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**SOCIETY FOR SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES**

Department of Politics & International Studies

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Puducherry, India

# **INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES (IJSAS)**

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Notes should be placed at the end of the text and their location in the text marked by superscript Arabic Numerals. References should be cited within the text in parenthesis.

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## **MESSAGE FROM AMBASSADOR MADANJEET SINGH**

*The South Asia Foundation (SAF) is a secular, non-profit and non-political organization, designed to promote regional cooperation among eight countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.*

*The launch of the International Journal of South Asian Studies (IJSAS) by the Department of Politics and International Studies, Pondicherry University, is most welcome as it would also help in achieving the SAF's cardinal objectives of upholding its core values of regional cooperation and peace through education, cultural interaction and sustainable economic development.*

*I wish the IJSAS all success as an international journal with intellectual scholarship which will be able to cover a wide array of issues and interests and serve as a platform for a cross section of professionals and practitioners to highlight concerns in South Asian region and related fields worldwide.*

**MADANJEET SINGH**  
*UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador  
Founder, South Asia Foundation*

## **PATRON'S NOTE**

I was associated with the South Asia Foundation for quite some time, which believes in the cardinal principle of Regional Co-operation. I had a dream Project in my mind, while assuming office as Vice-Chancellor of Pondicherry University that a full-fledged Post Graduate Programme in South Asian Studies for students from the SAARC countries should be initiated at the University. Secondly, I wanted to launch a Journal of international significance and relevance for championing the cause of South Asian region. Both these dreams have been realized within a few months time thanks to the benevolence of South Asia Foundation and the labour of the Department of Politics & International Studies.

This journal is essentially a collective academic endeavour to generate a healthy and scholarly debate to understand the peculiar problems and issues concerning South Asia. Besides governmental efforts and activism of civil society, the academia here and elsewhere would also contribute immensely through this Journal to usher in peace, co-operation and development in the subcontinent.

I wish and pray that this journal would provide the necessary impetus to policy makers in this part of the region so that a tangible progress will swiftly follow on political, economic, cultural and trade fronts.

I sincerely hope that the Society for South Asian Studies which promotes the Journal would evolve as an intellectual platform for serious academic deliberations for SAARC countries in the years to come.

***-Professor J A K Tareen  
Vice -Chancellor***

## EDITOR'S NOTE

*Under the patronage of Ambassador Madanjeet Singh, founder of the South Asia Foundation and under the inspiring leadership of Professor J A K Tareen, Vice-Chancellor of Pondicherry University, the Department of Politics & International Studies of the University has taken the initiative to bring out a Biannual International Journal of South Asian Studies with the sole objective of contributing in its own humble way towards the process of regional co-operation and peace building that has already been initiated in the region by the establishment of the SAARC as also by the efforts of number of civil society organizations in South Asia cutting across political boundaries that came into existence during the time of the independence of the subcontinent. Visionaries like our revered Ambassador visualize the emergence of South Asian Union similar to that of the European Union with a currency of its own. Ambassador Madanjeet Singh has christened the yet to be born currency as SASIA, which he is sure would take birth. But we are also well aware that the arrangements like SAPTA and SAFTA have not made much headway and hence the emergence of a South Asian Union with a common currency is not that easy as we think. Even though SAARC was inaugurated in 1985 it could not go beyond inter-governmental organization because of imponderable problems and issues. The task before us is transforming challenges into opportunities and conflicts into co-operation. For that purpose the SAARC initiatives and activities are required to be supported by in-depth analysis of the problems by committed academics on the one hand and strengthening of region building by civil society organizations like the South Asia Foundation, on the other.*

*Under the circumstances, it is felt that launching this kind of Journal would help promote publication of original academic research in humanities, culture, comparative religion, social science, industry, education, rural development, science & technology for development, ecology & environment, gender & development, security issues, ethnic conflicts, domestic politics, governance & social movements, grassroots governance etc in South Asia and thus contribute substantially towards strengthening regional co-operation.*

*South Asia is one of the great cradles of civilization in the world. It has been the theatre of great conflicts and wars too. The scars of partition have been haunting the region ever since the withdrawal of the British. However, following the initiative of the late General Zia-ul-Rahman of Bangladesh an arrangement has been hammered out for regional co-operation in South Asia.*



*Even though SAARC is moving at a slow pace it has contributed towards greater understanding among the people of South Asia. For furthering this understanding, academic centers of South Asian Studies are required to be established and networked in various Universities in different countries of the region. Similarly, for dissemination of knowledge as also to promote serious research in all aspects of South Asia inter-disciplinary Journals are required to be launched from various centers of higher learning in South Asia.*

*Specific objectives of our Journal are to publish original empirical research and theoretical studies on religion, ethnicity, bi-lateral and multi-lateral relations, trade and economic relations, gender and development studies, civil society movements and studies on democracy, problems of marginalized sections, cross border terrorism and violation of human rights, ecology and environment, issues in governance at the local, national and regional levels.*

*In the present issue we have included sixteen pieces of fine writing by experts on South Asian Studies from within India and abroad. The present issue opens with an essay on rethinking social research methodology in the context of globalization by Professor Rajan Gurukkal. Professor Gurukkal points out that there is an upper hand of neo-positivists in the contemporary social science research who use higher statistical techniques to quantify data in the most sophisticated manner ensuring maximum accuracy. In such a situation, hermeneutic method necessitating the faculty of higher theoretical cognition is to a large extent set aside. He advocates for a people oriented research and accordingly discusses the contributions of Pierre Bourdieu as the foremost among the social theorists who sought to propound Reflexive Social Science Methodology.*

*The next article is by L Premashekhara who talks about the three frontiers theory to explain India-Pakistan animosity. He emphasizes the nature of the frontier and argues that the fundamental reason for the troubled relations between the two neighbours is geopolitical.*

*Sino-Indian relations are the theme of Professor Bhim Sandhu's paper. He is of the view that China has become favourably disposed towards having better relations with India since the end of the Cold War. In view of the growing economic cooperation between the two countries a peaceful settlement of the lingering border dispute is on the anvil.*

*Jayaraj Amin discusses the distinct aspects of the developmental strategies of EC/EU to draw lessons for facilitating cooperation in SAARC. Learning from the experience of the EU/EC, it is necessary to endow regional*

*institutions with certain autonomy to perform regionally oriented activities and attempt to bring the SAARC process closer to people so as to make it effective and durable, he writes.*

*Professor Santosh C Saha presents an alternative hypothesis to understand the intricacies of Hindu- Muslim communal violence in India. He is of the view that the incidents of riots in India are symptoms of genuine assorted problems such as inefficiency in management, governmental misrule, corruption and over concentration of political power in the hands of the ruling elites.*

*P Kesava Kumar's attempt is to read Indian history from a dalit perspective. He says that dalit historiography throws a challenge to colonial, nationalist, Marxist and right wing historians. He is of the opinion that Ambedkar's method of constructing history from dalit perspective is path breaking.*

*K Venugopal Reddy's article deals with memoir and how it reconnects the past with the present or present with the past. In fact memoirs demonstrate how an individual's memory can intersect with the historical phenomenon. Against this backdrop Reddy's paper critically explores and interrogates the representation of the subalternity of dalits in colonial Andhra.*

*In their paper Babu P George and Anuratha Shyamsundar explore the complexity of migration and counter migration. They are of the opinion that a weakening of the dollar and the lure offered by the new generation India-based companies may amplify the trend and cause the US to lose a significant part of the software business to India.*

*Ashwani Sharma discusses the Post-Cold War scenario in the Indian Ocean. He observes that Indian Ocean during the last one and a half decades has changed its character altogether particularly after the demise of Soviet Union and in the light of globalization and liberalization. It is not that ocean as it used to be. Rather the military alliances and competition of the 1950s and 60s are being translated into economic alliances.*

*K S Pavithran argues that with the collapse of East Bloc led by Soviet Union and the consequent globalization attempts from capitalism and neo-imperialism, the notion of non- alignment appears to be more problematic. B Krishnamurthy is of the opinion that in the context of the changed global system India should emulate France rather than pursue dogmatic nonalignment of the Nehru era.*

*J Sheela and M Jayamala conducted a study on the health status of elderly women and their well being. They have found that elderly women have psychological problems like depression, isolation, loneliness and irritation. Health problems of elderly women are the most serious issues that have to be confronted by the society on the whole. C S Anuradha talks about women political leadership and its perception in South Asia. She argues that the moving of female from the 'private' to the 'public' domain has hardly been appreciated.*

*D S Rajan's brief note on the recent Tibetan unrest underlies that the New Delhi-Beijing relations may not undergo any serious crisis.*

*In every issue of IJSAS, our attempt will be to publish original contributions touching upon the major issues of South Asian society, polity and economy. We earnestly believe that the inaugural issue of the Journal has set the trend. We request the specialists on South Asian Studies all over the world to reflect upon the research papers and articles published in this issue as also to send their research studies for publication in the upcoming issues of IJSAS.*

**- Professor M B Pillai**

Executive Editor

## **RETHINKING SOCIAL RESEARCH METHODOLOGY IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALISATION**

**Rajan Gurukkal**

### *Abstract*

*There is an increasing awareness today about the fact that social reality cannot be understood by surveying empirical conditions and quantifying them, for social reality is socially constructed. In order to understand constructed realities we need methodological strategies of deconstruction enabling access to the profoundly buried social universe of the production and reproduction of realities.*

The higher knowledge enunciated in social sciences of both the positivist and hermeneutic types, has always been remaining inaccessible to the mass due to its positivist academic pretensions expressed in scientific equations as well as the hermeneutic highbrow humanism expressed in theoretical nomenclature. By and large social scientists have been studying social phenomena empirically under the methodological assumptions of the positivistic science, a contingent practice inspired by Newtonian Physics that used to be the aspired foundation taken for granted. Most of us as professionals and non-professionals continue the practice by surveying the empirical situation using scaling and sampling for understanding the social aspect that we seek to study. There is an upper hand of neo-positivists in the contemporary social science research, who use higher statistical techniques to quantify the data in the most sophisticated manner ensuring maximum accuracy. Hermeneutic method necessitating the faculty of higher theoretical cognition is to a great extent set aside.

### **The Case for the Hermeneutic**

Quantitative empirical assessment is important in social science research but that is not enough, for the linear quantification is possible only in the case of basic statistical data.<sup>1</sup> Beyond that the study ceases to be mathematical, for many a social aspect defies at the outset the use of quantitative method. There is an increasing awareness today about the fact that social reality cannot be understood by surveying empirical conditions and quantifying them, for social reality is socially constructed. In order to understand constructed realities we need methodological strategies of deconstruction enabling access to the

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*Professor Rajan Gurukkal is Director, School of Social Sciences, Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam, Kerala, India.*

profoundly buried social universe of the production and reproduction of realities. To understand what constitute social reality; who produce and reproduce it and how, we should know where to focus and what to analyse. Social scientists and philosophers in the past have offered a lot of explanations that provide insight into these. As a summing expression we call these explanations, social theory. A social researcher should unfailingly know social theory not only for being capable of grasping deeper social processes, but also for not being ridiculously engaged in reinventing the wheel.

A social researcher has to learn a lot from Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Malinowski, Levi-Strauss and so on. Social theory is an ever-growing domain that helps us unravel the processes and interconnections below the surface reality of social life. It is the wisdom accrued through sustained attempts at exploring the deeper meanings of explicit features and practices of the society. By resorting to various analytical strategies it helps us understand the link between the surface reality of social practices and their submerged referential. Society is an ambiguous term unless defined conceptually and explained theoretically in terms of material processes, relations, systems and structures. Description of surface features of the society makes little sense if does not lead to an explanation in the context of social structure. It is essential to know whether the society is stratified or non-stratified, redistributing or expropriating, hierarchical or non-hierarchical and so on before we characterise its practices. Descriptive characterisation of social practices fails to capture not only connotations and denotations but also their ontology. What do we understand about the conventions in a hierarchical society if they are merely described and not explained in the light of social theory of hierarchy? Interconnections and correlation between practices and system of social relations have to be discovered by the social researcher. It is important to unveil the embedded as well entrenched nature of the semantics of social practices by drawing upon their homologous relation to social structure. Practices are syntagms that signify the social structurally contingent semantics of power relations, which is often covered by a veil of ideology indispensable to the system. In short, for a social scientist to ask serious questions theoretical insights into correlation of social aspects is essential. Higher level quantification through sophisticated techniques is fine for achieving precision in answers, but often statisticians ignorant of social theory waste their time answering precisely a wrongly framed question.

It is not difficult to make a case for the supremacy of the hermeneutic over plane empiricism, in the context of social science knowledge of intellectual depth. But despite their

methodological differences and subjectivity >< objectivity debates both – the hermeneutic as well as empiricist – belonged to the same epistemic base. Both of them grew up in positivism and modernism as the obverse and reverse of scientific knowledge, one along the path of logo-centrism and teleology taking major hermeneutic strides and the other in the path of mathematical analysis giving rise to a series of all inclusive equations.

### **Postmodern Critique**

For the past two or three decades, the modernist hermeneutic assumptions have been under epistemological attacks from postmodernism poised against foundationalism, logo-centrism, structuralism and teleology. Today, under postmodern academic conditions the positivist as well as the hermeneutic are being seriously critiqued – the positivist in the context of its tottering foundation acquired from material science and the hermeneutic in the context of its logo-centrism and meta-narration. Through semiotics, feminism, psychoanalysis, new historicism, cultural materialism, desire-based queer theory, theories of ethnicity, cultural relativism and so on, postmodern theories have questioned the epistemological validity of the concept of social totality. Jean-Francois Lyotard and Michel Foucault first and Baudrillard with many others subsequently have written a lot to unseat modernity from its intellectual hegemony by bashing right at the roots of its authenticity, authority and credibility. The writings made meta-narratives and teleological grand theories epistemologically unfounded and suggested alternative modes of perception confined to the local or micro as intelligible for all intellectual inquiries. There is an assertion in them of deconstruction and solipsistic outlook with uncertainty about the validity of scientific theory tantamount to the celebration of doubt as the hallmark of intellectual efforts.

Postmodern is often identified as the feature of the latest in art and literature by a few and there is a tendency to brand everything purposely unstructured and disorderly as postmodern. Postmodern is not all that. For a social scientist who understands it epistemologically, postmodern denotes a major cognitive crisis that intellectuals confront in the regime of knowledge production – a condition of uncertainty, flippancy, incredibility and elusiveness about all theories – caused by the realisation of the archaeology and genealogy of the organisation of ‘scientific knowledge’ exposing the figurative character of its language. It is the realisation of the constitution of science, its strategies of authentication or production of truth-effects, and secrets of domination. It is also realisation of a series of intellectual impossibilities such as tracing the historical origins of social processes, systems and structures, institutions, practices etc., theorisation of social phenomena and human affairs in

any definitive sense; derivation of fixed meanings; and identification of facts. The postmodern understanding that is post-structural and de-constructive successfully exposed the foundation of knowledge in modernity as imagined and not real.

Postcolonial is a general expression that has come in vogue almost as interchangeable with postmodern. Postcolonial social researches are concerned about the other, the subaltern, the subject, the marginalised. They are avowedly inclined to resist the multiple forms of social institutional oppression rampant today under the iron hand of homogenisation. They strongly and convincingly articulate the plurality of centres, a re-inscription of a multiplicity of emergent identities.<sup>2</sup> Their main intellectual strategy is textual deconstruction exploring the sub-text, hyper-text, and context to reach out the trans-textual regime called inter-textuality. Postcolonial sociology views authenticity as relational and identities unstable. It maintains that the self >< other dichotomy is a part of the rhetoric of power and not of cultural essence.<sup>3</sup>

### **Depoliticising Dimension**

No critique of postmodern/postcolonial perspective can afford an outright denial of the latter's relevance to social science research, for its influence is academically transforming and intellectually entrenching to any of the serious social scientists of the contemporary world. This is not to postulate it beyond criticism at any rate. The first and foremost criticism is against its re-articulation of the imperialist agenda, a sort of re-enactment of colonialism in a reverse gear.<sup>4</sup> It acts as an intellectual mask of neo-colonial processes. It is important to note that postmodern/postcolonial studies as such do not address the material exigencies of neo-colonialism, including the neo-colonialism of western academic institutions themselves. As Gayatri Spivak has observed, "the attribution of a unified speaking voice and an authentic native essence to the colonised, far from destabilising imperialistic cultural practices actually serves to reconstitute the subject of the west."<sup>5</sup> While colonialism was engaged in forcibly bringing the native minds to the European pattern of organisation of knowledge through sciences and laws, postcolonialism discovering the process, re-enacts the same thing. Despite its theoretical repositioning within the process, postcolonial studies turn out to be exercises with the inaccessible and irreversible, concerned with interchange, assimilation, appropriation and re-appropriation. The postmodern/postcolonial perspective, poised against colonialism and committed to decolonising initiatives, is noted for its colonising nature.

Always away from people and social reality, postmodernists/postcolonialists, are interested more in the epistemological plain of deconstruction than in the political plain of social reconstruction. At the same time it is true that postmodern/postcolonial thinking recognises resistance to the current social institutional oppression its responsibility. But it has no praxis to change the social institutional oppression that it rigorously describes in a language of radical politics. At a closer look this radical politics turns out to be apolitical and reactionary with no creative potential to respond to the question of political actions and reactions of the contemporary world. It inadvertently urges to withdraw intellectuals from activism. The main problem with postmodern/postcolonial intellectualism is that its project ends up with the analytical game of discourse and textuality, a domain wherein its anti-colonial rhetoric then quite appropriately gets subsumed. By celebrating doubts postmodern/postcolonial thinking provides a legitimate status to ignorance on *a par* with theoretical knowledge. Consequently, postmodern/postcolonial knowledge occludes any understanding of the determinate logic of capitalism. Its widely celebrated concept of cultural plurality is not only illusory but also dangerous in the sense that it encourages sub-nationalist divisions, fundamentalist beliefs, and identities. This apolitical character cannot be overlooked in the context of neocolonialism/ne imperialism and neoliberal globalisation. So perhaps the most important social criticism against postmodern/postcolonial perspective is its politically disengaging nature or the depoliticising character.

Nevertheless, there are many virtues about postmodern/postcolonial thinking that social science research cannot ignore at any rate. Its epistemological contribution to the making of the limitations of modernity transparent is probably foremost among them. We have to draw critical insights from postmodernist epistemology and confront its apolitical dimension intellectually. A socially committed researcher has to constitute a methodological perspective that at once accepts the limitations of positivism and modernity on the one side and rejects the apolitical dimension. This leads to open up the gate of post-positive social science research methodology that upholds the primacy of people's needs.

### **Globalisation**

Within a decade of globalisation and seven years of WTO reign economic nationalism has become impossible and sovereign power impaired, in the third world. The number of the poor people has increased phenomenally. Many are deprived of access even to drinking water that is a commodity of MNC/TNC industries. Globalisation has caused the loss of aids to food and fuel, making the life of the poor incredibly miserable and pushing them into popular



revolts for survival as exemplified by the upsurges in Indonesia in 1998 for food and fuel, and Bolivia today for drinking water. Commercialisation of health, education, drinking water, agriculture, media, information system and what not, has made miserable the life of the middle class too. There is a peremptory halt to welfare measures in all developing countries. With the state growing indifferent to problems of drinking water, food, education, welfare schemes, public distribution and so on enhancing market dependence, localities decline. In the light of the new drafts on Intellectual Property Rights all life forms are being patented. Having made agricultural seeds a patented commodity, the peasants are unable to exchange them any more. Fertilisers have become all the more expensive making agriculture costly but with a lot uncertainty about the market for their goods. There is widespread social unrest across the third world where the governments are advised to suppress the people's movements ruthlessly. Privatisation of public assets is pushing developing nations like India into solvency crisis, where public sector disinvestment is forging ahead under the pretext of a reform, transferring national resources into the hands of a minority. Underdeveloped and developing nations are in debt traps and people commit suicide under the myriad of pressures that the market-friendly culture exerts. Naturally there is economic decay, starvation, suicide, drug abuse, prostitution, Mafia rule, terrorism, bribery and other forms of corruption in unprecedented magnitude.

Globalisation means financial globalisation facilitating flight of American and European capital to developing countries through liberalisation of capital market leading to a series of factors like privatisation, free trade, foreign investment growth, hegemony of global organisations, mounting debt, intensifying competition, strengthening of new market pressures, heightening of political, cultural, social and economic insecurity etc. The sudden and arbitrary withdrawal of foreign capital investment happens in the name of one excuse or the other pushing the host nation in trouble as experienced recently by Malaysia and Indonesia. Decline of the public sphere is another disaster. In the third world the TNC/MNC capital makes unbridled influx into areas of natural resources and eco-systems of bio-diversity causing dispossession of local people's age old subsistence strategies, disruption of culture, destruction of local wisdom and devastation of habitat.

### **The Social Need**

Social Science knowledge as such cannot solve social problems and no one would expect any social scientist to do it either. But all social sciences, if taught and read with a genuine concern for social reality, would lead to the making of an active citizenry capable of

praxis intervention ensuring social progress. Serious social scientific knowledge engenders the faculty to critical assessment of social reality and it is critical consciousness that citizens need the most in a democratic society to engage in policy debates and facilitate progressive legislation resolving social problems. Social scientists should know the epistemological relation of their sciences to the politics of human progress combining liberty with equity. Such social scientists alone would be capable of empowering people to partake in policy debates. Unfortunately we do not have many such social scientists, a tragedy we owe to the poor social science curriculum.

