemic marginalization is created with the marginalized sections of the society not able to cope up with the politically and socially advantaged in the "Resource competition. This result in social exclusion as well as political exclusion complementing each other followed by other means of exclusion directly connected to livelihood, cultural, political and economic identities of the marginalized sections of the society, sufficiently empirically demonstrated through studies conducted by the World Bank in developing states.

Hence it becomes imperative that in order to enforce public policy initiatives to foster an all inclusive growth, the main development agenda of modern democracies should be promotion of social inclusiveness. In the Indian situation, the system of land administration being the best corridor for achieving an all inclusive growth, it requires to be studied on a concurrent basis in order to identify emerging areas, requiring fine tuning to promote social inclusiveness which will help the stake holders realize the goals of a welfare state. In western countries, intrusion of market economy has given a death blow to their models of welfare state for implementing the ideas of the welfare state. However, in the present situation, even the residues of their concept of welfare state cannot be implemented as they are.

When the western paradigms are imported and applied to the indigenous system, they require improvisations say in the present case of land administration. Accordingly it becomes the onerous task of Social Science researcher to focus upon land related studies for academic research.

Areas of Academic and Administrative Research: Distance to be Covered

The ongoing programmes of the Government of India, Ministry of Rural Development on "Computerization of Land Records (CoLR)", "Creation of Cadastral Survey", combined in the form of National Land Records Modernizing Programme (NLRMP), implementing "Conclusive Land Titling" necessarily require research inputs for which studies of this kind attain significant contemporary relevance. The scope of NREGS in improving village landscape and Commons are few areas that require to be studied. Further institutional studies may focus on to what extent the existing revenue laws and land related legislations foster access to land by rural poor and identify the areas for policy interventions to quicken the speed of service delivery, identification of the specific areas those require immediate state interventions in the various colonial and contemporary revenue laws to ensure land rights for the marginal groups,

figuring out best practices in land administration relating to social inclusiveness if any and explore the feasibilities of exchanging the same across the state, and reaching a viable method of sensitizing the bureaucrats for attaining social inclusiveness through land administration as an exclusive constitutional mandate of the state. All these are worthy issues for research. Social inclusiveness in the Indian context can never be divorced from "building capabilities". Accordingly the exciting broad administrative and legal framework of land administration needs to be re invented from its meaning, nature and its very scope. The question of land titling in urban context and the formal and informal socio-economic systems for land use in urban areas are fertile research areas. Other burning issues like the real problem of land acquisition and related resettlement issues, the differential impact of contract farming on gender and marginalized groups are also good areas for multi disciplinary researches. Building models of Land Policy making and indicators of sustainable land policy are areas that lack sufficient expertise. Even the scientific version of land administration by the discipline of Earth Sciences in places like Geo Spatial Sciences and Remote Sensing are not sufficiently accessed by Social Science researchers in India.

Status of Land Administration as an Academic Discipline in India

What is considered to be Social Geography or Political Geography, Political Economy in European and Australian universities are unfortunately have not been given importance in Indian universities. Often studies on land either from the stand point of environment or as a factor of production identified with land reforms and ceiling gets confined with economists and environmental economists or sociologists. Hardly any researcher in Political Science or Public Administration finds land administration academically lucrative to research and study.

We need to develop academic programmes in Land Administration, Agrarian Studies and Environmental Sustainability and evolve specific programmes of studies that would require UN internships for students. Apart from developing academic programmes, there is also a need to develop institutional linkages with institutions such as UNDP, World Bank and depute students and teachers as part of the study programme. It would be of great shock to many of us that even the bureaucrats in India, the officers of the Indian Administrative Service, are not getting adequate training inputs from their training academy of land issues, despite the sensitivity that land related issues have attained importance in Public Administration today. For not imparting proper inputs on land related issues in the National Academy where civil servants are trained day in and day out, the reason adduced is that 'Land' is a State (provincial) subject and the officers when they go to their respective state cadres, could be provided state specific

inputs. However, it has been conveniently forgotten that land *in toto* is not a state subject. There is every scope for emerging issues in land to feature in the Union list and the training academies should be fully prepared to fine tune their inputs in land to the budding officers. This existing gap in the training academies both at the states and the Centre could be adduced to the higher degree of mismanagement of land resources in the country. For instance, let us examine the major areas of contemporary relevance in politics and administration in India.

Examining State's prerogative of Compulsory Land Acquisition in India

Recently, the issue of resentment of people against compulsory acquisition of land (including agricultural land) has been higher than before. Since the year 2008, starting from the massive uprising in Singur, Hoogly District of West Bengal against the compulsory acquisition of agricultural lands for Tata Motors, people's resistance in the village of Bhatta Parsaul, Greater Noida , UP since August 2010 against forceful acquisition of agricultural land for 'Yamuna Express Highway' to the very recent situation in Jagatsinghpur district of Orissa, where villagers are peacefully opposing forcible acquisition of their private and forest lands by the Orissa Government for South Korean Steel Company Posco's project, several established ideas like the 'Coercive power of the State', the legitimacy of the elected popular government to implement development policies, Constitutional sanction for the executive organ of the state to enforce law have been out rightly rejected by the people.

The large scale acquisition of agricultural lands in India in recent years for Special Economic Zones (SEZs), thermal power plants, irrigation projects etc., has become an issue of serious political and social contestations.

What makes the very act of land acquisition to be vehemently opposed? Why do things go wrong to the extent that elected Governments proceed blindly even when people are prepared to sacrifice their lives against forceful land acquisition? What effective administrative/policy interventions are required for mitigating this uneasiness in acquiring land for development projects? What are the reasons behind the success stories of land acquisitions where land holders and the acquisition agency reach a a win-win situation? And if that success formula holds well, then would that enable for drawing a road map for a successful administrative exercise of people friendly land acquisition? And how best can a 'Land Acquisition Policy' be evolved to instill a development project without affecting agricultural land? The above are precious questions that need to be urgently answered for which baseline studies need to be conducted.

Broken Promises to the Tribals?

Despite the fact that the tribal population enjoys constitutional protection by the Fifth Schedule of the Indian Constitution that ensures protection to the tribal people living in the Scheduled Areas (SAs) of nine states of Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Himachal Pradesh,Madhya Pradesh,Gujarat,Maharashtra,Orissa Rajasthan,the condition of the Tribals remain vulnerable. The specific provisions for safeguarding tribal land from alienation and encroachment and change in land use patterns have been systematically flouted. The Scheduled Tribes (STs), also referred to as adivasis (original inhabitants), have certain constitutional protections. The sufferings of Tribals continue with the most recent one being Posco's Project in Odisha (Orissa). The Sixth Schedule applies to the people of North Eastern states such as Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram who also have their own indigenous land governing systems which is also under a kind of threat with the State's initiative of creating a land revenue system for the entire North East as decided by the Government of India by a decision of the Cabinet in 2008. It would not be an exaggeration that these administrative exercises traversing the natives indigenous way of perceiving land is a direct threat of their very identity and obviously these acts of the State have been met with serious agitations.

A Critique of the Land Acquisition Act of 1894

The very meaning of "Public Purpose", enshrined in section 3(f) of the Land Acquisition Act is vague and inconsistent. It could mean anything from constructing a golf club to setting up of an industry.

The debate regarding land acquisition for various purposes has been receiving much attention in recent times. Though much of the discredit is given to the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 enacted by the British in India which has been followed by the Indian governments also with some modifications/amendments it is unfair to conclude that the existing social, political crisis that precipitated out of recent land acquisition is solely because of the Colonial Land Acquisition Act, 1894. On the contrary, the structural weakness of the Indian Land Administrative System, the absence of administrative arrangements for Rehabilitation and Resettlement packages, administrative flaws even while proceeding with the Land Acquisition Act 1894 that the 'Land Acquisition Officer', fails to appraise true facts during V-A Inquiry and the political variables that operate upon the whole affairs are seldom studied or highlighted in Indian situation.

Further, another point of consideration is that the Land Acquisition Act 1894 Act pertains to Colonial times, that was totally unaware of the 'Compensatory Justice', and hence the only consolation for the land owners deprived of their land was cash premium. Obviously, with a comparatively lesser degree of resource competition, this draconian part of the Act became visible only during the post industrialization era since the late 1960's.

Further a survey of litigants seeking enhanced compensation before the Courts of Law (as per the data collected in the Government of Tamil Nadu for the year 2009) indicated that more than 60% were people belonging to marginalized sections which give two interpretations:

1. That a majority of the dispossessed people belonged to marginalized sections of the society.

2. Among the universe of marginalized sections, only those who can afford for appealing in the High Court (an expensive affair relatively) and only those who were really affluent could appeal in the State High Court.

At this point, the very act of proposing the plan (technically called LPS – Land Plan Schedule) need to be examined and it is proposed to explain this with an example that would explain the invisible dynamics of power play of interest groups paving way for a systemic marginalization.

Undoubtedly, the State highways mostly traverse cultivable areas, habitations where dispossession of land by certain people is inevitable for the successful completion of the project. Normally, anyone who has travelled in highways in India, could find the National Highway taking unusual turns and bends where the terrain is flat and do not call for change in the course of Highway, that too when the seismographic pattern is even. What causes the roads to take its course with unusual turns is certainly vested interests that include political elites and affluent persons who can wield the power of altering the course of the National Highway. Here fits the contention that these types of infringements always are done at the casualty of the interests of the less advantaged – who do not have any power of lobbying in the power play. And with this backdrop, one has to understand the plight of socially marginalized sections of the society. Hence it is apparent that there is a probability of sacrificing the interest of the socially disadvantaged.

At the same time, there are also success stories of acquisition of land for development projects such as the acquisition of land in Vizag in Andhra Pradesh for setting up of SEZ, the manner in which land has been acquired for Neyveli Lignite Corporation for mining operations in Tamil Nadu and the setting up of SEZ in various places in Punjab, Karnataka and

Maharashtra. Maharashtra has a pioneering Act for acquiring land for industrial purposes. But export is the best practices to the other parts of the country after improvising the same to suit local settings as Indian Land Administration is not holistic (because of the three fold systems of Land Tenure as Ryotwari, Zamindari and Mangalwari) as it appears to and suffers from a severe identity crisis as well.

Complexities involved in Compulsory Land Acquisition by the State

In India, the situation of emphasizing for a practical approach in social sciences research has been a distant dream, where the issue crops up from the lack of importance of extension activities as it is in the western countries. Administrative researches are often confined to select institutions and secondly, the very diverse history of land tenure systems in different parts of the country has rendered more complexity for a uniform approach in land related issues. Even in the present day situation, the entire Union of India as states and scheduled states under the Constitution has diverse priorities in the scope of legislations. Hence the situation with land acquisition has also proved to be dicey. The issue of approximating the apportioning, disseminating and allowing of access to land through a single legislation itself has been an insurmountable task in the Indian context. Hence legislations by the legislatures at the federal or state level in Indian context are becoming increasingly complicated whenever they address land. The recent deadlock in the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill could be one such example.

The matter of compulsory land acquisition has become synonymous with "Rehabilitation and Resettlement' and with the advent of neo-classical economic thoughts. What we witness today as the formulation of 'Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy' (R & R policy) pertains to land as a factor of production. But what is yet to be concretized is the working of the package of compensation and the issue is still in its rudimentary stage in the Indian Parliament.

Michael Cernea, in his seminal work on 'Rehabilitation and Resettlement' has done adequate studies of these kind of compensating livelihoods that do not provide a concrete model for Indian situation as 'Land' per se is understood altogether in the Indian situation. It is more than a mode of production and a symbol of cultural and social capital. A mere dislocation of a temple, as part of land acquisition for a development project as it would happen elsewhere would unleash severe communal disturbances in India. How to compensate cultural capitals and social capitals are still in the process of studies in the newly created chair for cultural studies in the University of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Though similar studies are predominantly held in

Europe as in the University of Groningen, The Netherlands, LMU Munich, Federal Republic of Germany and even smaller countries like the Independent State of Samoa, such studies are not conducted adequately in Indian universities as the academia has always been forced out of the executive functions of the state. Absence of a "Land Use Policy" by the Indian Government despite its agricultural revolution is a major lacuna. It is also a strange phenomenon that none of the election manifestos of political parties barring the Leftists speak about land reforms. It is in this gap, that institutions of higher learning require to strain their neurons for research on land administration.

Taking a clue from the present impasse that exist with land acquisition issues in India, the government may think of giving a patient and empathetic hearing to the local population before actually proceeding with the development projects, because fostering development without people's participation will only end in discontent. Even for such an approach, one has to be dependent upon participatory Research Methods.

The funding institutions like the University Grants Commission, Indian Council of Social Science Research, and the various ministries that fund research should have a focus on this vital issue of land management. Rural asset management, urban asset management and social forestry are crucial topics for academic research. In this globalised scenario, studies on land integrating political and administrative actions would attend immense importance and accordingly, as it happens elsewhere, institutions of higher learning should allocate some space for sub disciplines like Political, Social and Economic Geography. Without appreciating the dimension of land, even studies on environment that has been made mandatorily essential in educational institutions in India would not be complete.

Systemically, an holistic understanding of land is essential for making it instrumental for a good public administration which would essentially feature an 'all inclusive framework'. It is at this point that this paper calls for the attention for all concerned for a fresh start on understanding, interpreting and assimilating 'Land Administration' as an art and a science.

Conclusion

India as a country geographically integrated and socially segregated with a political system fostering democracy, is grounded in conservative traditions. Hence India itself is an interesting laboratory of political phenomenon. Despite the institutions that are said to promote inclusive growth there is also lack of structural functional approach towards building an all inclusive political, social and economic system. Just as it was done in the 1970's, with an

integrated approach towards rural development, the nation state needs to invent its own internal mechanisms for addressing the voices of the marginalized. The deficiencies of federal politics with respect to the distribution of powers between the Federal and Provincial Governments, the structure of governing institutions and the supremacy of Constitutional mandate could be a viable path for inclusiveness.

Land is undoubtedly a source of political power and political consolidation and hence the access to land, control of land and optimally utilizing land as a factor of production are invariably linked to public policies, state sponsored action-plan and also the participation of people. Land revenue administration has been one of the oldest tasks of Indian Administration and hence one can understand the historicity of land and its connections to polity and administration. Hence integrating social order, obligations of civil society and bridging the will of State through the spirit of the Constitution is the biggest task before contemporary Indian administration.

Notes

1. The National R&R Policy, 2007 was approved by the Cabinet on 11th October, 2007 came into force on 31st October, 2007 It was laid on the Table of both Houses of Parliament during the winter session of 2007.The Land Acquisition Act (Amendment) Bill, 2007 was proposed to align its provisions with the goals and objectives of the NRRP, 2007.Both Bills were passed by the Lok Sabha on 25.02.2009 and tabled in the Rajya Sabha on 26.02.2009. However, both bills lapsed with the dissolution of the 14th Lok Sabha, and as on date stands referred to the contemplation Group of Ministers, which is again indecisive.

2. "On 21st August, 2008, India took a historical decision to move from the present system of "presumptive" property titles to the system of clear property titles, or the Torrens system, as prevalent in other countries, such as Australia, New Zealand, UK, USA, Canada, Switzerland, Singapore, Malaysia, etc. In India, the Registration Act, 1908 provides for registration of deeds and documents, but does not confer titles on the property owner, whose title remains merely "presumptive (Rita Sinha:2009)", Secretary to Government of India, Ministry of Rural Development, Department of Land Resources, New Delhi

3. Under the definition, Section 3(f) of the Act, land acquisition for public purpose includes: provision for village sites, extension, development or improvement of village sites; provision of land for town or rural planning; land for planned development from public funds; land for a corporation owned or controlled by state; land for residential purpose or landless poor, people affected by natural calamities, or to persons displaced, or for the people affected by reason of the any scheme undertaken by government or any local authority or a corporation owned or controlled by the State; provision of land for carrying out any educational, housing, health or slum clearance scheme sponsored by government. It does not include acquisition of land for companies.

4. Even if the Land Acquisition Act is meticulously followed, there are provisions such as V-A Inquiry where the Land Acquisition Officer can for see people's agitations and if he satisfies himself, he can very well recommend for discontinuing Land Acquisition proceedings. On the other hand, even at the time of payment of compensation there are chances for appeasing people with a higher compensation which is the major factor for precipitating discontent among the land owners. Hence instead of addressing all these issues, mere blaming the Colonial Act would not be a right method of resolving the stale mate that exists in agitated areas of Land Acquisition.

5. The three broad types of Land tenure System that existed in colonial India were (1) Ryotwari – The Ryot (one who cultivates the land) remitted land revenue direct to the State (2) Zamindari – The system of Land Revenue Collection was effected through Intermediaries and (3) Magalwari (Under this system the basic unit of revenue settlement was the village or the mahal. As the village land belonged jointly to the village community the responsibility of paying the revenue rested with the entire mahal or the village community)

6. Settlement meant the administrative exercise of British Government for integrating land use of a specific location/parcel to the person who cultivates it, by fixing him the person responsible for remitting Land Revenue in lieu of his usage of Land. One important aspect of Settlement is that it is the sovereign that owns the Land of the State and all the rest are mere enjoyers. This historic understanding is now being readdressed with the "Conclusive Land Titling Bill" contemplated by the Indian Parliament.

7. Michel Cernea's works such as Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Development, Anthropological Approaches to Resettlement: Policy, Practice, Theory (edited with Scott Guggenheim), Social Organization and Development Anthropology, Social Assessment for Better Development (edited with Ayse Kudat), Resettlement and Development (vol. I and II) and The Economics of Involuntary Resettlement: Questions and Challenges throw much light in the core issue of Rehabilitation and Resettlement. However the issue of Indianising it and making it operational require immense research inputs since we do not have sufficient studies to understand the realities at the grass roots on the possible adverse effects of Development induced Displacement nor could the social and cultural capital of land (this is very unique in Indian situation) could be readily quantified in terms of cash premium or any other forms of compensation as per the existing Land Acquisition Act 1894.

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Environmental Security: Dealing with Deudney

Anjan Kumar Sahu

Abstract

The issue of linking environment with national security has been an enduring debate in the field of security studies. One group of scholars keeps the political and military nature of security in tact and any inclusion of environment as a national security issue downgrades and distorts the very sanctity of the field. However, another group intersects the traditional and non-traditional threats. The latter group defines and associates the issue of environment in the field of security studies because the nature and use of military institutions has gone through a major transformation after the end of the Cold War and the changing nature of conflicts. Daniel Deudney is an ardent critic of the former group and avers that environment and national security can only be framed as thesis and anti-thesis; and there is no synthesis between the two. However, the paper refutes the thesis and anti-thesis disposition of Deudney and argues for an urgent need for an end of the thesis and anti-thesis syndrome and an immediate intersection of environment and national security.

Introduction

The discourse on environmental security began in the 1950s (Wilde 2008:601). However, with the rise of 'political war' in the form of conflicting and competing ideologies (such as fascism, communism and liberal democracy) and interests in the post-war period, the issue of resources or environmental security was relegated "to a minor consideration in conflict discourse" (Melvin and Koning 2011:40). Though there was environmental consciousness at the international level- which was evident during the Stockholm Conference in 1972 - the issue was neither considered as an economic, political or security issue. It was primarily considered as a global environmental problem that demanded global cooperation. However, at the end of the Cold War, the declining importance and use of exclusive reliance on military to deal with external threats manifested.

The issue of environment emerged as a pressing issue at the international level as environmental security was understood as a cause of national and international insecurity and this exacted to reinvent the extant nature of the military to contend with both traditional and non-traditional threats. Buzan (1983) had rightly observed that national security problems need to be understood from 'systemic security' perspective where economic, social and

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environmental security can be as important as political and military. However, there has been a gradual transformation of the nature of understanding of the environmental problem. At the outset, it emerged as an environmental issue, then was framed as an economic issue manifested in the form tussle between the North-South syndrome, and presently, there has been a wider consensus that environment is a security ('ultimate security') or 'strategic issue' which has national as well as transnational implications (Buzan 1983; Myers 1989; Allenby January 2000; Brauch 2009). Richardson et al. (2011:344) rightly mentioned that politicians have recently observed that the issue of climate change as an 'environmental issue' was "reconceptualised as economic issue" and is "now perceived as a security issue".

However, some scholars lacerate the intersection of environment and national security (Walt 1991:222; Mearsheimer 2003:371-72; Floyd 2008:10-11). The most ardent critic of the linkage of environment with national security is Daniel Deudney. Deudney fears that any linkage of environment with national security can beget militarisation of environment, misuse of military technologies, deviation from the real environmental problems and prevention of international cooperation. He argues that it is not apposite to associate military organisations and environment because the natures, objectives and intensions of the two are diametrically paradoxical. Thus, the thrust of the paper is to critically analyse the view points of Deudney in the form of arguments and counter-arguments.

Environmental Security

There has been no unanimous definition of environmental security. But the literature on environmental security shows that it either links environment with national security (or 'threat') or delinks the two. The linkage between environment and national security got political and security dispositions in the work of Kaplan (1994) and subsequently the idea was permeated among prominent the political and military elites of the US. Kaplan (1994:58) argues that the foreign policy would be shaped by "[s]urging populations, spreading disease, deforestation and soil erosion, water depletion, air pollution, and possibly rising sea levels". The hectic political and military consciousness on the shared predicament propelled political leaders to enshrine the very idea in the National Security Council of the US because "an aggressive environmental programme is critical to the defense mission" (Perry, cited in Peluso and Watts 2001:4). Homer-Dixon studied the increasing environmental pressure in developing countries and its social effects on and enormous ramifications for the security interests of developed countries because environmentally induced social effects perpetuate violent conflict, civil strife, insurgency etc. (Homer-Dixon 1991:78). Allenby linked environmental security with national security. To him, environmental issues have been moved up from 'overhead' or ancillary to 'strategic' domain; but the culture of a country, its national security community and component institutions must subscribe to the imminent environmental threats to a state (Allenby 2000:7,13).[1] Scholars like Diamond (2005:10) states that environmental problems or/and climate change will lead to 'environmental collapse' in a country. However, he argues that

environmental problem or climate change is not the only factor that causes 'collapse'; other factors are also responsible for it. He posits five factors which affect 'environmental collapse': environmental damage, climate change, hostile neighbours, friendly trade partner and society's responses to its environmental problems (2005:11). However, instead of security, Diamond prefers to use the term 'collapse'[2] (2005:3) or 'societal collapse' (2005:15).

However, some scholars argue that the global ecological interdependence demands reconfiguration and 'unbundling' of territoriality, sovereignty and the principle of non-intervention (Litfin 1998) and talk about the disassociation of environment from national security. The emphasis on peace research is also a factor for delinking environment from security. Conca prefers 'environmental peacemaking' as an alternative or counter-productive to the environmental security debate (cited in Levy and Vaillancourt 2011:228). Levy (1995:36, 43) dissects that the nexus between environment (or/and climate change) and security argument as a 'rhetorical flourishes' to gain public support for environment and that this is indefensible and inadequate. The above views and counter-views have been the crux of the environmental literature. But not a single scholar has exclusively dealt with the views of Deudney. The present paper is an attempt in this regard.

Dealing with Deudney: Arguments and Counter-Arguments

Deudney (1990) argues that the pervasive impact of environmental degradation at different levels of political life and the predilection of different institutions and political leaders for seeing the conflictual nature of environment has been the result of dominance of geo-political theory in world politics. This understanding of the environmental security, which is amply different from the traditional security, is certainly a "conceptual muddle rather than a paradigm or world view shift" (Deudney 1990). Instead of broadening the very concept of security, the linkage between national security and environment leads to 'de-definition' rather than 're-definition' of security (Deudney 1990). He gives sound reasons to explain how environmental threats are at variance with national security:

First, the linkage between environment and national security is 'analytically misleading' because environmental degradation may kill or cause human well-being, but if all environmental threats like natural disasters are labelled as security threats, then the term security loses its 'analytical usefulness' (Deudney 1990:132). Buzan (1983:82-83) argues that initially the impact of natural disaster was not considered as a national security problem because natural disasters were understood as 'man against nature' rather than 'competition among men'. The increasing intensity, scale, diversity and pace of human activity ecological threats have been identified as national security threats (Ibid). However, the securitisation theory[3] argues that not all threats are considered as threats to national security. It explains three dimensions of environment:

- Threat to human civilisation caused by natural catastrophe

- Threats from human activity to the natural or planetary system which is seen as 'an existential threat' to human civilisation

- Threats from human civilisation to the natural or structure of the planetary system which is not considered as existential threats (Buzan et al. 1998:79-80)

The securitisation of environment emphasises the second point where environmental security is framed as an 'existential threat' to the human civilisation. The bottom line of the theory is that the inter-subjective consensus among the political elites shapes the very nature of environmental threats at the domestic and international levels. Nevertheless, scholars see environmental degradation as a real security threat due to its impact on water security, especially in the South Asian region, including China (Chellaney 2007). Nevertheless, Biswas (2011) argues that the inclination of Deudney to disassociate natural disaster from national security is 'flawed' and 'biased' because he failed to see that the impact of natural disasters on developed countries are limited compared to developing countries and developing countries have limited capacity to prevent or minimise natural disasters and its after effects compared to developed countries. The impact of desertification on Tunisia which threatened its core values and existence of those who farm on the land was evident when the desertification issue was given prominence in its national security policy (Sheehan 2006).

According to Deudney (1990), the nation-security-from-violence is intentional whereas environmental degradation is unintentional. The preparation, training and recurring of war extensively destroys the natural environment. Preparation of war causes huge expenditure of money which could be expended on environmental restoration (Deudney 1990).

> *"War and the preparation for war are clearly environmental threats and consume resources that could be used to ameliorate environmental degradation. In effect, these environmental impacts mean that the war system has costs beyond the intentional loss of life and destruction...Most of the causes and most of the cures of environmental degradation must be found outside the domain of the traditional national security system related to violence" (Deudney 1990).*

As argued by Deudney, the securitisation theory argues that environmental security is anthropogenic in nature, which is intentional. Despite the parlous impact of climate change, the developed countries, particularly the United States, are unwilling to compromise their present wasteful consumption. The Bush administration had categorically refuted to make any compromise on the 'life style' of American citizens. On one hand, the political and security establishments in the US concedes the dreadful repercussions of climate change on the national security (Homer-Dixon 1991:78; Homer-Dixon 1994:36; Kaplan 1994; Ackerman 2008:60-69), and on the other hand, they are reluctant to take any concrete actions at the national and global

level (Richardson et al. 2011:353). So, they deliberately and intentionally emit green house gases. This is the paradox of climate change policy where rhetoric and actions drift apart. The perception that non-traditional security threats are defined without any identification of the enemy is something that causes countries and/or individuals to dilute their own destructive roles. Diamond (2005:7) argues that the present environmental degradation is more acute due to the "human-caused climate change, build-up of toxic chemicals in the environment, energy shortages and full human utilisation of the Earth's photosynthetic capacity". According to Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (2007), the present climate change problem is anthropogenic in character and it projects an ominous pre-figure unless effective actions are carried out. Brauch and Spring (2011:31) mention that:

"In earth and human history a fundamental change has occurred since the Industrial Revolution (1750) from the 'Holocene'[4] to the 'Anthropocene'[5] due to increasing human interventions, especially through the burning of fossil energy that has resulted in an anthropogenic period of climate change".