There are numerous issues like violation of human rights, gender discrimination, child abuse, dispossession of marginal communities, denial of common property rights, environmental degradation and so forth besides the hackneyed questions of socio-economic inequality, poverty and exploitation. Students graduating in social sciences should be able to acquire the socially useful knowledge in their disciplines to get themselves empowered with the faculty to critical assessment, the vital service that the society needs the most from higher education. As this knowledge is essential for any citizen to effectively participate in policy debates, a crucial function that s/he has to discharge under democracy.<sup>6</sup> In that sense, reorienting social science research to people centred and empowerment oriented ways is part of the national democratisation strategy.

The tendency of social science research has been by and large to address itself the question of development, often uncritically assuming that the term development means people's development too. It ignores the multiple meanings of the term development and the ambiguity in its generic use. This at once forecloses the possibility of realising the fact that people's development is only a part of the rhetoric of the dominant paradigm of development, the centrality of which is the agenda of capitalist growth that precludes equity. The mainstream social science research fails to recognise that the term development has become an obfuscating metaphor that hides its real meaning and subsumes its critical alternatives. In fact, there has been no metaphor like development, so popular, influential and charged with ideology, until the term globalisation gained currency. Under the rhetoric of development all the larger social goals get sidelined and neglected.

There is no wonder that conventional social science researches have proved to be of no use for the people and that social science higher education is being widely branded as useless. The quality of social science higher education has been invariably poor all over the country during all these years. Commercialisation of education has led to a further dilution or

even replacement of pure social sciences by their auxiliaries that are capable of being vocational subjects. Largely social science education has become a mechanical procedure that alienates the youth from social reality. It is indeed, a depoliticising exercise.

### **Paths of Diversification**

Several non-conventional areas of knowledge are emerging in social sciences as a result of multidisciplinary and cross-faculty researches today. Many of them are interdisciplinary domains of knowledge that belong to none of the conventional disciplines. Disciplines are drawing closer to one another and their boundaries are waning. Even faculties merge and give rise to new faculties that defy kinship with the extant ones.<sup>7</sup> Correspondingly many discipline-based academic Departments disappear or get radically reconstituted all over the world. This is a sure sign of the collapse and phasing out of conventional disciplines and discipline-based higher education in general and researches in particular. It is therefore, imperative for us to shift research from the stale areas of mono-disciplinary culture to interdisciplinary nature with people occupying the central place. Departments of each social science discipline/sub-discipline have to restructure themselves by merging with one another and emerging afresh. Those of us who refuse to change and tend to duplicate the research in conventional disciplines are inevitably doomed to replacement.

Many new areas of knowledge are emerging in the domain of Social Sciences, which the conventional Departments of research can absorb to get themselves structurally adjusted to the changing social needs. The interface of Geography, Environmental Systems and Human Existence is one example of an emerging area of great possibilities and potentials in the context of the contemporary social needs in India. Geography is the most neglected, least updated, and much wanted vital social science. The discipline of geography traditionally encompasses the study of spatial patterns in both the natural and cultural environment. The dynamic and interdisciplinary character of the field is making it increasingly linked to a wide range of societal and environmental problems, including those related to urban and suburban economic development, poverty, crime, human health, water resources, water quality, soil resources, biodiversity, habitat loss, and climate change. A Department of Geography and Environmental Systems highlighting the importance of interactions between natural environmental systems and social, political and economic systems is becoming increasingly relevant far more than a conventional Department of Geography or Geology. Plenty of socially useful researches can be designed combining natural sciences, mathematics and social sciences with human geography as the central domain. The exposure to knowledge about the

interconnectedness of faculties conventionally separated into sciences, social sciences and humanities can produce social scientists with better vision, analytical skills and cognitive ability. The conundrum of socio-spatial processes of our times necessitates serious social science researches of people-oriented nature.

### **People Oriented Research**

People-oriented social science research is possible only when we have enough social scientists with clarity and conviction about the politics of their specialisation. The politics of knowledge enables them to be actively responding to social needs. There are several instances of remarkable social benefits generated as a result of intellectual responses of committed social scientists to social requirements in the third world. The methodology of Process Documentation Research is a notable example of such a fall out of social scientists' intellectual response to the strategic needs of local level development initiatives involving the designing of people centred institutions and capacity building. This is taking social science to people. The social scientists of the Institute of Philippine Culture of the Manila University [IPC], well known for their innovative adaptation of social theories to meet local transformation needs, are credited with the formulation of PDR tools (1988). Their first intervention to the people's development issue was by evolving Participatory Techniques [1978]. The Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University developed Participatory Appraisal Tools [1980] in the light of the success achieved by the IPC social scientists. The International Development Studies, Roskilde University, Denmark which evolved interdisciplinary comparative methodology [1992], to cater to the local development needs elsewhere in the third world, was also inspired by the ICP social scientists.<sup>8</sup> The PDR methodology is founded on post-positivist social sciences of reflexive analytical strategies. The focus of PDR is on Social Process Learning through systematic documentation for collective use.

The context of the innovation of PDR tools is that of the ineffectiveness of the usual Managerial Techniques of Monitoring and Evaluation (MTME). Even participatory monitoring and evaluation tools that sought to transcend the limitations of the MTME package faced lacunae. The main shortcoming in all these was lack of experiential learning. Very often the people's development initiatives involved recurrences of the same follies and rediscovery of the old ways to success, both indicating absence of learning either from failures or from success. This accounts for the need of a shift from process monitoring to

process documentation and participatory learning enabling institutional development and social capital accumulation.

The PDR tools are the same for both the bureaucrats as well as the people's bodies at the local level, so long as the goals converge and the thrust is on institutional learning through experience. Acquisition of systematised knowledge about the structure and working of the local governance activities is the first step of PDR in the present context. It includes the reconstruction of the history of the local people and their material conditions of existence and experiences. The experiences include perceptions of activities, differences of opinion, conflicts, conflict resolution measures and so forth. Open-ended interview records and ethno-methodological appraisals help the social scientists produce retrospective PDR output.

### **Reflexive Sociology**

Reflexive sociology is perhaps the most successful approach in the effort to understand human affairs in terms of social processes and relations, for it helps the researcher position himself/herself free of the biases inherent in the social science, in the individual social scientist and in the researcher.

It is Pierre Bourdieu who comes foremost among the social theorists who sought to propound Reflexive Social Science Methodology.<sup>9</sup> Bourdieu states that the challenge of social research is to unveil the most deeply submerged structures of the various realms which constitute the social universe, as well as the 'mechanisms' which tend to ensure their reproduction or their transformation. He then proposes what is called reflexive methodological process of social research to respond to the challenge. Reflexive Methodology is a methodology of methodology in the sense that using this approach, social researchers can keep reassessing the epistemological status of their methods, assumptions and hermeneutics. The starting point of Reflexive Methodology is rebuttal of 'common sense' that is an outmoded cognitive device. Then comes the acceptance of the primacy of the analysis of social relations and processes rather than the ontological priority of structure or agent, system or actor, the collective or the individual, that constitutes all forms of methodological monism. According to Bourdieu, these binary oppositions emanate from a perception of social reality based on common sense.

Bourdieu identifies three major biases that affect social science researches. The first is the individual researcher's socially entrenched bias relating to class, gender, ethnicity, etc. This is a social structurally imposed bias by virtue being inescapably linked to the social

position of the researcher. The second bias relates to the official or academic position, the theoretical orientation and the methodology of individual researchers. This is the bias embedded in the academic field, in correspondence with the possible intellectual positions, status and ranking in the system of power relations that the researchers at a given moment wield. The third bias is what Bourdieu calls, the 'intellectualist bias' that lures the researcher to a determinate worldview and a framework of comprehension. This relates to the intellectually entrenched state of the social researcher's perception.

Bourdieu prescribes self-reflexivity as the first essential prerequisite for confronting the biases. The next indispensable pre-requisite is social theoretical scholarship that facilitates methodological uncovering of the submerged structures, relations and processes of society. The application of self-reflexivity has to start with the theories themselves in order to be wary of and avoiding their hermeneutic limitations and inescapable predetermination about the scholarly judgement. This should help the researcher acquire epistemological know how about the construction of the theories, their assumptions, methods, and hermeneutic potential. However, the theoretical scholarship should be deeper enough to understand the mechanisms behind the formation and transformation of social groups, institutions and relationships. This has to enable social researchers to overcome constraints and biases internalised by them in the process of socialisation.

It is enough to read Bourdieu to know how fruitfully one can contribute to social theory in an eminently original way by reflexively negotiating with and creatively responding to pre-existing theories. Bourdieu is singularly important because he represents the most convincing hermeneutic riches in social theory with Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Malinowski and Levi-Strauss in the centre and an array of others around. So it is enough to illustrate the theories of Bourdieu to indicate the kind of grip a social researcher must secure in social theory for practising reflexive methodology.

Bourdieu has enunciated a series of theories that help us surmount the inherent as well as acquired biases and gain access to deep sociology unveiling the mysterious world behind the manifestation of varied social phenomena.<sup>10</sup> The two key concepts of Bourdieu, which explain the production and reproduction of the social practice are structures and *habitus*. Structures refer to the field of relationships within a society and *habitus* their net effect on each individual's everyday practice.

The concept of structure in Bourdieu is the result of a fusion of ideas drawn from Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Malinowski, and Levi-Strauss. Bourdieu views structures as patterns of social relationship evolving under the design of the class in relation to control over material conditions of human existence. Structures are therefore the patterns of relationship based on unequal power relations among differentiated classes of people, say for example, the relationship between 'X' that appropriates the labour of 'Y'. It is the ensemble of structures with their norms of operation that makes the social system. The operational process of structures produces the class mindset of the people from their childhood onwards. This mindset is called *habitus*.

According to Bourdieu, *habitus* refers to structuring principles of social practices, which are predisposed to function as structuring structures. They are not formally imposed rules but underlying principles of practices in a given social system wherein the people rather live them than obeying. *Habitus* is inherent and hence not the effect of conscious obedience to rules. It refers to the principles of practice inevitable to the social system, which get imbibed in any individual through socialisation. *Habitus* is the social structurally created rhythm of actions that is like a collective orchestration without any master conductor. It is the rhythm of behaviour required by the social order, the 'socialised subjectivity' of individuals, which binds them into a system. The social system owes the reproduction of structures to *habitus*, leading to the persistence and change of the system of domination from generation to generation. In the process the *habitus* also undergoes the dynamics of continuity and change. There are various forms of *habitus*, which reproduce, justify and maintain the system of domination. *Habitus* makes the dominated feel solidarity and fellowship to the dominant, by enabling the former to see the forms of domination imposed upon them natural and compliance normal. This naturalisation of the unbearable is realised through the strategies of symbolic representation covering the objective conditions of oppression. The symbolic representations distract people's attention from the social origins of oppression to imagined causes and develop in them a subjective mentality, for example, the mentality to blame the destitute for their poverty, or the exploited for their misery, or nature and biology cause unequal power relations and so on. This is Marx's theory of ideology retold in the language of sociological nuances. However, Bourdieu reflexively proceeds further into the socio-cultural mechanisms and processes of domination, through a fresh conceptualisation of capital in its sociological context.

Bourdieu conceives capital in four exchangeable forms such as economic, symbolic, cultural and social, which the individuals or groups incessantly negotiate and exchange with a view to enhancing their status and ranking.<sup>11</sup> Economic capital refers the material wealth in kind or cash. Symbolic capital refers to the practices, appearances, body postures, gestures, stature, manners, speaking habits, honour, prestige, etc that are symbolic of distinction. Cultural capital is to highbrow culture, the practising or participation or appreciation of which enhances social power. Social capital refers to the network of institutions, groups and relations of people that help individuals secure higher goals. Accumulating the various forms of capital through exchange, individuals and groups acquire higher ranks and positions in the relations of domination. Just as the exchange of economic capital facilitates domination, the exchange of cultural ideas facilitates expansion of one culture into the areas of and dominance over another. In the process of cultural exchange, people construct tastes of distinction in cultural practices. Through the imitation of the practices and tastes of the upper class, the lower class seek social mobility and in the process giving added legitimacy to the upper class culture. Imitation of upper class or elitist tastes for foods, costumes, ornaments, arts, sports, games etc., by people in the lower rungs is a universal social phenomenon. Participation in or at least a familiarity to upper class culture helps the lower class the world over accrue cultural capital. Bourdieu's social theory of capital and 'distinction' goes a long way equipping reflexive social researchers with enormous insights.

A vital aspect of reflexive social science methodology is its politics of praxis. The epistemological relation of reflexive strategies of knowing social reality, to politics is explicit. Destined to reach out deeper processes and relations of social life, reflexive social science methodology facilitates production of knowledge enabling critical assessment of the contemporary social reality. As the pioneering praxis sociologist Bourdieu combined the theoretical traditions of sociology to evolve a methodology for generating socially useful knowledge. So Bourdieu's reflexive methodology is also known as practice theory or praxis.

The symbolic capital is the main defense of the prevailing system of social power relations and the central strategy for maintaining its *status quo*. The symbolic capital is drawn from historically contingent symbols. It is extremely important today for a social researcher to understand the construction of symbols, accumulation of cultural capital and its strategic use in our societies. Always the upper class wields control over the strategies of cultural capital accumulation, though the lower class seeks to access it for social mobility. Since the latter lacks the required economic capital for acquiring cultural capital through exchange,



their yearning for it seldom affects the *status quo* of the social power relations, but at the same time helps sustain the hegemony of the upper class values, tastes, and aesthetics. Through the use of symbolic capital in multiple ways the lower class is permanently kept off from but cleverly sustained to be aspiring for high culture. This situation by tempting the lower class for exchanging what they earn through hardships for high culture goods keeps the contrast in the social order reproduced and perpetuated.

To conclude Reflexive social science methodology helps researchers continually question the methodology, assumptions, and hermeneutics of their peers as well as their own. It enables them keep an unfailing epistemological self-vigilance, the impact of which on the contemporary social research is profound. No other methodological strategy in social sciences has contributed so much in recent times to cause path-breaking hermeneutic turns. It enhances critical thought that is essential for the restoration of local self-reliance, crucial in the context of the deleterious impact of globalisation.

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<sup>1</sup> This point has been well expounded sometime ago in David & Judith Willer, *Systematic Empiricism: Critique of a Pseudo-Science*, London

<sup>2</sup> See the discussions in Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson, *De-scribing the Empire*, New York, 1994.

<sup>3</sup> See the arguments in James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, New York, 1995.

<sup>4</sup> For a different approach to the issue, see Ashcroft, Griffiths and Chris Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, New York, 1993.

<sup>5</sup> Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*, New York, 1990

<sup>6</sup> There is a liberal and welfare oriented perspective also. See, Timothy K. Stanton, *Civic Responsibility and Liberal Arts Education: Linking Public and Community Service to the Curriculum*, New Jersey, 1987. Also see, Frank Fischer, "Beyond Empiricism: Policy in Post-positivist Perspective," *Policy Studies Journal*, vol. 26. No.1(1998).

<sup>7</sup> The growing interconnectedness of disciplines is emphasised by the UGC in its X Plan Profile, New Delhi, 2001. p.5. Also see, Robert M. Diamond, *Designing and Improving Courses and Curricula in Higher Education: A Systematic Approach*, San Francisco, 1989.

<sup>8</sup> For an idea about the initiatives see, the IEDP monograph on PDR. Also see, Bodil Folke Frederiksen and Kristen Westergaard, eds. *Political Culture, Local Development and Local Institutions*, Occasional Paper No. 7, Roskilde University, Denmark, 1993. Henrik Secher Marcussen, ed. *Improved Natural Resource Management: The Role of the State versus that of the Local community*, Roskilde University, Denmark, 1994.

<sup>9</sup> See the discussions in Pierre Bourdieu, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992

<sup>10</sup> One should read all the studies of Bourdieu. However, the most innovative aspects of his hermeneutics appear in the following studies. First is *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: University Press 1977. *Distinction*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1984. *Homo Academicus*. Stanford: Stanford University Press 1988. *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press 1989.

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*The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press 1990.

*Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage Publications 1990.

<sup>11</sup> For details see, Bourdieu, *Distinction*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1984.

## **THREE FRONTIERS THEORY: AN EXPLANATION TO INDIA - PAKISTAN ANIMOSITY**

**L Premashekhara**

### ***Abstract***

*This essay makes an attempt to present a new hypothesis that emphasizes the nature of the frontier and projects the same as the fundamental reason for the troubled relations between the two neighbours. This essay contains four parts. In the first part I will explain the “Three Frontiers Theory” and my own classification of frontiers. In the second part I will make an analysis of the historical background of the frontier between India and Pakistan. The subsequent part contains the application of the Three Frontiers Theory to analyse the Indo-Pakistan relations in the past six decades. The final part examines the options before both India and Pakistan to establish mutual trust leading to peaceful cooperation without jeopardizing the security of their frontiers.*

During the past six decades of their existence as independent states India and Pakistan have fought three major wars and innumerable number of minor skirmishes all along their long border. Mutual distrust, deep animosity and rivalry in various fields ranging from nuclear science to sports have marred the bilateral relations between these two South Asian nations. Several scholarly attempts have been made to explain the possible causes for the failure of these two nations to establish lasting friendship. The issue of religious divide has been accepted as the fundamental cause for deep-seated hostility between the two nations. The roles played by political parties and their leaders, men in uniforms, business houses, and prevailing regional and international political scenarios also have been cited as potential causes for the persisting problem between New Delhi and Islamabad.

This study makes an attempt to present a new hypothesis that emphasizes the nature of the frontier and projects the same as the fundamental reason for the troubled relations between the two neighbours. This article contains four parts. “Three Frontiers Theory” and the author’s own classification of frontiers are explained in the first part. The second part makes an analysis of the historical background of the frontier between India and Pakistan. The subsequent part contains the application of the “Three Frontiers Theory” to analyse the Indo-Pakistan relations. Conclusion forms the final part.

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## I

*The Three Frontiers Theory classifies the frontiers between the states of the world into three categories– i. Single-edged frontiers, ii. Double-edged frontiers, and iii. Dull frontiers. Single-edged frontier is the one that gives strategic advantage to one of the two states say State A. Double-edged frontier provides strategic advantage to both State A and State B. The Dull frontier does not give any strategic advantage to either.*

The frontier that existed between and the boundary line that separated Germany and France during 1871 to 1919 was a very good example of single-edged frontiers. It provided considerable amount of strategic advantage to the newly unified Germany vis-à-vis France thereby acting as a single-edged frontier in Germany's favour. There are innumerable examples for double-edged frontiers and perhaps the most striking one is the Radcliffe Line that separates India and Pakistan. This Line provides strategic advantage to both countries thereby forcing the two to maintain constant vigil on each other's motives and moves. The present line of control or the *de-facto* frontier between India and China is the best example of dull-edged frontiers. It doesn't provide any kind of strategic advantage to either and has eliminated the usefulness of an armed conflict between the two neighbours ever since it was created as a result of the border war of 1962.

For the sake of convenience the state that enjoys strategic advantage in case of a single-edged frontier is referred to as **Ridge State**, and the one that is deprived of that advantage as **Valley State**. This nomenclature has been coined on the basis of the general assumption that one who positions himself on a ridge tends to possess advantage vis-à-vis the one in the valley below. In the case of a double-edged frontier, the two states on its either side can be called **Plain States** since both of them are on equal footing just like two contenders standing on an even surface enjoy relatively equal amount of advantage among themselves. Similarly, in the case of dull frontiers, the states that lie on either side of that can be called as **Canyon States** since a canyon hardly allows the two adversaries on its either side to gain any advantage against one another. These nomenclatures will be used throughout this essay.

Let us now examine the possible impact of these frontiers on the bilateral relations between State A and State B. In the case of single-edged frontier in favour of State A, the latter being the Ridge State enjoys strategic advantage and its attempts are usually directed at maintaining the status quo as Germany did during 1871 to 1914. On the other hand state B,

the Valley State, possesses a sense of insecurity and nurtures a desire to convert the frontier advantages to it or in other words single-edged in its favour. French attitude towards Germany during 1871 to 1914 is a good example for this scenario. The magnitude of State B's sense of insecurity depends upon the linguistic, religious, cultural, ethnic, and economic closeness or remoteness that exists between itself and State A. The intensity of its desire to convert the frontier is determined by its recent history, national power, and mindset of its leadership. The economic clout, diplomatic influence and the military might of its allies, if it has any, do also play significant roles in shaping State B's attitude towards the frontier and State A that lies beyond. The level of its sense of insecurity and intensity of its desire to convert the frontier together generate hostilities between the two states. State A's effort to retain the strategic advantage it enjoys or in other words keeping the frontier single-edged in its favour and remain as a Ridge State then shapes the further course of hostilities, and determines the pause with which the hostilities lead to war. Depending upon the outcome of the war four different courses can be visualized in the bilateral relations between the two states. First, if state B fails in its attempt it will go back to square one, plans and prepares for one more attempt. In that case one more round of military showdown becomes a certainty. Second, if State B succeeds in converting the frontier single edged in its favor and becomes a Ridge State then State A will initiate its own preparations for annulling this outcome of the war. In this case also a show of strength will become the logical outcome. Third, if the outcome of the war converts the frontier into a double-edged one providing advantages to both the states and making them Plain States, then begins an era of mutual distrust, suspicion of each other's motives, constant watchfulness and preparedness for war. War will break out as and when either of the two finds it convenient to beat the drum and the other responds with action. Fourth, if the war results in the creation of a dull-edged frontier that provides advantages to neither of the states making them Canyon States then gradually begins an era of mutual trust, friendship, and cooperation. This may bring the two closer to each other and they may establish some sort of an economic union. If the success of that economic union is supported by ethnic, linguistic and cultural closeness, it may even encourage them to consider the idea of a political union as well.