The argument of Deudney is that violence is the product of national security as perpetuated by nation-state through its military. But this is not the case as far as environment is concerned. However, the Homer-Dixon argument is paradoxical to Deudney's view. Dixon linked environmental degradation[6] with violence and national security. They claim that environment, either singly or in combination, gives rise to environmental degradation in developing countries which has implications for the 'security interests of the developed world' (Dixon 1991:78). At the same time, Dixon (1994:36) linked environmental scarcity and its 'cumulative social impact' which gives rise to 'sub-national violence'; and the 'sub-national violence' causes 'security interests' of both the developed and the developing countries. The environmentally induced violence as a threat to national security has been subscribed by Dyer. Dyer (2001:111) argues that Homer-Dixon's work on environment and its indirect association with violent conflict is a "standard work on the subject". He observes:

"This research has attracted much discussion, and some criticism, reflecting its engagement with some thorny scholarly issues. Of course, by resulting in violence, environmental issues can easily be connected to the traditional security agenda (both scholarly and military), and brought thus to centre-stage in International Relations" (Dyer 2001:111).

Deudney (1990; also cited in Buzan and Hansen 2007:133) avers that military organisations are not apposite to prevent environmental degradation because they are highly "secretive, extremely hierarchical and centralised, and normally deploy vastly expensive, highly specialised and advanced technologies". However, the argument that military organisations are primarily based on secrecy is fallacious. This is the very narrow understanding of military security. Military is not the exclusive domain of military officials and

their organisational works are not always clandestine. Even Stephen Walt (June 1991) notes that the 'golden age' of security studies in the mid 1950s to mid 1960s was marked by civilian engagement in military planning, though he is averse to the inclusion of non-military issues in the security framework.

A corollary to the above point, is that the securitisation theory emphasises the role of military organisations to contend with environmental threats. Though the issue of environment is securitised, institutions do not move the issue to a successful securitisation. As a result, it operates in the political contexts where military institutions have the onus to perform the environment functions, even though they are formed to deal with other types of threats (Buzan et al. 1998:28-29). In the post-Cold War period, the use of military technology is a debatable issue. But there is nothing to be wary of this development. Because the nature and scope of threats have changed and the excusive reliance on military for the prevention of external military threat has dwindled with the end of the Cold War and to revitalise its significance there is a mutual advantage for both military and civilians to contend with climate change threat (Deibert 1999). The Strategic Environmental Research and Development Programme (SERDP) of the US is a glaring instance to use classifying and declassifying documents, information, technologies and expertise for the studies of ozone depletion and global warming (Deibert 1999:278).

Second, the environment and security linkage can germinate the sense of 'intense nationalism' and reduce the 'global political sensibility' for the global environmental problem (Deudney 1990). Deudney avers that "intense nationalism directly conflicts with the globalism that has been one of the most important insights of environmentalism. If in fact resolution of the global environmental problem, and particularly the global climate change problem, requires great, even unprecedented types of international co-operation, then nationalist sentiment and identification is a barrier to be overcome" (Deudney 1990). However, the securitisation theory never speaks about 'intense nationalism' as far as dealing with environmental problem is concerned. It concedes the veracity that environment is a global problem and at the same time believes that the consciousness and urgency of the problem at the global level is merely a politicisation or a security move[7]. Successful securitisation of environment comes about at the national level.

Third, environmental degradation may not likely cause inter-state wars because the robust character of the world trade system shows that states no longer experience the resource dependency as a threat to military security and political autonomy (Deudney 2007:138-39). However, Durham cites that the 'Soccer War' in 1969 between El Salvador and Honduras is largely the outcome of demographic and environmental pressure (1979, cited in Dixon 1991:82). Nevertheless, the present international economic order shows that global economic order has been more volatile than robust, especially in the western countries and North America where the concept of environmental security as a discourse emerged, securitised and dominated

the academic and policy discourses as far as national security is concerned[8]. Furthermore, to maintain and increase economic and military security, both resource dependency and urge for 'resource capture' among the major powers propels resource competition and a search for energy security. Lately, China's inclination for resource capture in the South China Sea is a bone of contention between Indian and China. The involvement of the Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC), an Indian company, in the South China Sea for exploration of strategic earth minerals in cooperation with Vietnam has engendered brewing tension between China and India. China Energy News, a publication of the Communist Party's People's Daily, warned India for "its energy policy" which "is slipping into an extremely dangerous whirlpool" (Banyan 26th Oct 2011).

Fourth, according to Deudney, the linkage of environment with national security is methodologically flawed because there is no historical analysis to compare the past environmental conflicts with the present developments and many environmental analysts fail to ascertain the number of environmental conflicts linked with national security (Deudney 1999:203). But this argument of Deudney can be refuted on the following grounds:

I. There was no political and scientific consensus before the 1970s that climate change or environmental conflict had an impact on national security. The dearth of scientific and political consciousness prevented any extensive research work on environmental security. Therefore, in order to disassociate the linkage between environment and security, the basis of history of environmental conflicts and its linkage with present climate change insecurity is untenable. In the words of Dalby (1998, cited in Peluso and Watts 2001:8), "The history of how the environment has become a fundamental security issue is an intriguing, and largely untold, transnational story linking policy and academic communities on both sides of the North Atlantic".

II. One argument can be that there has been a historical linkage between environmental degradation or/and climate change impact on the security of a country. Using a comparative method, Diamond (2005:18, 20, 151) observes that there was environmental collapse in the past like the collapse of the Mayan civilisation[9] where environmental factor played a major role and this factor has been prevalent in modern societies such as Rwanda, Haiti and others.

III. Unpredictability is the salient feature in international politics. Even, traditional security experts did not believe that there was a possibility of an abrupt end of the Cold War nuclear brinkmanship between the US and the former Soviet Union which culminated with the Cuban Missile Crisis. Likewise, it is unpredictable or foolhardy to ascertain the way the intensity of climate change will manifest in the near future. Like nuclear weapons, climate change threat is there, but the matter is to control it before it explodes. Nevertheless, "the prediction that an increase in climate-related natural disasters should occur in response to

change in the climate system is now well established" (Rosenzweig et al. 2007, cited in Richardson et al. 2011:117).

Another argument of Deudney (1999:203-204) is that environmental studies rarely study the nature of basic features of international system in assessing the environmental conflict. However, it is necessary to look into the international system, but it is not sufficient. It is pertinent to study the geo-political and geo-strategic significance of a particular region or a state. Because most of the environmental problems are location specific that beset inter-state relations. The concept of 'security complex'[10] (Buzan 1983:105-106) reflects the security perception and policies of regional countries rather than explain the international system. The securitisation theory also argues that the issue of environment is global in nature, but the threats of environment demand actions at the national level. The discrepancies of local effects of climate change prevent building a successful securitisation of climate change and formation of an international environmental regime (Buzan et al. 1998:91). The regional aspect is also underlined by some scholars taking into account the "relevant linkages between water shortage, state-state tension, migration and various other economic, political and security factors, while pointing to specific avenues for improvement" (Brown and Crawford 2009a, cited in Richardson et al. 2011:379-380).

Deudney (1999:205) argues that the present world-economic system prevents resource dependent states to resort to any violence towards other countries. But he forgets that resource security promotes and guarantees economic security of a country which has implications for national security. The urgency of linking energy security and climate change with national security has been a tug of war among major powers. In the words of Richardson et al. (2011:373), "Energy security, on the one hand, serves to intensify the urgency and security rationale of climate policy. On the other hand, close links to energy security also often tie the issue into state-to-state rivalries and non cooperative approaches, especially among the major powers."

Deudney (1999:205) argues that the possibility of resource war is unlikely to come about as it is impossible to gain the required resources through territorial conquest. However, presently, the matter of territorial conquest is secondary as far as climate security is concerned. Despite that, the more crucial matter is the management of natural resources where the resources are entangled with the entire region of the eco-system, which has implications beyond the territorially defined state of a country. For example, we can not avoid the future war over water between India and China or between Indian and Pakistan, but the management and sharing of water resources should be given optimum priority; otherwise it would raise the issue of water security in commensurate with national security.

Fifth, Deudney sees that the present environmental degradation can be overcome in the 'age of substitutability' due to the significance of technology. Deudney (1990) says, "Industrial

civilisation is increasingly capable of taking earth materials such as iron, aluminium, silicon and hydrocarbons (which are ubiquitous and plentiful) and fashioning then into virtually everything needed". The technocratic solution to the problem reflects the hidden agenda of Deudney to rationalise the dominance of capitalist perspective of nature where developed countries are technologically superior and independent than developing countries. The technocratic solution to the current global environmental problems is a strategy of the developed countries to capture the markets of underdeveloped and developing countries by selling their costly technologies. This also prevents the developed countries to accept their historical role for the present climate change chaos.

Sixth, present environmental problems and concern for climate security is an area of concern of both national and international community. Deudney argues that the linking of environment and national security certainly prevents global cooperation to deal with environmental problems. According to Deudney (1990), "thinking of national security as an environmental problem risks undercutting both the globalists and common fate understanding of the situation and the sense of world community that may be necessary to solve the problem". To Deudney (1990), "the effort to harness the emotive power of nationalism to help mobilise environmental awareness and action may prove counter productive by undermining global political sensibility". The global 'ecological interdependence' needs 'global village sovereignty'[11] (Deudney 1998:299) because territories themselves are an integral part of the global ecosystem (Wapner 1998:277).

However, the fact is that despite the intensive engagement of global leaders, the emission of green house gases (GHGs) is increasing rather than decreasing. Environmental co-operation at the global level has its own limitations:

I. The global nature of environmental degradation may foment the developed countries to militarily intervene in and intrigue against the sovereignty and integrity of a nation-state in order to rationalise their hidden and nefarious agendas in the name of climate security. American war against Iraq in the name of terrorism is a glaring instance in this regard.

II. It may promote the states to diffuse their ideological tinge while downplaying the main agendas. This type of development was seen during the Cold War period when the two super powers engaged in the Eastern and the Western countries to spread their communist and capitalist ideologies in the name of providing military, political and economic securities. This possibility cannot be turned down in the case of the climate change issue.

III. Wilde (2008:601) argues that the literature of environmental security shows a top-down approach while dealing with the problem because environmental issue has been understood as a global issue. However, the fact is that global events like issues of climate change and mass migration are the outcome of local effects which have global repercussions

(2008:601-602). Wilde (2008:602) avers that "Most of the environmental crises have uneven effects and involvement" and "this makes it very hard- and utopian- to unite people in the face of fatal development." "The environmental agenda was originally conceived as a global one. Its emergence is not the result of the globalization of local developments but of the discovery of global consequences of seemingly harmless individual or local practices. This contrasts with the development of other security agenda, which evolved out of the gradual globalization of problems that originally had a local character. It took military security, for example, centuries to develop on a global scale" (Wilde 2008:601).

IV. There has been a deep dissonance among the developing countries at the international level on climate change agreements. For instance, among the BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India and China) countries, South Africa wants binding obligations on the part of developing countries on reduction of GHGs emission under the Kyoto Protocol Treaty. India is averse to such legally binding agreement and China wants extension of the binding obligation beyond 2012.

V. People have greater allegiance with the interests of their state's climate change policies than allegiance at the global level. However, allegiance at the national level is not like what Deudney dubs as 'intense nationalism'.

Concluding Observation

The association of environment with national security is primarily refuted on the ground of extensive meddling of military in the environment and the furtherance of militarisation of environment. However, there are few factors which might have shaped Deudney's disposition for delinking environment and security: firstly, he sees that military institutions are secretive and are only created for the purpose of preventing external organised violence. This reflects the unwillingness on the part of the Deudney to reform the role of military institutions. Lately, there has been an increasing demand through out the world on the part of both government and military officials for civilian engagement or access to many classified documents of military institutions. So, the stern consequence of present climate change has resulted into 'new functional demands' for military organisation to build a sturdy inter-linkage and cooperation between civilian and military actors (Nordstrom 2009:5). Delinking environmental security from national security, Deudney tries to buttress the hegemony of military, state and realist dominated nature of national security where state is a referent object of security and environment plays an ancillary role. At the outset, the mindset predicated on the ideation that involvement of military institutions leads to militarisation of environment has to be changed. Secondly, the mindset may be the outcome of maintaining the status quo of military institutions and their functioning (Lipschutz 1991:189-198). Finally, Deudney acknowledges that preparation, training and regular military exercise poses a greater danger to environmental degradation and to solve the problem he prefers to delink national

security and environment. But, the fact is that no country can sacrifice its national security for the sake of environment. Instead of separating military institutions from environmental problems, it is more pertinent and effective to inculcate and institutionalise the sense of environmental protection and preservation among military officials; and environment will get equal importance along with national or military security. The linkage between environment and national security must be taken into account in scientific, academic and political communities to ward off the climate predicament. However, it is worthwhile to reform the military institutions through the process of democratic securitisation[12] that widens the nature, scope and legitimisation of the military institutions based on democratic procedures. The democratic securitisation process includes the speech act of both political leaders who regulate the decision-making process of a state and individual actors who sensitise the issue at the local and national level. Neither the state nor the individual actor is exclusive. Their co-existence with broader public participation and deliberation can save the military institutions from its bad image and shape the perceptions of security experts and political leaders to think the role of military in a positive mindset. Thus, environment should be linked with national security and this puts the issue in the national agenda which can only promote and propel necessary actions for the management and prevention of environmental insecurity.

Notes

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1. According to Allenby (2000: 14-15), the main components of national security are resource security, energy security, environmental security and biological security.

2. According to Diamond (2005: 3), "By collapse, I mean, a drastic decrease in human population size and /or political/ economic/ social complexity, over a considerable area, for an extended time. The phenomenon of collapse is thus an extreme form of several milder types of decline, and it becomes arbitrary to decide how drastic the decline of a society must be before it qualifies to be labeled as a collapse".

3. The term securitisation is coined by Ole Waever. It means the 'speech act' of politically powerful actors and their utterance on any particular issue push the actors to take emergency measures due to the existential threat of the issue to the ecosystem or survival of a state. Waever belongs to the Copenhagen School (CS). Other proponents of the school are Barry Buzan and Jaap H. de Wilde.

4. The Holocene period started with the end of the glacial period about 12,000 years ago what marked the onset of major human progress and the development of high civilizations in the Mediterranean, in China, India and in Mesoamerica (Brauch and Spring 2011: 31).

5. The 'Anthropocene' concept was introduced by Crutzen as "a new geologic epoch in which [hu]mankind has emerged as a globally significant and potentially intelligent– force capable of reshaping the face of the planet" (cited in Brauch and Spring 2011:31).

6. Here violence is the outcome environmental degradation which may not be intentional, but the linkage between national security and environment is clearly manifested.

7. According to the securitisation theory, environmental issue at the international level is mostly framed as a security move where the issue is only politicized without taking any evasive actions.

8. To know more about the present problems and fragility of world economy see the *Global Risks Report 2012*.

9. According to Diamond (2005: 159-160), out of five factors that causes 'collapse', four factors played major role for the decline of the Maya civilizations: environmental damage, climate change, hostilities among the Mayas themselves and finally, political and cultural factors. There are other societies who were collapsed due to environmental damages or climate changes are: Easter Island, Mangareva and Norse Greenland.

10. The term security complex was used by Barry Buzan to define that the national security of a country is not immune from others. He particularly used the 'security complex' theory from geographical perspective to delineate the ineluctable inter-linking national security of India and Pakistan (Buzan 1983: 106).

11. Daniel Deudney (1998: 303) used the tern global village sovereignty and the village must be *terrapolitan* rather than either Westphalian or cosmopolitan. For Deudney, this means 'the central basis of political association in the global village must be the earth (terra) and its requirements.

12. Democratic securitisation means to give equal importance to the 'speech act' or utterance of both local and national political and social leaders on the issue of environmental degradation or climate change and intermingling of military and civilian institutions to deter any potential threats of climate change. It should be based on the premise of deliberative democracy where extensive engagement at the society and state levels determines the potential threats of an issue and the ensuing actions (Sahu 2011).

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Broader Implications of Open Border:
The Case of India and Nepal

Rajeev Kumar

Abstract

The open border arrangement between India and Nepal has been instrumental in shaping their age-old relationship of mutual interdependence reiterating friendliness and proximity. It has contributed significantly towards a feeling of certain belongingness, particularly at the border, with unrestricted flow of people and goods across the border. However, this unrestricted flow has produced broad concoction of implications with it as well. The open border has often proved to be an irritant in India-Nepal relations popping up various issues between them regarding the open border arrangement every now and then. It has been seen rampant illegal and criminal activities across the border. Illegal movements of goods and people has also been an indirect implication of the open border creating certain security concerns and threat perceptions on both sides of the border. The paper deals with such uncontrolled activities which have created an environment of distrust towards each other causing great harm to both the countries and their people.

India-Nepal Open Border

The India-Nepal open border is an epitome of how geography can help in interlinking two countries. The border region of India and Nepal is characterised by unnatural frontiers, densely populated regions, the richest agricultural belt of the Indo-Gangetic plains, an urban industrial belt, development of transportation and communication facilities, and easy accessibility to other regions (Upreti 2009:124). Easy identification of paddy fields, orchards, sugarcane fields, industries, settlements, roads and markets stretching from one side to the other side of the border makes it quite difficult to recognise the border unless one follows the boundary demarcation pillars. In fact, it is said that there are houses situated on the border where one door opens towards Nepal and the other towards India (Thapliyal 1999:781).

India and Nepal share a border where different functions converge to comport a definite shape to their relationship. Both have shared people to people relationship for ages owing to easy access of movement and it ultimately culminated into their approval for an open

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border arrangement. The Treaty of Peace and Friendship concluded by the two countries in 1950 also reinforced the need for an open border in view of various socio-economic provisions that the Sugauli Treaty had laid down for the people of the two countries, viz. encouraging free movement of people across the border, business and commercial interests like supply of Nepali raw materials to India and beyond (Upreti 2009:124). The 1950 Treaty, thus "binds the two countries through socio-cultural and economic linkages. Taking the open border into account, no impediment is placed on the movement of people crossing the border, availing avenues for livelihood" (Thapliyal 1998:178-79).

Talking of the functions, on the one hand, while it has proved, since long time back in history, and still proving to be a springboard for opportunity, on the other hand, it has been a border with various security issues raised up every now and then. It has been a concern for both the countries regarding their security parameters and the way towards achieving them for national security perspectives. It also tries to convince that neighbouring countries usually have natural common interests and that no country can now, in this era, be absolutely isolated from its neighbour (Kolossov 2005:614).

The Terai region of Nepal bordering India is an extension of the Indo-Gangetic plain. The geographical factors have been reinforced by religious, cultural and ethnic affinities between the inhabitants of Terai region and their counterparts across the border. The Terai region has, therefore, remained practically an expansion of the Indian society and economy through the centuries (Perry 1997:262). During the last two decades of the twentieth century, Nepal opened its Terai to the traders, farmers and workers from the plains of north India to encourage the clearing of the forest for farming. This is why no difference is found in the colour, language, values and culture among the people living across the India-Nepal border. Because of the common values, culture, way of life and the availability of market for the Nepalese timber, herbs, rice, jute and other forest products, the tendency of liberalisation became stronger than building restriction along the border.

Nature of Movement across the Border

The movement of people between India and Nepal "owes its genesis to the physical configuration of their border which does not present any natural barriers. Similarities in the socio-cultural identities of the two countries encouraged the movement of people. Demarcation of borders between the two countries did not stop the movement of population that continued due to economic exchanges and socio-cultural linkages" (Thapliyal 1999:779). The mutual needs of the people across the border promoted the unrestricted flow of people over the years and led to the dissemination of ideas, culture, and settlements of people in each other's territory. Religious places and institutions in both the countries have played a very crucial role in strengthening the social and cultural relations between them. Places like Puri and Rameshwaram in India and Pashupatinath Temple in Nepal have been revered by people of

both the countries. Marriage across the border is so common even to this day that the Terai-centered Sadbhavana Party's lawmaker Hridayesh Tripathi justifiably points out that the relationship between the people of Bihar and UP on the one hand and terailis on the other is that of roti-beti – bread and bride (Lal 2002:110).

The border inhabitants have continued to move freely across the border. There are three types of movement from Nepal. The first is that of people who come on a daily basis to buy goods for domestic needs. Such movement is usually confined to the border region. The second type is that of seasonal migrants, who generally travel to India to find work during agricultural off-seasons. The third type of migrants moves on a long-term basis and generally settles down in India. In the second and third cases, migrants spread out both to neighbouring areas as well as further away from the border (ICG 2007). Similarly, the flow of economic migrants from India has been stimulated as a result of modernisation and development in Nepal which has been generating demands for skilled and semi-skilled workers since the early seventies. Indians have also gone to Nepal for teaching jobs and for setting-up small and medium sized business establishments (Baral and Muni 1996:17).

The open border, encouraging movement, has provided access to specialized and infrastructural facilities on the Indian side for the Nepalese as well. Even today, for health services, education, entertainment and other such facilities the Nepalese people living in the border areas like Darchula, Baitadi, Dadeldhura and Kanchanpur are extensively dependent on India, especially for health-care and education (Upreti 2009:126-27). Indian agricultural labourers also go to Nepal during the cultivation and harvesting seasons and there they are known as Dakshinaha (southerners). The bordering Indian market provides opportunities to the Nepalese for selling their products and for purchasing goods of daily necessity and luxury items, including petrol, kerosene, edible items, cloth, medicines and various other goods. The Indian market facilitates the bordering people of Nepal in three ways: availability of goods in case of crisis on the Nepalese side, benefit of comparative prices and better market facilities for products including agricultural produce (Ibid.). In many areas, people of the neighbouring Nepali region make their marriage and festive purchases from the Indian market. In this regard they take advantage of quality and lower cost.

Issues Cropping from the Open Border

The implications of the open India-Nepal border and free movement across the international boundary and the issue related to them are both simple but varied and complex. It is simple because no formality is required to go over from one territory to the other and it is complex because it has become a major cause for many evils to take place in the form of smuggling of all kinds of goods, terrorist activities, migration, citizenship problems and so on. While on the one hand, the open border regime works as a "safety valve"[1] (Weiner 1971:621) for Nepal as the landlocked country cannot absorb a 4 million-strong manpower within the

country, on the other it is now been perceived as a security threat to both India and Nepal owing to the free cross border movement of all sorts of people, including terrorists, smugglers and traffickers in drugs and women.

The open border has often been misused by forces inimical to security interests of the two countries and the concerns raised over this issue has every now and then met with mixed responses from both sides of the border at both official and local level. Many concerned authorities and people, in general, have raised their voices for regulating the border or rather closing it. The extent of illegal activities across the border, to be discussed at length later in the study, ranges from arms and drugs trade to trafficking of women and children. It also includes the Maoist nexus of the two countries which is really emerging as the biggest threat to the internal security of the country. However, they have their political bases in both the countries but their real agenda is not hidden from anyone anymore. The madrasa culture spreading around the border region, more so on the Nepalese side, has also emerged as a grave security threat to both the countries, and India especially. The number of madrasas is increasing day by day and they are really surrounding India, which has been in the interest of Pakistan with Pakistan taking care of it and promoting it. However, the Nepalese authorities have time and again assured India of no use of Nepalese soil for anti-India activities but it seems that they are themselves facing a crisis in government making and thus unable to fulfilling the assurances. Overall, it is quite clear that India is facing real threat from these illegal channels and that is the reason why people sitting in the corridors of decision making are very much concerned about the border management plan.

From 2001, as the internal armed conflict in Nepal intensified, the flow of migrants from Nepal to India has increased. According to the Asian Centre for Human Rights, from 1996, an estimated 350,000 to 400,000 Nepalis have been internally displaced from their villages, many of whom make their way into India. One record in late December 2004, puts the figure at 200 Nepalis crossing the border every hour. Had the displaced people no access to India, the IDP camps may have brought attention to the prevailing humanitarian crises in Nepal (Bhattarai 2007).

No less serious is the problem of Nepali citizenship to the people of Indian origin in Terai. At times, the issues related to the open border are raised in order to score political gains against each other. There is an estimated strength of about four million persons of recent Indian origin in Nepal but many of them have lived long enough to obtain or aspire for Nepali citizenship, as indeed many of the Nepali economic migrants in India have succeeded in doing so (Ghosh 1995:16-17).

Border Disputes

It is very difficult to identify the border if one ignores the boundary demarcation and pillars. The geographical terrain is also such that the changing courses of rivers in the Terai region running across the boundary dislocate the marked demarcations of border pillars further leading to estranged relationship between the two countries. Thus the issue of border pillars comes up every now and then.

Frederick Gaige has put forward four types of border-related problems between India and Nepal, all of which have been cropping up for at least several hundred years. The first of these concerns border demarcation. The second involves outlaws and political terrorists who operate either in the Terai of Nepal or in India and use the territory on the other side of the border as sanctuary. Smuggling from Nepal into India and vice versa constitutes the third problem. The fourth is the migration of settlers from one country to the other (Gaige 1975:47). The fourth kind of border problem, as mentioned above, which is related to migration of settlers from one country to the other, further worsens the problem through a home vs. host debate on refugees, thereby posing a question over demographic displacement.

In the 1960s, the Susta border dispute came into prominence. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoists) raised the issue of displacement of border pillars in the Tanakpur dam area along with the Tanakpur barrage controversy. Nepal had also raised the Kalapani issue by claiming that the Kalapani area belonged to it. Nepal raised its claims on Kalapani when the UML government was in power. This region forms a narrow neck along the Mahakali River in Pithoragarh and Dharchula districts of India and Nepal respectively. It is a tri-junction of India, Nepal and Tibet and Indian paramilitary forces have been guarding this region since the Chinese attack in 1962. The issue remains to be settled and Nepal has often charged India with the unilateral replacement of border pillars (Upreti 2009:130).

However, border pillars have been erected at various points and the boundary demarcation scheme has, once again, been rejuvenated. According to official estimates, ninety eight per cent of this border has been demarcated and 182 border maps prepared. On that basis, 8,553 border pillars have been erected (Shrestha 2010). And ultimately, very recently, the open border was transformed into regulated system in one of the land-routes at Nepalgunj-Rupaidiya border crossing point from November 1, 2005. Both the governments have introduced regulated border management system to this point, as ID card system has been made compulsory (Shrestha 2006a).

Question of Demographic Displacement

The open border threatens the stability and harmony of a country. This has assumed significance in the context of an assumption that "....ethno-demographic trends appear to be

more alarming than the perceptible threats of conventional nature. Moreover, socio-economic discrepancies might be exploited by the collusion of dissatisfied, alienated people and external forces" (Baral 1990:102-03). The alleged discrimination against the Indian migrants can open up such conflicts. The activities of these dissatisfied groups can include "aid to the militants, mobilisation of public opinion in the country of their adoption...depending on their organisation, skill and motivation they do provide a clout to ethnic separatism..." (Rajbahak 1992:100).

The open border has resulted in a demographic threat to a small country like Nepal. Nepal's perception of threat is not only from the Indian immigrants residing inside the country but the presence of a larger ethnic community just across the border. Given the high population density of Nepal's bordering Indian states, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, whose population movement across the border is an integral part of the changing demographic structure of Nepal, crises of governance may well multiply.

Population in its wider ramification involves different aspects of security: food, water, crime, religious conflict and similar issues concerning mutual security. A sizeable section of the Nepali press and opinion has been active in highlighting the danger of India's "demographic invasion of Nepal" (Ghosh 1989:121). The unrestricted movement of population has stood against the interests of Nepal. With the number of Indians moving into Nepal increasing, Nepal feels unsafe in allowing this unrestricted immigration into the country owing to its size, population and the economy. Moreover, the socio-economic and political dynamics create trends which, in the long run, can stir the intertwined societies of both the countries. It is due to the fact that India and Nepal share a sympathetic population across the border and any such measures which undermine or repress the public and their opinions can cause serious spill over effects causing severe unrest in the border region.

Moreover, the security implications of the refugees in the host country are far reaching and multi-dimensional. These implications are evident both in relation to internal as well as external security. Regarding internal security, the presence of thousands, rather hundreds of thousands and even millions of refugees create conditions for destabilisation and disruption of political, economic and social systems in the host country. The extent and intensity of this internal threat naturally depend upon the number of refugees and their demands and expectations on the one hand and the size, nature and capabilities of the host state on the other (Baral and Muni 1996:25).

Destabilising impacts of refugees is also felt in the host country as a result of tension and conflict between the refugees and the local people. In recent years, due to the intensification of the Maoist movement and the consequent threats to their livelihood and security, the number of Nepalese migrating to India has increased. India has been the only destination of these refugees, particularly from the Limbuwan region because of socio-cultural

identities of Rais, Limbus, Magars and Gurungs across the border in India where there is concentration of Indian Nepalis in North Bengal and Sikkim (Baral and Muni 1996:229). The net effect of such cases is the clamour for a 'homeland', as was witnessed in the hill district of Darjeeling adjoining the India-Nepal border. There are many Nepalese migrants who have settled permanently in India and have enrolled themselves in the voters list. These migrants are the holders of dual citizenship, one of the country of origin and another of the adopted country, which is illegal. It also contradicts the treaty of Peace and Friendship which allows the movement of Nepalese in India and gives favourable treatment without any biases or prejudices but does not grant citizenship (Thapliyal 1999:783).

From the Nepalese side, it has been alleged that citizens of other countries enter Nepal to avail the opportunities under the guise of Indians. Since the border is open it becomes difficult to check the flow of movement of population and to ascertain whether they are from India or some other South Asian country. Similarly, the open border has helped the Nepalese to move and reside not only in India but also in Bhutan from India which has brought its own problems associated with the movement of population like demographic and economic displacement of the locals (Thapliyal 1997:1312-13).

Misuse of the Open Border and Threat Perceptions

The geographical proximity and concentration of migrants within the territorial confines proximate to the border of their native country, intensifies their potential for demand, articulation and aggregation. In this context, "it is virtually impossible to stop the streams of ideas, information, weapons and money moving through the trans-state networks....and these networks have become more sophisticated as a result of recent development in communication and transportation" (Smith 1986:39).

The open border between India and Nepal has been misutilised for smuggling across the border. Smuggling has been undertaken with little risk, and it has been practiced by many people living along the border. Any item that is less expensive on one side of the border is likely to turn up for sale on the other side without having followed established customs channels (Gaige 1975:50). The difference in tariff rates that prevail between the two countries leads to smuggling of items from Nepal to India like ganja, hashish, different types of herbs, vegetable ghee, etc. Conversely, urea, sugar, industrial explosives, gutkha, etc. are being smuggled from India into Nepal (Directorate of Revenue Intelligence 2005-06).

The provision of free movement of people between India and Nepal has been misutilised by people from other countries also. The racial affinity between the people of South Asia makes it difficult to distinguish and identify them from the people from India and Nepal. It is said that illegal migrants from Bangladesh enter Nepal as Indians. Nearly 2.6 percent of the total population of the Terai region of Nepal consists of Bangladeshis (Thapliyal 1999:785).

The provision of free movement of people between the two countries has also been misused by countries inimical to India's security interests for their advantage. Pakistan has been continuing its operations against India through Nepal because of the strict vigilance by the Indian security forces along the Pakistan border. Financial support and transit facilities have been provided by Pakistan to the Kashmiri militants in Kathmandu. Apart from insurgents, many hard-core criminals pursued by Indian security forces escape into Nepal through the open border. There they set up smuggling gangs and criminal syndicates and carry out smuggling of gold, drugs, fake currency, arms, and explosives (MHA 1999-2000).

In principle, both Nepal and India have positively agreed to control such illegal activities along the border, but there is lack of an effective and practical approach. The multiplicity of routes along the border, the existence of ready markets on both sides, and the relatively thin presence of law enforcement agencies on the ground makes the task of countering these illegal activities difficult (Directorate of Revenue Intelligence 2005-06).

Arms and Drugs Trade

Smuggling of consumer goods, sold in Kathmandu shops to Indian tourists and pilgrims, from Nepal to India through misuse of trade points takes place because of the differential tariff rates that prevail in the two countries. This problem is compounded by Nepal's decision to import these goods far in excess of its requirements. A portion of these goods get diverted to Indian consumption centres even before entering Nepal. The focal point of the illegal trade in arms and drugs is due to the open border between India and Nepal.

International terrorists have misused Nepal's land as a transit point, because of the open border, for arms trafficking. Nepal can become a probable international transit point for drug trafficking because of its geographical location between the Golden triangle in south-east Asia and the Golden crescent in Central Asia, and thus smuggling of arms gets related with the smuggling of narcotics (Shrestha 2006b:63). The India-Nepal border has become an easy route for the smuggling of arms and ammunition as well. Arms ranging from sophisticated AK47s and 56s to country-made weapons are smuggled across the border through the districts of Pilibhit, Lakhimpur Kheri, and Bahraich. Insurgencies in the two countries and the emergence of criminal gangs, especially in the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, create demand for these weapons. Various Indian insurgent groups, Maoists, various criminal syndicates, and individual couriers are actively involved in such arms smuggling. Thus, with the border being open, the drugs, money and arms nexus poses a serious threat to India and her security concerns.

Madrasa Culture and ISI Nexus

According to a March 27, 2006, report, there are around 1,900 madrasas (seminaries) on both sides of the India-Nepal border, including 800 on the Nepali side. Muslims constitute

just 4.2 per cent of Nepal's total population, of which 96.7 per cent is confined to the Terai region bordering India, constituting some 7.32 per cent of the total population of the Terai (Singh 2006). The Muslim population of Nepal are contiguous to the Indian border where three districts of Uttar Pradesh, Bahraich, Gonda and Sidharthnagar are vulnerable to Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) activities. To quote Amar Zutshi, the ex-Indian Army head:

With this background in view, an open border with Nepal exposes India to infiltration of spices, sabotages and illicit weapons and smuggling. One serious establishing factor and source of potential conflict is the ingress of an estimated 5 lakh Nepali every year in search of work. More than half of them settle down in India permanently........ (Pant 2000:39-40)

The impact of such a permeable border has been felt on both sides of the border. The ISI has used the Raxaul sub-division in Bihar as a recruiting ground for terrorists, with Birgunj (the second largest city of Nepal), allegedly, being the nerve centre of such activities. Over the years Birgunj has emerged as a major hub for the distribution of counterfeit currency, narcotics, explosives and arms into different parts of India through Bihar. In addition to the border districts of North Bihar, the Kishanganj area adjacent to West Bengal has also reported significant ISI movement. In July 2006, the Intelligence Bureau Director, E.S.L. Narshimhan, visited Raxaul to take stock of reports of growing activities of militants and smugglers along the border, allegedly patronised by the ISI. Further, agencies indicated that at least 3,000 persons residing on the India-Nepal border, particularly in Sikrahna and Raxaul, had been enjoying dual citizenship by registering themselves in both India's and Nepal's voters' list (Singh 2006).

Counterfeiting of Currency

The large amount of aid coming to the Terai region of Nepal from Islamic countries like Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Bangladesh has promoted the extremist activities which are aggravating the situation and the security problems for India. In the past few years, there have been reports alleging the ISI's involvement in pumping fake currency notes into India to destabilize its economy. Arrests of persons involved have provided clues into how many Nepal-based criminal syndicates are used by the ISI to smuggle in fake currency through the open India-Nepal border (The Indian Express 1999; India Today 2000). In direct confirmation of the Pakistani role in the circulation of fake currency through Nepal, a Pakistan Embassy official, Siraj Ahmed Siraj, was detained by the Nepalese Police at Kathmandu, and counterfeit currency amounting to INR 47,000 and USD 9200 was recovered from him (Singh 2006).

Law enforcement officials in Nepal and India admit that the long border is porous and security infrastructure weak and inadequate. Taking advantage of political uncertainty in Kathmandu Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence has set up a large and resourceful network of agents from Kathmandu to Birgunj and all along the border to push hundreds of crores of

counterfeit Indian currency from Nepal to India with their objective being to funding terror and sabotaging the Indian economy (Shashikumar 2009).

Women Trafficking

Trafficking in women and children is yet another dimension, with quite a sizeable section of Nepali women in India's brothels, especially in Mumbai, Delhi and Kolkata. The flesh trade is spreading fast in other towns, resulting in the proliferation of HIV-positive cases and in the Nepal government's reluctance to take such women back into the country. According to some estimates, approximately 200,000 Nepali women are in Indian brothels and nearly 7,000 Nepali girls are sold in India every year. This trafficking takes place especially via the border districts of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) estimates that between one and two hundred thousand Nepalese women and girls, roughly a quarter of whom are less than eighteen years old, are held against their will in Indian brothels (UNFPA 2006). A little over half of all girl sex workers in India are from Nepal and Bangladesh (ADB 2003). A voluntary group has mapped around 1,268 unmanned routes along the India-Nepal border which facilitate human trafficking (The Hindustan Times 2008). The most commonly identified push factor driving the trafficking process is poverty, lack of human and social capital, gender discrimination, vulnerability, and social exclusion. Radhika Coomaraswamy says: "Brothels of India hold between 100,000 and 160,000 Nepalese women and girls, 35 per cent being taken on the false pretext of marriage or a good job" (Sangroula 2006:73).

The Maoists and Open Border

The Maoist insurgency in Nepal has added new dimensions to the security risks as the insurgents began taking advantage of the open border. The security implications of the Maoist problem caused India to express its concern over the situation in Nepal. India perceives great threat from domestic turbulence in Nepal and with the border being opened, it cannot remain unaffected. The Maoists have also frequently used the Indian territory for shelter purposes and for meetings and consultations and for getting medical treatment for their combatants. The picture of large-scale Nepali migration to the bordering Indian districts in Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh in the wake of insurgency in Nepal is also quite clear. Further, the links between the Nepali Maoists and the revolutionary groups in India such as the Naxalites, People's War Group, etc., are well known. Needless to say that the open border made this interaction easier and frequent (Upreti 2009:129-30).

It may also be added here that in the bordering areas of Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh, terrorist activities increased during the period of the Maoist insurgency in Nepal. Thus, the open border becomes a security risk for both countries due to its porosity. The annual report of Indian Defence Ministry for 2003-04 states that "the growing influence and grip of the Maoists throughout the country, particularly the terai areas bordering India and their links with Indian

left extremist outfits are a cause of serious concern" (Ministry of Defence 2003-04; The Hindu 2004).

Former Indian ambassador to Nepal K.V. Rajan has candidly depicted the scenario and adds regarding the reaction of the Indian Government on the Maoist insurgency, albeit self-critically:

India, too, must accept its share of responsibility- it has been a passive spectator for far too long, despite the obvious dangers it poses to its own security. There is no excuse for the fact that despite frequent communications from the Nepalese side, Maoist leaders for the past few years have been moving freely across the border, holding meetings with senior Nepalese politicians on Indian soil, without Indian agencies apparently knowing about it. To plead that it is difficult to keep track of such activity because of an open border, is to give credibility to the same argument made by Nepal in defence of its inability to prevent cross-border traffic of criminals and terrorists (The Kathmandu Post 2010).

The worry has been augmented by the formation of Indo-Nepal Border Regional Committee (INBRC) between organisations of CPN-M and Indian Maoists recently. This committee coordinates all the Maoist activities along the India-Nepal border (Shrestha 2006c:186).

The Security Challenges

The multiplicity of routes along the border, the ease with which the border can be crossed, the existence of ready markets on both sides, and the relatively thin presence of law enforcement agencies on the ground make the task of countering the illegal activities all along the border even more difficult. The illegal activities across the India-Nepal border have, thus, posed several questions before the two countries. These illegal and inhuman activities have put up various challenges before the governments of both the countries and they are looking towards solving the issues at the earliest. They are, in fact, coming together more often these days for evolving measures that may be suitable and justified for meeting the security challenges posed by the illegal movement of goods and people across the border. With so much of illegal activities being carried out all along the border and the misuse of the open border by forces inimical to India's security concerns, India will really have to think over keeping its border open with Nepal. Many factions have even started questioning the open border arrangement with a demand to close it.

However, it should not be forgotten that closing the border is the least advantageous option for both the countries keeping in mind the special relationship they have shared and treasured in the past. Also border controls between India and Nepal have been traditionally soft-pedalled, ostensibly in the interests of the special relationship, thereby presenting a barely

policed border which lies open, unfenced and inadequately guarded on either side. India cannot afford to further neglect this border and this is the line from where stems the need of an efficient border management. A well regulated border with an efficient border management strategy will help India and Nepal to create an atmosphere where distrust will give way to mutual understanding in harnessing the opportunities for becoming partners in progress.

Conclusion

India and Nepal share close relations on every front owing, perhaps, to the open border arrangement between them which is considered a legacy for the people and by the people on both sides of the border. The open border is very much reflective of socio-cultural continuity, apart from being a political reality. In spite of all the inconveniences and hardships, people in the border regions on both sides have continued living a life of closely knit interdependence which itself emerges out of the shared geography, history, social traditions, religious beliefs, language and economic pursuits. In the wake of globalisation, however, this open border arrangement has often been questioned and from the national security perspectives, the existing system is increasingly being viewed as a constraint towards a peaceful mutual coexistence. It is increasingly being seen as the root cause behind all the border disputes and further enhancement of the threat of demographic displacement. It has also been regarded as a primal factor in aggravating activities inimical to the interests of the people across the border and to the overall security of both the countries.

The presence of criminals and criminal activities across the open border and its misuse by anti-social and anti-national elements all along the border are creating various threat perceptions inimical to the interests of both the countries. In this very context, voices are being raised from different factions across the border with different attitude towards the open border scenario between India and Nepal. It has, of late, been realised that a more regulated border arrangement keeping the illegal activities at bay is the need of the hour. What seems more tenable is the regulation of the border in such a way as to make transition people friendly with a substantial increase in the number of official border crossing points. What is also needed in these circumstances is the proper development of border regions making them vibrant, and thereby accelerating the process of economic development. It also needs a better and congenial atmosphere and when created it will certainly be helpful in achieving a better respect for mutual security. The feeling of insecurity that both the countries are grappled with can itself be utilised as a factor towards closer coordination and mutual cooperation in security related matters of the two countries.

Notes

1.   Myron Weiner terms the movement of Nepalese to India as a movement working in favour of Nepal in the form of a safety valve for the demographic growth of Nepal.

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An Analysis of India's Exports Competitiveness

Kulwinder Singh and Surinder Kumar Singla

Abstract

The era of globalisation has dramatically changed the world's trading patterns, as well as the measures employed by countries to survive in the world where trade is being liberalized. More recently, competitiveness of exports has attracted a lot of attention, because of the increasing volume of world trade. Therefore, the focus of this paper is to explore India's export competitiveness during the period from 1991 to 2006. India's export competitiveness is examined at three levels (i) Relative Prices and Global Market Share (ii) Absolute prices and Global Market Share (iii) Revealed Comparative Analysis (RCA), Revealed Symmetric Comparative Analysis (RSCA) and Net Trade RCA indices. Analysis of relative prices and global market share of India's overall and selected exports reveal increasing price competitiveness of India's exports in the global export market during the period of study. The RCA and RSCA indices reveal comparative advantage in a majority of selected commodities. The Net Trade RCA index depicts the country's specialisation in a broad range of its exports. India's export policy reforms incorporated with the liberalisation of trade and finance in the global economy proved quite beneficial for strengthening the export competitiveness during the period under study. In the recent open economic environment, as it is not possible to control the exchange rate fluctuations, there is a need to make export promotion measures very selective, and commodity specific, as without export promotion measures, it would be difficult to sustain export competitiveness.

Keywords: Competitiveness, Export Promotion, Globalisation, Market Share, RCA.

Introduction

The export performance of a country depends upon many factors such as changes in world trade, commodity composition of exports, market distribution of exports, competitiveness of exports, etc. (Nayyar 1976). Competitiveness of exports is a multidimensional phenomenon, embracing the impact of many factors. Some of these factors highlighted by many studies are prices of exports, prices of competitor's exports (relative prices), domestic resources endowment, production structure, non-price factors, economic

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policies, changes in exchange rate, development stage, development strategy, and the overall economic environment. The competitiveness of exports depends upon a large number of factors that ranged from price factors to non-price factors and from domestic to external conditions (Mcgeehan 1968; Sharma 1992). The competitiveness of exports in general is the outcome of domestic resource endowment, production, structure, development stage, development strategy, and other economic policies. The era of globalisation has dramatically changed the world's trading patterns, as well as the measures employed by countries to survive in a world where trade is being liberalized. More recently, competitiveness of exports has attracted a lot of attention, because of the increasing volume of world trade. The concept of competitiveness covers a broad spectrum, from production costs to exchange rates, but perhaps can be comprehensively defined as: "The degree to which a country can, under free and fair market conditions, produce goods and services which meet the test of international markets, while simultaneously maintaining and expanding the real incomes of its people over the long term" (Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development 2002) (Emphasis added). Competitiveness is essential for promoting economic development and survival in this globalised world. With the gradual reduction in trade barriers led by the process of globalization, more emphasis is now being placed on promoting export competitiveness (Prasad 2004).

Further, establishment of World Trade Organisation (WTO) and increasing popularity of Regional Trading Agreements (RTAs) have provided the platform for the free movement of goods and services among countries based on the free trade doctrine. Further, it has transformed the world into a global village and articulated a newer world economic order. The period since 1990 is characterized by a trade optimism wave all around the globe as world exports grew on an average of more than 7 per cent per annum. Since 1991, the trade regime in India has experienced a paramount shift from a merely inward-oriented import substitution to outward-oriented export promotion. India has also witnessed a rapid increase in export earnings during this period. During this period, India's export performance was clearly better than that of the earlier decades (since 1950-90). India's export performance during 1991-2006 constituted a distinct improvement as exports registered a growth of more than 12 per cent per annum in terms of value. Further, India's share in world exports consistently and continuously grew from about 0.50 per cent in 1991 to 1.16 per cent in 2006 (Singh 2011). This spectacular growth performance has attracted the attention of many academicians for analyzing its various facets such as diversification, instability, elasticity, competitiveness etc. Moreover, for developing economies like India, exports play an important role in securing the much needed foreign exchange to meet international payments, and simultaneously, promote economic growth and development. Since exports are a primary source of foreign exchange for India, its long-term survival is largely depended upon its ability to compete with exports of similar products from

other countries in the international export market. Thus, the focus of this paper is to explore India's export competitiveness during the period from 1991 to 2006.

Measuring Export Competitiveness: The Relative Prices and Global Market Share (Gms)

Competitiveness can be measured by both the absolute and relative prices of exports. However, absolute price is a microeconomic concept. The prices of exports are determined in part by the costs and strategies of individual businesses, for which microeconomic factors are crucial. But macroeconomic factors such as exchange rate, which an individual firm does not control, also affect a firm's price competitiveness. Moreover, there is more than one exporter in any market competing with each other for selling similar products. Therefore, competitiveness of exports depends upon relative prices rather than absolute prices. Relative prices and market shares are a better and handy way to measure competitiveness. The relative prices of a country's products to competing foreign products is just the ratio of the country's price to the foreign price; its components are the relative costs, the relative mark, the exchange rate of the foreign currency to US dollars.

$$RP_{it}^{A} = \frac{P_{it}^{A}}{P_{it}^{c}}$$

RP_{it}^{A} = Relative Prices of country A's commodity i

P_{it}^{A} = Absolute price of country A's commodity i

P_{it}^{c} = Absolute price of Competitor's commodity i

The share of global trade implicitly incorporates both price competitiveness and differentials in GDP. For example, suppose relative prices remain unchanged, but a country has a strong domestic demand during the period when rest of the world is in recession. That country would tend to absorb a greater share of world imports than if the rest of the world was growing strongly. Conversely, if relative prices of exports compared to their competitor's prices were falling, a country would tend to capture a greater share of global export market and vice versa. On the other hand, increasing global share even instead of increasing relative prices is an indicator of non-price competitiveness. Thus, in case of exports, global market share incorporates price competitiveness of exports in itself. Further, increasing global share even instead of increasing relative prices is an indicator of non-price competitiveness.

$$GMS_{it}^{A} = \frac{X_{it}^{A}}{X_{it}^{w}}$$

GMS_{it}^{A} = Global Market Share of country A of commodity i

X_{it}^A = Value of country A's export of commodity i

X_{it}^W = Value of world exports of commodity i

Measuring Export Competitiveness: RCA, RSCA and Net Trade RCA Index

The concept of comparative advantage is widely used in economic literature to evaluate the patterns of trade and specialisation of countries. However, the concept in its true sense is difficult to measure due to the lack of comprehensive data on factor costs. Therefore, attempts have been made to measure comparative advantage in an indirect way. The most widely accepted indirect approach is the RCA index, which reveals the comparative advantage of a nation from its past trade data. Balassa (1965) assumed that in the absence of comprehensive data on factor costs, export performance could be used to reveal the comparative advantage of individual countries. More specifically, the pattern of commodity exports reflects relative costs as well as differences in non-price factors that can be expected to determine the structure of exports. However, Balassa (1965) restricted his analysis to manufactured goods only, as distortions in primary products, such as subsidies, quotas and special arrangements would not reflect the real comparative advantage. Thus, using only export data, the RCA index (also known as the Balassa Index) is defined as:

$$RCA_{it}^A = \frac{X_{it}^A / X_t^A}{X_{it}^W / X_t^W}$$

Where

RCA_{it}^A = Country A's Revealed Comparative Advantage Index of commodity i

X_{it}^A = Country A's export of product i

X_t^A = Total exports of country A

X_{it}^W = World exports of product i

X_t^W = Total world exports

The index reveals a comparative advantage (disadvantage) in the export of commodity i by country A if the index's value is greater (less) than one, with respect to the world or a set of reference countries. Balassa (1965) applied the RCA index, for the first time, to evaluate the RCA of the US, Canada, the European Common Market, the U.K, Sweden, and Japan.

However, one major problem with the RCA index is that large differences in country sizes can cause problems when applying the RCA across countries (Yeats 1985 and Laursen 1998). For instance, if exports of a commodity form a very large share of total national exports, but forms a very small component of total world exports, extremely high indictor values will be recorded (Mlangeni 2000). This upward-amplified RCA index makes cross-country comparison difficult. In addition, Yeats (1985) also outlined that voluntary export restraints, such as general versus the most-favoured-nations tariffs on the same item, and national exports incentives (like subsidies) that are applied to a wide range of agricultural and manufactured products in most countries around the world, result in biased RCA values. Nevertheless, to overcome the problem of upward-biased RCA index values, Laursen (1998) adjusts the RCA index to make it symmetric, such that the adjusted index values are between –1 and +1. Laursen (1998) identifies this index as the RSCA, which is algebraically defined as:

$$RSCA_{it}^{A} = \frac{RCA_{it}^{A} - 1}{RCA_{it}^{A} + 1}$$

$RSCA_{it}^{A}$ = Country A's Revealed Symmetric Comparative Advantage Index of commodity i

RCA_{it}^{A} = Country A's Revealed Comparative Advantage Index of commodity i

A country has a comparative advantage in the product group i if its share in India's total exports is higher than its share in the total world exports. Positive (negative) values of RSCA show a competitive advantage (disadvantage) in exporting product i. RCA and RCSA index can also be extended to examine whether a particular country has comparative advantage in exporting to a specific market.

Moreover, Balassa (1965) stated that the use of export-import ratios would account for the imported intermediate goods used for production of export commodities, and thus reveal the real comparative advantage of a nation. Mlangeni, (2000) used the net trade to total trade ratio to evaluate a country's trade performance, which accounts for the possibility of simultaneously exporting and importing within a particular product category. This ratio is represented as following:

$$Net\ Trade\ RCA_{it}^{A} = \frac{X_{it}^{A} - M_{it}^{A}}{X_{it}^{A} + M_{it}^{A}}$$

Where:

X_{it}^{A} = Country *A's* exports of product *i*

M_{it}^{A} = Country *A's* imports of product *i*

This ratio also ranges from –1 to +1. The values indicate comparative disadvantage when it is between –1 and 0. On the other hand, when the value is between 0 and +1, it illustrates a comparative advantage. More specifically, this index measures the degree of specialisation of a country in exporting a particular product. Although the RCA results are subject to caveats, it is a useful indicator in measuring competitiveness, especially when used with other related indices (particularly, the RCSA and Net Trade RCA) to overcome some of the limitations of the RCA index.

Data and Methodology

The competitiveness of India's exports, during 1991-2006, has been examined at three levels: (i) Relative Prices and Market Share of Overall Exports (ii) Absolute Prices and Market Share of Selected Exports and (iii) RCA Index; RSCA Index and Net Trade RCA index of thirty selected exports. Competitiveness of India's thirty selected export commodities has been examined in the paper. India's overall export competitiveness, relative to a set of selected twenty-five countries, has been examined by using relative prices of exports and Global Market Share. Moreover, RCA and RCA-related indices are used to assess international export competitiveness of India's exports. The selected are: fish (fresh and simply preserved) (SITC-031); rice (SITC-042); fruits (fresh and nuts excluding oil nuts) (SITC-051); tea and mate (SITC-074); feed-stuff for animals excluding unmilled feed-stuff (SITC-081); iron ore and concentrates (SITC-281); petroleum products (SITC-332); organic chemicals (SITC-512); synthetic organic dyestuffs, natural indigo and lakes (SITC-531); medicinal and pharmaceutical products (SITC-541); plastic materials, regenerated cellulose and resins (SITC-581); chemical materials and products (SITC-599); leather (SITC-611); articles of rubber (SITC-629); textile yarn and thread (SITC-651); cotton fabrics (woven) (SITC-652); textile fabrics (woven) (SITC-653); made-up articles, wholly or chiefly of textile material (SITC-656); floor coverings, tapestries, etc. (SITC-657); lime, cement and fabric building materials (SITC-661); pearls and precious and semi-precious stones (SITC-667); ingots and other primary forms of iron and steel (SITC-672); universals plates and sheets of iron or steel (SITC-674); copper (SITC-682); machinery and appliances non electrical parts (SITC-719); electric power machinery and switchgear (SITC-722) ; road motor vehicles (SITC-732); clothing (except fur clothing) (SITC-841); footwear (SITC-851); and jewellery (gold, silver, platinum jewellery ex watchcases and imitation jewellery) (SITC-897). Selected commodities constitute more than 85 per cent share of India's exports during the concerned period.