History is replete with countless examples of Valley States trying to become first Ridge States; and if it is not possible, then one of the Canyon States. Let's now study some of such attempts that have taken place in recent times.

The South American state of Chile's expansion into the north in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century is a classic example of a state's attempt to convert its frontiers into single edged in its favour (Chile – Peruvian frontier) and also dull-edged (Chile – Bolivian frontier). Before the Pacific War of 1879-81 the northern frontier of Chile was lying far below the Atacama Desert. Iquique and Arica that are now located in Northern Chile were then parts of Peru. Bolivia, which is now a land-locked country, then enjoyed a strip of coastline with Antofagasta as its main harbor. Bolivia's presence in the north of Chile was a cause of concern for the rulers in Santiago because the former could threaten the northern plains of Chile anytime. Chile's woes would greatly increase if Bolivia and Peru joined hands. Such a development would not only put the security of northern Chile in jeopardy but also pose a serious challenge to Santiago's position in the Southern Pacific Ocean. In order to remove all these threats and make its northern areas safe Chile initiated a successful campaign against its northern neighbors and when the war ended two years later Bolivia had been pushed beyond the

Andes

<sup>1</sup> and Peru the Atacama. The frontier that was established between Chile and Bolivia then has been a dull-edged one. The high Andes became natural frontier between the two countries and took away from Bolivia the strategic advantage it enjoyed earlier. As far as Peru was concerned, the dry and inhospitable Atacama Desert that became the newly accepted frontier made any future Peruvian campaign against Chile an impossible task. While providing Chile immunity from any Peruvian adventure the Atacama would permit Chile to threaten its northern neighbor at will. Thus Chile successfully converted its frontier with Bolivia from single-edged one against itself into dull-edged one and also created a single edged frontier with Peru in its own favour. These changes denied Bolivia any opportunity to threaten northern Chile either singly or jointly with Peru.

The case of Sino-Indian border on both eastern and western sectors is interesting. Before 1911 Tibetan suzerainty extended to areas south of the Himalayas in the eastern sector.<sup>2</sup> In other words the present northeastern state of Arunachal Pradesh was not under the control of British India. The traditional frontier between Tibetan territories and British India ran roughly along the northern edges of the Brahmaputra plains far below the mighty Himalayas which were traditionally accepted as impregnable "wall" providing absolute protection to India from any invading army from the north.<sup>3</sup> The British Indian troops in the Assam would have been put under tremendous stress if Tibet became expansionist or it came

under stricter Chinese control once again.<sup>4</sup> In order to eliminate such a threat the British Indian authorities conceived a plan of pushing the Indo-Tibetan frontier to the higher reaches of the Himalayas and also delineate it. Colonel Francis Younghusband led an expedition in 1911 into the Tibetan territories south of the Himalayas and successfully established Indian authority there. These territories which British India established *de-facto* control over were given a new name “North Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA).”<sup>5</sup> The Indian sovereignty over these territories was formalized in the Shimla Conference of 1914 when the British Indian government succeeded in getting the newly conceived McMahon Line accepted by Tibet and the Chinese Republic.<sup>6</sup> This McMahon Line ran almost along the crest of the Himalayan Mountains thus establishing a natural boundary between India and Tibet. This Line was the culmination of British India’s efforts to convert the single-edged frontier against itself into a dull-edged frontier. The communist regime of the People’s Republic of China, however, rejected this Line and laid claim over the territory India had formally annexed in 1914. In the Sino-Indian war of October-November 1962 the Chinese People’s Liberation Army (PLA) violated the McMahon Line, crossed the Himalayan Mountains and made significant gains in the disputed territory. The Chinese government, however, declared unilateral cease-fire after a month long campaign, vacated all the occupied areas and withdrew its army to its own territory north of the McMahon Line. Though this action of Beijing has all elements of a typical Chinese riddle, it is not difficult to decipher it. Had the PLA remained in the areas south of the Himalayan Mountains for some more times it would have been cut off from China once the mountain passes got closed due to heavy snowing during winter which was about to begin. Then the Chinese soldiers would have become sitting ducks to Indian soldiers and the impressive victory achieved by the PLA would have turned out to be a great fiasco for Beijing. The Chinese realized the fact that it would be difficult or even impossible for them to keep Arunachal Pradesh under their control during winter since the Indians would have easy access to that territory throughout the year including winter months. The peculiarity or uniqueness of Arunachal Pradesh is that a Chinese controlled Arunachal Pradesh would act as single-edged frontier in India’s favor during winter and in China’s favor during rest of the year! It would in a way act as a double-edged frontier. It means this frontier would never be quiet. In order to avoid such a situation China accepted the fact that it would be wise to regard the McMahon Line as boundary line since it was a dull-edged frontier and did not provide strategic advantage to either of the powers. Thus the Sino-Indian frontier in the eastern sector was first converted by the British into a dull-edged frontier and was accepted by the Chinese as such later.<sup>7</sup>

The Sino-Indian frontier in the western sector is more complex in nature than its counterpart in the eastern sector. Here, it was China that converted a single-edged frontier in India's favour into a dull frontier. There existed no clearly delineated boundary between Ladakh region of Jammu & Kashmir and Sinkiang (presently Uyghur Xinjiang).<sup>8</sup> The British suggested three boundary lines to the Chinese in the 1890s and the latter accepted none. The British lost their interest in the issue once the Russian threat disappeared following the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. But the Survey of India started publishing maps showing the line that put the whole of Aksai Chin<sup>9</sup> within India as international boundary. The government of independent India insisted on that line be accepted as international boundary between India and China but did nothing to establish its authority on Aksai Chin. New Delhi became aware of Chinese presence in that region only when the Chinese officially announced in mid-50s that they had completed the construction of a road there. Then onwards began a series of allegations, accusations and counter-accusations, failed negotiations that finally led to the border war of October-November 1962 which resulted in the Chinese occupation of all the areas up to the Karakoram Mountains. Beijing's attitude here was markedly different from its policy in the eastern sector. Here, the PLA didn't withdraw from the region as it did in the east; instead, maintained that the Karakoram Mountains were the traditional frontier between Kashmir and Sinkiang and the same must be accepted as international boundary between the two countries. Beijing was reasonable in thinking that the extension of Indian sway over areas beyond the Karakoram Mountains would seriously undermine Chinese security in and control over Tibet. Hence, they wanted to limit Indian control up to the Karakoram Mountains only thus creating a natural frontier between the two Asian giants.<sup>10</sup>

Thus the Sino-Indian frontier which was single-edged in India's favor in the western sector and in China's favor in the east was converted into a dull frontier during the period between 1911 and 1962. Although both have not officially accepted the change, they have not done anything significant to disturb the status quo and alter the so-called "Line of Actual Control" (LAC) since the end of the war of 1962. In fact New Delhi and Beijing have concluded, apart from the significant "Sino – Indian Agreement on Peace and Tranquility along the Border" signed during the official visit of Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao to the Chinese capital in September 1993, several agreements to maintain peace along this LAC. Therefore, it can be safely assumed that both New Delhi and Beijing have realized the fact that the present LAC is the scientific boundary between the two countries. Their hesitation to



officially convert the LAC into international border is understandable. Such a move will, especially in India, create strong public resentment.<sup>11</sup> It is, however, wise to accept the reality and formalize the same as early as possible. Such a move will go a long way in bringing durable peace between the two Asian giants.<sup>12</sup>

The expansion of the United States of America in all directions except in the east during the past two centuries is another interesting example for a nation's desire to establish dull frontiers. The thirteen states that formed the Union following the successful War of Independence didn't have natural frontiers except the Atlantic Ocean in the east. The new nation was surrounded by three of the great powers- British in the north, French in the west, and Spanish in the south. The Americans had plenty of reasons to be concerned about the security of their young republic. The British apathy towards the US was of common knowledge. Though Washington didn't have any problems with Spain and France, the continuation of such trouble-free relationship for an indefinite period was not ensured because of the unpredictable nature of European power politics during that period of uncertainty. Any conflict in Europe involving Britain, France and Spain was likely to spill over into their North American possessions, and the danger of the US getting dragged into was always lurking in the minds of the American policy makers. This threat was reduced to a considerable extent when Napoleon's France was compelled to sell Louisiana to the US in order to meet its war expenditure in 1800. Washington also purchased Florida from Spain a couple of years later. These two purchases increased the geographical size of the US manifold and also opened up the possibilities of further expansions into the West. Within the next fifty years Washington annexed all the Indian territories through various means.<sup>13</sup> Following the merger of Texas into the Union and the Mexican War of 1846-48 the US frontiers extended up to two natural limits- the Pacific Ocean in the west, river Rio Grande<sup>14</sup> and the Nevada as well as Arizona deserts in the south and the southwest. Thus the US succeeded in adding two more dull-edged frontiers in the west and the south to the one already existed in the east.

Still Britain remained as a source of concern. The British capability to undermine the security of the US and hurt the national pride of the American nation was amply demonstrated during the war of 1812 when the invading army entered the American capital and set on fire the presidential palace. However, no more hostilities were witnessed in US-British relations after the Treaty of Ghent of 1816, and the border has remained quiet since.

The frontier between the US and Canada is indeed a double-edged one, and it is potent enough to be explosive. However, the linguistic, cultural and economic closeness between the people of the two countries and the resulting spirit of “Anglo-America” have given it the colour of a dull frontier. Thus the US has successfully established dull frontiers on three sides and converted the double-edged frontier in the north into a dull one. As a result the US has not faced any threat from any of its neighbors since 1816 and enjoyed freedom to concentrate on economic development, economic as well as geographical expansion outside the North American continent; and also to develop political and military power to meet threats that may emanate from extra-regional powers.

The expansionist attitude the US demonstrated during the first century of its existence encourages one to assume that the British presence in Canada discouraged the Americans from expanding towards the north. They would certainly have extended their northern frontiers up to the Arctic if Canada had been inhabited and controlled only by the Indians and Eskimos. The American leaders as well as people were forced to be content with the existence of double-edged turned dull-edged frontier in the north. Although we don’t have a crystal ball to look through, it can be safely assumed that it is highly unlikely that the people of the US and Canada would convert the present dull frontier into a double-edged one and initiate hostility. On the contrary, if the present economic closeness between the people of the two countries continues for some more time, they may take it to further heights and establish a stronger economic union among themselves. In that case, the economic union coupled with the existing linguistic and cultural closeness among the people of the two North American giants (probably excluding the French speaking Quebec) may pave the way for political union as well sometimes in future.

## II

Though the present frontier between India and Pakistan was created in 1947 its historical roots can be traced back to early 13<sup>th</sup> Century when the Delhi Sultanate, the first ever Muslim kingdom in India was established by Qutb-ud-Din Aibak in 1206 A. D. The western frontier of the newly established Delhi Sultanate in the Punjab region ran along Lahore, Dipalpur, Uch, Samana and Multan (referred to as **Lahore-Multan Line** hereafter) due to the repeated raids of the Mongols that left trans-Indus regions politically chaotic and outside Delhi’s effective control most of the time. In other words, the political frontier of India in the northwest receded from the Hindukush to the banks of river Ravi in the north and

to the lower course of river Indus in the south. This Lahore - Multan Line was not a defensible frontier at all since it ran almost in the middle of the Indus plain. The scientific boundary for the proper defense of northwestern India was Kabul-Ghazni-Kandahar Line (referred to as **Hindukush Line** hereafter) that ran along the eastern slopes of the Hindukush Mountains.<sup>15</sup> Indian history bears testimony to the fact that any invader from the Central Asian region who succeeded in crossing this Hindukush Line and entered the Khyber Pass found it relatively easy to establish his control over the Punjab plains. The Mauryans especially Emperor Ashoka realized this and extended his authority beyond Jalalabad in eastern Afghanistan in order to enable his army to effectively counter and prevent any invading army from crossing the Khyber Pass which acted as a gateway to the Punjab plains in particular and northern India in general. The Punjab was subjected to repeated raids by the Central Asian tribes and the Mongols whenever the narrow strip of land lying between the Hindukush Mountains and the Khyber Pass (referred to as **Hindukush – Khyber Corridor** hereafter) fell out of the control of any North Indian empire. Thus for millennia the Hindukush-Khyber Corridor played significant role in the defense of the Punjab plains. It is equally interesting to note that any power that controlled this piece of land extended its sway over the Punjab with considerable ease; and the power that controlled the Punjab sooner or later extended its domination over Northern India – Rajputana {present Rajasthan State} and the vast Gangetic plain.<sup>16</sup> Hence the successive rulers of northern India saw to it that the Hindukush-Khyber Corridor remained in their hand, and if that was not possible, they preferred it to be controlled by friendly powers that would act as buffers between themselves and their potential adversaries from Central Asia.

The importance of the Hindukush – Khyber Corridor was first realized, as mentioned earlier, by the Imperial Mauryas in the Third Century B.C. Emperor Ashoka had understood the danger the Empire would face in case this Corridor was to slip into the hands of the enemies when he was the governor of Taxila (located in the northern part of present Pakistan). He further strengthened his mastery over this area when he became the emperor in 269 B. C., and the town of Jalalabad situated in present eastern Afghanistan served as an important frontier outpost during his reign. Following the decline and fall of the Mauryan Empire during the Second Century B. C., however, this Hindukush-Khyber Corridor fell into and remained in the hands of local chieftains for almost a century. Under the early Kushans this Corridor was located right in the middle of the empire.<sup>17</sup> The post-Kushan empires of northern India somehow failed to realize the significance of this Corridor and consequently

paid dearly for this gross negligence. The Mongols repeatedly raided northwestern India and their menace became a regular feature till the advent of the Imperial Guptas. The Mongol continued to remain as a potential source of threat to the security of Northwest India until the Gupta emperor Chandragupta Vikramaditya repelled them in 6th Century A. D.

The Mongol menace once again became serious in early 13<sup>th</sup> Century. Chengiz Khan crossed the Khyber and entered the Punjab plains in pursuit of the prince of Khwarizmian Empire, Jalal-ud-din Mangbarni<sup>18</sup> who had fled to India following the annihilation of his Empire by the Great Mongol. Chengiz Khan's army entered the city of Lahore in 1221 A.D. This was the most serious threat the young Sultanate of Delhi could ever face. The Sultanate, which was just fifteen years old, was still weak and surrounded by enemies on all sides except perhaps the North-west. In this situation had Chengiz Khan chose to march towards Delhi, he would have sacked the infant Sultanate and that would have been the end of the first ever Muslim empire in India. Iltutmish, the Sultan of Delhi, however, was realistic and demonstrated exemplary diplomatic skill by declining to support the Khwarizmian king, thereby avoided the Great Mongol's wrath (Habibullah 1961: 95). Chengiz Khan left India having satisfied with the plunder of Lahore. Though the Mongols continued to raid the northwestern frontier regions of the country for another century, they ceased to be a serious threat to the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate that acquired tremendous political and military strength under the Khaljis. The Mongol menace ceased completely by early 14<sup>th</sup> Century A. D. when an invading Mongol army under Iqbalmand was decisively defeated in A. D. 1308. This was due to the rational measures undertaken by the rulers of Delhi especially Emperor Ala-ud-din Khalji, not only to fortify the trans-Indus region but also to extend Delhi's effective military control up to the Hindukush-Khyber Corridor thereby not allowing the enemy to set foot into the Khyber Pass. In fact, the new frontier army, created by Ala-ud-din Khalji, under the leadership of Ghazi Malik took the war to Mongol territory in Afghanistan.

The Mughal rulers kept this area firmly under their control for nearly two centuries. Following the decline of the Mughals, however, Delhi lost its control over the Hindukush-Khyber Corridor to the Afghans resulting in the latter becoming capable of threatening the Punjab. Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah Abdali successfully raided the Punjab and even defeated the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat in 1761 A.D.

The British who turned India into their colony during the later half of 18<sup>th</sup> and early half of 19<sup>th</sup> centuries realized the extent of danger from the northwest and took adequate

measures to minimize the same. They did something no Indian ruler had done earlier. They demarcated the Indo-Afghan boundary and formalized the same with a written treaty in 1893. Though the British failed to extend India's northwestern frontier up to the Kabul-Ghazni-Kandahar Line, the scientific boundary line for the defense of northern India, they succeeded in delineating the India – Afghanistan border (the Durand Line) that firmly placed in their control the Khyber Pass that, for millennia, had been the gateway to the Indus plains from the northwest. The Durand Line followed the eastern limits of the Hindukush-Khyber Corridor. It was the activities of the Imperial Russian Army that prompted the British to go for delineating Indo-Afghan border and to strengthen their positions there. The defense of the Punjab plains assumed importance in 1888 when the Imperial Russian army under the leadership of Captain Grombechevsky reached Hunza in northern Kashmir. The British apprehension and their threat perception vis-à-vis Imperial Russia were demonstrated by Durand, the experienced frontier expert when he said, "the game had begun." (Woodman 1969: 72) The Russians were, if allowed, capable of threatening the security of the densely populated Punjab. The British administration overcame this menace by formally delineating Afghanistan's border first with India in 1893 and two years later with Russia in the Pamirs. The two European powers who were involved in the "Great Game" in the northwest of India made significant moves towards 'peace' by signing a treaty on 11 March 1905. Accordingly, a narrow corridor called "Wakhan" was created between the Russian controlled Tazhik territories and the princely state of Jammu & Kashmir of the British Indian Empire, and the same was placed under the control of Kabul. Further, with the Anglo – Russian Convention of 1907, London succeeded in getting Moscow accept Afghanistan as a buffer between Russia and India and never to cross it. Not fully convinced of Russian sincerity, the British rulers took from the State of Jammu & Kashmir the Gilgit region<sup>19</sup> that shared common boundary with the Wakhan Corridor, and placed an Army unit there in order to monitor the movement of the Russian army across the Corridor and deter any possible Russian adventure.

Thus right from the Imperial Mouryas to the British colonial rulers every major ruler of northern India realized the importance of the Hindukush-Khyber Corridor in the defense of northwestern India. They took adequate measures to keep the enemies beyond the Hindukush Mountains or, if it was not possible, the Khyber Pass. Indian history bears testimony to the fact that those who neglected this golden rule paid heavy price, and alas, it happened again and again.

Though the Mongol threat disappeared by the early 14<sup>th</sup> Century A. D., it did irreparable damage to the cultural and religious unity of India. Repeated Mongol invasions limited the northwestern frontier of the Delhi Sultanate to Lahore-Multan Line. All the territories west of this line came under effective control of successive Muslim rulers that facilitated large scale religious conversion under state patronage. Northwestern India's socio-religious features changed permanently with it adopting Islam and most of the social values it stood for, and the rest of the country remaining predominantly Hindu both in religious and societal sense. Thus the Northwest India developed a socio-religious character that differed distinctly from that of the rest of the country and, whereas, closer to that of Central and West Asia. It was in this part of India the Islamic state of Pakistan was established in 1947.

Despite the religious divide between the two parts of India that were separated by the Lahore-Multan Line, people on both sides of this Line remained united economically and culturally, and evolved common literature, music, dance, art and architecture. Military conflicts that occurred here were just campaigns of one contending political master against the other in the region and their respective armies. General populace was hardly a party in these conflicts. The protagonists of Pakistan movement, however, ignored the cultural closeness and economic interdependence among the people on both sides of the Lahore-Multan Line and highlighted only the religious divide. The demand for a separate Muslim homeland got theoretical foundation when poet Mohammad Iqbal floated a radical assumption called the "Two Nations Theory". This *assumption* maintained that Hindus and Muslims were two different nations; consequently they shouldn't be under one state. Some of them even maintained that there existed identical socio-religious character in northwestern India and its western and northern neighbors. Choudhury Rahmat Ali recognized the closeness among the people of northwestern India, Afghanistan and Iran, and stressed upon the need for unity among them so that they could together "survive and thrive in the world." He emphasized this as the most important justification for creation of a separate homeland for Indian Muslims. In his famous monograph *Now or Never*<sup>20</sup> published in 1933, Ali argued for the separation of northwestern India from the rest of the country and its merger with Iran, Afghanistan and Tokharistan to create **PAKISTAN**. (Pirzada 1963: 28-32). Though the word "Pakistan" literally means "Land of the Pure,"<sup>21</sup> it originally appeared in Ali's thinking as an acronym with each letter denoting a unit of the proposed state- P- Punjab, A- Afghania (NWFP or North-West Frontier Province)<sup>22</sup>, K- Kashmir, I- Iran, S- Sindh, T- for Tukharistan or Tokharistan, A- Afghanistan and, finally, N- Baluchistan.<sup>23</sup> Though his idea of a union of

Iran, Afghanistan, Tukharistan, and the Muslim areas of northwestern India was far-fetched and politically untenable, he was the first protagonist of the Muslim homeland who underscored the socio-religious similarities among the Muslim population of these lands despite their astounding ethnic diversity. Moreover, Ali was the one who coined the name “Pakistan” ending Muslim League’s hitherto unsuccessful search for a suitable name for the Muslim homeland it was campaigning for.<sup>24</sup>

The Indian National Congress, which was in the forefront of India’s freedom struggle, rejected the Two Nations Theory. On the other hand, the Muslim League accepted it and used it to strengthen its demand for creation of a separate Muslim homeland. What the League failed to recognize was that the division of India on religious lines would create a **double-edged frontier** in the middle of the Indus plains; and the two nations would become **Plain States** living in the state of mutual distrust and constant angst.

The League, however, succeeded in getting Pakistan created on 15 August 1947 with the active support from the British colonial masters.<sup>25</sup> The partition was carried out in such a hurry that it led to unprecedented human tragedy in Mankind’s history (Wolpert 2006)<sup>26</sup> and the irony was that the Radcliffe Line that divided the Punjab between India and Pakistan did run almost in the middle of the Indus plain just like the centuries old Lahore-Multan Line. This Line, and the Line of Control in Kashmir (created as a consequence of the Kashmir War of 1947-48) together, according to the “**Three Frontiers Theory**”, is a “**double-edged frontier**” and the reason for the continued animosity between India and Pakistan.

### III

The India - Pakistan borders, both *de jure* and *de facto*, can be divided into two distinct segments- the southern segment and the northern segment (referred to as the Southern Line and the Northern Line respectively hereafter). The Southern Line separates the Indian states of Gujarat and Rajasthan from the Pakistani provinces of Sindh and Punjab. The Northern Line separates the two parts of the divided Punjab and Kashmir. These two Lines have historical roots of marked different length and credibility. The Southern Line is in fact not only centuries old but also runs along natural barriers though minor ones. The *Runn of Kutch*<sup>27</sup> has been serving as a natural frontier between Sindh and the Kathiawar region of Gujarat from the dawn of history and forms the lower segment of the Southern Line. Though the upper segment of the Southern Line, the line that separates the Pakistani provinces of

Sindh and Punjab on one hand and the Indian state of Rajasthan on the other is just a couple of centuries old, it is located almost in the western limits of the Thar Desert or the Great Indian Desert, a geographical barrier. It also has gained credibility as it served as an accepted boundary during the Raj between the British provinces of Sindh and the native states of Khairpur and Bahawalpur that became part of Pakistan on one hand, and the native kingdoms of Udaipur, Jaisalmer and Bikaner that formed part of the Indian state of Rajasthan on the other. Consequently these boundary lines didn't cause any irritations or mutual suspicion on either side when they became international borders separating India and Pakistan in 1947. Nor did any major military campaigns occur along this Line during any of the India – Pakistan wars of 1965 and 1971 and it has remained totally trouble free for almost four decades. Islamabad's claim over part of the Runn of Kutch and Pakistan Army's subsequent incursions into the area in the spring of 1965 was nothing more than Ayub Khan administration's attempt to test the strength of its recently modernized army and air force and also India's retaliatory capabilities just before a major campaign in Kashmir (Chadha 2005: 89) which actually began clandestinely in July that year and assumed, during the last week of August, the proportion of an open attack on the Indian positions all along the Chicken's Neck - Chhamb Jaurian sector with a clear aim to sever Jammu & Kashmir from India once and for all by destroying the Jammu – Akhnoor road, the only road link between the Kashmir Valley and rest of India during those days. Thus this Southern Line can be safely being termed as a dull frontier.

On the other hand, the Northern Line that separates the divided Punjab and Kashmir is a double-edged frontier and is the primary reason for deep mutual distrust and persisting animosity between India and Pakistan. The Northern Line, like its southern counterpart, can also be divided into southern segment –Radcliffe Line between the two Punjabs and a short international border between the Pakistani Punjab and the Indian controlled Kashmir, and the northern segment– Line of Control (LOC) between the two Kashmirs. Though their origins are markedly different, both, being double-edged frontiers, have been playing strikingly similar and significant roles in keeping India and Pakistan in the state of constant angst, and the defense forces of the two adversaries contested fiercely all along this Line during the wars of 1965 and 1971. The double-edged nature of this Line along with the unprecedented violence that accompanied the partition<sup>28</sup> created from the very beginning mutual hatred and distrust between the people of the two states.



The impact of partition on the Punjab was devastating as the “operation was performed in Punjab... and it was performed without an unaesthetic. (Jha 2003: x) The partition divided this huge province, which for centuries had remained as one linguistic, cultural and economic unit despite the religious difference. Two of its great cities –Lahore and Amritsar- located in the middle of the province became frontier cities overnight. On the irrationality of drawing an international border between these two cities, Coupland wrote way back in 1943 itself:

Between these two cities there is no natural dividing line of any kind. Any boundary set between them would be wholly artificial, geographically, ethnographically and economically. Inter alia it would cut in two the system of canals on which the productive capacity of the whole area largely depends. It would also leave the capital city of each Province exposed and defenseless, right up to the frontier. Such an artificial line, despite its obvious disadvantages, might serve, if it were to be the boundary between two Provinces in a single federal state... But it is no mere inter-Provincial boundary that is being contemplated. It is to be a regular international boundary between two separate independent National States. (Coupland 1943: Pt III: 86)

The large scale violence, abductions and rapes that accompanied the partition of the Punjab province affected the psyche of its people on both sides deeply and the resulting anger and hatred have become deep-seated. In such a situation defending a border from the feverishly hostile enemy right in the middle of the Indus plain became a cause of constant apprehension and worry for the two Punjabs in particular and India and Pakistan in general.

Kashmir is another interesting case. The leaders of Muslim League firmly believed in this mountainous state's merger into and integration with Pakistan simply because of its overwhelming Muslim majority. The attitude of the Hindu ruler of this princely state, however, prompted the new government in Karachi to adopt initially coercive and subsequently military means to achieve Kashmir's merger with Pakistan and 'complete' the 'unfinished agenda of Partition' that in turn resulted in the former acceding to India and initiation of both military and diplomatic confrontations between New Delhi and Karachi over the issue of sovereignty over this state. When the cease-fire came about after a fourteen month long fight, Kashmir lay divided between the two contenders and dividing line or the Line of Control didn't follow any geographical barrier. In fact, it had moved to the east, away from the erstwhile dividing line of river Jhelum, a geographical barrier though a minor

one, and thus extended the double-edged frontier from Punjab to Kashmir leading to increased anxiety and hatred among the people and governments India and Pakistan.

Apart from religion, there is one more angle to the Kashmir question as far as Pakistan is concerned. All major rivers of Pakistan either originate in or flow through Kashmir. Thus Kashmir is the source of water for Pakistan and it's anybody's guess what will happen to that country if the whole of Kashmir falls into hostile hands. It is not known whether the Muslim League leaders were aware of this fact or not when they went all out against, first, Kashmir's independence and later, its merger with India. The Leaguers' futile attempt to get merged into East Pakistan the whole of Assam despite its overwhelming Hindu majority in all districts except Sylhet may be a case worth mentioning here. Recognition of the future need for more land of the growing population of East Bengal was the only logical rationale they had in their designs for sparsely populated Assam. If they could recognize the future land requirements of East Pakistan before Partition, they, it can be safely assumed, must certainly have recognized the water requirements of West Pakistan as well. Though the Indus Water Treaty of 1960 allotted three western rivers of Indus river basin –Indus, Jhelum and Chenab- fully to Pakistan,<sup>29</sup> Islamabad's worries did not disappear. Pakistan has been visibly sensitive to any Indian plan to harness the waters of these three rivers for even the purpose of electricity generation which will not hamper or reduce the flow of water into Pakistan in any manner.

So, religion is not the only factor that determines Pakistan's Kashmir policy. Like Bengal and Punjab, Kashmir too had clearly distinct and contiguous Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas. The British would certainly have divided Kashmir too between India and Pakistan on religious basis if it were a British province instead of being a princely state in 1947. The first Kashmir War of 1947-48 and the cease-fire of 1 January 1949 did give *Muslim Pakistan* control over almost all Muslim regions of Kashmir except the Valley. Still, Islamabad has not given up its claim for the whole state despite the non-Muslim population in Jammu region and Ladakh *as Kashmir as a whole is very vital for Pakistan's economic viability* and this very fact would have prompted the successive rulers of Islamabad to work for getting Kashmir into their *Muslim Pakistan* even if this hilly state had non-Muslim majority in all its regions.

Another interesting dimension of the Kashmir dispute is that Pakistan's economic dependency on Kashmir has made the part of Kashmir under New Delhi's control as an

**economic single-edged frontier** in India's favour. Pakistan's attempts to establish control over the whole of Kashmir is nothing but a Valley State's effort to convert the frontier single-edged in its own favour. India being the economic Ridge State in this case, has been working hard to keep the frontier as it is, or in other words, economically single-edged in its own favour. Thus, Kashmir is the **economic Alsace and Lorraine** of South Asia and this explains the protracted Kashmir imbroglio and India – Pakistan animosity. Given the economic and geopolitical issues involved, India and Pakistan would have demonstrated the same hatred towards each other even if their people followed common religion.

#### IV

The present India – Pakistan crisis can also be viewed in a different but positive way. This geographical landmass of South Asia is the home of ancient civilizations and it has witnessed the rise and fall of thousands of principalities, kingdoms and empires in its awfully long history. These developments were accompanied by countless number of wars and armed conflicts. Perhaps more armed conflicts have been fought in the Indian subcontinent than in any geographical area of similar size anywhere in the world. Establishment of European rule brought about a steep decline in the number of political masters which in turn gradually reduced the frequency and diversity in the armed conflicts in South Asia. Once the British became the undisputed masters of the subcontinent, armed conflicts in this land became a thing of the past. Not even a single armed conflict occurred for more than a century. Partition of the subcontinent and subsequent developments created two major political masters in the lands south of the Hindukush and the Himalayas. In contrast to previous centuries when scores or hundreds existed, now there are only two major political contenders left in the fray, and consequently the intensity and ferocity of hostilities too are high which is obvious as both are striving hard to make the present arrangement permanent in a land where no arrangement lasted for a period of decent length in the past.

In this regard, the question that arises is –how long will it take for the two present political masters to establish permanent political arrangements in South Asia with permanent borders, accept and respect them, and co-exist peacefully? The economic single-edged frontier in India's favour in Kashmir, and Pakistan's attempts to rise from the position of Valley State to the position of Ridge State there, and the double-edged frontier in the Punjab region that makes them Plain States, and the resulting distrust, hatred and animosity are all the realities of the past six decades. All these negative aspects collectively make the

possibility of peaceful co-existence remote. Changes depend largely on the mindsets of the people and leadership. In this regard, there is a lot for them to learn from European experience. Almost all the borders in Europe are either double-edged or single-edged in favour of one or the other. The European states, however, have now accepted these frontiers as fait accompli and learnt to live with them. It is true that this has happened after nearly two millennia of mutual distrust, animosity and countless armed conflicts including the horrendous two world wars. The fact is that it has happened finally. It is for the people and leaderships of India and Pakistan to decide how many more decades or centuries they need to accept the present frontiers and arrangements as they are and live with them peacefully, develop and prosper together, and stand proudly among the family of nations in this era of globalization.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Bolivia thus became a land-locked country. It has made several unsuccessful attempts during the past 125 years to have a coastline once again initially through force and later through negotiations.

<sup>2</sup> The areas lying south of the Himalayas and north of the Assam plains were not parts of Tibet in strict sense. Arunachal Pradesh, as that region is known today was fragmented and was under the control of several tribal chieftains. These chieftains in turn owed their allegiance to the Tibetan rulers in Lhasa.

<sup>3</sup> In other words the boundary line that now separates India's two northeastern states of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh was roughly the boundary between British India and Tibetan territories.

<sup>4</sup> The threat the British rulers were apprehensive of at that time was in fact not coming from either the Chinese or the Tibetans. The Imperial Russian advance into Central Asia had begun in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. The Russian campaign was swift and decisive and by late 1880s the Russians annexed what are now called Central Asian Republics and their armies were knocking at the doors of Kashmir and Chinese Turkestan. A Russian army led by Captain Grombechevsky actually landed in Hunza in Northern Kashmir in 1888. At the same time Peking's authority over the remote western province of Sinkiang was gradually weakening because of various politico-social, ethnic and religious reasons. There was a danger of Russians extending their sway over that region and then entering into the adjoining Tibet. Had they succeeded in that adventure then they would have posed serious threat to both Northern and Northeastern regions of India.

<sup>5</sup> NEFA was a part of the state of Assam for some times. In 1972 it was accorded the status of a Union Territory with a new name of Arunachal Pradesh. Full statehood followed suit fifteen years later in 1987.

<sup>6</sup> It is interesting as well as curious to note that Indian Government continued to publish official maps depicting erstwhile NEFA or present Arunachal Pradesh as Tibetan territory till as late as 1938. Only in that year NEFA was shown as Indian territory in the official maps published by the Survey of India.

<sup>7</sup> Though the Chinese have not given up their official claim over Arunachal Pradesh yet, the fact remains that they have not done anything significant to disturb the McMahon Line since 1962 despite their overwhelming superiority against the Indians as far as military strength is concerned. Though the Somdorong Chu incident of 1986 created some resentment in New Delhi it was amicably settled by the end of the year and was soon forgotten.

<sup>8</sup> In fact no linear boundary existed between empires/kingdoms of Asia in the historical past. What separated one from the other was a broad track of land of varying width usually being a geographical landmark like a

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mountain, or a desert and the like. Interestingly rivers which are closer to linear boundaries in nature hardly acted as lines that separated one empire from the other. Usually these frontiers (between two empires) were uninhabitable areas or areas with sparse tribal population who was numerically a minority and played no role in the regional politics of the time thus posed no threat to or undermined the interests of the empires which they separated. The reason for Asiatic states not attempting to establish linear boundaries was probably the frequent changes in the location of frontiers. The constant warfare between the states never allowed a particular stretch of land to remain as a frontier for a time span adequately enough for it to secure acceptance and legitimacy. Thus absence of permanent frontiers was the reason for absence of linear frontiers or at least attempts at establishing them. Perhaps the first ever linear boundaries in continental Asia were established by the Russians to separate their newly conquered Central and Northeast Asian territories from Sinkiang and Manchuria of imperial China in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. British and French colonizers followed suit in Southeast Asia at the end of that century.

<sup>9</sup> Aksai Chin is an elevated tableland lying between the Karakoram Mountains in the west and Tibetan Plateau in the east. It is easily accessible from the Chinese side whereas the high-rise Karakoram Mountains deny India similar easy access.

<sup>10</sup> Karakoram Mountains are the second highest mountain ranges in the world next only to the Himalayas.

<sup>11</sup> Such resentment is actually the result of lack of understanding of history on the part of the Indian people. A careful analysis of the historical documents and proper understanding of events in the past 120 years demonstrate clearly enough that India has been the gainer in its border row with China. India now possesses Arunachal Pradesh, which was in fact not a part of its territory before 1911. On the other hand Aksai Chin, which is under Chinese control, now was part of Indian territory only in maps as a result of British India's cartographic expansion in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. In reality India never controlled that region. It's interesting to note that Indians learned of Chinese presence in Aksai Chin only when Beijing officially announced in mid-50s that it had completed the construction of a road in that region. If the Indian public is properly educated on historical facts they may not oppose any move by their government to convert the line of actual control into international boundary.

<sup>12</sup> For more details the following scholarly works may be referred: Maxwell, Neville (1970) *India's China War*, London; Woodman, Dorothy (1969) *Himalayan Frontier*, Barrie and Rockliff; London; Hoffmann, Steven (1990) *India and the China Crisis*, Oxford University Press, Delhi.

<sup>13</sup> The "moral aspect" of these means is not elaborated here since it lies outside the subject matter of this study.

<sup>14</sup> Though the river Rio Grande shifts its course once in while and causes some confusion among the two nations that lie on its either side, Washington and Mexico City have never allowed the same to assume crisis proportion.

<sup>15</sup> Presently the Hindukush Mountains run from northeast to southwest in eastern Afghanistan. Pushtu speaking Pakthuns who have been separated by the Durand Line from their fellow Pakthuns in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) in the erstwhile British Indian Empire and in present Pakistan since the end of the Anglo-Afghan hostilities during the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century populate the land on either side of the Mountain predominantly. Tazhiks are majority in northeast and Uzbeks in the west. Both Tajiks and Uzbeks have people of their ethnicity in neighboring Tajikistan and Uzbekistan respectively. The ethnic closeness of the three major ethnic groups of Afghanistan to the people of neighbouring states prompted both the Moscow and London to ponder over the idea of dividing the country between the then Soviet Union and Pakistan in early 1950s. This plan was dropped later because it was thought that a neutral buffer of Afghanistan would serve the interests of both superpowers better during the heydays of Cold War.

<sup>16</sup> Prior to the War of 1965 the then President of Pakistan Field Marshal Ayub Khan declared that history was on his side. He also boasted of hoisting Pakistani flag atop the Red Fort in New Delhi within fifteen days. He said that it was a historical fact that one who controlled Punjab would control Delhi one day; and he was the one who controlled Punjab in 1965.

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- <sup>17</sup> Though the Kushans were originally from Tibet, the empire they established in the First Century B. C. was actually had the distinction of being the first ever-Afghan empire worth naming. The three Kushan emperors viz. Kuzala Kadafissus, Vima Kadafissus and Kanishka controlled vast areas on both sides of the Hindukush-Khyber Corridor. The imperial capital of Purushapura (modern Peshawar) was actually located on the eastern side of the Corridor.
- <sup>18</sup> Following the annihilation of the Khwarizmian Empire by Chengiz Khan, its ruler Allauddin Mangbarni fled to the Caspian region. His son Jalaluddin Mangbarni crossed over to India via Iran. He was closely followed on his heels by the Mongol army. Jalaluddin Mangbarni forged an alliance with the Khokars by marrying the daughter of their chief and disappeared into the deserts of Sind.
- <sup>19</sup> It was called “Gilgit and Agency.” It’s presently designated as “Northern Territories” and is under the direct rule of Islamabad. Interestingly, it’s not a part of Azad Kashmir or Pakistan Occupied Kashmir or POK as it’s known in India.
- <sup>20</sup> Rahmat Ali released *Now or Never*, as a monograph on 28 January 1933 in Cambridge. Interestingly Rahmat Ali felt disenchanted with not only the geography of Pakistan but also the politico-bureaucratic system the Muslim state came under when it was established and started a campaign against it. Consequently he earned the wrath of the establishment and was deported to England and died there in 1951. He lies buried in a cemetery in Cambridge, England, not in the country to which he gave its name.
- <sup>21</sup> The word “Pak” literally means “pure” in Arabic.
- <sup>22</sup> Ali called it Afghanistan because this region is inhabited mainly by the Pushtu speaking Pathans who were separated from Afghanistan by the Durand Line in the later part of 19th Century.
- <sup>23</sup> Interestingly, he chose the last letter of the name Baluchistan, not the first.
- <sup>24</sup> At one stage the leaders of Muslim League had even insisted on naming the proposed Muslim homeland as India.
- <sup>25</sup> It had been British policy to keep a smaller part of their possessions under their own control and give independence to the larger part. Northern Ireland and Kuwait are the best examples of this policy. Such a move, however, was not possible in the Indian subcontinent as the Indian freedom movement was firmly opposed to any British plan of retaining a small part of India in London’s control and giving independence to the larger part. This opposition might have prompted the British to think of a different plan- divide India on religious ground, and support the smaller one so that it would remain indebted to London for a long time even after independence. This would enable London to maintain its presence and continue to influence the developments in this part of the world even after the end of its colonial empire.
- <sup>26</sup> The latest in the series of scholarly investigations into the British “role” in the partition of India and how they did it is: Wolpert, Stanley (2006) *Shameful Flight: The Last Years of the British Rule in India*, Oxford University Press, London.
- <sup>27</sup> The Great Runn of Kutch and the Little Runn of Kutch are filled with the waters of the Arabian sea during the rainy season and remain as arid salty desert during the rest of the year. Pakistan staked its claim on half of this area on the ground that it was an arm of Arabian Sea and the international border should run along the middle of it. After some minor skirmishes in the summer of 1965 the issue was referred to a Tribunal which awarded to Pakistan three years later an area covering about 780 sq. km. much less than what Islamabad had claimed. Both parties accepted the verdict and accordingly India transferred that territory to Pakistan.
- <sup>28</sup> The violence that accompanied the partition of the Indian Subcontinent was unprecedented in human history. Hundreds of thousands of people were massacred and more than ten million people crossed borders in what has been described as the largest migration in the history of Mankind. There is hardly any family on both sides of the Radcliffe Line in Punjab, which was not a victim of violence. Thus the birth of the independent states of India and Pakistan was accompanied by religion-triggered bloodshed that left deep scars on the minds of their people.
- <sup>29</sup> India got full utilization rights on the three “eastern rivers” –Ravi, Beas and Sutlej.

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## **SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS – 1947 TO PRESENT: FROM CONFLICT TO COOPERATION**

**Bhim Sandhu**

### *Abstract*

*It appears that the prime reason for the inability of China and India to negotiate their disputes peacefully and amicably was the adamant attitude of each toward the other. Blame must be shared for the failure of the attempted modes of conflict resolution. As for Tibet, it was China who for security reasons decided to use force rather than settle the problem peacefully as desired by Tibet and India. The Tibetan issue was all settled in 2005 when premier Singh accepted Tibet as a part of China rejecting the latter's reasonable and thoughtful proposals for peace.*

China and India enjoy a long history of friendly relations. Historic interactions between the two civilizations began by spreading of Buddhism. They have religions, cultural and trading links dating back to 2500 years. Before the end of the WWII, both countries supported each other in their respective struggle for national independence. However, after their independence, India in 1947, and China in 1949, their relations turned sour. Conflicting strategic interest over the status of Tibet and the Border dispute in the Himalayan region contributed to their soured relations. The border dispute between the two resulted into a border war in 1962. This paper will analyze Sino-Indian relations since 1947 which have moved through two phases of strategic conflict and economic cooperation.