To highlight India's export competitiveness in the global export market, the RSCA of India's selected exports items is compared with that of 25 countries. The selected countries are Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Canada, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Thailand, U.A.E, U.K, and U.S.A. The selected countries with which the comparison has been made constitute more than 90 per cent share of almost all of the respective

selected commodities in world exports. Data related to value and quantity of exports, export unit value index has been taken from Comtrade-WITS (Commodity Trade Statistics Database-World Integrated Trading System) of United Nations (U.N) and International Financial Statistics, International Monetary Fund (I.M.F).

India's Export Competitiveness: Results and Discussions

Table 1 exhibits India's relative export prices and global market share during the period 1991-2006. India's export price value index has decreased from 89.91 in 1991 to 70.49 in 2002 and then increased to 105.26 in 2006. On the other hand, world export unit value index has increased from 91.11 in 1991 to 97.59 in 1996 and then declined to 79.66 in 2002 and again rose to 104.47 in 2007. Thus, India's relative price index has been consistently declining since 1991. It has declined from 98.68 in 1991 to 93.45 in 2004. India's export prices, as shown by the trends in unit value index of India and the world, have declined more sharply than that of the world export prices and have also remained well below the world export prices as highlighted by relative export price index having value less than 100 during whole of the period except 2006. Therefore, it is held that India's relative export prices have been declining during the concerned period. This decline in India's absolute and relative export prices has helped to raise India's global market share consistently to 1.18 per cent in 2006 from 0.57 in 1991. It has generated the expectation to achieve more than 2 per cent share of the world export market, which the country had at the time of independence, i.e. during 1950s. Hence, measures of competitiveness i.e. demand-adjusted relative prices and global market share, yield a clear picture of India's increasing export competitiveness in the global export market. Declining demand-adjusted relative prices of India's exports since 1991 are rather remarkable given the development of new suppliers worldwide and the depreciation of the rupee since the initiation of economic reforms in the economy. Hence, in the face of global competition for markets, Indian exporters have become highly productive and acutely price conscious, which highlights the increasing competitiveness of India's exports during the post-reform and post-WTO period.

Table 2 exhibits India's relative export prices vis-à-vis export prices of the selected developed and developing countries. India's export prices have declined relatively to all of the selected developed countries except France during 1991-2006. Even relatively to France, India's export prices have decreased up to 1997 and since then they have realized an upward trend up to 2006. India's export prices have been declining relatively to the export prices of Brazil, Indonesia, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, and Thailand during whole study period. Relatively to Hong Kong, India's exports prices have declined up to 2002 and since then have been increasing. On the other hand, India's export prices are increasing relatively to South Korea and Singapore over the period under study. In a nutshell, India's export prices have been decreasing relatively to 17 countries out of the selected 20 countries which is an indicator of increasing price competitiveness of India's exports during post-reform period.

Table 3 presents a comprehensive picture of competitiveness of India's selected thirty export items through absolute values (unit values) and global market shares, RCA, RSCA and Net Trade RCA index during the period 1991-2006. Results show that out of thirty commodities, fourteen commodities have experienced a decline in their unit values. Only two commodities, iron ore and concentrates (SITC-281) and lime, cement and fabric building materials (SITC-661) have realized constant unit values. All the remaining commodities have realized an increase in their unit values. On other hand, all of the commodities except three commodities namely tea and mate (SITC-074), medicinal and pharmaceutical products (SITC-541), and cotton fabrics (SITC-652) have registered an increase in their respective share in the world export market over the period under study. Thus, it is held that commodities namely fish (SITC-031), rice (SITC-042), fruits (SITC-051), organic chemicals (SITC-512), synthetic organic dyestuffs, natural indigo and lakes (SITC-531), plastic materials, regenerated cellulose and resins (SITC-581), chemical materials and products (SITC-599), articles of rubber (SITC-629), textile yarn and thread (SITC-651), floor coverings, tapestries, etc. (SITC-657), ingots and other primary forms of iron and steel (SITC-672), machinery and appliances non-electrical parts (SITC-719) and footwear (SITC-851) registered a decline in their unit values and rise in their market shares over the period from 1991 to 2006. This highlights their price competitiveness in the global export market. On the other hand, commodities such as feed-stuff for animals (SITC-081), petroleum products (SITC-332), leather (SITC-611), textile fabrics (woven) (SITC-653), made-up articles, wholly or chiefly of textile material (SITC-656), universals plates and sheets of iron or steel (SITC-674), copper (SITC-682), electric power machinery and switchgear (SITC-722), road motor vehicles (SITC-732) and clothing (SITC-841) registered an increase in both their unit values and market shares over the same period and thus highlight non-price competitiveness as market shares have not declined even due to increase in unit values. Only two commodities i.e. iron ore and concentrates (SITC-281) and lime, cement and fabric building materials (SITC-661) realized constant unit values and increasing market share and thus highlight some sort of price and non-price competitiveness. Commodities namely medicinal and pharmaceutical products (SITC-541) and cotton fabrics (SITC-652) realized increasing unit values and decreasing market shares and proved to be non-competitive in global export market. Only one commodity tea and mate (SITC-074) registered decline in both its unit value and market share which highlights that these exports have to face steep price competition from the other countries which are more cost-efficient. In case of jewellery (SITC-897), unit values are not calculated due to non-availability of quantity data, but the market share of this commodity has sharply risen to 12.11 per cent in 2006 from merely 2.16 in 1991. Sharply increasing market share in case of this commodity highlights both price and non-price competitiveness. In a nutshell, out of the selected thirty commodities, twenty-seven have been characterized by price or non-price competitiveness during the period under study.

Table 3 also presents RCA and RSCA index values of India's selected exports on an average during 1991-2006 which help us to identify the commodities in which India has a

comparative advantage on the basis of resource endowment. The values of RCA index reveal that India has a comparative advantage in the product group i if its share in India's total exports is higher than its share in the total world exports. The values of RCA index (more than 1) and RSCA Index (more the 0) highlight India's comparative advantage. Accordingly, India's comparative advantage primarily lies in 24 commodities namely fish (SITC-031), rice (SITC-042), fruits (SITC-051), tea and mate (SITC-074), feed-stuff for animals (SITC-081), iron ore and concentrates (SITC-281), petroleum products (SITC-332), organic chemicals (SITC-512), synthetic organic dyestuffs, natural indigo and lakes (SITC-531), medicinal and pharmaceutical products (SITC-541), chemical materials and products (SITC-599), leather (SITC-611), articles of Rubber (SITC-629), textile yarn and thread (SITC-651), cotton fabrics (woven) (SITC-652), textile fabrics (woven) (SITC-653), made-up articles, wholly or chiefly of textile material (SITC-656), floor coverings, tapestries, etc. (SITC-657), lime, cement and fabric building materials (SITC-661), pearls and precious and semi-precious stones (SITC-667), ingots and other primary forms of iron and steel (SITC-672), universals plates and sheets of iron or steel (SITC-674), clothing (except fur clothing) (SITC-841), footwear (SITC-851) and jewellery (SITC-897). On the other hand, among selected commodities, India's comparative disadvantage primarily lies in six commodities namely plastic materials, regenerated cellulose and resins (SITC-581), chemical materials and products (SITC-599), copper (SITC-682), machinery and appliances non electrical parts (SITC-719), electric power machinery and switchgear (SITC-722), and road motor vehicles (SITC-732). In a similar manner, the markets where India has a comparative advantage have identified. The values of RCA and RSCA indices on an average during 1991-2006 show that India's comparative advantage rests in majority of the selected markets. Among developed countries, India has comparative advantage in Belgium, United Kingdom, and United States of America during 1991-2006. On the other hand, India's has comparative disadvantage in exporting to Canada, France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland. Similarly, in the markets of the selected fourteen developing countries, India has a strong comparative advantage in a majority of the countries except China, South Korea, and Malaysia where it carries a comparative disadvantage during the study period.

However, India's export based and trade based Real Effective Exchange Rate (REER) and Nominal Effective Exchange Rate (NEER) has been appreciating since 1999. Studies also assert that exports have been adversely affected by the appreciation of the REER during post reforms period (Veeramani 2007). But even then, export performance is outstanding and beyond the expectations especially during 2000-06 (Singh, 2011). The analysis in this direction asserts that India's exports' prices are declining both absolutely and relatively to its competitors'. Absolute prices are directly associated with the domestic policy and relative prices with external factors particularly exchange rate fluctuations. The analysis of relative prices of India's exports highlights that REER appreciation is not the phenomena India's exports are confronting with; it is universal to all the exporters particularly India's competitors as they have experienced appreciation of their currencies. It may be the outcome of the international currency crisis due to which dollar has been losing its hegemony in international

finance and trade transactions. Thus, India has experienced by defaults depreciation of its currency due to appreciation of its competitors' currencies which resulted in an outstanding performance of her exports. Moreover, it is clear that positive competitiveness of India's exports is associated with the domestic policy of export promotion measures. Hence, it is held that the effect of domestic support to export sector succeeded in overlapping negative effects of REER appreciation not by itself, but changes in the external factors have also laid significant effect on the export performance. India's export policy reforms incorporated with the liberalisation of trade and finance in the global economy proved quite beneficial for strengthening the export competitiveness during the period under study.

Table 3 also denotes the values of Net Trade RCA index of the selected thirty commodities on an average during the period 1991-2006. The data depict low import intensity in case of majority of the export items as it was found to be positive in case of majority of selected exports except nine commodities namely petroleum products (SITC-332), organic chemicals (SITC-512), plastic materials, regenerated cellulose and resins (SITC-581), chemical materials and products (SITC-599), ingots and other primary forms of iron and steel (SITC-672), universals plates and sheets of iron or steel (SITC-674), copper (SITC-682), machinery and appliances non electrical parts (SITC-719) and electric power machinery and switchgear (SITC-722). However, it was found to be very low (0.16) in case of commodities like pearls and precious and semi-precious stones (SITC-667). Henceforth, low import intensity of the exports clearly depicts a comparative advantage of the majority of India's exports on the basis of domestic resource endowment as they are using low import content in the production of these commodities. Further, it also indicates low intra-industry trade among the respective sectors.

Moving on to cross-country comparison, the value of India's average RSCA index (for selected commodities) from 1991 to 2006 has been compared with similar averages of RSCA indices of selected developing and developed countries. Furthermore, each country's export products are ranked across countries. This illustrates the competitiveness ranking of countries in specific export commodities, one being the most competitive and twenty-six being the least competitive. The ranking of all the selected countries on the basis of RSCA index is presented in table 4. India's ranking amongst the selected countries reveals that India has a comparative advantage in commodities namely feed-stuff for animals (SITC-081), textile yarn and thread (SITC-651), cotton fabrics (woven) (SITC-652), and pearls and precious and semi-precious stones (SITC-667) as it occupies first place among the twenty-six developing and developed countries. In case of commodities such as tea and mate (SITC-074), iron ore and concentrates (SITC-281), synthetic organic dyestuffs, natural indigo and lakes (SITC-531), made-up articles, wholly or chiefly of textile material (SITC-656), floor coverings, tapestries, etc. (SITC-657), lime, cement and fabric building materials (SITC-661) and footwear (SITC-851), India occupies second rank amongst the selected twenty-six countries. India has third rank in case of commodities namely rice (SITC-042), fruits (SITC-051), and leather (SITC-

611); fourth rank in case of commodity fish (SITC-031); fifth in case of medicinal and pharmaceutical products (SITC-541) and clothing (except fur clothing) (SITC-841); sixth in case of organic chemicals (SITC-512), articles of rubber (SITC-629) and footwear (SITC-851); seventh in case of textile fabrics (SITC-653); eighth in case of ingots and other primary forms of iron and steel (SITC-672) and universals plates and sheets of iron or steel (SITC-674); and ninth in case of petroleum products (SITC-332) among the selected twenty-six countries. It is only in case of six commodities such as chemical materials and products (SITC-599), road motor vehicles (SITC-732), plastic materials, regenerated cellulose and resins (SITC-581), copper (SITC-682), machinery and appliances non electrical parts (SITC-719) and electric power machinery and switchgear (SITC-722) that India's has its rank less than ten. Thus, in case of these commodities, India's exports lagged behind other countries. Therefore, in twenty commodities out of selected thirty commodities India occupied a rank of less than or equal to six which is a clear cut indicator of India's comparative advantage in case of the respective commodities amongst the selected countries. Overall, the calculated RSCA indices of India and of selected countries show that India's exports are highly competitive as compared to the exports of other countries in the global export market. The RSCA indices are also useful in indicating the weak and strong sectors, and structural shift in export patterns of an economy. Comparison of India's RSCA indices with other countries shows that most of India's exports are dominated by strong domestic sectors. Moreover, India's RSCA indices have been high not only for the exports of primary products but also for many manufactured exports, indicating change in export patterns. It reveals that India has been able to change its export structure from primary products to manufactured products as they have more than 70 per cent in total export earnings (Singh, 2011). This positive change has not occurred entirely due to export promotion strategy since 1991, but it has the import substitution inward-orientation, which helped a lot for this structural change in commodity composition during the period from 1950 to 1990.

Conclusions and Policy Implications

The results based on relative prices and market shares; and of RCA based indices provide useful insights into India's export competitiveness during the period 1991-2006. Analysis of relative prices and the global market share of India's overall and selected exports reveal an increasing price competitiveness of India's export in the global export market during the period. Decreasing unit values with increasing market shares in case of commodities namely fish (SITC-031), rice (SITC-042), fruits (SITC-051), organic chemicals (SITC-512), synthetic organic dyestuffs, natural indigo and lakes (SITC-531), plastic materials, regenerated cellulose and resins (SITC-581), chemical materials and products (SITC-599), articles of rubber (SITC-629), textile yarn and thread (SITC-651), floor coverings, tapestries, etc. (SITC-657), ingots and other primary forms of iron and steel (SITC-672), machinery and appliances non-electrical parts (SITC-719) and footwear (SITC-851) exhibit their price competitiveness in the global export market during the period under study. On the other hand, increasing unit value with increasing market share in case of commodities such as feed-stuff for animals (SITC-081),

Petroleum products (SITC-332), leather (SITC-611), textile fabrics (SITC-653), made-up articles, wholly or chiefly of textile material (SITC-656), universals plates and sheets of iron or steel (SITC-674), copper (SITC-682), electric power machinery and switchgear (SITC-722), road motor vehicles (SITC-732) and clothing (except fur clothing) (SITC-841) reveal their non-price competitiveness in the global export market during the period under study. The RCA and RSCA indices reveal comparative advantage in a majority of the selected commodities except commodities like plastic materials, regenerated cellulose and resins (SITC-581), chemical materials and products (SITC-599), copper (SITC-682), machinery and appliances non electrical parts (SITC-719), electric power machinery and switchgear (SITC-722), and road motor vehicles (SITC-732). The Net Trade RCA index reveals low import intensity in case of majority of India's exports and also depicts the country's specialisation in a broad range of its exports. The comparison of India's average RSCA index values of the selected commodities with selected developing and developed countries shows that India has a comparative advantage in a broad range of export as it occupies a very high rank in case of majority of the selected commodities. Further, analysis over the sample period shows that India's exports have been able to remove dependence on traditional export commodities as a majority of the commodities are manufactured exports having comparative advantage among the major exporters. A shift towards export promotion outward orientation and changes in the external environment have contributed a lot towards maintaining export competitiveness during the study period.

However, analysis exhibits resource endowment based competitiveness of India's exports, It must be seen in a larger context in an open economic environment as export performance has also accrued to external factors especially the exchange rate fluctuations. Increasing world demand and depreciation of Indian rupee during 1991-1995 and appreciation of the currencies of major exporters during 2001-2006 have benefited India's exports not by making them competitive in global export market but by increasing the real income of the importer countries. The currency devaluation of the crisis-ridden East Asian economies has adversely influenced the Indian exports during the period 1996-2000 by making Indian exports expensive in the world export market and shifted the demand for exports towards the devalued countries. Further, the year 2008-09 was marked by adverse developments in the external sector of the economy, particularly during the second half of the year, reflecting the impact of global financial crisis on emerging market economies including India. Emerging economies were affected in varying degrees depending upon the extent of openness and the dependence on capital flows as the external environment deteriorated on account of slowdown in global demand, reversal of capital flows and reduced access to external sources of finance in the face of adverse global credit market conditions. However, India has reaped several benefits from this open trade regime during 1991-2006, but the recent upturn of global economic crisis since the year 2007 has already hinted that this ongoing unregulated liberalization-led globalisation process could have harmful effects not only on the export performance but also on the economy as whole. In the recent open economic environment, as it is not possible to control the exchange

rate fluctuations, there is need to make export promotion measures very selective, and commodity specific as without export promotion measures it would be difficult for exports to sustain competitiveness in this era of global competition. Notwithstanding the limitations of analysis, the results are quite useful for policymakers, as it identifies the need for sustaining the competitiveness of India's potential export sectors. A broad based effort by deepening the reforms is needed to maintain and enhance (in case of non-competitive commodities) export competitiveness by aligning domestic resource costs (such as labour, raw materials, finance, communication, and transportation costs) to internationally competitive levels vis-à-vis effective management of the financial movements.

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Table 1: Relative Export Prices and Global Market Share of India: 1991-2006

Year	India's Export Unit Value Index	World Export Unit Value Index	India's Relative Export Price Index	India's Global Market Share
1991	89.91	91.11	98.68	0.57
1992	89.98	93.03	96.72	0.61
1993	85.90	88.29	97.30	0.67
1994	87.19	90.92	95.90	0.70
1995	82.52	99.60	82.85	0.70
1996	78.72	97.59	80.66	0.70
1997	89.70	91.19	98.37	0.70
1998	81.93	86.08	95.18	0.67
1999	77.53	84.12	92.16	0.72
2000	76.73	81.93	93.66	0.78
2001	72.38	78.65	92.02	0.80
2002	70.49	79.66	88.48	0.91
2003	79.72	87.83	90.77	0.93
2004	89.27	95.52	93.45	0.98
2005	100.00	100.00	100.00	1.11
2006	105.26	104.47	100.76	1.18

Source: International Financial Statistics, IMF (Various Issues)

Table 2: India's Relative Export Prices vis-à-vis Selected Countries: 1991-2006

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
World	99.70	98.68	96.72	97.30	95.90	82.85	80.66	98.37	95.18	92.16	93.66	92.02	88.48	90.77	93.45	100.00	100.80
Developed Countries																	
Australia	113.90	121.40	126.30	128.50	124.80	108.50	102.30	120.80	124.20	123.30	117.30	112.70	107.80	110.90	105.70	100.00	92.36
Belgium	99.67	100.90	96.45	117.10	113.60	93.03	90.85	113.60	105.40	104.60	109.00	103.50	96.72	94.01	93.96	100.00	100.30
Canada	122.70	121.30	125.20	121.90	122.40	107.80	101.50	118.00	111.60	105.80	102.20	97.59	95.57	97.76	99.34	100.00	98.14
France	80.88	78.32	74.59	77.43	76.60	65.67	66.32	88.15	83.95	85.90	96.89	94.41	90.76	85.70	88.67	100.00	104.80
Germany	86.93	87.30	82.81	87.70	88.18	72.08	73.79	96.56	90.01	90.19	99.52	94.87	90.10	87.39	89.80	100.00	103.50
Italy	123.50	120.80	119.20	130.50	130.90	114.50	99.21	120.90	108.90	105.00	114.20	108.50	99.38	94.08	93.54	100.00	99.24
Japan	97.11	94.66	94.74	94.32	96.66	92.09	82.24	91.95	83.40	85.76	85.60	76.50	75.83	85.97	95.01	100.00	98.98
Netherlands	93.72	94.06	91.11	95.41	94.68	78.25	77.79	99.90	95.43	96.13	103.00	99.79	95.44	91.53	92.71	100.00	101.00
Switzerland	104.40	98.69	98.53	94.10	96.22	93.03	87.86	96.58	87.96	81.92	78.85	73.50	73.28	83.20	90.82	100.00	101.80
U.S.A.	103.60	99.84	99.82	94.76	94.18	84.86	80.51	93.00	87.85	84.19	82.01	78.01	76.73	85.43	92.11	100.00	101.60
U.K.	109.70	105.90	104.40	103.80	101.20	89.73	86.02	98.53	93.56	92.58	96.90	97.18	90.93	92.66	92.54	100.00	101.50
Developing Countries																	
Hong Kong	88.23	83.35	82.36	78.87	78.77	72.30	69.14	80.20	76.13	74.16	73.87	71.39	71.42	81.86	90.62	100.00	104.20
Brazil	147.80	140.90	125.60	121.60	116.80	106.40	98.09	105.60	110.10	110.20	101.70	101.10	102.90	104.40	103.70	100.00	96.79
Indonesia	80.95	78.07	78.68	76.83	78.62	65.19	58.79	70.49	82.55	97.27	62.46	65.57	60.07	63.16	60.37	100.00	-
South Korea	55.01	53.14	54.68	54.27	53.69	47.30	51.96	65.05	74.48	72.18	71.18	77.24	78.67	86.94	90.44	100.00	104.60
Malaysia	131.60	123.40	116.70	114.10	104.10	82.52	84.76	99.67	99.13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Saudi Arabia	221.70	265.80	253.70	278.80	282.30	241.80	195.10	235.30	332.70	217.50	157.90	142.90	140.90	139.80	128.40	100.00	87.45
Singapore	77.18	75.57	76.32	73.94	73.95	66.08	63.31	77.11	80.93	77.41	73.69	75.11	74.77	85.36	92.52	100.00	98.48
Sri Lanka	132.00	126.20	106.60	102.20	101.20	86.49	79.73	88.74	77.07	79.64	79.33	77.75	80.36	85.52	91.93	100.00	100.60
Thailand	115.10	108.00	105.80	99.75	97.89	84.77	74.40	86.26	88.95	86.81	86.35	87.97	85.03	90.87	95.75	100.00	100.10

Source: International Financial Statistics, IMF (Various Issues)

Table 3: Absolute Prices (Unit Value) and Market Share of India's Selected Exports: 1991-2006

Commodity Codes	Unit Value (In '000 Us $).				Global Market Share				RCA	RSCA	NTRCA
	1991	1996	2001	2006	1991	1996	2001	2006	1991-06	1991-06	1991-06
SITC-031	0.31	0.28	0.27	0.29	2.09	3.07	3.02	2.61	3.75	0.58	0.99
SITC-042	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.03	7.36	13.63	9.91	14.91	15.92	0.88	0.98
SITC-051	0.40	0.15	0.17	0.14	1.85	1.75	1.88	1.94	2.56	0.44	0.23
SITC-074	0.23	0.21	0.20	0.22	20.7	15.44	12.37	13.18	21.04	0.91	0.95
SITC-081	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	2.37	4.15	2.34	3.77	3.92	0.59	0.88
SITC-281	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	7.71	5.45	4.70	12.01	9.30	0.81	0.91
SITC-332	--	0.02	0.02	0.05	0.52	0.47	1.44	4.20	1.42	0.18	-0.33
SITC-512	0.25	0.31	0.22	--	0.45	0.85	1.06	1.97	1.25	0.11	-0.20
SITC-531	0.74	0.64	0.41	0.44	3.21	4.23	5.31	7.47	6.00	0.71	0.79
SITC-541	--	1.26	1.12	1.40	1.21	1.07	1.02	1.17	1.37	0.16	0.42
SITC-581	0.19	0.16	0.07	0.14	0.07	0.23	0.47	0.84	0.44	-0.39	-0.35
SITC-599	0.36	0.32	0.29	0.25	0.31	0.48	0.74	1.04	0.76	-0.14	-0.05
SITC-611	1.34	2.26	1.73	1.84	3.55	2.09	3.01	3.75	3.77	0.58	0.53
SITC-629	0.53	1.11	0.49	0.31	0.51	0.88	0.98	1.36	1.24	0.11	0.53
SITC-651	0.27	0.29	0.22	0.24	2.41	6.08	5.86	6.69	6.62	0.74	0.77
SITC-652	0.07	0.48	0.39	0.72	4.19	4.98	4.90	3.51	6.06	0.72	0.86
SITC-653	0.16	0.48	0.59	0.72	1.26	1.23	2.08	2.59	2.20	0.38	0.64
SITC-656	0.08	0.44	0.44	0.49	4.19	6.00	6.78	7.07	7.90	0.78	0.98
SITC-657	0.65	0.46	0.57	--	7.02	7.63	7.41	9.87	10.06	0.82	0.93
SITC-661	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.89	2.26	3.12	4.59	3.54	0.56	0.94
SITC-667	--	--	--	--	12.49	11.58	13.77	14.79	18.30	0.90	0.16
SITC-672	0.14	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.16	0.48	0.64	2.35	1.06	0.03	-0.09
SITC-674	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.09	0.15	0.56	1.02	1.87	1.18	0.08	-0.15
SITC-682	0.42	0.43	0.18	0.69	0.03	0.07	0.47	2.6	0.63	-0.23	-0.40
SITC-719	6.40	1.14	0.48	--	0.10	0.14	0.25	0.54	0.28	-0.56	-0.51
SITC-722	0.16	1.07	0.66	1.05	0.11	0.19	0.27	0.77	0.30	-0.54	-0.37
SITC-732	31.19	30.97	68.04	--	0.10	0.17	0.12	0.35	0.20	-0.66	0.33
SITC-841	0.35	0.36	0.39	--	2.36	2.76	3.02	3.47	3.75	0.58	0.99
SITC-851	0.79	0.83	0.83	0.66	0.69	1.00	1.13	1.67	1.41	0.17	0.97
SITC-897	--	--	--	43.87	2.16	2.99	5.64	12.11	6.32	0.73	0.94

Source: Computed from Comtrade-WITS, United Nations

Table 4: Ranking of All the Selected Exporters (Both Developed and Developing Countries) on the basis of RSCA Index