There have been two general views about the Sino-Indian conflict which resulted in an undeclared war in 1962. The most general view is that India was a victim of unprovoked Chinese aggression on its border, and that it was China and not India who refused to negotiate amicably. This hypothesis remained popular in India and western circles until the publication of Neville Maxwell's book, *India's China War*, in 1970. While Maxwell developed a new polemic hypothesis contending that India provoked the Chinese to launch a "preemptive attack" and that India's decision early in the 1950's not to negotiate with China made the conflict almost nonnegotiable diplomatically. The first part of the paper will evaluate the above mentioned hypothesis, to analyze the different modes or methods which China and India used to resolve their conflict, and to discuss the factors that contributed to the failure of these methods. The last part of the paper will analyze growing economic cooperation between China and India which may lead to conflict resolution.

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The origin of the Sino-Indian conflict goes back to the Tibetan crisis of 1950. Tibet was the first area where Chinese and Indian primary interests clashed. India had inherited from British India a moral obligation to protect Tibetan autonomy, while China claimed Tibet as a permanent province of China. India and China desired to settle the problem of Tibet peacefully and amicably. In view of security and strategic considerations, China resorted to force rather than negotiation. A favourable international situation, provided by the Korean crisis of 1950, perhaps motivated the Chinese to solve the Tibetan problem by force without awaiting the outcome of bilateral negotiations with Tibet in Beijing (formerly known as Peking).

The Sino-Indian border dispute of the later 1950's and the early 1960's was another bone of contention between the two countries. China and India tried to solve the dispute peacefully and amicably, the prime methods being Zhou-Nehru personal diplomacy, summit diplomacy, bilateral negotiations between Sino-Indian officials, and international mediation. Unfortunately all these efforts failed. The border dispute remained unnegotiated not because China and India refused to negotiate but because neither side was willing to surrender its territorial claims or make reasonable concessions, for to do so would be against the national security interests of each power.

### **Tibetan Settlement**

It was in Tibet that the Chinese and Indian interests overlapped. All Chinese leaders, Kuomintang nationalists as well as communists, perceived Tibet as an integral province of China. After the Chinese communists came into power in 1949, Tibetan liberation became the most important issue on the agenda of liberating the Chinese territories lost in the past.

India, who traditionally had viewed Tibet as an autonomous and buffer state between China and herself, was not now willing to quarrel over the issue of Tibetan liberation. The Nehru government eschewed the traditional British Indian role of maintaining Tibet as a buffer state and extending Indian influence in Lhasa, the capital. In spite of the fact that the key officials in Nehru's government disagreed with his China policy, he still showed unwillingness to fight with China over the matter. Instead, Nehru and his Ambassador to China, Panikkar, advised the Chinese to go ahead and liberate Tibet slowly and cautiously through peaceful negotiations. Tibet, after all, had since 1912 existed as a virtually independent entity in international relations.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, India made it clear that she had no territorial and political ambitions in Tibet, and that she accepted Chinese suzerainty there. India expressed great concern, however, about Tibetan autonomy as well as certain Indian commercial and cultural rights inherited from historical usages, traditions, and agreements.<sup>2</sup> The main suggestions to Beijing were that “a settlement of the Tibetan problem should be affected by peaceful negotiations adjusting the legitimate Tibetan claim to autonomy within the framework of Chinese suzerainty.”<sup>3</sup> To facilitate a peaceful settlement, India also urged Tibetan officials to begin negotiations with China at their earliest convenience.

Beijing’s response was favourable expressing a willingness to solve the issue peacefully in direct negotiation with the Tibetan government.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, bilateral negotiations between Chinese and Tibetan officials began in August 1950, with the Tibetan delegations arriving in New Delhi to negotiate with the Chinese representative there.

Negotiations did not go very far, however, because of the Chinese assertion that fruitful talks could not be held with Tibet on a foreign soil (India). The Chinese demanded the transfer of negotiations from Delhi to Beijing, and this was agreed to by the Tibetan delegation.

Unfortunately, the Chinese, contrary to their expressed desire for peaceful and amicable negotiations, decided to liberate Tibet by force. Without waiting for the arrival of the Tibetan delegation in Beijing, the People’s Liberation Army entered Tibet on October 7, 1950. Having completed a major part of its military operation on October 25, the Beijing government announced that the “People’s Army units have been ordered to advance into Tibet to free three million Tibetans from the imperialist oppression and consolidate national defense of the western border of China.”<sup>5</sup>

The Chinese gave several reasons for resorting to force. They argued that, as Tibet was an inseparable part of China, the problem thus was an internal one. They maintained that the Tibetan *people* were supposed to be liberated and that

...regardless of whether the local authorities of Tibet wish to proceed with peaceful negotiations and whatever the results may be achieved by negotiations, the problem of Tibet is the domestic problem of the People’s Republic of China and no foreign interference shall be tolerated.<sup>6</sup>

The Chinese further added that the delay in the visit of the Tibetan delegation to Beijing for negotiation was “intentionally” caused by outside instigation. They expressed the

desire to solve remaining Tibetan problems peacefully, however, and extended an invitation to Tibet to begin negotiations promptly in Beijing.<sup>7</sup>

Although the Chinese would never admit it publicly, the main reason for the decision to liberate Tibet by force was the Chinese fear of possible American recognition of and military commitment to Tibet. By making a military commitment in Taiwan, America had already foiled the Chinese plan to “liberate” that island. Another reason motivating the Chinese to resort to force was the international situation in Asia. At a time when world attention was concentrated on the Korean crisis, it was easy for the Chinese to liberate Tibet without fear of intervention by the Western powers, especially the United States.

Whatever may have been the real reasons for the Chinese use of force in Tibet, the Chinese clearly demonstrated they were using a double standard. On the one hand, they assured India and Tibet that they would settle the issue peacefully, and, in fact, had begun bilateral negotiations with Tibet. On the other hand, they were looking for an opportunity to use force even without awaiting the outcome of negotiations. To the outside world, the Chinese demonstrated that they were bent upon liberating the former lost territories of the Middle Kingdom by force.

The repercussions of the Chinese action were serious and long lasting. India’s official response was mild but not without protest. The Indian government sent a special note to China expressing “regret” and “surprise” over the decision to liberate Tibet by force – the “invasion by Chinese troops of Tibet cannot but be regarded as deplorable...”<sup>8</sup> India also expressed “amazement” at Chinese allegations that India’s decision to deplore China’s action was motivated by foreign influence hostile to China. India denied the Chinese allegation that the Tibetan delegation’s departure from Delhi to Beijing was delayed by the outside instigation.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the fact that there was a great demand from the Indian public, key officials, the press, and Parliament for a change in India’s China policy, the basic premise of India’s policy on peaceful settlement of differences with China did not change.<sup>10</sup> Premier Nehru still believed, perhaps rightly, that militarily weak India could do nothing other than accept the *fait accompli* in Tibet. Perhaps as a symbolic gesture of peaceful coexistence with China, India finally accepted Chinese *de jure* sovereignty over Tibet, giving legal recognition by treaty in 1954.

The Tibetans, who had always claimed to be a nation distinct from China, suffered most from India's inability to prevent the occupation. It was the price paid by Nehru's policy of nonalignment and peaceful coexistence with China.

The Tibetan request for military help went unheeded by the United States, England and Nepal. Tibet's ultimate appeal to the United Nations was neglected in November 1950 mainly because the Indian delegate in the General Assembly argued that non-intervention would eventually help to preserve Tibetan autonomy. Both the United States and England along with other Western powers accepted India's argument with the hope that India would be able to solve the problem peacefully in the future.

Consequently, Tibet fell completely into the hands of communist China's Middle Kingdom. It was now under the unchallengeable suzerainty or sovereignty of China, and left with no other choice than to negotiate on Chinese terms. Under pressure from India who advised Tibet "not to offer any armed resistance, but to open negotiations for a peaceful settlement on the basis of the Simla agreement of 1914."<sup>11</sup> In order to live peacefully under Chinese suzerainty, Tibet found it essential to develop friendly relations with Beijing and accordingly signed the Sino-Tibetan Seventeen Points Agreement in 1951.<sup>12</sup> By this agreement under duress, the Tibetans lost the virtual *de facto* independent status they had enjoyed since 1912.<sup>13</sup>

The Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1950 had far-reaching effects on Sino-Indian relations. With the disappearance of Tibet as a buffer state, the two large nations were now face-to-face in the Himalayas. The fall of Tibet made independent India for the first time a frontier-minded nation, the security of this frontier now becoming a prime consideration of its foreign relations.

Immediately after the Chinese occupation, Nehru expressed in the Indian Parliament a serious concern about the northern frontier. India, he said, was now greatly concerned about the stability and security of Nepal. He maintained that the Himalayas, which lay on the other side of Nepal, were the natural frontier of India and that India would not tolerate any person crossing it. Finally, he made it clear for the first time that India's border with China in the NEFA area was defined clearly by the McMahon Line "map or no map."<sup>14</sup>

China's failure to contradict this assertion, at least prior to 1959, created a long-range problem for Sino-Indian negotiations over the border dispute. India for national security reasons had decided in 1950 that she would not negotiate with China in NEFA on Chinese

terms. This did not mean, however, that India was unwilling to talk at all about the exact demarcation of the border. Indeed, India was interested in knowing Chinese views about the legality of the McMahon Line and also was willing to negotiate the formal demarcation of the frontier on the ground.

From 1950 until the Sino-Indian border dispute became an open issue in 1959, neither India nor China made any significant attempt to negotiate a formal demarcation. Both sides were involved in diplomatic and military efforts to consolidate their respective powers and interests along the Sino-Indian frontier. It was a period of political and military maneuvering rather than negotiation.

### **Politico-Military Maneuvering**

Militarily, to legitimize its assertion that the McMahon Line was a legal boundary, India in 1950 increased the number of border check posts and began a new road building program in the NEFA area and the new check posts brought the Indians to the actual Chinese border. Thus by 1954, all along the Sino-Indian frontier Indian troops were guarding India's northern frontier in the Himalayas.<sup>15</sup>

Diplomatically, to divert Chinese attention from the Sino-Indian border issue, the Nehru government accepted China's legal rights over Tibet, signed trade and commercial agreements with China, and negotiated the so-called doctrine of Panch Shila (five principles of peaceful coexistence).

All these efforts were perhaps intended to appease China, and thereby prevent her from making border claims inside India. Additionally, India repeatedly suggested that Beijing should, in the interest of its international image, create confidence among its smaller neighbors by declaring categorically that it accepted the existing international boundaries.<sup>16</sup> Nehru's diplomatic technique was to avoid raising the border issue directly, lest such would suggest that India had doubts about the legality of its claims.<sup>17</sup> India continued to show the McMahon Line on Indian maps, which contradicted occasional published Chinese maps that depicted parts of the NEFA territory as belonging to China.

The Chinese response to these Indian diplomatic and military maneuverings was cautious, silent, and unclear. They refrained from making an official statement about the exact location of the frontier, but they did take certain diplomatic and military steps.

Diplomatically, to demonstrate their friendship with India, the Chinese negotiated trade and commercial agreements and developed the doctrine of five principles of peaceful

co-existence. Instead of contradicting Indian maps publicly, they continued to publish their version of the location of the Sino-Indian frontier in their national maps. These maps which the communist's began publishing soon after they came into power in 1950, evoked a strong protest from India. The conflicts became evidently real in 1954 when the Chinese published maps claiming approximately 51,000 square miles of territory claimed also by India.

The 1954 maps aroused deep concern in Indian circles. Premier Nehru during his visit to China in October 1954 drew Premier Zhou's attention to the discrepancy, adding that India was not to a large extent worried about the issue since India boundaries were quite clear and did not involve any argument. Zhou in his response argued that the Chinese maps of 1954 were "really reproductive of the old pre-liberation maps," and that China had not yet had time to revise them.<sup>18</sup>

As regards the McMahon Line, Nehru got a chance to discuss it with Zhou in 1956. Zhou told Nehru that he did not like the name "McMahon Line," but added that in view of his recognition of the McMahon Line border with Burma, and the existing friendly relations with India, he would recognize the Line as it related to India. He added, however, that he would like to consult with authorities of the Tibetan Region of China about the matter.<sup>19</sup>

Even during negotiation of an agreement on trade and intercourse between the Tibet Region and India, China did not raise any official arguments about the border dispute. According to Zhou, the "conditions were not yet ripe for its settlement, and the Chinese, on their part, had no time to devote to the question."<sup>20</sup>

One can argue that China did not formally contradict India's assertion that no border dispute existed and that the frontier was already defined by the traditional McMahon Line. For India as well as the outside world, there appeared to be no major border disagreement. Perhaps naively, India believed that since China did not officially raise the issue, no dispute existed. China, however, was biding her time.

Although China did not officially and diplomatically raise the border issue until 1959, within two months of the negotiation of the 1954 agreement on Tibet and the enunciation of the Panch Shila, China began expanding militarily in the Himalayas region. In July 1954 the Chinese made their first territorial incursion in the Bara Hoti or Wu-Je area. By 1956 they had moved into both the Ladakh (the western sector of the frontier) and the NEFA areas. By 1957, they had secretly built a strategically important road known as the Aksai Chin. In 1957-1958 this road was extended up to the Ladakh region of the Jammu and Kashmir

State.<sup>21</sup> In short, by 1958, the Chinese without trying any diplomatic negotiation over the exact location of the Sino-Indian frontier had unilaterally altered the status quo, particularly in the strategically important Ladakh area. This suggests that China in dealing with India over the border problem was somewhat inconsistent. On the one hand, China carefully avoided refuting India's position officially. On the other hand, perhaps partly because of India's military maneuvering in NEFA, China began refuting Indian claims informally by establishing a new presence in the Bara Hoti area and later in NEFA and Ladakh areas.

The real intentions of the Chinese in the Himalayas region became clear in 1958 when the Chinese published an old version of the Sino-Indian frontier in *China Pictorial Magazine*, reemphasizing claims of 1950 and 1954. These maps claimed about 51,000 square miles of territory also claimed by India.

### **Border Disagreements**

The 1958 publication of the Chinese maps immediately drew a protest from the Indian government on the basis of accuracy. The Chinese response was cautious but not very different from its former map policy.<sup>22</sup> This time, however, the Chinese expressed their new belief that:

“...with the elapse of time and after consultations with the various neighboring countries and a survey of the border region, a new way of drawing the boundary will be decided on in accordance with the results of the consultations and the survey.”<sup>23</sup>

The Chinese response was puzzling because for India there was no major dispute requiring consultation or survey. Premier Nehru in his letter to Premier Zhou argued: “There never has been such a dispute (border dispute) so far as we are concerned and in my talks with you in 1954 and subsequently, I had stated this.” Nehru added: “There can be no question of these large parts of India being anything but India and there is no dispute about them. I do not know what kind of surveys can affect these well-known and fixed boundaries.”<sup>24</sup> Nehru's position was that since China did not raise the border issue at the time of the negotiation of the Sino-Indian agreement in 1954, the dispute was considered settled.

Premier Zhou in his letter of reply of January 23, 1959, shattered all illusions of the Indian government. He stated that the Sino-Indian border had never been formally delimited, and that at no time in history had the two countries formally concluded a border agreement or treaty. There were, he added, some crucial differences between China and India over the matter. To the surprise of Nehru, Zhou questioned the legality of the so-called McMahon

Line and maintained that China had never recognised it. Zhou affirmed, however, that "...on account of the friendly relations between China and India, a friendly settlement can eventually be found for this section of the boundary line." Finally, to avoid future military confrontations, Zhou suggested that China and India should temporarily maintain the "status quo" in the disputed area, that each side should keep the present territory under its control and not expand beyond.<sup>25</sup>

Nehru's belated response to Zhou's status quo proposal was favourable but not without reservations.<sup>26</sup> He firmly stated that "No government could possibly discuss the future of such large areas which are an integral part of their territory." In a more conciliatory tone he added that:

"We, however, recognize that the India-China frontier which extends over more than 3,500 kilometers has not been demarcated on the ground and disputes may therefore arise at some places along the traditional frontier as to whether these places lie on the Indian or the Tibetan side of this traditional frontier."

Nehru thus agreed with Zhou that until some kind of settlement was reached between the two, the status quo should be maintained, the traditional frontier should be respected, and no attempt should be made by either side to alter the existing situation in any manner. But, he warned: "No discussions can be fruitful unless the posts on the Indian side of the traditional frontier now held by the Chinese forces are first evacuated by them and further threats and intimidations immediately cease." In other words, Nehru was demanding the withdrawal of Chinese troops from recently occupied Indian territory as a precondition for peaceful settlement of the dispute.

On September 10, 1959, the Indian government outlined its proposal to implement the status quo. The new note to China expressed India's willingness to discuss the exact alignment of the McMahon Line in the NEFA area. It also suggested that the status quo be maintained in the area, and that neither party send armed personnel in the Longju and other disputed areas.<sup>27</sup>

Premier Zhou's reply of November 7, 1959, presented the Chinese plan for maintenance of the status quo.<sup>28</sup> He proposed that:

...armed forces of China and India each withdraw 20 kilometers at once from the so-called McMahon Line in the east, and from the line up to which each side exercises actual control in the west, and that the two sides undertake to refrain from again sending their armed personnel to be stationed in and patrol the zones from which they have evacuated their armed forces, but still maintain civil



administrative personnel and unarmed police there for the performance of administrative duties and maintenance of order.

Zhou stated that this proposal was “in effect an extension of the Indian government’s proposal contained in its note dated September 10 that neither side should send its armed personnel to Longju, to the entire border between China and India, and, moreover, a proposal to separate the troops of the two sides by as great a distance as 40 kilometers.” Finally, Zhou proposed that in order to discuss boundary and other issues the Premiers of the two countries should hold a summit meeting in the immediate future.

The key point of the proposal was that the armed forces of China and India withdraw twenty kilometers from the lines which they occupied at the moment, and that neither side deploy armed personnel along the entire frontier.

Although Zhou’s proposal for negotiation was an extension of the India proposal of September 10, unfortunately it was not acceptable to Nehru. Instead, Nehru suggested a counter proposal which included separate solutions for the Ladakh and NEFA areas.<sup>29</sup> In the NEFA area, Nehru indicated that India would not agree to any status quo arrangement until the Chinese withdrew their troops from Longju. He assured Zhou, in return, that India would not reoccupy that area. He also suggested to Zhou that each side should stop patrolling this and other disputed areas of the frontier.

Regarding the Ladakh area, Nehru suggested:

The government of India should withdraw all personnel to the west of the line which the Chinese government has shown as the international boundary in their 1956 maps. Similarly, the Chinese government should withdraw their personnel to the east of the international boundary which has been described by the government of India in their earlier notes and correspondence and shown in their official maps... The area is almost entirely uninhabited. It is thus not necessary to maintain administrative personnel in this area bounded by the two lines on the east and the west.

Finally, Nehru welcomed Zhou’s suggestion of the summit conference for various issues.

In essence, Nehru was insisting on the withdrawal of Chinese troops from the NEFA and other areas as a precondition for negotiation, a proposal obviously unacceptable to the Chinese. Zhou expressed “surprise” over Nehru’s peace proposal. He argued that there was no reason to treat the Ladakh area as a special issue. India’s proposal for peace in the Ladakh area, he said, “represents a big step backward from the principle agreed upon earlier by the

two countries of maintaining for the time being the state actually existing on the border. To demand a great change in this state as a precondition for the elimination of border clashes is not to diminish but to widen the dispute.” In view of this, Zhou told Nehru that the Indian proposals for peace were “unfair.”<sup>30</sup>

The focus on the Zhou-Nehru disagreement over the border dispute centered on two points: The exact demarcation of the Sino-Indian frontier, and the search for peaceful and amicable means of negotiation over the matter. Nehru’s main argument was that the Sino-Indian frontier had already been clearly demarcated and thus there did not exist any border dispute, although he admitted that the boundary had not been formally delimited on the ground. He therefore agreed to hold negotiations for that purpose, and also accepted Zhou’s proposal for a status quo along the frontier. He disagreed, however, with Zhou’s mechanism for maintaining the status quo by having both sides mutually withdraw their troops twenty kilometers along the entire frontier. Nehru insisted that only the Chinese withdraw their troops twenty kilometers along the entire frontier, and that the Chinese also withdraw from Longju in NEFA and go back to the line of actual control in Ladakh as shown by Chinese maps of 1956.

In contrast to Nehru’s position, Zhou contended that the boundary had never been formally limited by treaty or agreement at any time in history. He thus argued that the border dispute did exist and required bilateral negotiating in order to decide the exact demarcation through mutual consultation and surveys. Consequently, he suggested that immediate negotiations be undertaken to maintain the status quo and avoid military confrontation. Specifically, he proposed that each country stop patrolling the frontier, and withdraw its troops twenty kilometers behind the actual line of control. He refused to accept Nehru’s “unfair” counter-proposal that Chinese troops withdraw from the areas occupied after 1956 in Ladakh and NEFA.

The Zhou-Nehru discussions suggest that both China and India were eager to settle the conflict peacefully and amicably, but their willingness to negotiate was dependent on or limited by their own sense of national security and national interest. For security reasons it was almost impossible for either side to offer any substantial concession which could pave the way for peaceful negotiations.

Unlike Zhou, however, Nehru was more demanding and more unwilling to negotiate. Chinese military pressures of 1958-1959 were partially to blame for this. In order to

persuade India to negotiate a treaty on Chinese terms, the Chinese applied two complementary devices – diplomatic maneuvering and military pressures.