CC	Developed Countries												Developing Countries													
	AUS	BLG	CAN	FRA	GRM	ITL	JAP	NTH	RUS	SWZ	U.K	U.S.A	BD	CHN	EGY	HK	IND	INDO	IRN	SK	MAL	SOA	SNG	SL	THI	U.A.E
031	6	18	7	16	21	20	19	10	15	26	12	11	1	8	23	17	**4**	3	22	9	13	25	14	5	2	24
042	4	8	23	12	16	5	15	10	20	24	13	6	19	7	2	17	**3**	14	22	26	25	21	18	11	1	9
051	9	8	20	10	19	5	25	6	22	26	21	7	24	14	4	15	**3**	13	1	17	16	23	18	2	12	11
074	17	10	20	16	14	26	21	11	15	18	6	19	3	5	7	12	**2**	4	9	25	22	24	13	1	23	8
081	3	6	8	7	9	17	22	2	20	14	11	4	26	12	15	23	**1**	10	24	21	13	19	18	16	5	25
281	1	11	3	8	16	15	21	7	4	24	17	6	26	19	23	20	**2**	9	5	18	10	13	22	25	14	12
332	11	8	14	16	19	13	24	6	2	25	12	18	23	21	1	22	**9**	10	20	7	15	4	3	26	17	5
512	23	2	18	12	10	14	11	3	16	1	4	8	26	15	22	21	**6**	13	20	9	17	7	5	24	19	25
531	19	6	21	8	3	15	11	7	17	1	13	14	26	4	18	5	**2**	12	20	9	23	24	10	22	16	25
541	10	2	15	4	6	8	14	7	20	1	3	9	23	12	11	16	**5**	19	24	17	21	26	13	22	18	25
581	21	1	14	8	4	7	11	2	22	9	15	6	26	20	19	5	**17**	18	23	3	16	12	13	25	10	24
599	14	7	21	1	4	9	8	3	24	2	5	6	26	17	16	15	**11**	23	22	19	13	25	10	18	12	20
611	6	20	25	15	13	2	22	16	18	23	12	11	1	9	8	4	**3**	14	10	5	24	21	17	19	7	26
629	22	12	7	3	9	8	4	11	17	21	10	14	26	15	16	23	**6**	13	24	2	20	25	19	1	5	18
651	22	11	20	15	14	7	19	17	23	12	16	18	5	6	2	4	**1**	3	24	8	13	25	21	10	9	26
652	23	10	25	11	4	5	15	16	20	13	19	17	5	6	3	4	**1**	7	24	9	18	26	21	12	8	22
653	23	10	21	9	12	4	11	20	24	18	15	19	5	3	22	2	**7**	6	25	1	16	26	17	14	8	13
656	19	10	21	14	15	11	25	12	24	18	13	16	1	4	3	8	**2**	7	20	9	22	26	23	5	6	17
657	18	3	17	10	11	19	26	4	25	14	7	9	13	5	6	20	**2**	12	1	21	23	16	24	8	15	22
661	21	6	10	11	14	1	18	19	15	24	17	22	26	3	4	20	**2**	9	7	13	16	12	25	23	5	8
667	9	2	14	17	18	21	15	22	10	4	5	8	26	12	24	7	**1**	19	25	20	16	23	13	3	6	11
672	9	2	15	5	11	13	6	10	1	22	14	17	26	12	7	20	**8**	16	4	3	18	23	21	25	19	24
674	13	1	12	5	6	10	3	7	4	20	11	14	24	17	18	9	**8**	16	23	2	21	22	19	25	15	26
682	1	3	4	8	5	11	7	21	2	20	16	19	26	17	24	9	**18**	12	14	6	10	23	13	15	22	25
719	17	12	13	6	3	1	4	11	19	2	7	5	20	14	23	15	**18**	22	26	9	16	25	8	24	10	21
722	20	18	15	9	7	12	3	14	21	2	11	10	24	8	23	1	**19**	16	25	13	5	26	4	17	6	22
732	12	4	1	5	3	9	2	10	17	15	8	7	26	16	24	18	**13**	20	22	6	21	23	19	25	11	14
841	23	13	21	12	16	8	25	14	24	18	15	19	5	6	3	9	**4**	6	22	10	11	26	17	2	7	20
851	23	9	22	12	15	3	25	11	24	16	13	21	7	1	18	2	**6**	4	14	10	17	26	20	8	5	19
897	17	18	19	14	16	3	21	24	25	1	9	15	26	8	20	5	**2**	11	22	12	6	23	13	10	4	7

Note: AUS: Australia, BLG: Belgium, CAN: Canada, FRA: France, GRM: Germany, ITL: Italy JAP: Japan NTH: Netherlands RUS: Russia SWZ: Switzerland U.K: United States U.S.A: United States IND: India, BD: Bangladesh, CHN: China, EGY: Egypt, HK: Honk Kong, INDO: Indonesia, IRN: Iran, SK: South Korea, MAL: Malaysia, SA: Saudi Arabia, SNG: Singapore SL: Sri Lanka THI: Thailand U.A.E: United Arab Emirates. CC: Commodities Codes

Source: Computed from Comtrade-WITS, United Nations

Combating Terrorism: Analysis of India's Counter-terrorism Strategy and its Inadequacies

Nishu Sharma

Abstract

In the present era, terrorism has turned out to be a global threat which has affected India too. The Indian history depicts terrorism as an inalienable factor since its independence in 1947. Earlier it was confined to Jammu and Kashmir due to cross border terrorism and infiltration challenge, but today the threat is at different levels. Nowadays, it has covered the entire nation in various pretences like, home grown terrorism and Naxalism which has distracted the nation's state of mind. Indian Government has formulated and implemented assorted measures like, anti-terror laws and different policies to overcome the dilemma but is still unable to combat the threat. The paper deals with the contemporary status of terrorism in India, various terror groups active in India and their strategy in a concise manner and later focuses on the various anti-terror strategies opted by the government to combat the menace and then make a critical assessment of inadequacies of the measures.

India has been facing the challenge of terrorism and insurgency since its independence, commencing with the Naga insurgency in the North-East. But in the last two decades the nature of terrorism has changed. Currently, terrorism in India is not limited to Kashmir but has spread in various forms, including Naxalism. Various other domestic terrorist organisations have also emerged. India has been a victim of terrorism due to varied regional, ethnic and ideological factors. The ethnic and regional insurgencies in the North-East, jihad extremism in Kashmir and terrorism in Punjab have become the basic case studies of terrorism in India, but Naxalism has recently emerged as an important case study. Naxalism has been in existence for quite some time in India, but because of the recent changes in the environment and rising Naxal brutality, the government has declared Naxalism as a terrorist movement. The areas most affected by terrorism are Kashmir, the North-East and the Red corridor. The menace has also affected certain other coastal and inland states and cities like Mumbai, Delhi, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa. Kashmir has been home to a number of militant groups seeking independence for the region since the 1980s. Several issues, including the problems of

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governance, narrow political interests of the Union and state governments, and social, political and communal mobilization of Kashmiri society, converged in the late 1980s. There are more than 2500 hardcore terrorists operating in Kashmir. More than 50,000 people have migrated from the valley. As of November 2008, more than 47,000 people have been killed in the state and fatalities are mounting (Ranvijay 2010).

The insurgency in North-East India, which is connected to the rest of India by a narrow strip of land known as the Siliguri Corridor or Chicken's Neck, has been the oldest terrorist-related problem of India. Most of this region stands apart ethnically and linguistically from the rest of India. Some insurgent groups call for a separate state; some others for autonomy; while some extremist groups demand complete independence. Tensions exist between these states and the central government. The main reason for terrorist activities in the region is the feeling of neglect by the rest of India to their plight, which has led the natives of these states to seek greater participation in self-governance. Territorial disputes also exist between Manipur and Nagaland on the one hand, and Meghalaya and Mizoram and Tripura on the other. These are due to linguistic issues and language and tribal identities.

As regards naxalism, the movement started in 1967 from the village of Naxalbari in West Bengal. The movement waned in the early 1970s, but has in the last three decades assumed menacing proportions.

As of 2009, Naxalites were active across approximately 220 districts in twenty states of India accounting for about forty per cent of India's geographic area, and are concentrated in an area known as the Red Corridor, where they control an area of 92,000 square kilometres and they claim to operate in 182 districts in India (Social Assessment Report: Word bank 2011). The term Red Corridor signifies an impoverished region in eastern India that experiences considerable Naxalite-Maoist militant activities. The entire eastern coastal region along the Bay of Bengal is affected by Maoist terror, posing a serious threat to the integrity of India, and is now expanding to the west and north. Jammu and Kashmir, Haryana, Punjab, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand and Rajasthan are also getting infected by this movement. Poor governance, want of social justice, lack of electoral reforms, corruption in the judiciary and bureaucracy, poor state of rural roads, absence of primary healthcare and education and employment opportunities are considered as the real causes of the rise of Maoism. As per BBC news, more than 6,000 people have died during the rebels' twenty year fight between 1990 and 2010 (Bhaumik, 2010).

Various Terrorist Organizations

Terrorist groups in India comprise both those having their origins abroad and also home-grown groups. Some of these are briefly described below. All these organizations have

been officially declared by the central government as terrorist organizations and have been banned.

Al-Badr is an Islamic militant group operating in the Jammu Kashmir region. It is run by the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) since 1998. It has links with Jamaat-e-Islami and al-Qaeda. Al-Badr has been banned by India under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 2004.

Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) operates both in Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir. The group receives funding from Pakistan's intelligence services. Its objective is to introduce an Islamic state in South Asia and to "liberate" Muslims residing in Indian Kashmir. LeT members have carried out major attacks against India.

Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM) is another Pakistan-based terrorist group operating in Jammu and Kashmir and seeks to drive India out of Jammu and Kashmir and transfer control of the region to Pakistan. It has carried out several attacks primarily in Indian-administered Kashmir.

Harkat-ul-Mujahideen-al-Islami is a Pakistan-based Islamic militant group operating primarily in Kashmir. The group is a splinter of Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HuJI). HuJI is a Sunni Islamic fundamentalist terrorist organization most active in Pakistan, Bangladesh and India since the early 1990s and exporting jihad to the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir under the patronage of ISI and the Pakistani establishment.

United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) has sought to establish an independent socialist state in Assam since its founding in 1979. ULFA seeks to establish a sovereign Assam via armed struggle.

The Communist Party of India-Maoist (CPI Maoist), also known as Naxalites, aims to overthrow the government of India through violent activities. In 2006 Prime Minister Manmohan Singh referred to the Naxalites as the single biggest internal security challenge faced by the country (Press Trust of India; The Hindu; The Deccan Herald 2010).

Deendar Anjuman is an Islamic organization based in Karnataka. It was first banned in 2001 and thereafter the ban has been extended periodically. This group was involved in church blasts across Karnataka in 2000 and church blasts across neighbouring Andhra Pradesh and Goa.

The Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) was banned by the Indian Government in 2002 for its involvement in terrorist attacks in India. It is suspected that SIMI is now also operating under the name of Indian Mujahideen.

The Indian Mujahideen (IM) has claimed responsibility for several terrorist attacks in India, including the bomb blasts in Ahmedabad and Delhi in 2008. The IM is believed to be a "shadow amalgam of the SIMI and Lashkar-e-Taiba" (Banned Organisations: MHA 2011).

Causes Influencing the Rise of Insurgent/Terrorist Movements in India

The main cause encouraging the rise of terrorist organizations in India is the substantial difference in the living standards and the varied cultures in ethnic religious or other groups. India is composed of societies which are deeply fragmented by caste and community, and further fragmented on account of linguistic, regional and cultural differences. There are also enormous inequalities in the social structure. The mixed administrative and political baggage in the states of the region make way for the manifestation of discontent in terms of violence, which has consistently escalated over the last half century.

The reasons for the rise of terrorism in India range from the unfinished agenda of partition, ethnic inconsistencies, poverty and accompanying deprivations such as unemployment, low levels of literacy and the alienation of whole cultural or ethnic groups brought about by the threat to life by frequent communal violence and destruction of means of livelihood. The additive to all this is religious extremism in the form of fundamentalist indoctrination. Religious fundamentalism has been unabashedly pitted against communism. In India "religious fervour and economic deprivation … make a highly combustible mixture which is certain to produce more explosions" (Clutterbuck 1986:218).

The growth of terrorist movements in India has links to the willingness of some nations to directly or indirectly sponsor campaigns of terror, often through proxies and other means. State sponsorship of groups has strained relations between India and Pakistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan, and India and Bangladesh. Pakistan's state sponsorship of terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir continues to cast its shadow on the ongoing peace process between India and Pakistan. Foreign support has also contributed to the heightening of the salience of national security concerns, aggressive nationalism and militarism in India. Terrorist groups operating in India often have links with ideologically similar groups active in the neighbouring countries which offer sanctuary, training facilities and allow their sovereign territory to become a conduit for supply of arms and funds to militant groups.

The funds for the terrorists are generally transmitted through the informal hawala channel. In October 2008, the Mumbai Police Crime Branch found out that the Indian Mujahideen was receiving money from Gulf countries through hawala networks and Western Union Money Transfer. Similarly, Kashmir-based separatist groups such as Hizbul Mujahideen and LeT are also suspected of using hawala transaction as a source to fund their activities (Raman 2003).

Secessionism too is a motivational factor for terrorism in India. The problem of secessionism has occurred over the last fifty years mainly in three regions – Punjab, Kashmir and the North-East, where people are on the social and physical fringes of India. Language, religion and the feeling of alienation set these people apart from the people of the heartland of the country (Rosand 2009).

In the case of Assam and Tripura, unabated infiltration of Bangladesh nationals into these two states with the motive of upsetting the demographic balance first, and then swallowing up a big chunk of territory has been actively encouraged by the regimes in Dhaka. According to the Group of Ministers Report of February 2001, "Illegal migration from across the borders has continued for over five decades. Today, we have more than 15 million Bangladeshis, which have implications to national security" (Jamwal 2003:64).

In Assam and Tripura due to the widening communication gap between government and the masses, the political system has been weak to fulfil the economic demands of the people. The political processes in the states of the North-East also have been very slow because of which the tribes of these areas have not been inclined to regard India as their own land and lack faith in the central government. They find compatibility and ease with other nations. This clearly is a sign of political failure by the central government in handling the situation in this region.

Strategies Followed by Terrorists

One of the new methods adopted by Islamist terrorists is the use of people who have never before travelled to Pakistan or the Middle East and to enlist people already employed at targeted locations, so that getting past security becomes easier. The handlers are now focusing on people, who have easy access to targeted locations (The Times of India 2010).

Naxalites, driven by their dual objectives of armed struggle and mass agitation, have also developed and implemented new strategies and tactics. In order to expand their mass agitation activities, the Maoists have identified three broad issues around which to mobilize support; first fight against the economic development policies of the government, particularly the setting up of Special Economic Zones and other large-scale industrial projects leading to displacement of tribal people and forest dwellers; second, resist the continuing discrimination against minorities like Dalits and support their struggle; and third, extend support to the struggle of the oppressed nationalities, particularly in Kashmir and India's North-East, for their right to self-determination. The first two aims have taken operational effect, the last remains at the level of ideological attachment (Suba Chandran and Chari 2008:132-33).

Of late, terrorists have been doing a thorough reconnaissance of the targeted places before attacking. In the November 2008 Mumbai attack, David Coleman Headley played a vital

role in reconnoitring the targeted points and sending information to the LeT, which carried out the massacre (Washington Post 2010).

An increase in suicide terrorist missions has also been noticed. With the improved overall security arrangements, suicide missions are considered as a low-cost option. Recent intelligence reports from Pakistan point to the LeT recruiting surrendered Taliban militants for possible use in India. It has been reported that 130 such militants are under training in an "institute" in Lahore, for the past three months. This might result in an increase in suicide bombing or high-risk commando style attacks in India (The Times of India 2010).

Terrorists are also using cyber technology as a tool for terrorism, for sending e-mail messages before and after conducting their operations and by hacking into networks, Indiscriminate shooting has turned to be another strategy where they do not target any specified person or group. The attack on the Indian Parliament building in 2001 by LeT and JeM was one such attack.

The German Bakery blast of Pune in February 2010 shows that terrorists have switched to renowned places but smaller cities because smaller cities normally have smaller police forces and are likely to be less well protected. There is a better chance of succeeding without being caught. They choose these places for their popularity among foreigners and local people. The objective behind targeting popular places is to create fear amongst the target population (Swaminathan 2010). Even during the 13/7 Mumbai serial blasts, bombs were planted in such crowded places to easily injure huge mass.

Anti-Terror Laws and Institutional Mechanism: An Attempt to Prevent Terrorism

India has been facing terrorism for a long time. It has also been following various policies to handle it. Whether it is Jammu and Kashmir, the North-East or the Naxal movement, India has tried to do its best to deal with these problems. Whether it is political, social, military or economic measures, various steps have been taken to combat and reduce terrorism in India. At the political level, India has made various international alliances and in return has drawn international support against terrorism. India's Central Bureau of Investigation and European Europol decided to have effective coordination to check crimes. India and Australia are also united against terrorism. The United States and India have together launched a formal Counter Terrorism Joint Working Group (CTJWG) and also launched the Joint Initiative on Cyber Crime in 2009. India and Bangladesh have signed three pacts to combat terrorism and organized crime – the Agreement on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters, Agreement on Transfer of Sentenced Persons, and Agreement on Combating International Terrorism, Organized Crime and Illicit Drug Trafficking. Both nations are working on an Extradition Treaty.

At the socio-economic level, the government's strategy involves measures to reduce the grievances of the aggrieved communities so that the level of terrorism can be controlled. Steps taken include providing education and employment, and concession aimed at alleviating socio-economic grievances of ethnic religious communities. Priority has been accorded to building physical, economic and social infrastructure, thereby improving the productive potential of the states, besides improving the quality of life of the people (Internal Security, MHA: 9).

Use of coercion is one of the major aspects of Indian strategy. Highly skilled and trained forces are used to achieve particular goals like combating terrorism in Kashmir and the North-East. The military with specialist expertise is used for retaliatory response to terrorism. The Government of India is assisting the state governments for augmenting and upgrading their police forces to deal with insurgency and militancy.

The war against terrorism is between a coalition of democracies and terrorism. But that does not isolate terrorism. There are many countries which are not democratic or are semi-democratic, whose support needs to be enlisted. India's main enemy today is not Pakistan or Afghanistan; it is terrorism. India should therefore contribute in building the broadest possible anti-terrorist coalition (Puri 2001:3805).

Anti-terror laws are also part of India's response toward terrorism. The nation has framed such laws which could actually help to avert terrorism, like the Maintenance of Internal Security Act 1973 (MISA), the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act 1967 (UAPA), and the National Security Act. The Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act (TADA) and Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) were anti-terror laws in the real sense, but they were defamed for their draconian misuse and created a strong demand for their repeal, and finally came to an end. Currently India has the UAPA (Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 2008) in place of TADA and POTA.

There are anti-terror laws at the state level as well which include the Maharashtra Control of Organized Crime Act 1999 (MCOCA), the Chhattisgarh Special Public Security Act, 2005, Karnataka Control of Organized Crime Act 2009 (KACOCA), the Andhra Pradesh Control of Organized Crime Act 2001, the Punjab Disturbed Areas Act, 1983, etc.

So we can assert that nature of terrorism in India is based on a number of factors which lead to the existence of various terrorist organisations, including home grown terrorist groups. Multiple causes are equally accountable for the emergence of terrorism as those factors influence insurgents/terrorists and give rise to their activities. In India, role of cross border terrorism and role of state in support of terrorism is inevitable. But to meet the challenge of terrorism, India has constructed a framework of legal provisions and strategies where laws play major roles in handling terrorism.

Institutional Mechanisms

The institutional mechanisms of any nation facing the challenge of terrorism play an imperative role in maintaining internal security and peace. The purpose of these setups is to maintain harmony and remove distress caused by the terrorist threat from society. Institutional mechanisms contain intelligence, military and paramilitary forces, and various agencies including special squads. The role of intelligence, however, is paramount.

Intelligence

Intelligence is the collection of information, especially of military and political value. Intelligence has to be collated, analysed and disseminated to the users at the right time. The means of information gathering include espionage, communication interception, cryptanalysis, cooperation with other institutions, and evaluation of public sources. The functions of an intelligence agency include gathering of information, its analysis in areas relevant to national security; providing early warning of impending crises; serving national and international crisis management by helping to determine the intentions of current or potential opponents; and sometimes acting covertly to influence the outcome of events in favour of national interests. Intelligence agencies are also involved in defensive activities such as counter-espionage and counterterrorism (Singh 2007:157-61).

India has two intelligence agencies, namely Intelligence Bureau (IB) and Research and Analysis Wing (R&AW), both operating under the Ministry of Home Affairs. Each agency acts in its own domain with relative freedom and reports directly to the highest political or ministerial authority. The Intelligence Bureau (IB) is reputed to be the oldest intelligence agency in the world. The IB is used to garner intelligence from within India and also execute counterintelligence and counterterrorism tasks. At the national level, the IB has several units (in some cases Subsidiary Intelligence Bureaus) to keep track of issues like terrorism, counterintelligence, threat assessment, and sensitive areas like Jammu and Kashmir, North-East region, etc. IB also passes on intelligence between other intelligence agencies and the police (Intelligence Bureau FAS).

The Cabinet Secretariat Research and Analysis Wing is India's external intelligence agency. The R&AW has become an effective instrument of India's national power and has assumed a significant role in formulating India's domestic and foreign policies. The RAW has engaged in disinformation campaigns, espionage and sabotage against Pakistan and other neighbouring countries (RAW 2011). It has been organized on the lines of the United States' Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Intelligence organizations in the country have been at the receiving end of criticism from time to time, be it the intrusion in Kargil in 1999, the attack on the Indian Parliament on

December 13, 2001, the Indian embassy bombing in Kabul and the most recent Mumbai terror strike. While there are many shortcomings in intelligence coordination in the country, wherein most recipients feel that the information is insufficient or so fuzzy that it is non-actionable by the operating agencies, the police, security organizations and others, intelligence agencies have constantly refuted this claim. Whatever is the case, operationalising intelligence remains a key challenge for countering terrorism in the country and the issue needs to be addressed on priority (Sen 2007:170-71).

But there are many factors that have a direct bearing on the performance of counterterrorism agencies like inter-agency rivalry, ambiguity about their role and responsibilities vis-à-vis the intelligence agencies, lack of accountability and absence of a suitable supervisory mechanism. The rivalry between R&AW and IB has done incalculable damage not only to the agencies themselves but also the nation. It seems to be the contention of the IB and the R&AW that what happened in Mumbai was a serious instance of physical security failure and failure to act on available intelligence and not an instance of intelligence failure (Raman 2008).

Investigation of the serial bomb blasts in New Delhi on September 13, 2008 also highlighted that the tragedy could have been averted only if the police had effectively decoded conversations of the cell phone of Mohammad Atif Ameen, leader of the Indian Mujahideen module that was behind the blasts. The purport of the conversation intercepted by the police was not immediately evident as the calls were not effectively analysed. This once again highlights inadequacies in effective utilization of intelligence inputs for preventive measures (Sen 2007:175).

 The lack of external checks on the intelligence agencies of the country is one of the drawbacks of our system. Democracies like USA, UK and Australia have paramilitary oversight over their intelligence agencies. In India, the only attempt to introduce an oversight mechanism was made during the tenure of Prime Minster V.P. Singh, but before the exercise could be completed, that government fell due to withdrawal of support by the Bharathiya Janatha Party (Singh 2007:166-68).

Security Agencies

The Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) is a security agency functioning under the Ministry of Home Affairs. The force is being used for various police duties in states (Central Reserve Police Force, MHA). The CRPF personnel are rushed at short notice to tackle an internal emergency situation such as riots, insurgency, external aggression, terrorist incidents and rescue and relief operations in disaster management. In November 2009, CRPF's CoBRA led the operations against Maoist insurgents in an operation popularly known as Operation Green Hunt.

The Border Security Force (BSF) is a border patrol agency of the Government of India. Its primary role is to guard India's international borders during peacetime and also prevent transnational crime, including trafficking. The BSF units are called upon to undertake various internal security duties and are also employed in aid to civil administration. The BSF has the mandate to promote a sense of security among the people living in the border areas.

Although the BSF was originally charged with guarding India's external boundaries, recently it has been involved in counterinsurgency and counterterrorism operations. As part of this mandate, during the insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir in 1989, the government deployed the BSF in Jammu and Kashmir to assist the CRPF and the state police in combating Islamic militants (BSF Press release 2005). Since the CRPF's CoBRA battalions have had a mixed success in combating the Naxals, the BSF is assisting the CRPF in this operation. Meanwhile, efforts are also being made to replace the BSF units with fresh units from the CRPF that have undergone specialized training in counterterrorism (Border Security Force, MHA).

The National Security Guard (NSG) was set up in 1984 as a Federal Contingency Deployment Force to tackle all facets of terrorism in the country. The NSG, operating under the oversight of the Ministry of Home Affairs, is a Special Response Unit in India that has primarily been utilized for counterterrorism activities. The Special Action Group is the strike force in anti-terrorist and anti-hijack operations, supported by the SRG and others (History, Role and Task: MHA). During the November 26, 2008 Mumbai attacks, NSG flushed out the terrorists and rescued hostages through Operation Black Tornado and Operation Cyclone. The NSG is now primarily utilized for counterterrorism activities in Jammu and Kashmir.

The Anti-Terrorism Squad (ATS) was created by the Government of Maharashtra on July 8, 2004 which aims at collecting and collating information about any anti-national element active in any part of Maharashtra. The ATS works in coordination with IB and R&AW and exchanges information with them. It coordinates with similar agencies of other states. It aims at tracking and neutralising the activities of terror groups, mafia and other organised crime syndicates and detecting rackets of counterfeit currency and smuggling narcotic substances. Several states in India have created ATS units in their respective police forces, including Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan.

The National Investigation Agency (NIA) has been set up for the purpose in a concurrent jurisdiction framework, with provisions for taking up specific cases under specific acts for investigation. The NIA came into force on December 30, 2008 (National Investigation Agency, MHA). As per the National Investigation Agency (Manner of Constitution) Rules, 2008, NIA is to provide assistance to, and seek assistance from other intelligence and investigation agencies of the central government and state governments.

Analysis of Counter-Terror Measures

India's counterterrorism measures, however, have been criticised on the following grounds:

- The lack of institutionalised guidelines for area of operations creates a hurdle in performing anti-terror tasks. There is needless overlap of work and duplication of efforts.

- Forces and agencies face lack of financial accountability, staffing pattern and improper tasking.

- Since most agencies are area oriented and fixated on bureaucratic rules of information processing, the scope for innovation becomes limited. It may be more worthwhile to strive for reform within the existing structures, rather than creating new organisations. The aim should be to introduce accountability into a system, where there is currently hardly any.

- The lack of coordination amongst agencies leads to lack of properly assessed information reaching the higher echelons of decision-making at the right time.

- Indian intelligence is hampered by politicisation and bureaucratisation.

- The existing security systems in India are a legacy of the British colonial past. Systems based on this outdated legacy need to be discarded and replaced with those based on innovative thinking (Verma 2010).

- The intelligence bodies in India are not represented in NIA so that they directly know what intelligence is needed or what gaps need to be plugged.

India's counterterrorism infrastructure has been under scrutiny for long with fragmentation of anti-terror efforts of the central and state intelligence and police agencies. Political consensus has also been missing with no joint meeting held for a federal anti-terror agency and exploration of all possible models to tackle the menace of criminal or extremist terrorism until the terrorist attack on Mumbai. The key problems with Indian counterterrorism philosophy and response may be summarised as follows:

- Lack of political consensus towards the threat of terrorism.

- Lack of synergy of effort followed through a unifying doctrine.

- The inability of the system to differentiate between response for insurgency and terrorism. The two are different challenges requiring different responses.

- Coordination of intelligence is poor.

- The mechanism lacks effective operational utilisation of intelligence to prevent terror episodes.

- Lack of adequate counterterrorism capability of police forces is also a big drawback of the system.

- The protracted judicial process also indirectly encourages terrorist activities (Sen 2007:165).

Operationalising intelligence is another part of the same problem. Misled by the police brass, some top political leaders in the country have stated that terror warnings are like weather bulletins. The inability of the local police to exchange terror advisory into preventive actions on the ground is a gaping hole in India's policing abilities.

The information provided by the intelligence agency is not followed up till the scope of any possible attack emanating from the thread of input is eliminated. There is lack of high quality analysis by specialists. The conversation intercepts are not analysed thoroughly and remedial actions are not taken properly.

Introduction of action taken reports on intelligence inputs is also lacking. The intelligence agency does not have sufficient confidence or is not fully empowered to carry out checks for this purpose. Since intelligence and operational responsibilities are generally concentrated under one head at a very senior level, even at the ministerial level, particularly at the Centre where there is no operational head of the police, this failing is particularly noticeable. Central intelligence agencies are not empowered to seek follow-up of their inputs from the operational authorities to ensure that action is not left halfway. Again, the hazards are apparent in creating inter-agency acrimony. The informer network is not fully activated, communication monitoring lacks enhancement, public nodes such as cyber cafes are not sensitised and a high level information umbrella has not been created down to the grassroots to ensure that any deviant activity is quickly processed and countered to avoid leading to an incident (Bhonsle 2009:179-81).

Electronic and communication surveillance is an important facet during any terrorist exercise. Terrorist groups survive on communications. They use internet, multiple SIMs and evasive means to ensure that they leave no trail. Legal provisions are not efficient enough to tap communication networks (Ibid).

The political parties lack consensus on the strategy to deal with terrorism. Issues are taken lightly or used for promoting personal agendas (Vivek 2009). A National Counter-

Terrorism Centre (NCTC) was about to come up immediately after 26/11 Mumbai attack as declared by the ministry but consistently got delayed for some political reasons.

There is no dedicated agency to coordinate intelligence collection for implementation of security measures. The National Security Council Secretariat (NSCS) is trying to perform this job with other jobs too (Sen 2007:377-78).

The purpose behind creating various squads and agencies is to reduce crime and to eliminate terrorism from society, but the issue of human rights violations invariably comes up.

Lack of suitable transportation has also hampered the response time of the NSG. During the 1999 hijacking of the Indian Airlines Flight 814, the NSG unit was stuck in rush hour traffic due to lack of helicopters. During the Mumbai attack, the unit was delayed due to lack of aircraft in Delhi and then lack of ground transportation in Mumbai. Most of the NSG are assigned as bodyguards for various political leaders, leaving a significantly lesser number of commandos who may be able to assist when the need arises.

The NIA also has come in for criticism. Its officers enjoy all powers, duties, privileges and liabilities which the local police officers have in connection with cases related to terror. Though law and order is a state subject, officers of the NIA above the rank of sub-inspector have special powers to pursue and investigate any offence related to terror across the country. The trial of offences under this Act has been given precedence over others. The Special Court has been empowered to restrict the publication of any or all of its proceedings if it considers it for public interest, under the clause of protection of witnesses.

The presumption that an accused person has committed an offence, unless proved otherwise, also goes against the very notion of justice as prescribed in our legal texts. The accused would be detained for a period of 180 days if the investigation procedure has not been completed (The NIA Act 2008).

Conclusion

Anti-terror laws could not prevent harassment of the civilians and the innocents, which increased the public discontent and strengthened the belief of the repressive nature of these laws and regimes. The safeguards in terror legislation are not adequate to prevent misuse. Jaswant Singh believes that the singling out of Punjab for emergency treatment may have contributed to the psychological isolation of the beleaguered state (Singh 1988:19). This is applicable to other parts of India as well. Enactment of anti-terror laws without sufficient safeguards to restrain its misuse and ensure national uniformity in its application led to human rights abuses and disparate patterns of enforcement throughout the country.

Special laws are subject to less democratic scrutiny in developing countries, where the institutions are not adequate to conduct such scrutiny. Till now no counterterrorism law has proved itself effective to meet the menace of terrorism. Rather, they have been counterproductive because of significant human rights concerns. The main objective of scrutiny of laws should be to moderate political antagonism rather than aiding the repressive arms of the State. As socio-economic pressures, unmet political aspirations, bitter experiences of repressive arms of the State, etc. contribute to the terrorist reservoir, the aim of terror laws should be taken all these into consideration.

Attentiveness to human rights is not a moral or legal imperative; it is a crucial strategic necessity. Laws related to terrorism must ensure that terrorist activities and offences are investigated, prosecuted, and adjudicated effectively so that it can bring down the crisis of legitimacy. For this, inclusive reforms are required in the criminal justice system.

Along with anti-terror laws, India's counterterrorism strategy also needs refurbishing, with the inclusion of visionary political measures. India requires political initiatives like international coordination to fight against terrorism, negotiations with nations supporting terrorism in India, providing new people-oriented measures in regions affected by anti-India feelings, making feasible negotiations with domestic terrorist organisations, and giving attention to areas that are suffering from social and economic crisis, with the overall objective of making them realise that they have a stake in the nation's welfare and to instil trust in the police and the justice system which currently is sorely lacking.

Hence, we can state that anti-terror legislations in India have failed to prevent terrorism because of its cross-border dimensions where the role of states play a vital role in enhancing terrorism. Cross border terrorism has weakened the anti-terror laws of India. Lack of effective political measures too has lessened the strength of Indian counterterrorism strategy as it has been unable to address the root cause of terrorism.

Notes

1. The central government's Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) after a long period cleared the proposal to set up National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) on January 12, 2012. The NCTC was proposed in the wake of 26/11 Mumbai terror attack to work under the Union Home Ministry. A senior IPS officer of the rank of additional Director General of Police (ADGP) and from Intelligence Bureau's AD or SD will head this elite counter-terror body. Home Minister, P. Chidambaram, assured that NCTC will exist and start functioning within the next three - four months.

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Significance of Indo-Pak Cordial Relations in South Asia

Najmudheen T and Farhana Kausar

Abstract

The creation of India and Pakistan as independent states more than six decades back raised issues rooted in colonial legacy as well as historical acrimony. India and Pakistan are the major actors of the South Asian arena. This region is today one of the world's greatest laboratories of political, economic and social change. It embodies all the hopes and aspirations and most of the problems of human kind. India & Pakistan rivalry and their improved relations through the peace process acquire much prominence in international relations literature. This study is an effort to analyse the issues between India and Pakistan, which can give a fresh breath to the region to change the existing scenario. In the rapidly changing international situation, both India and Pakistan are struggling for national survival and well-being individually and with other countries. This paper also explores the different factors between India and Pakistan relations in retrospect and prospect. India &Pakistan are important neighbours for each other and principal actors of the subcontinent, so an unstable India or unstable Pakistan could be mutually damaging to both. Peace between and stability in India-Pakistan relations is essential for the well being of South Asia.

Historical Background

In the twenty first century, South Asia happens to be one of the vulnerable geographic regions of the world. This region is the abode of more than one and a quarter billion people, which is nearly one fifth of the world's total population. Poverty, illiteracy, corruption, etc. dominate the lives of the people. These problems have remained unresolved over the years. The major political barrier that stands in the way of solutions is the mutual rivalry of the states of this region especially India & Pakistan. India and Pakistan have had a strained relationship since independence. The partition did not emerge as a solution for the problems of the sub-continent; on the contrary, it became a source of endless new problems because, many partition problems remained unsolved (Blinkeruberg 2001:46).

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India & Pakistan share much of their common histories, culture, languages, religion, and other heritage; yet the diplomatic relations between the two are defined by numerous military conflicts, suspicion, mistrust, and territorial disputes (Trivedi 2008:214). This was rooted in the history of partition, in which major roles were played by the imperialist policy of divide and rule.

India-Pakistan rivalry and peace attempts have attracted significant international attention over the last 60 years. The long-disputed Kashmir issue continues to be both a cause and consequence of India and Pakistan hostility. The failure on the part of both India and Pakistan to come to a bilateral negotiated settlement over Kashmir has opened the issue for interference of outside powers and states in the subcontinent. Various third-party mediation attempts have sometimes produced short-term successes in the form of ceasefires, but as yet have not produced a negotiated agreement to end hostilities, much less a successful implementation of such an agreement. The UN has been involved in diplomatic efforts since the beginning of the rivalry. The UN has appointed a number of special representatives or mediators over the years. At best, all these efforts have produced some short-term abatement in the conflict, but no long-term impact on the rivalry. The failure of the international organisation is largely because such entities cannot impose solutions on disputants, but depend in large part on the cooperation of the conflicting parties. Divisions within the membership of those organizations have also limited the scope of initiatives to those in which there is consensus; this has largely been confined to limiting conflict escalation and not to the configuration of any political settlement(Paul 2006:45).

Perpetual conflicts among the different states of South Asia in general and India-Pakistan conflict in particular, to a large extent served the interests of the superpowers to expand their sphere of influence and thus their national interest. It is an undeniable fact that India is far superior to Pakistan in almost every aspect. Pakistan from the very beginning, being conscious of its regional inferiority, has strived hard to counter-balance India's regional superiority by obtaining extra-regional support and intra-regional linkages explicitly designed to deal with India. India on the other hand has always sought to structure the region free from extra regional involvement in order to preserve and protect the pre-eminent position it enjoys in the region.

Till 1965, both India and Pakistan had gained substantial combat experience, the Pakistanis in fighting the Indians and the Indians in fighting both the Pakistanis and the Chinese. Additionally, the armed forces of both sides had acquired substantial amounts of military hardware, some of it very sophisticated. The arms buildup, coupled with Pakistan's membership in CENTO and SEATO, had drawn both super powers into the sub-continent. Finally the Chinese invasion of India in 1962 led to major infusion of U.S arms into India and strained US-Pakistan relations. But it was a short period relation. Pakistan took much interest to solve the Kashmir issue through the U.N. because most of the permanent members of Security Council at that time were in favour of Pakistan. But the U.N's efforts and the super powers'

attempts regarding the Kashmir issue ended with no result. The super-powers exploited India and Pakistan as a tool to serve their global interests.

Peace Developments between India and Pakistan Since 1950

In the past, many steps between the two countries were taken for improving relations. The Nehru-Liaquat Pct (1950) mitigated the rigorous tension between India and Pakistan by agreeing a bill of right for the protection of minorities in both the countries. In the history of India-Pakistan relations, the Indus-Water dispute is the only dispute where both the governments have shown a positive spirit of cooperation. In the treaty (1960) both the governments recognized their common interest in the optimum development of the rivers and declared their intention to cooperate by mutual agreement to the possible extent. Another big achievement between India and Pakistan was the Tashkent Agreement (1966), which was signed between the two countries through the mediation of Soviet Union. The importance of Tashkent Agreement was that it represented important concessions for both sides. Both the countries agreed to withdraw from the territory that they had seized in conflict. But in spite of all these achievements, the Tashkent Declaration of 1966 achieved nothing new at all in terms of permanent settlement of India-Pakistan problems. It brought a temporary respite to India-Pakistan hostilities.

The turbulent period 1970-71 marked a turning point in the international politics in South Asia in general and India-Pakistan relations in particular. The war of 1971 disrupted the relations between India and Pakistan. In this war, Pakistan suffered more because it lost its Eastern Wing. Naturally, India took advantage of the discrepancy between fact and reality. For India, a harmless Bangladesh was desirable rather than hostile Pakistan.

With the signing of the Shimla Agreement (1972), a new era in bilateral relations began. The greatest merit of the Shimla Agreement was that the two countries decided to renounce the use or threat of force against each other, to put an end to the era of conflict and confrontation, and commit themselves to cooperation and peaceful coexistence. Further, during the period of 1977-79 the bilateral relations improved for India with her neighbours in general and Pakistan in particular. The leaders of both countries, through the exchange of visits, dispelled the apprehensions of the fundamentalist organizations in India and Pakistan. Many outstanding disputes were also resolved between the two countries and the areas of mutual cooperation in various fields were expanded.

However, this hope and spirit of cooperation received a jolt when the Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan. It confronted the main regional actors-Pakistan and India with a new political and strategic situation to which they reacted in distinctive ways. For India and Pakistan, the Soviet invasion seriously changed the regional balance of power, and put them in

the unenviable situation of having to respond to this new development and cope with its consequences in their own ways. Their responses differed from each other.

In spite of irritant atmosphere over India-Pakistan relations, myriad peace bridges had been brought between the two countries. A major breakthrough was made by the agreement to establish a Joint Commission to promote bilateral cooperation in 1982. The Joint Commission is certainly a step forward in promoting cooperation between the two countries for mutual benefit in economics, trade, industry, education, culture, consul, tourism, travel, scientific information, and technology. The commission also suggested the exchange of academicians from both countries. Another important point is the division of the commission into four sub-commissions where each dealt with specified fields. The formation of SAARC (1985) of which India and Pakistan are the two major partners and some other regional and international organizations held out some hope of not only multilateral cooperation but also bilateral improvement between India and Pakistan. The people of both countries expected promotion of peace, friendship, development and security in the subcontinent.

Post Cold War India-Pakistan Relations

In1988 and1989 Prime Ministers Benazir Bhutto and Rajiv Gandhi continued the rapprochement policy on the expectation of peaceful and cordial relations between India and Pakistan. The end of the Cold War provided India and Pakistan the opportunities to develop the concept of cooperation and coexistence in their mindsets; they proceeded in the direction of peace, security and solidarity in their practices. The desire of peace, recognition of the futility of confrontation and the utility of Confidence-Building Measures, the cumulative impact of 'Track Two diplomacy' and the intent to succeed in a dialogue process have all strengthened the peace processes in onward years.

The Gujral Doctrine (1996-97) sought to improve relations with India's neighbours without strict reciprocity and on the principle of accommodation to smaller powers. With regard to Pakistan, it emphasized the role of confidence-building measures, ongoing dialogue, the avoidance of holistic propaganda, and people-to-people contacts. The May 12, 1997 Sharif-Gujral meeting in Maldives, led to an understanding "to release civilian prisoners, establish a hotline to facilitate communication, relax travel restrictions, and to institute a series of working groups to address major issues, including Kashmir, for the foreign-secretary-level talks, scheduled for near time". That talks held at Murree, (Pakistan), resulted in a joint statement which detailed the two countries commitment to resolve outstanding issues in an integrated bilateral manner.

Historically, the deep seated antagonism between India and Pakistan several times culminated in the form of wars-1947-48, 1965 & 1971. When fighting erupted again in 1999, the stakes were higher than ever, since both countries had tested nuclear weapons the year

before. Although the nuclear issue began to gain prominence since 1970s, the nuclear tests of India-Pakistan in May 1998 set the stage for an invigorated nuclear debate in the region. Tension mounted over the question of when and how India & Pakistan might escalate the minor-war, which put the world on alert since both had tested nuclear devices in May 1998 and subsequently declared themselves to be nuclear weapon states.

Unlike the 1974 nuclear tests, the implications of Pokhran-II for India-Pakistan relations was deep and multi dimensional. It not only stimulated a similar response from Pakistan, but the nuclear testing became a debacle issue in India and Pakistan. It was expected that overt nuclearisation would deter India and Pakistan from engaging in armed conflict due to the risk of accidental use of nuclear weapons. But paradoxically, the proxy war in Kashmir persisted with several instances of open conflict, once in Kargil and secondly when the two countries were on the brink of a major armed conflict following the terrorist attack on India's Parliament (2001) and the subsequent mobilization of military on both sides of the border (2002). In this context, it is generally considered: Nuclear weapons do not contribute to stability in the region and further do not eliminate the possibility of a nuclear war in a nuclearised environment (Charan D 1998).

These crises have important global implications, the first and most being the nuclear dimension. The nuclear tests of 1998 and declaration of nuclear power by both states persuaded many outsiders to believe that South Asia, especially Kashmir, had became a nuclear flashpoint. Second, the crises contradict several important theories of international politics, notably the notion that democracies and nuclear weapons states are reluctant to go to war against each other. Third, in the view of India's and Pakistan's respective positions as a rising Asian powers and a militarily powerful Islamic state respectively and hence their potential role in shaping the world order - their management of these crises could serve as one indicator of their future relationship with one another as well as with other states. And fourth, these crises yield some important doctrinal and strategic lessons, not only for the two south Asian states but also for other regions and potential pairs of nuclear-armed rivals.

Lahore Declaration-1999

The Lahore Declaration was the first major political agreement between the two nations since the 1972 Shimla Agreement. The Lahore Declaration was a bilateral agreement between India and Pakistan signed on February 21, 1999 by the then-Prime Minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee and the then Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif at the conclusion of a historic summit in Lahore, Pakistan. The Lahore Declaration signaled a major breakthrough in overcoming the historically strained bilateral relations between the two nations in the aftermath of the nuclear tests carried out by both nations in May 1998.

The Lahore Declaration contains major policy objectives. These include mutual consultation over CBMs regarding nuclear and conventional forces; advance notification before ballistic missile tests; reducing risks of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons; prior notification by either side in the event of any such incident and adoption of measures to reduce the risk of such actions. The two leaders reaffirmed their faith on the moratorium on further nuclear tests unless extraordinary situations jeopardize their security interests. All these areas of mutual concern require concrete action to work out agreements to implement the plan of action on the agreed areas. Especially in the sphere of advance notification on missile tests, an immediate agreement is necessary to dispel doubts and apprehensions about such tests. Moreover, an agreement on reduction of accidents and unauthorized or unexplained incidents that might lead to a nuclear war is of prime importance given the level of mistrust and suspicion that characterize Indo-Pak relations. Thus, some level of confidence in nuclear and missile related areas has become extremely important.

However, the Lahore process turned to be a fiasco. The jubilant optimism that dawned at the time when a bilateral agreement was reached between India and Pakistan at Lahore after a pause of over two decades was doomed in the recreant act of Pakistan in Kargil which again prostrated the geniality of relations between the two. As noted by Devesh Kapur: "At the end of 1999, India's relation with Pakistan was at a lowest level not seen since 1971. The optimism that marked Vajpayee's historic Lahore visit in February 1999 proved short lived, when Pak intruders were found occupying the high mountains well within the Indian side of the line of control, in the Kargil sector of Kashmir"(Kapur 2000:205).

The Agra Summit-2001

The Agra Summit was a two-day Summit held on July 15th and 16th, 2001 between Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee. It was organized with the aim to resolve long-standing issues between India and Pakistan. However, the Summit collapsed after two days and no formal agreement could be attained. The two sides remained inflexible on the core issue of Kashmir, despite five long and arduous one-to-one rounds between the two leaders and hours of discussion between the two delegations. Despite the failure of the talks, General Pervez Musharraf joined Vajpayee to call on the two countries to bury their past. He also invited the Indian Prime Minister to visit Pakistan as he felt that the issues between Pakistan and India were much more complicated and could not be resolved a short time.

The Summit began with a high note on 15th July 2001. But there was mutiny abode that cast a shadow on the deliberations and debilitated the spirit of the summit. At the outset there was no unanimity between India and Pakistan over the issues to be discussed. If India emphasized that cross border terrorism is the prominent issue in the agenda for discussion Pakistan asserted upon the single point agenda of Kashmir. This divergent approach to the

summit forestalled the singing of any joint declaration, at the end of the summit. The differences between the two countries over the issue of participation of Hurriyath in the summit also played its own part in jeopardizing the enthusiasm.

The summit was not a total failure, its utility lies in the fact that it facilitated the maintenance of continuity in the peace process and provided a broad framework for future dialogue. As Vajpayee recognized in his speech describing the summit for the Indian Parliament, India and Pakistan need to agree on a process for discussing their problems. A viable process would provide Pakistan with a setting for discussing Kashmir from the start, but would also accommodate the broader agenda prized by India. It would need the sustained personal backing of both leaders to survive the inevitable crisis that would interrupt it. Both countries would need steady leadership to persevere until they can sustain the strategic compromise a genuine settlement requires.[1]

India-Pakistan Peace Process since 9/11

The attack on the World Trade Centre (WTC) on 11 September 2001 had security and other far-reaching consequences on international, regional and national politics. Peace and security were threatened. The grouping and regrouping of nation states soon started with the solemn promise of rooting out the terrorist menace. India was also not free from terrorist attack. There was the dastardly act of terrorism committed on the Jammu and Assembly on 1st October and on the citadel of India's democracy i.e. The Parliament on 13th December 2001. Because of this, Indo-Pakistan relation went down to an all-time low in the chequered history of both the countries. But the situation improved in the course of time. Indo-Pak relations are undergoing drastic transformation. During the post 9/11 period, India and Pakistan have engaged with each other intensely and purposively. The engagement has created an atmosphere of trust and confidence in the bilateral relations. The relations between these two countries are somewhat better today than in the past.

Political and Strategic Relations

The year 2003 became the watershed in the history of Indo-Pak peace process as it prepared grounds for the future to initiate dialogues. The two sides stepped towards the process of normalization through dialogues. In October 2003, the Government of India first made the proposal to the Government of Pakistan for the establishment of a communication link between the Indian Coast Guard and Pakistan Maritime Security Agency.

In December 2004, both countries agreed to immediately intimate arrest of fishermen made by each country. The communication link would facilitate the early intimation, which in turn would lead to the early beginning of the process of providing consular access, nationality verification and repatriation. On 11 May 2005, all outstanding issues on the establishment of

the communication link were resolved leading to a consensus document. In spite of tense circumstances in the political scenario of both the countries after 11 September 2001, they were firm in keeping one of their vital promises in the nuclear area of exchange of the list of nuclear installations and establishments on each new year's day, which had come into being between them after a protracted dialogue in 1992. Certainly, it can be admitted, although Pakistan's domestic political situations have become tense during the recent period, Indo-Pak relations have improved considerably in strategic and political areas.

Economic Cooperation

India and Pakistan have to intensify their ties in the economic field. As it is a tough task to address the bilateral issues only through the political and diplomatic approach, trade and commerce can work as a tool of resolving conflicts between both the countries. There are immense possibilities for cooperation in energy and power sectors and agricultural fields.

However, India and Pakistan have agreed to strengthen their trade links as a means to normalizing relations between the two countries. Bilateral trade between Pakistan and India almost doubled to cross the one billion dollar mark in 2010. This was attributed to the launch of a South Asian Free Trade Area Agreement (SAFTA) and the opening of rail and road links between both the countries. The establishment of relations along with SAFTA has brought changes in customs tariffs and reduced trade-related barriers, leading to restoration of direct trade linkages and reducing the transaction costs. Despite the tension subsisting between India and Pakistan, the scope and need for economic cooperation can never be undermined as this is the only way these two countries can live together and co-exist. There is an urgent need of liberalizing monetary transaction rules and export-import policy and band visa rules to facilitate smooth flow of commodities across the border. In this way, it would drastically reduce the export-import cost and in turn, the people of both countries would get the essential commodities at a reduced price. Recent policy on 'MFN' made a significant momentum in India-Pakistan relations. However, it has to be admitted that until major disputes are settled, it is difficult to expect a harmonious blending of political and economic relations between these two countries.

India-Pakistan and Composite Dialogue Process

The 12th SAARC summit of 2003 saw a change in the history of strained Indo-Pak relation. Specific suggestions were made by the PM of Pakistan in the context of India and Pakistan relations to resume civil aviation links, road and rail links, sports events etc. Pakistan also assured that it would take specific measures against cross-border terrorism and dismantle its infrastructure that supported terrorism. The two leaders believed that constructive dialogue would promote their common objectives of peace, security, and economic development. However, India has made it clear on several occasions that a sustained dialogue would

necessarily require an end to cross-border terrorism and dismantling of its infrastructure in Pakistan. It was decided that discussion on nuclear and other CBMs could be held within the composite dialogue.

The current process of composite dialogue began in January 2004 when Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee met in Islamabad on the sidelines of the SAARC Summit (Sameer 2008:2). Both leaders agreed to commence the composite dialogue in February 2004. They were confident that a resumption of the composite dialogue would lead to the peaceful settlement of all bilateral issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, to the satisfaction of both sides. Thus, the issues constituting the composite dialogue were as follows:

- Peace and Security including CBMs

- Jammu and Kashmir

- Siachen

- Wullar Barrage project/ Tulbul Navigation Project

- Sir Creek

- Terrorism and Drug Trafficking

- Economic and Commercial Cooperation and,

- Promotion of Friendly Exchanges in various fields

Post-26/11 India-Pakistan Relations and Developments

Given the tenuous nature of the relationship, and the persistent threat of terrorism from Pakistan-based groups, the Mumbai attack of November 2008 undoubtedly posed the most serious challenge to the peace process. The attack triggered a frenzy of political statements and diplomatic moves in India to build pressure on Pakistan to act against terror infrastructure in Pakistan. India made it clear that any revival of the peace process would depend on Pakistan's commitment to contain terrorist groups targeting India. The Indian leadership insisted that Pakistan must produce tangible results in arresting and punishing those who carried out the Mumbai attacks as a precondition for the resumption of the Composite Dialogue.[2] Yet, seven months after the attacks, India and Pakistan issued a joint statement about their intention to talk which, as expected, kicked up an unholy row, more visceral in India than in Pakistan. It would be therefore instructive to study how, and why, both the countries persisted with finding, amidst threats and counter-treats, a common ground to shake hand at Sharm-el Shaikh.

In short, the 26/11attack had not completely disrupted the engagement between the two neighbours as was widely perceived. This 'continuity' was also amply reflected in the Indian government's official stance that wanted Pakistan to act against terrorist groups and not launch an attack on Pakistan.

India and Pakistan held their first official talks since the 2008 Mumbai attacks on 25th February 2010; the meeting was not for an immediate breakthrough but to help thaw their frigid relations. The foreign secretaries of India and Pakistan met for structured talks with an aim of ending the chill in the relations caused by the Mumbai attacks.

Resumption of Composite Dialogue

In April 29, 2010, on the sidelines of SAARC leaders Summit in Bhutan, India and Pakistan agreed to resume full-fledged dialogue which has been disrupted since the Mumbai terror attacks in November 2008. India's Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and his Pakistan counterpart, Yusuf Raza Gilani, agreed on the need to normalize relations, dogged by more than six decades of hostility since both gained independence from Britain. The two Prime Ministers agreed that relations between the two countries should be normalized and the channels of contacts should work effectively to enlarge the constituency of peace in both countries. The two leaders crafted a simple but elegant formula for breaking the current impasse, thereby ensuring that the process of engagement-stuck for several months-now has some chance of moving ahead.

With the "composite" nature of the dialogue becoming a political stumbling block, India and Pakistan wisely decided to transcend the confines of nomenclature and form. The process they engage in may eventually take the form of composite dialogue or, more likely, is an improvement over the same. But that will depend on two factors, both equally important: the results of the review the two sides conduct, and their ability to reduce the trust deficit. For India, the restoration of trust depends on very simple metrics. New Delhi's overarching priority is to get Islamabad to honour its commitment to prevent terrorists from using Pakistani territory to launch attacks on India. Mr. Gilani reiterated this promise in Bhutan but the Manmohan Singh government will need more than mere words in order to convince skeptics at home (The Hindu: 2010).