Diplomatically, the Chinese pretended to display a serious concern for a peaceful and amicable settlement of disputes with India. Militarily, they began consolidating their military strength along their side of the frontier. About the same time they were advocating peaceful negotiation, they began their military push toward the Ladakh and NEFA areas. As a result, they crossed the McMahon Line in the NEFA area and collided with Indian troops stationed at Longju. India reported one soldier killed and one wounded. About two months later the Chinese began a new military thrust into the Ladakh area, clashing with Indian troops at the Konga pass. Here both sides reported nominal casualties.<sup>31</sup> Such movements and incidents were seemingly the main reasons motivating Nehru to call for the withdrawal of Chinese troops as a precondition for negotiation.

The Chinese military pressures of 1958-1959 inflamed public opinion in India. The public, press, and parliament opposition, already dissatisfied with India's mild policy toward China on the Tibetan problem of March 1959, now demanded a tougher policy. With this backing, Nehru refused to bow before Chinese pressure and insisted that no peace could be maintained or negotiation started until the Chinese withdrew from occupied territory in Ladakh and NEFA.

Although Nehru repeatedly argued that so far as India was concerned there was no border dispute and thus nothing to negotiate, he still was willing to hold a summit meeting with Premier Zhou to discuss pressing problems between the two countries. He accordingly extended a formal invitation to Zhou to come to Delhi in 1960.

### **The Unsuccessful Summit Conference**

The Zhou-Nehru summit meeting was held in April 1960 in New Delhi. It seems that Premier Zhou and Marshall Chen Yi, Chinese Foreign Minister, came to Delhi prepared to give India a bargain. This impression is based on the fact that in February China had settled her border dispute with Burma peacefully, and had even acknowledged the McMahon Line. *The Times* (London) remarked: "Naturally they now represent the settlement as a Chinese initiative for good Neighborliness." *The Times* further argued that, "the largest territorial concession, at least categorically, is the Chinese acceptance of the northern triangle, part of which is defined by the easternmost extension of the McMahon Line. They now accept this,

subject to joint demarcation as the traditional customary line.”<sup>32</sup> Thus, Beijing demonstrated that a negotiated settlement with India was possible.

The Zhou-Nehru summit meeting, however, ended without a settlement. Perhaps the major responsibility for this failure can be largely attributed to India.

There is a substantial evidence to show that China was willing to make reasonable concessions in NEFA, abandoning some 36,000 square miles of claimed territory, in order to gain India’s recognition of Chinese claims in Ladakh. It is true that Zhou formally did not admit that he had made any substantial concession to solve the dispute,<sup>33</sup> but the facts of the negotiation prove otherwise. During his talks with key Indian leaders, Zhou “offered to abandon Beijing’s claim to the Northeast Indian Frontier Areas (NEFA) in exchange for title to 15,000 square miles in Ladakh.”<sup>34</sup> During the negotiations, as observed by *The Times*, “the whole Chinese approach had been directed towards persuading India to balance the possession of the territory which China claims, south of the McMahon line, against China’s occupation of the area which India claims in Ladakh.”<sup>35</sup> Zhou thus expressed his country’s willingness to recognize the McMahon Line as the legal border between China and India in NEFA provided India recognized Chinese claims in Ladakh.<sup>36</sup> This, of course, was not a radical change in China’s border policy, as it had expressed its desire in the 1950s to recognize the McMahon Line in relation to both Burma and to India.

Unfortunately, Nehru’s attitude toward the Chinese proposal was as adamant as that of his critics. He insisted that India “will not concede one piece of territory in return for another in the same manner as a similar dispute between China and Burma was settled this year.”<sup>37</sup> He stated: “There is no question of barter in these matters...facts are facts.”<sup>38</sup> Finally, “The Chinese must leave territory that India considers hers in Ladakh and Kashmir before any settlement could be considered!”<sup>39</sup>

One wonders why Nehru refused to bargain with the Chinese, what the reasons were for rejecting the Chinese idea of bartering the territory.

The prime reason apparently was the unwillingness of Nehru’s cabinet to meet the Chinese terms. Zhou and Chen had a chance to talk with most of the senior members of the Indian cabinet, and on such occasions the Chinese were lectured about their mistake in raising disputes with “peaceful” and “morally superior” India. The late Gobind Pant, then India’s Home Minister, and Morarji Desai, two senior cabinet members, who persuaded

Nehru to reject the Chinese proposal, should be publicly blamed for the failure of the Zhou-Nehru summit conference.

Actually Nehru, was not personally very interested in the Ladakh area (he had once described it in the Lok Sabha as an area where “not a blade of grass grows”), and favoured making a deal with the Chinese. The premature press disclosures of Nehru’s intention, however, as well as the strong opposition of his senior cabinet members, blocked the barter agreement.<sup>40</sup> His senior colleagues further obstructed negotiation efforts when they rejected Krishna Menon’s plan of temporary settlement, which was “to lease to China the Aksai Chin salient. In turn China would lease to India the narrow strip of Chinese territory projecting into India between Sikkim and Bhutan. This was a strategically important territory.”<sup>41</sup> Nehru and Zhou had almost agreed to the idea of leasing territory, when it was foiled by the “combined efforts” of the two aforementioned senior cabinet members. The late Gobind Pant even threatened to resign, should Nehru accept the idea of lease.<sup>42</sup>

Although the major blame for India’s inability to negotiate with China should go to Nehru’s Cabinet, Nehru cannot be easily absolved for yielding to the prevalent Indian public opinion. During the negotiation with Chou and Chen, Nehru was greatly influenced by the public demand or a tough policy against China. After the war of 1962, Menon disclosed that the influence of the public and Parliament played a significant role during the summit meeting –“under the influence of public opinion it was not possible for India to talk in terms of negotiation.”<sup>43</sup> Nehru,” said Menon, “was aware that public opinion would not go for any appeasement.”<sup>44</sup>

Nehru’s decision not to accept the Chinese barter plan was influenced by the emotional, uneducated and apathetic elements of the Indian population. In an important matter of war and peace, the Indian public played a negative role, and ultimately damaged the peace-making efforts of both nations.

It was frustrating to the Chinese. As a result, Chou rejected the McMahon Line as a legal boundary between China and India. While he assured Indians that China would not cross the line, he also made it clear that in the future, “if any concessions were to be made, they had to come from India.”<sup>45</sup>

Although the Zhou-Nehru summit meeting failed in its principal objective, some limited achievement should not be overlooked. *The Washington Post* observed:

The week of meetings in new Delhi between Chinese Prime Minister Zhou En-Lai and Prime Minister Nehru of India seems to have produced at least some clarification and definition of the two countries' border dispute. More important, it has resulted in the decision to talk more, study relevant documents at meetings in Beijing and New Delhi and attempt in the meantime to avoid border incidents.<sup>46</sup>

After a week of negotiations, the maximum Zhou and Nehru could agree on was to undertake further discussion of existing maps and historical documents to avoid future border incidents.

### **Sino-Indian Officials Meet**

In accordance with decisions made by Zhou and Nehru to examine their respective documents further, Indian and Chinese officials met for more study of all available materials. They met for several months at Beijing, Delhi, and Rangoon, and submitted a weak (unsatisfactory) report in December 1960.<sup>47</sup>

During the negotiations, both sides bogged down in defending their respective territorial claims and refused to make concessions. Each showed a lack of willingness to negotiate realistically by resting their claims on historical traditions, customs, treaties and agreements, subsequently resulting in the dual, policies of the two nations in the early 1960s.

### **Dual Policy**

The drift of the Sino-Indian dual policy was that the two nations pretended, as usual, that they were interested in a peaceful and amicable settlement of disputes, while continuing to build up military strength on both sides of the frontier. The same old proposals for negotiation, which the parties had rejected on numerous occasions in the past, were again brought forward.

In 1961-1962 China offered three proposals, all basically the same as those Premier Zhou had suggested to Nehru in 1959. China insisted that both sides withdraw their troops twenty kilometers in all sectors as a precondition for negotiation, and declared unacceptable India's condition that Chinese troops withdraw back to the line of 1956 in Ladakh and that Indian maps be followed in NEFA.<sup>48</sup>

While repeating their 1959 proposals, the Chinese were intensely engaged in military maneuvering along the entire Sino-Indian frontier. In 1961 they began a new military thrust towards India, and by 1962 had occupied about 12,000 square miles of new territory in the Ladakh area. In the summer of 1962 China, in violation of Zhou's promise of 1960 not to

cross the McMahon Line, crossed the line and established its presence in the sensitive and controversial areas of Longju and Thagla-Ridge in NEFA, and by September had penetrated to the southern part of the McMahon Line.<sup>49</sup>

Meanwhile, India too followed a dual policy. In response to China's expanding frontier moves, India developed the Forward Policy, which was both defensive and offensive in its objective. Assuming naively that China would not start a war, India in the summer of 1961 began the process of implementing its Forward Policy. While offering the 1959 proposals for negotiation, she began probing forward by establishing new posts and building new roads in the Ladakh area where the Chinese already were well settled. By the end of 1961 India had established over fifty new military posts in Ladakh and NEFA.<sup>50</sup>

In 1962, about the time India reemphasized Nehru's 1959 proposal and showed a willingness to let the Chinese use the Aksai Chin road for civilian traffic, India began establishing new check posts in areas which the Chinese had vacated for the winter and had not returned because of heavy snow.<sup>51</sup> By the end of July, India had recovered about 3,500 square miles of territory in the Ladakh area. Also that summer, India moved into the Thagla-Ridge and Longju areas in NEFA, area which the Chinese had always claimed. Concomittantly, India repeated Nehru's 1959 proposal that rejected negotiation until Chinese troops had been withdrawn from Indian territory. As late as August 22, when war was almost inevitable, India demanded the withdrawal of Chinese troops as a precondition for negotiation.<sup>52</sup>

Thus, both China and India pursued dual policies after the failure of the 1960 Zhou-Nehru summit conference. While both nations expressed their willingness to negotiate by re-offering their 1959 proposals, in view of their military maneuverings of 1961-1962, their sincerity is open to serious question. For security reasons neither side was willing to make concessions, nor did either offer a new solution to the old problem. In the 1960s the situation had worsened because of the expanding frontier policy of China and the Forward Policy of India. Even during the warfare of October 1962, the two sides repeated old proposals for negotiation without offering anything new, except that the Chinese proposal of October 24, 1962, did include acknowledgment of the presence of their troops south of the McMahon Line in NEFA.<sup>53</sup>

A new and final opportunity for negotiation came after the war of 1962, when Afro-Asian nonaligned countries offered to mediate in the dispute. Unfortunately even the mediation efforts of the nonaligned world failed.

### **Colombo Mediation: A Frustrated Attempt**

The Colombo mediation attempt is generally known as the Colombo Proposals. At the initiative of the government of Sri Lanka, a conference of the so-called six Afro-Asian nonaligned countries (the U.A.R., Cambodia, Ghana, Burma, Sri Lanka and Indonesia) was called to discuss the Sino-Indian border conflict. The Colombo mediators met for two days in December 1962 and, after consideration of the different views taken by the participants, came up with some proposals of reconciliation. These proposals, together with the subsequent clarifications as demanded by India, were as follows: (a) China, as it had repeatedly proposed, should withdraw its troops twenty kilometers, behind what it claimed to be the line of actual control in 1959, in the Ladakh area; (b) that India could move its troops up to this line of actual control; (c) that both sides, through negotiation on the basis of parity between the two, be allowed to establish civilian posts for administrative purposes in the demilitarized zone of twenty kilometers created by the withdrawal of the Chinese forces; (d) Indian troops move up to the south part of the McMahon Line in the NEFA area, except for the sensitive and controversial areas of Thagla-Ridge and Longju (thus allowing Indian troops to reoccupy Chinese vacated territory in NEFA also); and (e) the problems of the middle or central sector of the frontier be “solved by peaceful means without resorting to force,” meanwhile maintaining the status quo. The mediators expressed a belief that their proposals would reduce tension and would eventually pave the way for possible negotiation between the parties.<sup>54</sup>

The Colombo proposals were seemingly more favourable to India than to China, the latter being asked to withdraw her victorious troops from Ladakh and NEFA areas without getting any substantial gain from its easy victory on the battlefield. For security reasons China considered it dangerous to allow the Indians to reach right up to the actual line of control of 1959 in Ladakh, and up to the south part of the McMahon Line in NEFA. Diplomatically, it was perceived by the Chinese as unwise to let the Indians reoccupy Chinese vacated areas in Ladakh and NEFA, leaving China no territorial gains for use in bargaining with India. Thus, the Chinese did not *fully* accept the Colombo proposals, while India did accept them in full.



Nehru's acceptance was approved by both houses of the Indian Parliament by an overwhelming majority. The motion of the opposition parties, in Lok Sabha, demanding rejection was defeated by a vote of 349 to 59.<sup>55</sup> Public opinion in India, as expressed in the press, also approved Nehru's decision to accept the proposals.

In his letter to the Colombo powers, however, he carefully stated that India accepted the proposals as clarified and explained by those powers. In addition he insisted that both China and India "must accept the Colombo conference proposals and clarifications in *toto* before the next stage of settling the remaining issues left for decision by the two governments can be taken up in direct talks and discussion."<sup>56</sup> He further added: "the question of giving effect to the Colombo conference proposals as clarified will, therefore, arise only when the government of China has accepted the proposals and clarifications without any reservations on their scope of interpretation."<sup>57</sup> India also insisted that the Chinese, in the spirit of the Colombo proposals, withdraw their seven civil posts in the Ladakh area before any negotiation could start.<sup>58</sup>

The Chinese response to the Colombo proposals was somewhat negative, refusing to accept without reservations. Vice Premier Chen Yi in an interview with a Swedish correspondent pointed out: "The Colombo proposals contain contradictions and fallacies in logic... The Chinese government is not obligated to accept them in *toto*."<sup>59</sup> He explained:

The Chinese government accepts the Colombo proposals in principle as a basis for meetings between Chinese and Indian officials. The Colombo proposals are ambiguous on some matters of detail and the Chinese government has its own interpretation, but it does not make acceptance of its own interpretation a precondition for starting the meetings between Chinese and Indian officials.<sup>60</sup>

The major reason for the Chinese refusal to accept the Colombo proposals and clarifications as stated by Nehru in the Indian Parliament was that "the Chinese objected to the Indian military reoccupation in the northeast and to the patrol on the basis of equality in the demilitarized corridor in Ladakh."<sup>61</sup>

The crux of the problem apparently was the proposal to allow Indian troops to establish civil check posts in Chinese vacated areas. Premier Zhou was reported saying that China would not allow India to set up even civilian check posts in Indian border locations where they would be permitted under the proposals of six Colombo powers.<sup>62</sup> The Colombo mediation failed because the Chinese refused to accept the proposals in full. They refused to let Indian troops reoccupy and establish civil check posts in Chinese vacated areas, and they

refused to accept India's continuous demand for the withdrawal of seven civilian posts in Ladakh.

### **Unfilled Arbitration**

After the unsuccessful mediation by the nonaligned world, China and India really did not come up with any new effort to settle the dispute amicably except for Nehru's offer to submit the dispute to international adjudication. Indian records indicate that Nehru at one time, in the Indian Parliament, offered to send the dispute to the International Court of Justice at The Hague provided that the Chinese first return to an Indian version of the actual line of control in the NEFA and Ladakh areas.<sup>63</sup>

It is doubtful that India was really serious about the idea of arbitration. Nehru did not push the proposal vigorously, and after his death the idea did not again come up in Indian circles. As for the Chinese, they met the suggestion of international adjudication with silence.

### **The Open Door Era**

From the failure of the Colombo mediation in 1962-1963 until February 1979 nothing more was attempted by China and India to resolve their conflict. What prevented the two countries from resuming negotiations? There are obviously many reasons.

The Sino-Pakistan alliance of the early 1960's resulting in the Sino-Pakistan border agreement, and Chinese open support for Pakistan in the 1965 war against India, made negotiation almost impossible. Increasing Russian and American economic and military aid to India after the war of 1962 raised further obstacles.

The self-imposed diplomatic isolation of China in the later 1960s was another factor working against a renewal of negotiations. During the period of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969) China was embroiled in internal affairs and isolated from the rest of the world. It was almost impossible at this time to negotiate anything with internally unsettled and internationally isolated China.

After the end of the Cultural Revolution however, the prospects for renewed negotiation became brighter. China became more moderate and conciliatory in her foreign behavior. While continuing her bamboo-curtain diplomacy, it was in a new aspect of toleration and friendliness. China began a new diplomatic drive primarily to win friends in the world by "disengaging from the support of local minorities or insurgent groups."<sup>64</sup>

## **Thawing Process**

India rose to the occasion and responded favourably to the Chinese post-revolution mood of moderation and conciliation. Perhaps in a symbolic gesture of improving relations with China, India in 1971 removed the police post which had been stationed outside the Chinese embassy since 1967. Mrs. Gandhi and her Foreign Minister expressed a willingness to normalize relations with China. Mrs. Gandhi also was reported to have written Premier Zhou in 1971 about holding a meeting at a mutually agreed place to discuss the Bangladesh problem and other pressing issues.<sup>65</sup> Chinese open support for Pakistan in the war over Bangladesh obviously brought a setback to India's efforts to normalize relations at that time.

In 1976, however, slow-moving Sino-Indian rapprochement picked up momentum when India unilaterally decided to upgrade diplomatic relations by sending an ambassador to Beijing for the first time in 15 years. China reciprocated by sending its ambassador to New Delhi, and showed further good intentions by ceasing to give moral support to any of the Indian Communist Parties including "militant Naxalites," and by curtailing its arming, training, and financing of rebels in the Indian State of Nagaland.<sup>66</sup>

Post-Mao leadership in China and the ruling Janata Party in India made further concrete efforts to improve their long strained relations. India again took the initiative in reviving trade links with China, and China allowed Indian ships to enter Chinese ports. Both nations began exchanging officials, sports teams, and friendship delegations.<sup>67</sup> One began to hear again, in both countries, about the two thousand years of friendship between their peoples. In 1970 Mao "unexpectedly grasped the hand of India's resident diplomat, and spoke of friendship" between the two countries.<sup>68</sup> China's Vice-Foreign Minister in charge of Asia spoke of wanting to "write off the last decade or so in Sino-Indian relations."<sup>69</sup>

## **The Package Deal Renewed**

Attempts to normalize relations with China, which began even before Vajpayee's (former foreign minister of India in Janata Government) exploratory visit to Beijing (formerly known as Peking) in 1979, acquired a new momentum when Mr. Huang Nua, foreign minister of China visited India in June 1981 and brought with him a new proposal known as the "Package Deal." Mr. Huang stated that the border dispute should be resolved based on "historical background, the present actual situation and national feelings of the two people."<sup>70</sup>

The "present actual" theme became the central feature of China's "Package Deal." Deng, China's Vice-Premier was the first to use this term in 1980. The package proposal is

very similar to an earlier proposal by Premier Zhou Enlai to Nehru's government in 1960, but rejected by India as unfair. The "Package Deal" was formally spelled out in an editorial published in the *New China News Agency*. The editorial urged that both countries should make concessions – China in the Arunachal area (NEFA – eastern sector), and India in the Ladakh area (western sector).<sup>71</sup> Acceptance of this proposal, according to Deng, would give legal recognition (by China) to the McMahon line in the eastern sector, and in return India would show recognition of the status quo in the western sector.<sup>72</sup>

In essence China was dropping its claim on 35,000 square miles of Indian controlled area in the Tibet area, west and south of the McMahon demarcation line. In exchange China wanted India to give up its claim on 13,000 square miles of territory in the Ladakh (Aksai Chin) area. Thus, China's proposal endorsed the post 1962 war status quo with minor modifications on adjustments.

Since 1980, no new proposals surfaced. China continues to push for Deng's package proposal while India continued to play overcautious and border conflict remained unresolved. China has repeatedly offered to negotiate concessions to India along the eastern sector of the disputed border, provided India will concede China's occupation of the Aksai Chin. But such a concession would be politically controversial in India, a fact which has so far prevented progress in bilateral negotiations.

After the initiation of the package deal by China, seven rounds of negotiations have taken place between the two countries. No significant progress has been made in these negotiations except in the fourth round of negotiations China agreed to India's proposal to discuss the border problem sector by sector within the general framework of Beijing's package proposal for a comprehensive settlement. It was also agreed that the status quo should be maintained on the border pending a solution of the dispute.<sup>73</sup> Actually, the first five rounds of talks were "talks about talks" and it was only at the sixth round in 1985 that the two sides began serious talks about the substantive issues. The unsuccessful seventh round of talks held in July, 1986, produced no concrete results.

Deng's package proposal as the *The Times* (London) remarked in 1983 "is a reasonable enough starting point for a negotiated settlement."<sup>74</sup> It is interesting to note that the Soviet Union had seemingly endorsed the Chinese package plan. The Soviet Union had not officially spelled out its position on the Sino-Indian border, but it had conceded some of the Chinese claims on its border.

Soviet maps after 1978 began showing Arunachal Pradesh (south of the McMahon line which the Chinese say is illegal) as part of India. But, the maps also continued to show Aksai Chin in the Ladakh area, through which the Chinese had built a road to link their Sinkiang and Tibet provinces as Chinese territory. Therefore, by implication, USSR had endorsed the Chinese demand for the Package Deal – Aksai Chin for China and Arunachal Pradesh for India. (This proposal had also been endorsed by the Communist Party of India before the 1962 war).

In his July 28, 1986 speech, Gorbachov, among other things, proposed an extension of Helsinki spirit to Asia. The Helsinki agreement, about ten years ago, froze the borders in Europe resulting from World War II. The agreement may not have much relevance to the Asian situation, as it would amount to India writing off claims to Pakistan held Kashmir areas and Chinese held Aksai Chin in the Ladakh area, and, consequently, legitimizing the existing lines of actual control. This implied endorsement by Russia, of course, added a new pressure on India requiring new political initiatives for Rajiv Gandhi's government for making compromises in that area.<sup>75</sup> Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China in 1988 resumed the exchange of visits by the leaders of the two countries and became an important turning point in Sino-Indian relations. During the visit, both sides agreed to settle the boundary question in a peaceful and friendly way and to set up a joint working group to address problems. It was agreed that while seeking a settlement, relations would have developed in other fields to create conditions conducive to a fair and reasonable settlement of the boundary question.

To maintain peace along the border area, pending an ultimate solution, the two governments further signed agreements during former Indian Prime Minister Rao's visit to China in September 1993 and during former Chinese President Jiang's visit to India in November 1996. In these agreements both sides agreed to "respect and observe the line of actual control (LAC) between them. Agreement was also reached that references to the LAC decided upon do not prejudice their respective positions on the boundary question."

The momentum towards border settlement continued and during former Indian Premier Vajpayee's visit to China in 2003 a new impetus was injected when both sides agreed to appoint a special representative to explore the boundary settlement from a "political perspective of overall bilateral relations." The special representatives have held a number of meetings without any proposed settlement. However, Premier Jiabao Wen of China and Premier M. Singh of India in the April 28, 2005 summit meeting expressed "satisfaction over

the progress made in the discussions between the two special representatives of the two countries.”

### **Border Settlement Plan Proposed**

The rapprochement process took a huge step forward in this historic meeting of 2005 when both premiers agreed in principle to resolve border issues through peaceful and friendly means, rather than resorting to force or threat of force. The two sides agreed to, “make joint efforts to maintain peace and tranquility in the border areas in accordance with agreements of 1993 and 1996.”<sup>76</sup> The two countries further agreed to “make meaningful and mutually acceptable adjustments on their respective claim on the issue, so as to find a package solution. They agreed to take into consideration each others’ strategic and reasonable interests and the principle of equal security for both.”<sup>77</sup> Finally, both countries agreed that:

The two sides will take into account both sides historical evidence, national sentiments, actual difficulties, legitimate concerns, sensitive factors and the actual conditions in border areas. The border should be demarcated along a distinctly marked and conspicuous geographical feature agreed upon by both sides. All necessary interests and benefits of the residents of both countries living in the border area should be protected. Pending the final settlement of the issue, the two sides in real earnest, make joint efforts to maintain peace and stability in the border areas.

Twelve different agreements were signed in this summit meeting. Article 11 of the joint statement signed by both premiers’ sums up their border agreement as follows:

During the visit, the two sides exchanged views on the China-India boundary question and reiterated their readiness to seek a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable solution, through equal and friendly consultations and proceeding from the overall interests of bilateral relations. They expressed satisfaction over the progress made in the discussions between the special representatives of the two countries and welcomed the conclusion of the Agreement on the Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for the Settlement of the Boundary question. Both sides are convinced that an early settlement of the boundary question will advance the basic interests of the two countries and should therefore be pursued as a strategic objective. They expressed their commitment to the mechanism of special representatives for seeking a political settlement of the boundary question in the context of their long-term interests and the overall bilateral relationship.

Pending a final resolution, two sides will continue to make joint efforts to maintain peace and tranquility in the border areas in accordance with the agreements between the

special representatives, it is also important that the joint working group continues its work to seek an early clarification and confirmation of the LAC in the China-India border areas was noted. It was agreed to complete the process of exchanging maps indicating their respective perceptions of the entire alignment of the LAC on the basis of already agreed parameters, with the objective of arriving at a common understanding of the alignment, as soon as possible. The two sides expressed satisfaction at the progress achieved in the implementation of the agreements of 1993 and 1996 and agreed to fully implement them expeditiously. Toward that end, they concluded a Protocol on Modalities for the Implementation of Confidence Building Measures in the Military Field along the LAC in the China-India border areas.<sup>78</sup>

Thus the thawing process took a huge step forward when Premier Wen completed his landmark visit to India. The complex border dispute has now an 11 point framework for settlement and negotiations are continuing through their special representatives. Apparently, as the Wall Street Journal puts it: “The territorial accord commits India and China to resolving their border dispute peacefully. Any settlement would cover the entire border, parts of which are not demarcated. The accord implied that China and India eventually would keep the territories they control. For the first time, we are getting indications of a resolution.”<sup>79</sup>

At this summit meeting in Delhi, Premier Wen finally recognized Sikkim as part of India. Sikkim was a “protectorate” until it became part of India in 1975. India’s Foreign Secretary, Mr. Saran, produced an official Chinese map showing Sikkim as part of India and said in a news conference that, “India and China are partners and not rivals. We do not look upon each other as adversaries.”<sup>80</sup> In return, India reiterated in the statement that it believed Tibet to be a part of China. Premier Wen further added that, “China attaches great importance to the status of India in international affairs,” and it “understands and supports India’s aspirations to play an active role in the U.N. and international affairs.” Some observers believe that Wen’s remarks should be viewed as China’s endorsement for India’s bid for a permanent seat in the Security Council.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, Mr. Wen’s visit to India thawed a long chill between the two counties.

At this summit meeting, the two countries also reached agreements on further promoting, “the cooperation in the areas of education, science and technology, health care, information technology, youth exchange, agriculture, sports tourism, dairy development, and other fields on the basis of mutual benefit and reciprocity.”<sup>82</sup> They also agreed to expand flights between the two countries and to joint military exchanges to enhance “mutual trust”

and to engage in joint exploration for oil and gas in other countries. Furthermore, the Prime Ministers adopted a five-year plan for economic and trade cooperation. Under the plan, the two countries expected to raise bilateral trade to 20 billion dollars by 2008 and to 30 billion by 2010. They also agreed to consider a “regional trade agreement to promote trade.”<sup>83</sup>

### **Expanding Trade and Economic Cooperation**

In recent years, the two countries bilateral trade in which India enjoys a surplus, has been growing. The annual bilateral trade has risen from a few hundred million dollars in the mid 1990s to about 20 billion in 2006 and according to Boxilai, Chinese Commerce Minister, is projected to reach 50 billion by 2010.<sup>84</sup> By then, China will surpass the United States to become India’s largest trade partner and India will become China’s top 10 trade partner. This projection is unrealistic. The trade data released by the Chinese customs show that, “Indian exports to China rose by 27.5% in 2005 against the galloping rise of 86.9% in 2003 and 80.4% in 2004.”<sup>85</sup> The data shows that the bilateral trade between the two countries has slowed down. Cheap Chinese toys and other consumer goods are flooding into India, and India’s software, biotech, and Pharma companies are moving into China. According to one estimate, more than 100 Indian and Chinese companies have either formed partnerships or are operating in each others’ countries.<sup>86</sup> Chinese goods from refrigerators to Hindu statues are flooding the Indian market. Growing economic cooperation and partnership will not end the competition for across products, markets and resources.

Economic partnership is essential for their expanding economies. India’s IT sector has been of main interest to China. That is why Premiers Rongji and Wen chose Bangalore (IT hub of India) over Delhi as their first destinations. Also, China needs India’s high quality iron ore and chemicals to spur its economic growth. For its construction boom, it needs India’s steel. India’s Tata Steel Company has suggested a joint venture to produce semi finished steel in China and finished steel in India. China’s ZTE while trying to expand its telecommunications business in India is waiting for security clearance from India.

The reopening of Nathu La Pass in summer of 2006 in Sikkim border area for trade is another sign of warming of relations between the two countries. The pass once part of the historic “silk route” and closed since the Indo-China War of 1962, provided a new trade route between the two countries. Nathu La Pass is the same spot where in 1967 a short; sharp skirmish between the Chinese and India troops led to a spike in bilateral tension. This tiny pass in the Tibetan region of border provides a new trade route between the two countries.



Under the agreement presently, India will be able to export 29 items to China and China will import 15 items into India. These are items of trade specified in 1992-93 trade agreement. Under this agreement: “Chinese silk, wool, cashmere, goat skin, yak tails, household electric appliances and herbs are expected to enter the Indian market via the Pass, while India’s farm produce and live stock will be hopefully sold to China.”<sup>87</sup> The Pass is the third border trade route between China and India, the two others are Lipulekh Pass opened up in 1991, in Uttarnachal and Shipki-La in Himachal Pradesh. Most of Sino-Indian trade is by sea route between Shanghai and Mumbai (formerly known as Bombay). The opening of this pass may have some local impact on Sikkimese and Tibetan economy but it is not likely to have any major impact national impact. It just gives legitimacy to a new border trade route. Some observers think that, “trade through Nathu La Pass, although on a limited scale is the beginning, promises to boost the economies of the land-locked mountainous regions of the two countries.”<sup>88</sup> And after the opening the Pass, the Chinese ambassador to India, Sun Juxi remarked that “this is a small step of many more to follow. These will eventually lead to a peaceful demarcation of traditional borders.”<sup>89</sup>

Finally, one may conclude that growing economic and trade cooperation by land and sea may contribute to better political relations between the two. The political level of interaction between the two countries has reached a high level. This is now institutionalized. Visits of presidents, Prime Ministers, and ministerial levels takes place regularly which have opened a window for discussions on strategic issues. So far, both sides have shown a renewed interest in avoiding conflict and steadily reducing tension. Expanding scope of economic cooperation and increasing person-to-person contacts between the two nations is likely to promote warmer relations between the Himalayan neighbors and some observers’ think that China may someday become a strategic partner in India. But labeling a “strategic partner” is premature and pernicious. The two countries have two different civilizations and culture and have totally different, economic, political, social systems, and varying strategic interest. The best which can be hoped for is peaceful existence.

India’s suspicions of China run deep and the border dispute that caused the War of 1962 still looms large and has not entirely faded. Indian fears of Chinese economic invasion persist, even though military threat has diminished. China and India are in competition for energy and other resources. Some Indians also worry about China’s “strategic encirclement” by building railway links from Beijing to Tibet and its attempts to make friends with India’s neighbors i.e. Nepal, Myanmar, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. China, on its part is also

suspicious of growing cooperation between India and the United States. China's friendship with Pakistan has always complicated its relations with India, though China has long stopped voicing explicit support for Pakistan's stance on Kashmir, and appears to have played an important role in 2003 in persuading it to start serious peace talks with India. China also reacted calmly when India became a declared nuclear power. After the cold war ended, China seems to have developed balanced relations with Pakistan and India. China's Kashmir Policy as stated by Deng in 1980 today is that Kashmir is a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan and should be settled peacefully based on similar agreement. In the Kargil War, of 1999 between India and Pakistan, Beijing maintained "neutrality" and did not support Pakistan's effort to internationalize Kashmir issue.<sup>90</sup> So, China has changed its Kashmir policy from pro-Pakistan to neutrality.

The lingering border dispute is not yet negotiated. India "claims an area of Chinese controlled territory in Ladakh, and Kashmir, that is the size of Switzerland. China's claim to what is not the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh covers an area three times bigger."<sup>91</sup> So far their policy has been not so much to reach a negotiated settlement but to put the issue aside allowing relations to improve in other areas. Premier Wen's visit has interjected a new momentum in border negotiations and settlement is highly likely on the basis of his proposed "package plan."

The Sino-Soviet border dispute is settled peacefully, it is very likely that the Sino-Indian dispute will also be settled soon on a plan agreed by Premiers Wen and Singh in their summit meeting in June 2005. There are lots of areas where China and India can work together.

The package Deal suggested by Premier Zhou in 1960 and Mr. Deng in 1979 is a good starting point for a final settlement. Ms. Dorothy Woodman, in her book, *Himalayan Frontiers*, perhaps has suggested a fair solution to the border dispute:

The fact China accepted the Red Line of 1924 Simla tripartite maps in her discussion with Burma, suggests that this might be a starting point in the case of India. Both sides have more knowledge of the terrain than either had when McMahon drew the map, and Chinese and Tibetans installed it (China did not, of course, proceed to a signature.) The Red Line, after detailed surveys could be open to minor local adjustments, one way or the other, to fit geographical or ethnic factors on the ground. It could be argued that this way India would get all she requires, a defensible frontier both in Ladakh and in N.E.F.A. China would get admission that the road across Aksai Chin, which she built unknown to India, is within her territory. A settlement of this kind could be based on the red line and the McCartney-MacDonald Line of 1899, accepted

by Sinkiang officials but not endorsed by Nanking. These two lines could reinforce one another and correct one another.<sup>92</sup>

Woodman's suggested compromise is similar to Premier Zhou's formula of 1960 that could indeed serve to provide a basis for negotiating a comprehensive settlement. Some support for this can be found in K.P.S. Menon's book, *The Flying Troika*. It also fits well with Deng's so called "Package Deal". The ultimate goal of an overall settlement can easily be achieved with minor adjustments in the central (middle), Ladakh and Western areas within this framework. In the Ladakh area, the proposed formula might cause political controversy in India, but China may consider giving up some of the occupied territory (during the 1962 war) to pacify Indian sentiments. Since the Aksai Chin area (Ladakh) is strategically important to China as noted by Maxwell in *India's China War*, and Alastair Lamb, in *The Sino-Indian Border in Ladakh*, the compromise in this area will shape China's attitude towards the final agreement. However, China will have to accommodate India's genuine strategic interests in the area. The Aksai Chin problem is the central issue in the Sino-Indian negotiations. Professor Alastair Lamb has rightly observed: "Without the Aksai Chin problem Sino-Indian relations might not have deteriorated to the extent they did in the climactic clash of late 1962."<sup>93</sup>

### **Tibetan Settlement**

Regarding the Tibetan Settlement issue, China, India and the Dalai Lama have moderated their previous positions. China has admitted past mistakes in Tibet, and initiated a new socio-economic and religious modernization policy for Tibet in 1978. With the change in Beijing's attitude, and the moderate and practical stand the Dalai Lama took in 1978, the Tibetan issue has eased up. The Dalai Lama has announced that, "he would give up the demand for independence and may return himself if he was convinced that the majority of the Tibetans were happy under Chinese rule."<sup>94</sup>

The Chinese have officially invited the Dalai Lama and his followers more than once, but he has refused saying that "time was not ripe." He has maintained that "95% of the people are unsatisfied" in Tibet, and there is "no freedom in any form there."<sup>95</sup> So, Tibetan refugees living in India and elsewhere are still looking forward to going home from India someday. The Chinese seem to feel secured enough in Tibet to encourage the refugees to come back to their homeland.

India's interest in Tibetan's struggle for independence has declined in recent years. India, since 1979, has been encouraging the Dalai Lama and his followers to return home if they wished.<sup>96</sup> After the Sino-Indian border of 1962, India "saw the potential of using exiled Tibetans against the Chinese on the mainland China." Thus, India created a guerilla saboteur regiment code-number 22 in 1964, and recruited "the warrior 'khamper' and young Tibetans with the headquarters at Chakrata, 400 kilometers from the Chinese border in north India."<sup>97</sup> However, since 1976, India's interest in training rebel guerillas has stopped.

Also, the United States, Nepal, as well as India's interest in stirring up pro Dalai Lama's forces inside South Tibet seems to have faded as their relations with China improved. An American rebel base with Nepal was closed in 1974. As one rebel leader once said "...we have stopped guerilla warfare because the Americans closed their base." He added "The Nepalese and Chinese have become close friends, and the Indian government and the U.S. have become distant."<sup>98</sup> The Tibetan issue is all settled and will no longer be a major hurdle in the overall future in the Sino-Indian conflict. India has recognized Tibet and Taiwan as part of China and the Dalai Lama these days speaks of Tibetan autonomy, not full independence. The 2.5 million ethnic Tibetans are outnumbered by China's one billion plus Han Chinese. China's "go west policy" which began in 2001 has encouraged many Chinese sightseers, entrepreneurs, and migrant workers to stream into Lhasa (capital of Tibet). The Beijing-Lhasa express train was completed and opened in the summer of 2006. The rail link between Tibet and Beijing will be extended to Xiaze, Tibet's second largest city, close to Sikkim, which China has recognized as a part of India. The rail link gives China a strategic edge in future border negotiations as India's north-east frontier with Tibet is poorly connected by its railways.<sup>99</sup>

## **Conclusion**

It appears that the prime reason for the inability of China and India to negotiate their disputes peacefully and amicably was the adamant attitude of each toward the other. Blame must be shared for the failure of the attempted modes of conflict resolution. As for Tibet, it was China who for security reasons decided to use force rather than settle the problem peacefully as desired by Tibet and India. The Tibetan issue was all settled in 2005 when premier Singh accepted Tibet as a part of China rejecting the latter's reasonable and thoughtful proposals for peace.

The Nehru-Zhou summit conference of 1960 failed to resolve the border conflict. Here the blame from the failure of negotiations is attributable to India rather than to China, who was willing to barter and lease disputed territory with India. Concerning the failure of the Zhou-Nehru summit conference in 1960, Nehru suffered from the evils of democracy. While almost ready to negotiate the complicated and sensitive border dispute with China and to accept Zhou's idea to barter territory, he was foiled in his plan by adamant critics and senior colleagues. Major blame for the failure of negotiation should go to the uneducated, emotional and apathetic Indian public. Nehru gave too much deference to public opinion which demanded a tough and militant stance toward China.

After the failure of the 1960 Zhou-Nehru summit meeting, prospects for settlement worsened because of the dual policy embraced by both sides until open warfare broke out in 1962. Occasional proposals for negotiation offered nothing new. The border situation in 1961-1962 was radically different from what it was in 1959. Although both sides were responsible for this, China, because of her expanding policy which began in 1959, must accept the major responsibility, since India's Forward Policy was primarily a reaction to Chinese military maneuvering. In addition, the unwillingness of both sides to surrender respective territorial claims and acknowledge past mistakes contributed to the failure of these negotiation as well as of the Colombo mediation in 1962-1963.

China, indeed, appreciated the mediatory efforts of the Colombo powers, accepting their proposals in principle except for a few. For security, strategic and political reasons China could not accept the proposal to allow Indian troops to establish civil posts in Chinese-vacated areas in Ladakh, nor could she accept India's proposal to withdraw seven civilian posts from the Ladakh area as a precondition for peace. China even refused to accept the whole Colombo package as a precondition for negotiation. For the Chinese, Colombo's plan was unacceptable because it was "fallacious" in logic, full of "contradiction", and contrary to their interests.

India, however, although accepting the Colombo proposals *in toto* cannot escape blame for setting preconditions for negotiation and thereby contributing to the Chinese refusals.

During the occasions of negotiation, both sides remained equally adamant for their own rights, and neither side was willing to make reasonable concessions. Considerations of national security prevented each from negotiating on the other's terms. Thus, considered, it

would seem unfair and incorrect to accept the following polemic conclusion of Neville Maxwell:

... it can be seen that the Sino-Indian boundary question was not submitted to negotiation because the Indian government decided in the early 1950's that to do so would not be in their country's interest; and because it held to the policy in spite of diplomatic deadlock and defeat at arms.<sup>100</sup>

Factually, both sides occasionally offered to negotiate peacefully and amicably. Each responded favourably to the proposals of the other, but mostly with its own reservations, interpretations and preconditions. The adamant attitude of each to protect its national interest contributed to the failure of the attempted modes of border conflict resolution. The dispute remains unnegotiated not because India or China refused to negotiate, but rather because neither side was willing to surrender territorial claims or make reasonable concessions. What was really lacking was the will, not the desire, to negotiate (at least in the 1950s and 1960s).

The thawing process which began in 1970 has brought significant improvements in the relations of the two countries. There is now an environment of conciliation and good will. Sino-Indian détente, however, is still at the developing stage, and difficult issues such as the border dispute, the future of the Tibetan refugees, China's relations with Pakistan, still remain to be tackled.

The "Package Deal" suggested by Zhou in 1960, Deng in 1979, and Wen in 2005, is a good starting point for a final border settlement. China has become favourably disposed towards having better relations with India since the end of the cold war. In view of growing economic cooperation between the two countries since then, one can predict a peaceful settlement of the lingering border dispute. The two countries are cautiously assessing each other and it will take a while to build a bridge of trust. It is a long haul.

## Notes

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3. Text of Second Indian note of protest to China over Tibetan issue in *The New York Times*, October 31, 1950, p. 6.
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5. Cited in *The Hindu*, October 26, 1950, p. 4.

6. Text of Chinese note of October 30, 1950 to India in *The New York Times*, November 3, 1950, p. 6.
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8. Text of Indian protest note of October 26, 1950 to China in *Ibid*.
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10. *Ibid*.
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21. The Dalai Lama, *My Land and My People*, pp. 5-6.
22. Text of the Chinese note of protest to India in India, *White Paper*, No. 1, pp. 46-47.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 47
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25. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-54.
26. *Ibid.*, No. II, p. 45
27. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
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33. *The New York Times*, April 26, 1960, p.1; and *The Washington Post*, April 27, 1960, p.16.
34. *The Washington Post*, April 28, 1960. p.A7.
35. *The Times* (London), April 27, 1960, p. 11
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## **FACILITATING COOPERATION IN SAARC: RELEVANCE OF THE EC/EU MODEL**

**Jayaraj Amin**

### ***Abstract***

*In SAARC the secretariat is the only regional institution of SAARC and other SAARC institutions such as Council of Ministers, Standing Committee etc. work more as coordinating agencies of national perspectives. There have been no moves made to introduce other regional institutions like SAARC Parliament despite the suggestions by academia etc. which actually could have increased the legitimacy and initiatives of SAARC. Agencies outside SAARC have their own limitations - financial, legitimacy and reach - in furthering the SAARC process and thus not very effective. Hence it is necessary to strengthen the existing SAARC institutions as well as support regional endeavours which could develop interest in sustained regional cooperation. Learning from the experience of the EC/EU, it is necessary to endow regional institutions with certain autonomy to perform regionally oriented activities, encourage non-governmental initiative on regional activities and attempt to bring the SAARC process closer to people so as to make it effective and durable.*

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) exhibits contradictory impulses of cooperation and conflict. SAARC has been successful in bringing countries of the region closer and promoting cooperation among them in certain areas; at the same time, lack of congenial political atmosphere has tended to restrict the pace and progress of SAARC.