The following thaw is based on the assumption that the absence of engagement is making it easier for the military establishment in Pakistan to justify the continuation of its links with anti-Indian extremists. Prime Minister Singh's decision to agree to the resumption of dialogue is based on the principle of "trust but verify". If terrorist groups continue to speak and operate with impunity, chances are any substantive talks the two sides begin on issues like Kashmir or Siachen will flounder. After all, the oxygen of trust is needed to scale those daunting heights, which no leader has managed to ascend so far (Ibid). It is India's long-term

interest that democracy in Pakistan gets stabilized and empowered. This means, every effort must be made to work with the Prime Minister and his government, while keeping lines of communication open with other political leaders. There have also been suggestions in several high-level Track-II meetings that a dialogue between the intelligence chiefs of both countries could serve a useful purpose. There are issues that need to be discussed and evaluated when the foreign secretaries and ministers take stock of where the relationship stands.

Recent momentum in India-Pakistan Relations

The former Indian Foreign Secretary Ms. Nirupama Rao and her Pakistani counterpart Mr. Salman Bashir held bilateral talks in Islamabad, Pakistan on June 23-24, 2011. At the talks, India and Pakistan agreed to foster peace through cessation of hostile propaganda and strengthening cooperation on counter-terrorism. They also agreed to reduce divergences and build convergences on the issue of Kashmir. CBMs-relating to both nuclear and conventional weapons-were looked at during the discussions. At present, the two countries have CBMs in both conventional and nuclear weapons.

India and Pakistan are clearly aiming for a big breakthrough moment in their relations, one with the potential not just to overcome a difficulty in the existing model of conducting bilateral ties, but change the model itself. In the present world, it is simply unsustainable for two neighbouring countries to limit their bilateral interaction to set parameters, in the way these two have done over the last six decades. The India-China model has been repeatedly invoked to demonstrate that two not-too friendly countries could successfully interact in mutually beneficial ways. As has been evident from the time of the 2010 Thimbu talks between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Yusuf Raza Gilani, the spirit of which was reiterated in their upbeat meeting on the sidelines of the 17th SAARC summit in Maldives on 10/11/11, political will for a breakthrough is not lacking. Pakistan's decision to give India Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status is a big leap forward in bilateral relations. Under MFN, a country agrees to treat another country equally with all the other countries with which it trades, as part of the agreement in the World Trade Organisation on non-discriminatory trade practices. Pakistan's decision to acknowledge India as an MFN under WTO rules, despite opposition at home, was a game-changer.

Prospects for improved India-Pakistan Relations seem better now than at any time in the last three years. There have been some positive political developments as well: India recently backed Pakistan's entry into the UNSC; Pakistan supported another term for India's Kamlesh Sharma as the Commonwealth Secretary-General. A potential spat over the crossing of an Indian helicopter into Pakistani airspace was quickly averted-the Pakistani military sent the helicopter back after properly forcing it to land and questioning the Indian Army officers in it. There are still influential hawkish sections in both countries that stand in the way of rapprochement. It can only be hoped that the forward momentum will be sustained.

Conclusion

Bilateral relations between India and Pakistan have been a source of concern for the international community for long and attract international security unlike any other bilateral relationship. It says something about the state of Indo-Pak bilateral relations that more than six decades after their emergence as independent entities, the two states have yet to find a suitable modus vivendi to deal with each other on a day-to-day basis about their mutual problems and concerns. Such has been the brittleness of this process that keeping the dialogue going on, until now, has been regarded as more important than achieving concrete, enduring results. However, some significant developments are indeed taking place in the Indian sub-continent in the context of Indo-Pak peace process (Pant: 2005: 01). Peace processes are by their very nature long term measures. Yet, the ultimate objective of strategy is to bring the conflict to a speedy end. This can be done through peace processes (Suba 2006:250).

The main achievements of the composite dialogue process have been in the area of CBMs designed to enhance India-Pakistan contacts and connectivity. Many such CBMs were put in place even before the commencement by restoring snapped links and in upgrading them, enhancing people-to-people contacts and providing an institutional mechanism for the two sides to discuss their differences. It has also improved the international rating of the two countries. The key to a stable Asia lies in how India and Pakistan, with the baggage of bitter history and an arsenal of nuclear weapons, learn to live together, peacefully, as neighbours (Samarjit 2009:7).

The Mumbai terrorist attack (26/11) pushed the peace process close to the brink of failure but was not completely scuttled, due to the tenacity and composure of the top leadership in both the countries. The peace process cannot be held hostage to acts of terrorism and India and Pakistan, need to keep the communication channels open even during the worst of crises, and not let non-State actors and their State sponsors derail or dictate foreign policy objectives of sovereign nations (Wilson 2009:1). In fact, dialogue is the only way forward to open channels of communications and restore trust and confidence.

The peace process between India and Pakistan need to be viewed in the broader prospective, rather than skewed down to partial preferences of the two sides: A new perspective, a new environment and a new logic are needed to inform the interlocutors. The ideologies of adversity and diplomacy of stalemate will have to be abandoned in favour of understanding, flexibility and accommodation. We live in a ruthless and chaotic world order and cannot survive, nor find a respectable place in this world of great imbalances, without first putting the South Asian house in order. There cannot be any good beginning for this effort without a friendly relationship between the twin-brothers of the subcontinent.

The India-Pakistan rivalry will not be terminated until the leaders of the two sides are able to move their relationship beyond the bounds of realpolitik. A critical first step towards stability in Indo-Pak relations would be for the leaders of the two sides to move away from nuclear saber-rattling to a public recognition of the obvious, that a general war, with its high probability of nuclear war, would be a shared catastrophe. Each side needs to communicate to the other that it recognizes that in a nuclear war on the subcontinent there would be no relative gains, only absolute losses. As nuclear-armed neighbours, India and Pakistan realize that their continuing feuding over Kashmir has turned South Asia into a risky place, not only for its inhabitants but also for accessing foreign investment. Resumption of the India-Pakistan dialogue, with its focus on nuclear risk reduction measures, seems to be the only credible way of easing world concern over the safety and security of the two countries' nuclear arsenals. This is needed to display the accountability of world powers to push India and Pakistan towards the peace process, as the worry of terrorism is widespread. The concepts of escalation control and stable nuclear deterrence presume rational decisions by rational actors, even in the deepest crisis. There are, however, extremist groups in Pakistan and India that would view the advent of crisis as an opportunity rather than as a problem to be contained. The best chance of defusing nuclear danger and controlling escalation lies in sustained and substantive political engagement.

Today both the countries face the threat of nuclear disaster for their national interests and security from each other. In the ultimate analysis, proliferation dangers do not emanate from the mere existence or possession of nuclear weapons, but essentially from the belief in their use and usability which would influence intentions. It would be unrealistic to expect a dramatic change in the political context of India-Pakistan relations, or to ignore the post-proliferation state of the nuclear environment around India. Thus, it is necessary to rapidly move towards stabilizing the situation in a manner that lowers the risk factors and reduces the menace of nuclear weapons. Both countries share certain common concerns. On the foundations of these can be built an edifice of security which will in the long run bring peace and prosperity not only to India and Pakistan but the entire South Asia. In the process, it will strengthen the global security system which is gradually acquiring discernible contours. So, both the countries may choose the following steps for the improvement of relations: (a) The avoidance of war circumstances (b) Prevention of nuclear and chemical weapons proliferation (c) Reduction in defence budget of the states (d) Combating drug trafficking, terrorism and weapons culture (e) Curbing communalism and other related activities (f) Non-interference in each other's domestic matters (g) Non-provocative defence between states (h) Initiatives of novel denuclearization measures, etc.

Until India and Pakistan succeed in discovering solid mechanisms that could be instrumental in halting any probable nuclear conflict and if the paranoiac urge for nuclear might persists in the same frenetic pace, the region will be bogged down under a constant threat of a lethal war that would result in the emergence of neither the victor nor the vanquished, but only mutually assured destruction of both the countries. This uncertainty has also kept the entire sub-

continent marginalized from the mainstream of socio-economic development. A viable solution lies in building concrete trust between the two countries.

The South Asian subcontinent has not been a stable and peaceful region, despite the common cultural and geopolitical heritage of the India and Pakistan. It will be in the interest of both India and Pakistan and outside powers like the US to follow a policy of least provocation and try and build mutual trust. This trend has to be consolidated in the interest of regional and global peace. Any solutions to the Kashmir dispute require to be based on existing territorial and ground realities. An unstable India or unstable Pakistan could be mutually damaging to both. India and Pakistan both need to be aware of the fact that war cannot decide the fate of Kashmir. They ought to seek political solution. However, little progress can be made unless there is an effort to overcome the negative mindsets and mutual misperceptions of one another. The myths in India-Pakistan relations have to be debunked and a climate of mutual trust would be the ideal starting point to approach the issue. There is need for greater pragmatism on either side. Bilateralism offers the best way to resolve Indo-Pak differences over Kashmir. It need to be clearly understood by India and Pakistan policy makers that to establish reliable, credible and durable relations, both countries have to leave all real or imaginary apprehensions, fears, suspicions and mistrust. Irritants have to be removed through diplomacy, cooperation, negotiation changed positive mindsets and attitude of give and take. India has some responsibility to carry the burden of relations because of its power and influence. It is only then and then alone that lasting, enduring, peaceful and strategic relations beneficial for both can be ensured. Hence, a long term objective of conciliation and mutual strategic friendship should not be lost sight of which is essential for peaceful co-existence.

The growth of meaningful security cooperation in South Asia turns largely upon a substantial change for the better in India-Pakistan relations. The prerequisite for this is a sharp turn in policy by both countries, i.e., for a shift from what has been hitherto a zero sum game, in which one's loss is seen as the other's gain, to a positive sum game, in which both gain.. There can be no hope of normalization of relations or resumption of normal cooperation without the resolution of outstanding bilateral disputes and eventual political-strategic consensus.

Keeping in view the failure of traditional avenues of dialogue, Track-II diplomacy may be suggested as a conflict resolution model to resolve Indo-Pak differences. Several rounds of official and formal negotiations have not brought about a qualitative improvement in India-Pakistan relations, probably because in the area of conflict resolution our reliance has been largely on traditional instruments of statecraft and conventional diplomacy. The excessive reliance on official diplomacy has not been possible to break the logjam in several conflicts, and on the contrary it has proved to be a non-starter. It may be, however, understood that Track-II Diplomacy is in no way a substitute for official, formal "Track-I" government to government or leader to leader relationship. Rather Track-II activity is designed to assist

official leaders by compensating for the constraints imposed upon them by the matrix of their domestic politics. Track-II Diplomacy becomes extremely important in the resolution of India-Pakistan conflict, which still brews in the cauldron of official diplomacy for the past several years.

Majority of the people on both sides of the border remain captive to the historically circulated stereotypes of animosities, misinformation and distrust. Given the ethno-religious overlap in the two societies, the domestic disaffection easily feeds on the mutual hostility perceptions of the two states. The "hidden hand theory" also plays an important role in worsening the situation. India-Pakistan conflict offers a typical instance of an artificially created people to people conflict in addition to state conflict. So there is a crying need for new-state actors to throw in their lot to transform their own relationship and go beyond state-centric paradigm. To further strengthen the peace process, the principles of flexibility and reciprocity needs to be given utmost importance. Only then can both the countries find a way out of the vortex of violence which has severely undermined peace and stability in the region. The history of the last many years suggests that the route to peace and stability in South Asia passes through Kashmir. India and Pakistan and the people of Kashmir are the makers or wreckers of peace, security and stability in South Asia.

The little bridges between people of India and Pakistan are the 'actual key' to peace in the subcontinent. And for this reason, peace-making cannot be left to rulers. It is the people on both sides that have to take charge of it. What the people have now is a unique and contradictory chemistry of love and hate, curiosity and suspicion, friendliness and antagonism, admiration and envy, not to speak of nostalgia and convenient memory lapses. Forget about which of these is natural and which deliberately created. What is required for a stable relationship is a rational middle ground between these emotional extremes. The political class on both sides has specialized in hyping the emotional in India and Pakistan relations over the rational, finding it a useful instrument for domestic political gain. Blame communally driven politics on the Indian side, and in Pakistan, the tight grip of a military that needs to perpetuate its predominance in national affairs (The Hindu 2010).

Most of the celebrated India-Pakistan people-to-people contact since 2004, including the interaction between the media, education, science, culture, sports, film and fashion worlds of the two countries, has tended to be driven by the governments on both sides, or blurred, encouraged or sponsored by the two states in some way. With rare exceptions, such contact has mirrored the official point of view, providing no room for building genuine bridges. No wonder they fell apart so easily in the aftermath of the 2008 Mumbai attacks to a point where goodwill seems almost irretrievable. But even now, the first thing that Pakistanis and Indians ask each other is: "We eat the same food, speak the same language, and even look the same, so why can't we be friends?" The short answer to that is that, we cannot be friends as long as we continue looking at each other through the narrow prism of our respective states. Pakistanis must

locate the Indian within themselves, and Indians must discover their inner Pakistani. It would help understand each other better, and free us from state-manipulated attitudes. In our own interests, it is up to us, the people, to find ways to do this.

In a nutshell, without a proper understanding between the twin brothers of the subcontinent, future cordial relations would be an elusive mirage. Hence, now, India and Pakistan need to break away the mental barrier and begin to trust one another. The following suggestions may be taken as a way to forward bilateral peaceful relationship between India and Pakistan.

- Peace between and stability in India-Pakistan relations is essential for the well being of South Asia. After nearly 63 years of hostility between India and Pakistan, it is critical that all stakeholders work for sustainable peace between the two countries. Civil societies in India and Pakistan, by and large, support the goal of peace and reconciliation; peace constituencies in both countries must, therefore, be further strengthened by providing them greater space and support. It is essential that the trust deficit and the burden of history not be allowed to impact on the task of moving relations forward.

- Trust can be best built through multiple uninterruptible dialogues, positive incremental steps, confidence and trust-building measures, and most critically through acts of statesmanship by the leaders of the two countries.

- A grand reconciliation can only be ensured, in the long-term, through engagement at every level: civil society meetings, official dialogues, engagement of political leaders, cooperation between business and corporate leaders, visits of artists, sportsmen, media, talks between the armed forces, Track-II engagements etc.

- Temporary setback in inter-governmental relations may not be allowed to impinge on people-to-people cooperation. Attempts should be made to create a visa-free regime for important stakeholders: including academics, journalists, businessmen, students, artists and former senior officials.

- Progress made in previous rounds of talks should be carried forward in the official dialogue. Because dialogue is the only way forward to open channels of communications and restore trust and confidence.

- Terrorism is of deep concern to India and Pakistan. The memory of the Mumbai attacks is still alive and continues to inform public opinion in India. Today, terrorism and extremism pose an existential threat to Pakistan. Indian concerns about terrorism and the terrorist threats to India are as much of a serious concern for Pakistan. Terrorism and extremism need to be comprehensively and permanently defeated.

- India and Pakistan may seriously consider initiating an institutionalized, regular but discreet dialogue between the intelligence chiefs (the heads of R&AW, IB and ISI and IB Pakistan) of both countries.

- The back channel on Jammu and Kashmir must be resumed at an early date keeping in view the fact that all stake-holders, particularly the people of J&K, will have to be consulted at some stage. If Jammu and Kashmir is considered as a piece of real estate there is little hope of a way ahead. Therefore, the welfare of the people of Jammu and Kashmir should be considered to be of paramount concern. In this context, all agreed CBMs has to be more robustly implemented.

- The media are playing a critical role in shaping popular perceptions. They have thus a great responsibility to help strengthen the constituency for peace. A continuing dialogue between journalists, editors and proprietors of media houses is needed.

- A sustained dialogue on ensuring strategic stability in South Asia must be an essential part of the bilateral dialogue. There is also need for discussion amongst experts on critical doctrinal issues and the need to work towards creating a nuclear safety, Assistance and Collaboration Regime in the region within the framework of minimum deterrence. In this context, a trilateral nuclear dialogue which includes China must also be pursued.

- The problem of water is becoming a matter of great concern and there is a need to address misperceptions in this regard. The Indus water Treaty has withstood the test of time and has a well established dispute-settlement mechanism. Any concern about hydro-resources of the Indus river system should be taken up through the permanent Indus water commission. Within the framework of the treaty, the two countries must also share best practices on water management with each other. Environment and other experts with domain knowledge, from both countries, must be encouraged to provide concrete recommendations for better and optimal management of hydro resources given the huge challenge that the scarcity of water will pose for the region in the future.

- A stable, prosperous, sovereign and independent Afghanistan is in the interest of India and Pakistan and both countries must work for this goal and hold talks to allay each other's apprehensions.

- The peace process cannot be held hostage to acts of terrorism and India and Pakistan, needs to keep the communication channels open even during the worst of crises, and not let non-State actors and their State sponsors derail or dictate foreign policy objectives of sovereign nations.

- Track-II dialogues are designed to move beyond officially stated positions, find a way

forward, and can provide alternative approaches to the governments of Pakistan and India as well as other important stake holders. It is vital that Track-II dialogues be encouraged by both New Delhi and Islamabad.

Alongside the peace process, forward movement on trade, investment and energy sector cooperation would produce mutual gains that could enlarge the constituency for peace in both countries (The Hindu: 2010). None of this will work, however, if the leadership in India and Pakistan succumb to the temptation of playing to domestic galleries. Going by the record of the past few years, terrorist will attempt to destroy this latest attempt to restart the dialogue and peace initiatives. Acting with maturity and restraint in the face of provocation will pay more dividends in the long run.

Notes

1. http://csis.org/files/media/CSIS/pubs/sam36.pdf.

2. The Composite Dialogue was put on pause on December 1, 2008, "EAMs" Suo Motu Statement in Parliament on follow up to Mumbai Terrorist Attack, Ministry of External Affairs, 13, February 2009.

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Democracy and Foreign Policy: A Focus on Civil-Military Relationship in Pakistan

Anil Kumar Mohapatra

Abstract

From a fragile, failed and fragmented State where Pakistan is heading to today, the country could switch over to a functional state if Plato's doctrine of 'proper station' is adhered to as a guiding principle. The key players such as the mainstream political parties, government, military and civil society need to respond to the exigencies of time and aspirations of the people and to act and deliver accordingly. The civilian government including the judiciary on one hand, and the military establishment on the other should realize that 'consensus not conflict', 'dialogue not deadlock' and 'action not usurpation' are the ultimate norms. That stage could only be prepared by the ushering in of democracy or by adapting to a democratic way of life. Hina Rabbani Khar has hinted at it by calling it an 'evolving' phase which could save Pakistan from this impending catastrophe while contributing to the progress of the country and peace in the region of South.

A close look at the history of Pakistan since its creation in 1947 reveals the fact that the conditions at its birth still continue to haunt it. Violence, bloodshed, distrust and communal strife were the features of its cradle and some similar features have authored its evolutionary instability till the present. Therefore, despite its claim of being a democratic parliamentary federal republic, it is more known as the only-Islamic-nuke state, a land of military-driven-political uncertainty, and an unsafe place of perennial hostilities. It's an irony that a country (Pakistan) that supposes to pursue a foreign policy, as envisioned by its founder Quaid-i-Ajam M.A. Jinnah (Rizvi 2004:10), "one of friendliness and good will" without "aggressive designs against any country or nation" and which is ready to make "utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world" has been a much known terrorists' safe haven.

During the heydays of the Cold War when newly born countries distanced themselves from power-blocs, Pakistan joined military regimes like the Manila Pact or the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) in 1954 and a year after in the Baghdad Pact in 1955 which was renamed as CENTO in 1959. Similarly surprising is the fact that a country which has the credit of having the eighth-largest army in the world is in dire scarcity of money and resources to

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meet the basic needs of its people who are mired in poverty and ignorance. Massive aids received from generous sources have been tactically diverted to nefarious destinations such as fanning insurgency and building weapons. As a result, three wars, though unsuccessful so far have been fought with India, besides several skirmishes involving India and at times Afghanistan. The perpetrators of terrorist groups at one time, in a changed circumstance, have been engaged in fighting against those such as Pakistani Taliban groups since 2004.

Given the despicable state of affairs in Pakistan, this paper seeks to look into one of the most important factors that may be responsible for that i.e. the praetorian and flaccid democracy in Pakistan. However, that factor has two important aspects: (i) tracing a link between a dysfunctional democracy and a belligerent foreign policy; and (ii) the phenomenal topsy-turvy in Civil-Military relationship in Pakistan and its effects.

Democracy and Belligerency

Democracy and foreign policy has an undeniable link. Democratic Peace Theory (DPT), despite some of its contested premises and exceptions, advances an argument that democracy tends to be less hostile or belligerent within and beyond. Immanuel Kant is said to be its earliest proponent who posited that 'perpetual peace based partially upon states sharing republican constitutions' (Russett 1993:4) exemplified the rule of law. All supporters of the theory from Kant to Russett and beyond believe that democracies don't go to war with each other. Institutions or structures within a democratic government dissuade warfare with other democracy and vice versa. They call it therefore as 'democratic pacifism' or 'democratic non-aggression'. Since democracy (in the liberal sense) believes in tolerance, persuasion, adjustment and compromise, the leaders are more prone to settle internal matters by discussion, than by arms, and do the same in foreign policy or in external dealings with another democracy. War is disastrous in its effects and it is resorted to only when all peaceful means are exhausted. Russett therefore argues "when two democracies come into a conflict of interest, they are able to apply democratic norms in their interaction, and these norms prevent most conflicts from mounting to the threat or use of military force" (Russett 1993:33). Besides, the leaders in a democracy need to justify war to the voters. Not a 'war monger' but a 'war saviour' is respected in a democracy. Democracies therefore, regard non-democracies as threatening with regard to war as an option.

In this backdrop, whether Pakistan qualifies to be called as a democracy is a question mark from the 'democratic peace' point of view. Many attribute the appalling state of affairs in Pakistan and its adoption of radicalism to the absence of democracy since the very day of its existence as a nation state in 1947. In fact, democracy has not yet taken firm root in this second largest Islamic state in the world. Pakistan till now has experienced four spells of military rule spreading over more than thirty four years and who knows, another, under General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani may not be a distant possibility. There has been regular see-sawing between the

democratic leadership and army generals in holding the reins of the Government of Pakistan. Therefore, "in the current strategic discourse, the state of Pakistan is often referred to as the pendulum state" (Singh 2011:114) and the politics of 'power swings' (Singh 2011:123) is phenomenal in Pakistan.

Since gaining independence, Pakistan's history has been replete with several instances of how democracy has not been allowed to consolidate itself in the face of personal rivalry and ego clash among its rulers, the political immaturity of its political class, the judiciary siding with the undemocratic establishment in the pretext of 'doctrine of necessity' (IGNOU 2007:8) and above all, the manipulation of situations to satiate the greed for power and influence of the army. The first victim on this path was the seven-years-old first Constituent Assembly (CA) of Pakistan which was dissolved in 1954 before completing its task of framing the Constitution. The second constituted CA in 1955 was successful in giving a Constitution to Pakistan envisaging a parliamentary system of democratic government but it was abrogated in 1958 following the first ever military coup in Pakistan in October that year. It was done to win US as a military ally while consolidating the alliance of the army, landlords and bureaucracy in Pakistan at the cost of democracy. That blocked the first General Election to the House of Representatives as per the 1956 Constitution to happen and thus weakened the role of political parties and the growth of political consciousness among the people of Pakistan. Then Pakistan was forced to join military blocs, wage wars and to live under 'Constitutional Autocracy' or 'military rule' without embracing democracy. Despite the occasional appearances of democratic rule following widespread mass upsurge in1968, the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy in 1981 and Civil Society Movement in November 2007, democracy still remains elusive in Pakistan.

History shows how mainstream political parties have never been in good terms with each other. They lack consensus and they have been grappling with their age-old irreconcilable differences. And therefore when chances have come to them they never rise to the occasion and the fault line has been well exploited by the military to stage a come back in a cyclical way. The latest example of this kind of inter-party rivalry has been the Zardari-Sharif duo's failure to pull together. Besides, there has been infighting between and among the power centres such as the military, political and religious parties and other radical groups to settle personal scores against each other. In the absence of political stability and consensus among the different power centres, Pakistan has become mere pawns in the hands of extra-regional powers such as the US, Russia and China and others who have been using Pakistan for the furtherance of their ideological or strategic interests. Therefore Pakistan has been a bound and helpless player during 'Cold War' years and these days in the era of 'War on Terror'. Its foreign policy is very often hijacked by outsiders and is devised to serve their own ends.

The answer to the sorry state of affairs in the politics and polity of Pakistan has been "the inability of the state to steer initial years through a politically stable path" (IGNOU

2007:32) As a result it "saw the decline of traditional structures like political parties, pressure groups, parliament, judiciary, executive and virtual death of political processes like constitutionalism and political processes. All this in turn led to strengthening of the military as an institution, it being the only alternative organized force to walk into the political vacuum created because of repeated failure of civilian governments". As per the Constitution Commission's Report (IGNOU 2007:33-4) in 1961, the factors responsible for the failure of Parliamentary democracy are and were "(i) Lack of proper elections and defects in the late Constitution;(ii) Undue interference by the heads of the state with ministers and political parties and by the Central Government with the functioning of the governments in the Provinces; and (iii) Lack of leadership resulting in the lack of well organized and disciplined parties, the general lack of character in their politicians and their undue interference in the administration."

In the absence of such conditions of democracy, military has often stepped in when there is a power vacuum and instability in tune with the 'doctrine of necessity'. Foreign policy in Pakistan is thus made to promote more of sectional interests than the national interest. It is well said that 'war is a serious matter to be left to the generals'. In this regard, Pakistan has no alternatives left. However, it is also a fact to reckon with that when ever democracy has set in with its minimum potentialities whatsoever, may it be even for a short period, it has shown its impact and effect on the internal and external policies of Pakistan. The Lahore summit between its Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his Indian counterpart Mr.Vajpayee and the inauguration of the Delhi-Lahore bus service in the early months of 1999 are few instances of how Pakistan showed its willingness to sort out long standing problems with India. The said Declaration expressed a commitment on both sides to dialogue, expansion of trade relations to strive for the goal of a denuclearized South Asia, and mutual friendship. This eased the tension created by the 1998 nuclear tests in both the neighbouring states. But that sort of détente did not sustain for a long time and the Kargil incursion reversed it. Therefore, it is argued, the following would not have happened had there been democracy in Pakistan. One, there would not have been wars or war intents expressed through wanton and dastardly acts of terrorism across the border in India or Kargil like incursions. Two, it would not have fallen into the neo-colonial trap during the heyday of the Cold War or talibanisation in the later phase. Three, the high cost incurred to enliven the mad race for arms would have been diverted to ameliorate the deplorable conditions of health, education and the lowering of law and order situation. And four, the politics of Pakistan would not have thrived on an anti-Indian stand not only within the country but in the international sphere as well.

However, a silver lining about democracy is that during this chequered course of history of democracy in Pakistan, only once has a democratically elected National Assembly (the national legislature) been able to complete its full tenure i.e. from 2002 to 2007. After the General Election held in February 2008 things have undergone a praiseworthy change followed by the election of Asif Zardari as a civilian President replacing General Musharraf. Further, the apprehensions about the 'civilian authoritarianism' (Zaidi 2008:8) under Zardari has been put

to rest by the passing of the Amendment XVIIIth (the Eighteenth Amendment) of the Constitution of Pakistan by the National Assembly on April 8, 2010, removing the power of the President of Pakistan to dissolve the Parliament unilaterally. This Act has been looked upon as attempt at turning Pakistan from a semi-presidential to a parliamentary republic. The present developments are hoped to lead Pakistan to a 'decades-long democratic journey' (Zaidi 2008:8).

Civil-Military Relationship in Pakistan

It is usual that in a civilian-dominated democratic state, the army remains subservient to its civilian masters. Civilian authority decides and the military executes it. In all healthy or established democracies, the army remains apolitical. Therefore 'Civil military relations are an important barometer of stability' (Bhonsle 2011) in any country, however, 'these remain in a permanent state of mistrust in Pakistan'. The recent 'Memogate' or 'Haqqani' issue has further aggravated it and it has again exposed the clout of the Military Establishment over the Civilian Government. Circumastances of such kind are often repeated and lo! The latest one as mentioned has strained the relations between the Zardari Government and General Head Quarters (GHQ) in Rawalpindi. And the Pakistani media and people are all apprehensive of another military coup.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar has admitted how the 'Memogate Controversy' (Indo-Asian News Service 2011) has raised questions about the strength of the country's civilian government and the army's preponderant role in the nation's life. In an interview with BBC, the foreign minister has admitted the memogate controversy creating an impression that the army was pulling the levers of power in Pakistan. 'Sadly it does,' she said. 'I cannot deny that, and that's an unfortunate part that something as ludicrous as this could raise more questions'.

From Ayub Khan to Musharraf and till the present incumbent Gen. Ashfaq Parvez Kayani all army generals have demonstrated their firm grip and clout over the civil administration. No democratic leader in Pakistan has ever defied the military leadership. The power struggle continues in a cyclical fashion and the reigns of power are being exchanged between civilian and military rule.

'Why Pakistan is mostly ruled by the army generals' has found its justification in what Samuel P. Huntington has said about 'Praetorian' (IGNOU 2007:34) states. According to him, the civilian institutions are weak in these states. A vacuum in the democratic institution and civilian leadership impels groups to strive for control for their own ends and armed forces count among many potential contenders for power. A Praetorian state, according to him, is the one in which there is politicization of social structures because of absence of political institutionalisation. In case of Pakistan, yet another assertion of Huntington is also applicable

i.e. how the rise of military professionalism is inversely related to military intervention when the political structure is declining in comparison. He hints at the modern professional sense of mission military mindedness and corporate economy that inclines the military against political intervention.

In this regard, the questions raised and issues analysed by Amit Pradhan (Pradhan 2007:2846 & 2972) are worth quoting. He writes "But the larger question that persists is why democracy is not able to establish its roots in that nation. Further, it also needs to be examined why many people in Pakistan and outside believe that the army is a lesser evil than the large number of radical Islamic groups that might gain legitimacy in case there is a power vacuum in the Pakistani polity. From past experiences it can be deduced that even if all democratic forces were to come together to oust the army from power, still the latter can bounce back to power at any moment as long as it is able to resolve its own internal contradictions. Second, the marriage between various democratic forces and mainstream political parties is based on the politics of convenience and not conviction. As long as this situation persists, the army would continue to remain the de facto force in every aspect of Pakistani polity and society. Third, successive American administrations find the Pakistani Army an indispensable institution to safeguard American national interest in South Asia, especially after the declaration of the global "war on terror". Lastly, the identity of Pakistan as a nation is based on a strong sense of territoriality and less as a nation mediated by historical forces. Having created that identity (by the successive military regimes), it has always been argued that the army and the Inter- Services Intelligence are the best defenders of Pakistan's territorial integrity and national interest as compared to any democratically elected government."

To substantiate another strong point in the context of the army rule in Pakistan is the recent 26 November 2011 attack on border posts along the Pakistan-Afghan border by the NATO forces which left 24 Pakistani soldiers dead and several injured. This has been condemned as an unprovoked attack by Pakistan. And now Pakistan is asserting itself, since that incident has challenged its sovereign existence. A lead article published in the Hindu entitled "Pakistan Army back in the saddle" (Joshua 2011:8) has made a point why the army is still relevant in Pakistan. It says "The raid (in May 2011) that killed Osama bin Laden was a breach of sovereignty the Pakistanis were able to live with, but what happened in the wee hours of November 26 along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border is not just difficult to stomach but has also allowed the Pakistan Army to reclaim the national narrative." The same article also says "Some of the most die-hard critics of the Pakistan Army were out on the streets protesting against the U.S. That they were also demanding a welfare state instead of a security state was lost on the onlookers who have generally been willing to buy into any anti-U.S. rhetoric, preferring to blame the outside hand for much that ails Pakistan instead of reconciling to some of the nation's own flawed policies".

This incident has again brought the army into limelight. In a changed circumstance, it has also changed its stance vis-à-vis America. Pakistanis in a large number have denounced the US after the deadly raid. Responding to the public outcry, Islamabad has ordered the United States to vacate a drone base in the country and it is also reviewing all military and diplomatic ties with the US and NATO. Pakistan has shut down NATO supply routes into Afghanistan. In this context it is pertinent to quote Ms. Khar who has very recently in an interview acknowledged the fact that 'the army has had a larger-than-life role to play in Pakistan's history'. However, within a democratic set up.' (Indo-Asian News Service 2011)

In the light of this statement of the Foreign Affairs Minister and in the context of an unprecedented situation almost in the neighbourhood like 'Arab Spring', the army think tank should rethink its position and role in the country vis-à-vis the assertive public. Not only the army, all other actors need to rethink their role as well. The key players such as the mainstream political parties, government, military, judiciary and civil society need to respond to the exigencies of time and aspirations of the people and to act and deliver accordingly. The civilian government including the 'judiciary' on the one hand and the military establishment on the other should realize that 'consensus not conflict', 'dialogue not deadlock' and 'action not usurpation' are the ultimate norms. That stage could only be prepared by ushering in of democracy or by adapting to a democratic way of life. Hina Rabbani Khar has hinted at it by calling it an 'evolving' phase which could save Pakistan from this impending catastrophe while contributing to the progress of the country and peace in the region of South Asia. In this context Harinder Singh (Singh 2011:122) thinks with optimism that 'it is quite possible that state of Pakistan is able to drive itself out of its current internal problems. The Pakistan army sensing the security implications may come down heavily against the radical elements. The Taliban momentum will eventually roll back and the Al-Qaida shall be denied safe havens. The rival political group and parties shall begin to cooperate with the military in order to bring some sense of order within the country'. With regard to its external dealings, especially with India, nothing else can be a better assuring conclusion than quoting Mr. Inam Ul Haque (Haque 2002), the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan in 2002 that "Pakistan has adopted a path to peace. We are ready for a dialogue on Kashmir and all other outstanding issues with our neighbour India. …Pakistan for its part is ready for de-escalation and dialogue. For we believe that there is no alternative to dialogue and resolution of disputes except through peaceful means…We must collectively safeguard the principle of sovereign equality, justice and peace in the world. Our unity can and must make a difference in international relations by addressing the twin objectives of peace and development." As far as the implications of these developments on India are concerned, she has no choice left but to strengthen the democratic forces in Pakistan in tune of its 'Panchasheel Principles'.

Notes

It is alleged that the then Pakistani ambassador to the US, Hussain Haqqani, had sought US assistance on behalf of Pakistan President Asif Ali Zardari through a memo to avert a military takeover following Al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden's death in May, 2011. That incident, though not yet proved has exposed the suspicion that exists between the Civilian Government and the Army.

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Book Reviews

Sikri, Rajiv (2009): *Challenge and Strategy: Rethinking India's Foreign Policy,* Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp.xiii+31.

Gayer, Laurent and Jaffrelot, Christophe (eds.) (2010): *Armed Militias of South Asia: Fundamentalists, Maoists and Separatists,* Hurst, London, pp.xiv+276.

In the current diplomatic and security environment, South Asia matters a lot for two reasons: first, it is home to one of Asia's emerging giant, India and second, as a deadly geographic zone, it is a hub of separatist, fundamentalist and terrorist activities. The diplomatic and extremist challenges, to and from South Asia, to a majority of states are most contentious and debateable issues of the post–9/11 era. Laurent Gayer and Christophe Jaffrelot's edited volume offers a concise examination of South Asia's armed militias violent acts—which vary from class wars to ethno-religious conflicts to nationalistic movements—and slowly, despite several overlapping differences, emerging cooperation among South Asian states against growing threats to their existence/statehood. On the other side, Rajiv Sikri's *Challenge and Strategy* sheds notable light on the foreign policy of post-Cold War period's liberalised India.

Sikri's book is an extension of his monograph: *India's Foreign Policy Priorities in the Coming Decade*, and is, according to author, "neither an academic textbook on foreign policy nor a diplomat's memoir" (p.xix). More precisely, the book describes a carrier diplomat's more than three decades rich, vivacious, inclusive and internal experience of foreign policy making in the Ministry of External Affairs. The book covers almost all the aspects of India's foreign policy, but those looking for rigorous/clinching academic accounts on the subject, would better do look elsewhere.[1] The book opens with "The 21st Century World" and attaches strings to a chain of issues: the end of the Cold War; the emergence of unipolar system under the sole superpower—the USA; the decline of Soviet Union; Russia's emergence; and Asia's rise with special focus on India and China. Sikri, in the introductory chapter, briefly explains all the contentious issues and then moves on to next chapters that connect India's foreign policy with neighbouring countries, adjoining regions and global powers with a more nuanced understanding of its policies, diplomacy, institutions, strategies and options. The first half of the book, chapter 1-8, is not clinching—it is merely informative. But the second half, chapter 9 onwards, has analytical depth and freshness. This part truly connects with book's title *Challenge and Strategy* and makes Sikri's work an important contribution.

To achieve national interest and tackle foreign policy challenges, the book recommends cooperative economic diplomacy as a *realpolitik* strategy for 21st century's rising India. The author argues, that India has to take its peripheral neighbourhood seriously not only due to South Asia's multi-ethnic and multi-religious overlapping populace, which is emerging as a potential security threat to the region, but also because it "cannot hope to remain prosperous if its neighbours languish" (p.23).Thus, India has to engage its neighbours—who always feel insecure and gang up against its interests—in multi-dimensional ways by knitting its future security worries, enormous economy benefits and global political aspirations as a collective South Asian achievement.

After the neighbourhood, the book asserts, India's immediate interest lies in the South East Asia and Gulf region. The former provides India's economic and strategic depth against China and, the latter provides the largest jobs to Indians and also covers two-thirds of India's energy requirements. Here, as potential threats for its smooth growth, Sikri alerts India against China's petro-diplomacy and America's security hyper-actions. Therefore, heavily dependent India, he recommends, should forge its policy on

the merits of over-all national interest than the post-9/11 monolithic component called security. To join the comity of global players, India, he warns, should not compromise its independent foreign policy under any circumstance. Because, he believes, India represents and belongs to the Third World which, in fact, is its "natural constituency" and passport to the international political table:

> If India expects to ever make it as a Permanent Member of the UN Security Council it will be not so much because the existing Permanent Members of the Security Council (P-5) want it there, but because the "Third World" wants India to represent it in the UN Security Council (p.290).

The book establishes that, along with its growing economic, political and strategic weight in the world, India gained world attention after Pokhran-II nuclear tests—which later played a crucial role to clinch the Indo-US nuclear deal. Sikri favours this deal because it will help India to develop a three-stage nuclear programme through an open access to fuel with equivalent advantages enjoyed by nuclear weapon states. Despite these benefits, however, he criticises the Indo-US engagement for five reasons: its focus on strategic commitment than civilian nuclear cooperation; American non-proliferation motives; the cost and inefficiency of nuclear energy to bridge India's energy deficit and growing need; America's plan to use India to advance its long-term strategic goals; and "the contradiction between" both partners "long-term foreign policy objectives" (p.184).

Further, Sikri emphasises that India's crucial defence machinery is of Russian origin; therefore, in immediate urgency (like Kargil War) America cannot help India over its military concerns, like spare-parts issue. On the other hand, he maintains that the US, for the sake of strategic partnership with India, cannot afford to ignore China for several critical compulsions.[2] Thus, to achieve long-term goals in the near future, the US might readjust its policies[3] by forging "a US-China global duopoly"—akin to early 70s Nixon-Kissinger duo's balance of power strategy[4] (p.282). Despite its hypothetical nature, proposition has a merit in anarchic global politics. According to him, in a couple of decades, India's steady economic growth might make it "a country of concern to the US, as China is today... [Therefore,] India should look at capabilities" because "intentions can change" tomorrow (p.255). Here Sikri is right, because the zero-sum competition for dominance is a virtual law of international politics, therefore, any such scenario is not a distant possibility.[5] In such a case, he believes, only Russia could be India's last hope!

To achieve national interest, he concludes—with incessant review and revision of grand plans—India should forge cold strategies to sharpen its tactical diplomacy. To achieve this, Sikri suggests India should give priority to its major strengths, like: people centric policies; institution building approach; traditional independent foreign policy; cultural supremacy; and self-confidence. Because in the current international environment, he continues, not a single state would like to "cede its power willingly to another". Therefore, India has to understand that it "can become a major world power...on its own strength and political will, not because others want it to be so" (p.278).

Armed Militias of South Asia broadly examines the causes and trajectories of Maoism in Nepal; diverse militias of India (Naxalites, Kashmir insurgents, Hindu fundamentalists and Sikh separatists); Islamic fundamentalism in Pakistan and Bangladesh; Tamil national movement in Sri Lanka and the junta-war lords' nexus in Burma. The focus of the volume is not only on the evolution of these militias, but also on their establishment, infrastructure and ideological longevity. A collective convincing study of South Asia's militias makes this volume a clinching contribution to the existing literature than its contemporaries.[6]

To demystify the central foci of the book, in introduction, Gayer and Jaffrelot differentiate militias from terrorists by using two parameters: one, by defining them "as organizations perpetrating violence—physical or psychological—on behalf of a cause, an ideology or a programme"; the other, unlike terrorists, their socio-political activism "on society in order to gain grassroots support" (p.2). "[H]ow can an underground armed struggle against the state be reconciled with a mass movement of the most unprivileged…?" (p.21). To explore the answer of this question, in chapter one, Nicolas Jaoul examines Bihar's Naxal movement. Two streams of power, Jaoul notes, established Naxalities in the state: first, state's role as a biased, counterproductive and repressive unit against unprivileged sections of the society; and second, the initiation of the battle of rights between landowners (Bhumihars and Kurmis) and land-less Dalit labourers through their militias—the Ranvir Sena, the Kunwar Sena, the Bhumi Sena, and the Naxals. He further looks at inter-Naxalite violence and some Naxal factions' transition to electoral politics to continue their struggle. But they fail to make a significant headway.

Gilles Boquerat and Marie Lecomte-Tilouine explore the ethnic roots of Nepalese Maoism and its ideology, as a tool, to fight against the monarch who believes in the idea of "one nation, one language, one religion [and], one culture" (p.46) (chapter two and three). Boquerat explains that the Maoist mobilisation, as a Nepalese People's war, had a profound ethnic content against "the existence of tribal type of democratic system" maintained by the state. For Maoists, Boquerat believes, it worked as the foundation to "consolidate national unity on the basis of equality and freedom in accordance with the right of nations to self-determination in the context of the new democratic revolution" (p.52), for tracing localised roots of Maoism, thanks to Lecomte-Tilouine. Her contribution breaks the Maoists ideological myths which encouraged youths against the state for decades, like: '"just wars" [the Nepalese Peoples war],…are beneficial and lead to progress, from "unjust wars"[the Royal Army's war], which lead to social regression"' and terrorism; "soldiers are butchers"; and the perfect form of Marxism is "the Prachanda Path"! (pp.67-68). She establishes that women's enrolment in the movement has more domestic and personal reasons than ideological.

In Sri Lanka, Chris Smith argues, "Marginalisation nourished feelings of profound resentment among the Tamils, contributing to the emergence of national organisations with a separatist agenda" (p.92). On LTTE's survival, Smith clarifies that along with its trained militia and transnational weapon procurement links, the rich diaspora played a vital role (chapter four). Regarding Burma, Renaud Egreteau successfully traces three points: the relation between the junta and three types of militias; the army's vulnerability to control militias functioning (almost all border regions are autonomous or like states within a state); and junta's policy to get militias support to establish a pro-junta democratic system in the upcoming 2010 elections (chapter five). The 1987s electoral "fraud", Amelie Blom describes (chapter six), intensified the Kashmir conflict when the youth—as a '"back up force"'—joined militias for illegitimate tasks for their community's '"interests through the use of force"' (pp.135-136). She establishes, on "the basis of the patron-client theory" (p.141), the Pakistan Army used Hizb-ul-Mujahidin as an "auxiliary force" (p.139). On behalf of *jihad*, the Islamic fundamentalists' violent activities have grown many folds and today they are challenging the existence of Pakistan and Bangladesh. In post-9/11 environment, Mariam Abu Zahab and Jeremie Codron scrutinizes—on the name of social change and to achieve short-term political goals—both Muslim states successive governments' deliberately neglected fundamentalists' growth which is now jeopardising their authority (chapter seven and eight).

Jaffrelot, in chapter nine, traces the "deep-rooted culture of violence" in "Hindu nationalism" (p.199) through two major schools: Savarkarism-based on the "Tilakite brand of politics" (p.200); and the other, the Rashtriya Swayamasevak Sangh (RSS)-Hedgewar-Golwalkar's brain child. The major

difference between both schools, he notes, was only the policy execution: Savarkarism was based on Hindu militarisation and RSS was "focused on socio-psychological work in long-term perspective" (p.201). As a result, white Savarkarism, after Gandhi's assassination, met with its final end and as the mother organisation of several extremist Hindu outfits, the RSS flourished. However, he asserts, the RSS continued Savarkarism through its extremist arm known as Bajrang Dal. In chapter ten, Gayer notes that the Congress party, in order to curtail opposition in Punjab, sowed the seeds of Sikh separatism which, "following Operation Blue Star", was overtaken by the youth. However, through active support, Pakistan attempted "to satellise the Sikh insurgency" but due to Sikh militias collusion it failed to yield this goal (p.224). Finally, Gayer and Jaffrelot briefly concludes the valuable outcomes of all the case studies which, in tot, convey a sociological solution over the endless exertion of military might by state and non-state actors.

Though both books, differ in argument, scope and content, they make focused contributions to diplomatic, security and South Asian studies. Finally, for their clarity and balance, the books under review are recommended for both specialised and non-specialised readers.

Notes

1. See Sumit Ganguly ed. (2010) *India's Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press); Harsh V. Pant ed. (2009) *India's Foreign Policy in a Unipolar World* (London: Routledge); and Harsh V. Pant (2008) *Contemporary Debates in Indian Foreign and Security Policy: India Negotiates Its Rise in the International System* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan). However, some other works also cover Indian concern and foreign policy in good length: Strobe Talbott (2004) *Engaging India: diplomacy, democracy, and the bomb* (Washington D.C.: The Brooking Institution); Sumit Ganguly ed. (2003) *India as an Emerging Power* (London: Frank Cass).

2. See David Shambaugh ed. (2005) *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press); and Zhiqun Zhu (2006) *US–China Relations in the 21st Century: Power transition and peace* (New York: Routledge).

3. A few years ago, regarding this point, Stephen P. Cohen reached a similar conclusion, "The Enterprise episode revealed how quickly the United States could change its policies, one year supporting India against China and only a few years later supporting both China and Pakistan against India". Also see Stephen P. Cohen (2001) *India: Emerging Power* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press), p. 137.

4. See Fredrik Logevall and Andrew Preston (2008) *Nixon in the World: American Foreign Relations, 1969-1977* (New York: Oxford University Press); Yafeng Xia (2006) *Negotiating with the Enemy: U.S.-China Talks During the Cold War, 1949-1972* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press); and Henry A. Kissinger (1979) *White House Years* (New York: Little Brown & Co).

5. See Robert D. Kaplan (2009), "Centre Stage for the Twenty-first Century: Power Plays in the Indian Ocean", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 16-32.

6. D. Suba Chandran and P R Chari ed. (2009) *Armed Conflicts in South Asia 2009: Growing Violence* (New Delhi: Routledge).

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Banerjee, Sarnath (2011): *The Harappa Files,* Harper Collins, New Delhi, pp.215.

What I have attempted to do in the following lines may be categorised as a fairly daring and risky task. I have tried to review what the author himself calls as 'loosely bound graphic commentaries,' claiming to have moved away from the form of the graphic novel.

However, this too is an immense responsibility given that the genre of the graphic novel is itself not an established one. There has been sheer reluctance on the part of quite a few to accept this as a literary category. While some define a graphic novel as a narrative that has been expressed through sequential drawings (graphically), instead of the usual prose form, critics cite that there hardly lies any distinction between such works and comic books. There does surface merit in what one quarter of literary critics have got to say about these endeavours, that the seriousness of the message that the authors want to convey is often watered down by the adoption of such a medium and that by the use of the term 'graphic novel', many seek to legitimise and 'raise' their work. In several leading bookstores, works like these are stacked up together with comic series. However, adopting such a stand would be unfair as it would mean disregarding other serious work by authors who have tried to convey their narratives through these means. One cannot be blind to the fact that graphically conveyed narratives often bring together and put across a variety of perspectives with relative ease. This makes them more intelligible and appealing to a greater number and thus possesses the potential to get its message across to a wider readership. And the idea that this medium may probably be more conducive to literary forms like satires still needs to gain ground. One definitely needs to distinguish between more serious themes within this category from the others. Relegating the works of Spiegelman or others of his kind to the oblivion would be excessive.

It is in the light of these ongoing debates that I have reviewed the present work by Banerjee. When Banerjee, of the fame of *Corridor* and *The Barn Owl's Wondrous Capers*, claims to have moved away from the graphic novel to writing a graphic commentary, it sounds ambiguous. Just like a novel, irrespective of it being graphic or in prose, a commentary too, is underlined by some continuity. However, Banerjee's 'loosely bound' comes in the way of viewing this work as creatively outstanding. Rather than a commentary, the book emerges as a collation of short graphical comments on a number of disparate issues. Though the first few pages set the stage, a few chapters into the book and the reader has to be resuscitated to the reality and agenda of the Harappa Committee. It has been endeavoured to document the great hormonal changes striking the country. However, these 'Harappa findings', which shuttle between political, economic, social and historical junctures and go back and forth often render themselves difficult to be gauged for their relevance vís-a-vís the greater Harappa Redevelopment project. 'Funf Minuten Fraü' is one such case in point. Though the work brilliantly brings forth an element of satire, these seem peppered throughout the work and sometimes far between. Though an intelligent work, the line of distinction between any serious graphic undertaking and comic books is highly blurred; and if not handled with precision, the fear of crossing over into the latter's territory lingers on and the Harappa Files, fearfully, lies on that threshold.

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Schaffer, Teresita C (2010): *India and the United States in the 21st Century: Reinventing Partnership,* CSIS Press, Washington, DC, pp.264.

In the post-Cold War era India's relations with the United States has reached unprecedented heights. India's increasing nuclear capability, growing armed strength and emerging economic potential are some of the key reasons which made Washington to forge ties with New Delhi. The conclusion of Indo-US civil nuclear deal further expanded the scope and nature of both countries' ties. Teresita C. Schaffer's contemporary and wide ranging study covers major issues, along with regional and global issues, of bilateral relationship between the two democracies.

The book aims to examine the bilateral relationship and to assess several other vital elements which would serve as building blocks to this growing relationship. The author, however, argues that 'the US-India partnership still has relatively little reach beyond' bilateral subject (p.2). In the introduction, the author notes that transformation to this relationship happened 'due to the new Indian foreign policy that emerged from the ashes of the Cold War' with massive economic reforms and its diplomatic support for the US missile defence (p.3).

The chapters from second to fifth examine economy, energy, security, nuclear and space issues as major areas of cooperation between India and the US. While examining Indo-US economic relations, the author stresses the growing importance of Indo-American community which, in fact, is playing vital role to strengthen this relationship. On the energy aspect, the author notes that both states share a strong interest in reliable international energy markets and safe transit of energy resources across the world. The debate revolves around – except several bilateral issues – the growing threats to Indian Ocean region in particular and the Asia security in general from China's sharp and steady rise. Apart from this, in the context of US-India security relations, the author argues that the litmus test lies in the cooperation in fields of nuclear technology, missile and space.

From chapter six onwards, the book looks at how the US and Indian interests converge and diverge over several issues internationally and in regions surrounding the subcontinent. The author argues that despite of de-hyphenation of Pakistan from Indo-US relations, the impact of Pakistan factor still looms large in their ties, because Pakistan is fighting Washington's global war against terror in its neighbourhood, thus is the most important geopolitical partner. Further, the author impressively brings out correlation between the rise of extremism in Afghanistan and India's security. However, she fails to link how Pakistan's intelligence agencies act as catalyst to bring this correlation. Schaffer stresses that Chinese growing economic and military presence in South Asia and Indian Ocean region begin to pose strategic challenge to India, therefore, it needs to counter China by forging strategic and economic tactics against it. In order to meet its growing energy requirements, the author stresses, India should take extra measures to challenge China's petro-diplomacy.

Beyond the neighbourhood, India's interests lie in Southeast Asia which is, however, well articulated in its "Look East policy" and through its economic, ethnic and cultural presence in the region. In the Middle East, Schaffer looks at India's defense and intelligence relations with Israel and its economic and security interest in the Persian Gulf where both states' interest overlap each other except Iran's nuclear issue.

Further, Shaffer emphasizes India's relation with other global powers. India shares a common interest with Russia to maintain multipolar order in post-Cold War era which, however, contrasts with the US approach to handle global issues. She observes that economic relations between India and Europe are important while not affecting the mutual strategic interest of India and the US. Only in two areas where both countries see each other in opposite blocs are WTO, UN General Assembly and climate change negotiations. Despite of knowing that the future global issues cannot be dealt without India, the author notes, Washington is calm on former's UNSC membership.

The concluding chapter of the book sheds light on interesting puzzles of the partnership, like: what kind of partnership would suit India and the US?, how can this partnership become "strategic"?, and how will it be affected by changes in India, the US and in international environment? The final finding is that New Delhi prioritizes bilateral relations but Washington's perception goes beyond this limiting factor. For the US, the relationship should operate not just bilaterally but also globally on wide range of issues. To bridge this gap, the author offers an insight of a flexible arrangement based on a shared understanding of each other's strategic importance and core interests. This kind of model can provide comprehensive consultations and selective cooperation to both countries which can help both to operate at different levels – bilaterally, regionally and globally. At the end, Schaffer points out some issues that could affect US-India partnership in future: a "fragile" coalition and inward-looking Indian government, turbulent Pakistan or growing China, and change in global power structure.

Despite of wide coverage of Indo-US relationship, Schaffer's book unravels the reasons of growing partnership and its strategic prospects. The other strength of this book is that it explains various regions' issues and institutions' role for building up this relationship. The major weakness of the book is that the author takes up several issues which left unanswered at the end along with repetition of facts in some chapters. Thus, collectively, all these weaknesses make the book to swing between high-low speedometers of academic rigor. Moreover one cannot agree with Schaffer when she calls Indian coalition government as "fragile" when it has performed well since 2004 along with its predecessor coalition government. This book is good for those who are interested to know on recent developments between India and the US.

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