This slow pace of SAARC has not proved beneficial to the countries of the region. In the emerging international order where most countries and regions of the world have sought to protect their interests in a regional cooperative endeavour, the internal bickerings in South Asia have cost the region most. The excessive stress on security interpreted in military terms has increased not only military expenditure but also tension in the region, and underplaying of non-military threats emanating from economic insecurity, social unrest or cultural dominance etc. is proving detrimental to the interests of member states as well as the region. Besides, lack of unified response to the dominant countries' attempt to shape the global economic and political configuration coupled with South Asia's minimal presence in global

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trade and internal conflicts have caused a real danger of South Asia being marginalised in the community of nations.

Therefore, to promote peace, progress and prosperity of the region as well as to improve the standard and quality of the life of people of South Asia (which are also the objectives of SAARC) promoting regional cooperation and increasing the scope and pace of SAARC activities have become important. Though regionalism could be argued as not an effective substitute for bilateralism, in South Asia SAARC activities can help member states to realise their common purpose better by providing larger economic space and a leverage to deal effectively with emerging global market forces as well as issues of peace, development and human security. It is through regional cooperation member states would be better equipped to deal with domestic inadequacies and international pressures. Hence strengthening of the SAARC could benefit the member states most.

Nevertheless, promoting regional cooperation in South Asia is an arduous task given the political conditions of the region. The cool, at times negative response of the political elites to the issues frustrates the drive towards further improving the effectiveness of the SAARC. Although the lip-sympathy is constantly provided to the SAARC, the concrete moves are not sufficiently forthcoming because of the divergent foreign policy perceptions and bilateral differences amongst the member states. Lack of common perception regarding the role of SAARC adds to the problem with countries like India stressing on economic, cultural and technological aspects, and Pakistan, desiring the expansion of the scope of SAARC to include political and even bilateral aspects.

Hence, the search for additional or alternative strategies to strengthen the SAARC has become inevitable without which the interests of the region as well as of the member states are likely to be jeopardised. Apart from others, looking-up at other regional organisations and learning from the developmental experiences of other organisations and applying such knowledge relevantly to the progress of the SAARC could be one useful and effective way of promoting the SAARC. Although there exist many regional organisations to look upto, it is the European Community/European Union (EC/EU), a pioneer in regional integration, that is worth observing closely because of its remarkable and successful growth in a continent otherwise known for conflicts and competition and its role in promotion of economic progress, political stability and development of the region ensuring peace, prosperity and progress. Certainly, SAARC could reflect on the developmental pattern and experience of the

EC/EU and derive certain ideas for its progress. This calls for an understanding of the distinct aspects of the developmental strategy of the EC.

### **EC/EU: Distinctive contributions**

The EC/EU has restructured intra-European relations; it has given a distinct identity to Europe and has become a major force in international relations. Since its inception EU has sufficiently 'widened' to include most parts of Europe by successive enlargements and 'deepened' the relations among member states coupling their interests within the framework of regional organisation.

However, the evolution of EC/EU was not a smooth, unilinear progress. It reflects the amalgam of ideas, situations, diverse responses and even experimentation that has made the EU to be what it is today. The shaping of the EU was riddled with idealism, pragmatism, contestation, compromises, compulsions etc. Nevertheless, the EC/EU has distinct contribution to the regional integration process, some of which are also its unique features. Discerning such unique contribution/bequest is important to understand its relevance to the promotion of SAARC.

i. **Rapprochement:** EC and its forerunner, European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), are known for effecting conciliation between the age-old enemies, France and (West) Germany. The interests of these former enemies were innovatively coupled by placing coal and steel industry in a supranational (regional) framework under a common authority by the ECSC, which foresaw the complementarities between French iron ore and German steel thus ensuring economic progress in Europe, and making war not only “unthinkable but materially impossible”. In other words, regional framework was seen as an effective conflict preventive mechanism and possibly to end mutual conflicts by working together to realise common objectives of peace and progress.

The EC, emerging from Franco-German rapprochement in the context of East-West conflict, has subsequently progressed horizontally (by successive enlargements) and vertically (by deepening relations) facing new challenges of the time. But the France-German solidarity still remains central to the European integration process though other countries including smaller ones had their share of influence in the European dynamics. Integration in EU has, hence, become an ongoing process to safeguard their interests against re-nationalisation or emergent nationalism-biggest fear in Europe.<sup>1</sup>

The EC/EU thus demonstrates a case where initial rapprochement could develop into a closer net of cooperation and transformation of the political map of the region into a zone of peace and stability. The EC/EU though has not replaced nation states as centre of citizen's loyalty, at least, is seen as a catalyst of European peace and progress and as a medium of lessening the rigidity of national boundaries and narrow national assertions.

**ii) Primacy of ideas:** The success of the ECSC, and subsequently the EC project, is a testimony to the visions of European statesmen like Monnet, Schuman, Adenauer, de Gasperi etc. Their ideas may not have been elaborate or even original but the contextual advocacy and the appropriateness of the ideas to the situation is note worthy. It is true that there were many congenial factors for the success of EC like the cold war situation, American support etc., but without clear ideas supplemented by concrete work EC would not have had the take-off or progressed.

In this endeavour, significantly, the historical European identity with roots in the Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian civilization, its humanists tradition, its faith in progress and its technical and industrial development, was sought to be developed into 'European consciousness' without affecting the national sentiment. The 'European', for whom the idea of Europe was hitherto predominantly cultural with no motivation to turn it into political Europe since Europe took itself for the world, was shocked by the two world wars, decolonisation and cold war which eroded his 'superiority complex' and hegemony. Now there was a realization that further decline could be prevented and European interests could be safeguarded only by agreeing to unite among themselves.<sup>2</sup> It was here that the supranational regional framework was thought to be effective and a suitable framework was adopted.<sup>3</sup>

The EC was a demonstration of the inevitability of ideas i.e. articulation of interests relevant in the changed context for initiative as well as for success of regional organisation. This is not to imply that the movement of any regional organisation would be unilinear or teleological. As EC/EU process highlight, different situations and contexts would have there share in shaping the regional integration/cooperation process; yet, without vision construction of regional framework for cooperation could be defective or the motivation for further cooperation could be minimal with no commonly felt tangible or intangible benefits and articulation of group identity or purpose.

iii) **Functional strategy:** A significant aspect of the EC is the strategy that was adopted to realize the objectives of peace and prosperity. Convinced by the failure of the European Defence Community (EDC) in 1955 that the states would not forsake areas central to sovereignty, the makers of Rome Treaty found that ECSC strategy was most suitable and adopted less controversial economic route to peace and progress although it had implicit political consequences. The strategy of incrementalism, which was in tune with neofunctionalist assumptions largely proved to be a success although at times the nature and reach of EC into national sovereign arena was contested. Even the sceptics like Britain became part of the EC and in the process a complete interdependency in the EC/EU has emerged along with the number of areas dealt by EC/EU and its influence in the national sphere gradually increasing.

The success of EC/EU thus reflects the rationale that once integration process is initiated, may be for self interest of the participants, it would develop its own processes, logic and incentives for further integration. The final form may not be clear, but integration is bound to proceed by leaps and bounds depending upon the political climate and regional organisation would be recognised as inevitable in the national developmental process.

iv) **Institutional Structure and processes:** The EC, despite supranational objectives, could foresee the adverse effect of thrusting supranational institutions on member states; hence, it settled for a balance between supranational institutions (Commission, European Parliament, European Court of Justice etc.) and intergovernmental Council of Ministers. Though the creation of Council of Ministers was a result of the demand of smaller Benelux (Belgium, Luxembourg, and Netherlands) countries, it did prevent a sense of ‘domination’ and ‘dominated’ arising without missing the supranational thrust.

Hence institutional design of the EC/EU could be argued as a major factor in promoting and sustaining integration, for, trade off between them could result in higher phase of integration. The intergovernmental cooperation provided healthy environment for commonly accepted move towards next stage of supranationalism and process has resulted in increasing communitarisation of policies on agreed areas without creating ill will.

While the increasing legitimacy of the community institutions and communitarisation of policies is evident in the Single European Act (SEA), Maastricht Treaty on European Union (TEU) and Treaty of Amsterdam (TA), significantly the Community also accepted the

principle that member states would not block others from going ahead on an issue to which they would not consent ('constructive abstention'). The subsidiarity principle in the EU again confirm the idea that regional organisation can better deal with those issues which individual nations states are unable to deal effectively.

In other words, EC/EU institutions are shaped not only to have flexibility - a great strength of institutions - but also autonomy of its own. Such flexibility and autonomy of EU institutions removed ill will and facilitated unwilling ones to join the stream for common benefit. This internal adjustments and compromises reduced frictions and due to increased interdependency, communitarization of policies and impact of one states' policy on others common perspectives on issues begin to develop. Such an approach had great impact on the consolidation of the organisation as well as its capacity to adjust to the changing situation.

Such orientation was supplemented by the lack of intrusiveness on the part of EC and sufficient space for member states to pursue domestic agenda, which allowed for contestation, as well as compromise and new experiments in forms of cooperation. At the same time new tasks aimed to be completed in a time framework compelled countries to be materially and psychologically ready to accept changes according to the timetable. That is, while gradual convergence of ideas for common good was allowed the objective was not compromised and it was sought to be achieved in time frame once goal was set. Consequently the competence of the EC/EU has grown significantly but without affecting the national peculiarities. National and coordinated policy instruments continue despite thrust towards communitarian dimensions.

Thus it is clear that EC/EU in its developmental process has been able to converge not merely the economic policies but also political perspectives to a large extent, though not without stress and debate. Partly this is because EC has been instrumental in evolving a complex interdependency both among its member states and also between itself and member states. Its activities today cover practically every area of governance. 'Regional' co-exists, competes and at times shares responsibility with 'national'.

It is through EC/EU the European member states have irrevocably coupled their interests and prosperity strengthening not only their position but also image of Europe. By gradually increasing its economic and political weight EC/EU has largely emancipated Europe from internal feuds, economic weakness, and pressure from the Soviet Union during

cold war and domineering role of the US and has increased its bargaining power against major powers and trading blocs.

### **EC Progress; the context**

It is important to note that, in spite of appealing and interesting aspects, the growth of EC/EU has not been unilinear or smooth. Its progress was often conditioned by the domestic, European and international situations. But the EC/EU is often presented as a success story of an organisation, as a lesson and a model for emulation by others for peace and progress. The universal applicability of its model as implied in EC's own advocacy of regional organisation (as evident in its most region and country specific strategy papers and other development perspective documents) is mostly shaped by its preference and advocacy of compatibility between regionalism and multilateralism, a scenario which appear to suit EC's interest most.<sup>4</sup> The ground realities in different regions are different and the context, pressures and the support, which the EC had in its development, do not exist in other regions. Hence, the success of EC need not get reproduced in other organisations that emulate the EC.

Therefore, before applying the EC/EU developmental experience to SAARC it is pertinent to know the concrete situation that shaped the EC integration so as to better understand the suitability of EC model to the SAARC condition. In its eagerness and tremendous capacity to advocate viability of regional organisation EU itself do not sufficiently highlight the systemic factors that proved conducive for the success of integration and these are also not adequately focussed by other narratives of EC/EU.<sup>5</sup>

The context of cold war- fear of Soviet expansion and American support to EC project – and the French concern regarding the US suggestion for rearming (West) Germany as a check against potential Soviet east ward expansion, for instance, do not get sufficient attention. More than Soviet aggression it was the fear of resurgent Germany that made French leaders to align with Germany as an insurance against latter's revival. Therefore, it is necessary to note that French national interests were paramount in the French suggestion for supranational sectoral integration rather than idealism of supranational Europe and European identity which were only the means for serving national interests - a fact which is often underplayed. EDC failed not because it was not supranational but it failed to address the French national apprehensions.



Further, the proposed customs union was to accrue benefit to the French steel industry by expanding production and shedding protectionist tendency as well as help in containing the re-emergence of German industry. Aware of British non-participation in customs union project, for French aligning with still a weak Germany was also a means of asserting dominant role of France in Europe whereas for Germany it was desperate attempt to establish equality with others and remove wartime restrictions. So supranationalism served immediate national interests of key countries rather than European interests. Even Benelux countries were guided primarily by the national considerations. Hence regional/European interests were seen as a means of protecting national interests or reviving the faith in nation state that had been badly damaged by the Second World War especially by its advocates.<sup>6</sup>

Subsequent to the formation, EC's progress varied in different contexts and political configurations. While personalities like de Gaulle and Margaret Thatcher were not happy with the increasing independence and power of "Brussels" institutions and sought to assert national control, it was economic and political conditions of 1980's and 1990's that helped the EC in strengthening its institutional mechanism. But subsequently when integration was seen as touching the core areas of nation-states national assertions were again made and integration pace receded. This was evident in the French and Dutch rejection of EU constitution attempts. Therefore, the idea that the creation of institutions in itself could promote and sustain progress of regional organisation does not hold good.

As EC/EU trajectory itself suggest on closer examination that integration and progress of regional organisation depends on situations and political perspectives and there can be no unilinear movement. Since the present situation in South Asia is very different from that of EC in its formative stage or later, duplication of EU model in South Asia is difficult and any attempt towards emulation is unlikely to yield expected dividends.

### EC relevance to SAARC: Some reflections

Though the EC/EU model does not appear to suit South Asia because of different contexts and conditions, the EC integration process could certainly be a source of inspiration and a reference point to SAARC. Moreover, the EU trajectory does provide certain insights that are useful in the South Asian Context. The SAARC process perhaps needs to consider these in its developmental pattern with relevant adjustments. Hence, identifying relevant

aspects and learning from the EC's developmental experience could be beneficial to the SAARC's progress. Some of these are -

i) **Motivation:** Generally strong and self-confident states as well as weak or small countries would be reluctant to irreversibly transfer sovereignty to such an organisation which would be self-regulating. In the EC's case, Britain that was less affected by war, for instance, was not willing to join an emerging supranational organisation like the ECSC or the EC in the beginning. The Benelux countries' insistence on creation of intergovernmental council of ministers in EC spoke of the apprehension of smaller countries of domination of the organisation by the bigger countries. So in the normal situation there may not be motivation for states to opt for regional integration or enhance cooperation within regional framework unless certain advantages are foreseen. Bilateralism may still be preferred to regionalism.

In South Asia too similar situation could be found. India and Pakistan, relatively stronger countries in South Asia, appear to have no motivation for strengthening regional organisation and do not think SAARC as inevitable for their progress. In the initial stage, India did not liked to be tied up with an organisation in which it would not have complete freedom of action and its interests would be adversely affected in case neighbours use the regional platform to 'gang up' against India. This explains India's insistence on non-inclusion of bilateral and contentious issues in the SAARC framework. Pakistan too, apprehensive of India's domination in the organisation, was unenthusiastic about the proposal for regional organisation although other countries thought it to be an effective instrument against big power domination and mechanism to ensure equality in the region.

But as the experiences of EC or SAARC suggest countries of the region would not like to bear the cost of non-inclusion and they would become the part of the stream however grudgingly it is. This is because of the realisation that (a) others' move could affect its interest significantly or (b) later they can not join the organisation in their terms or (c) inability to face emerging domestic or external challenge/crisis individually.

Therefore, countries would not pursue regional cooperative endeavour intensely unless there is an expectation of benefits or compulsion of the situation. In the case of EC the crisis situation of the post Second World War period created a conducive environment. The cold war pressures, American support, fear of resurgent Germany, advantages of economic

cooperation – all proved compelling factors for creation of an integrated regional framework, the ECSC and the EC.

Subsequent to the formation of the EC the realisation of the inability of the states to meet certain contingencies gave a forward push to the ‘deepening’ as well as ‘widening’ of the EC. For example, the stagflation of the European economies resulted in adoption of SEA in 1980’s. Similarly the post cold war developments prompted adoption of Maastricht TEU and TA in 1990’s. The failure of attempts to have European constitution led to Reform (Lisbon) Treaty in 2007. Therefore the crisis situation and realisation of internal inadequacy to meet the emerging challenge could enable common action and strengthening of regional framework.

This common action to meet common challenges need to be considered in South Asia as well. In South Asia too crisis situation although of a different nature exist. The socio-economic backwardness of the region in the context of globalisation process which is capable of homogenising cultural patterns along with its thrust on western capitalist orientations is affecting the collective interests of SAARC member states in the absence of an effective regional strategy to the issue. The militaristic approach to the security with nuclear explosions in the region in 1998 by India and Pakistan and the stalemate over the issue of terrorism have only pushed up the tension in the region as well as defence and unproductive expenditure on stopping infiltration, counter propaganda etc.

The threats emanating from non-militarist sources like poverty, unemployment, ethnic problems etc have increased manifold and states are unable to curb them individually as these often have trans-national dimensions. The domestic and bilateral disputes have not only affected peace and stability of the region but also global investments. When other regions are protecting/advancing their interests through regional organisations, failure to do so by further strengthening of SAARC by member states despite the realisation of the futility of individualist approach has put them in real danger of being sidelined by the global community.

Therefore, conducive (crisis) atmosphere as well as benefit by cooperation does exist in South Asia for ‘deepening’ of relations; but, SAARC member states are yet to make up their mind for realizing the benefits of collective action. The non-cooperation in South Asia has already resulted in duplication of efforts and higher cost of providing public goods and

services, increasing dependence on extra-regional markets, higher costs and lower efficiencies of national infra-structural and developmental projects, inward political orientations resulting in domestic unrest, political chaos, strained bilateral relations, slow down in regional economic development and development in social sectors etc.<sup>7</sup> Therefore it is necessary to move toward finding regional solutions to common problems.

However, as EU experience suggest it is not mere conducive atmosphere that is required for 'deepening' relations but also the willingness on the part of political elites to go beyond the present stalemate. The mutual conflictual situation need not necessarily be a hindrance to regional cooperation as it is sometime believed.<sup>8</sup> Bilateral relations could strengthen along with or as a consequence of strengthening regional organisation if there is a political will.

ii) **Core group initiative:** In regional organisation though all member states are equal participants thrust to internal dynamics is often provided by few major states which might have grater stakes in integration. In EC's case, the EC was not only created by the Franco-German rapprochement but also had impetus to integration by it. But in inter-governmental SAARC, unlike the EU, despite instances of joint communiqué of ministerial meetings on environment, WTO related issues etc. member states pursue opposite or contradictory policies that prevent SAARC from realising its best.

This is because the two major countries of the region-India and Pakistan-who ideally should have taken lead in promoting SAARC are, in fact, not very enthusiastic or involved in SAARC progress. Their bilateral adversarial relations often take precedence over regional cooperative endeavour. Unless these two countries agree to cooperate and promote SAARC, the SAARC and region's progress is bound to be tardy because as former Secretary- General of SAARC, K.K. Bhargava argues, "Even though the (SAARC) charter specifically states that bilateral and contentious issues are to be excluded from the deliberations, we have to reckon with the fact that a symbiotic relationship exist between tension-free ties among member states and healthy regional cooperation".<sup>9</sup>

It is here again the actions and attitudes of France and Germany become important as a guiding force. France and Germany in spite of their centuries of conflict decided to bury hatchet in the post second world war period and couple their interests in a regional framework for peace and progress. The same drive on the part of India and Pakistan could

help South Asia to overcome much of its problem. As Rummel puts it, “it can be an asset rather than a hindrance if regional organisation has one or two leading countries to drive the cooperative process. It requires, however, that they refrain from power demonstrations and accept compromises. It also requires that they have more advanced mechanisms and higher degree of cooperation than the rest of the group, see Franco-German Elysee Treaty. If not they risk to block the cooperative process and the whole enterprise is doomed to fail”.<sup>10</sup>

But how to bring these two adversaries together for regional well being with India not in favour of third-party mediation? Some apparently taking a clue from Franco-German rapprochement propose coupling of Indo-Pak national interests under a common framework.<sup>11</sup> However, these measures appear difficult to be realized if analysed in the context of present developments in South Asia. Obstacles to regional cooperation in South Asia are basically political and psychological and the state driven SAARC process is unlikely to perform a managerial role. The regional bilateral differences, especially between India and Pakistan at times touch the core areas of nation state. Pakistan’s insistence on the centrality of Kashmir issue in Indo-Pakistan relations and India stressing on the end of ‘cross-border terrorism’ and non-acceptance/denial of each others demand have proved relations intractable. Ignoring such issues central to the perception/ideological basis of state has not been easy to both the countries.

Nevertheless, the appeal of ‘burying the hatchet’ as in the case of Franco-German conciliation can not be ignored and India and Pakistan need to consider this strongly for regional as well as their own progress. If immediate goodwill is not possible at least they need to cooperate in strengthening the SAARC process and their bilateral disputes need to be put in the backburner as in the case of EC’s founder members. Given the political will narrow national considerations could be prevented from affecting the broader regional interests and, similar to France and Germany in the EC, India and Pakistan could effectively propel SAARC progress.

iii) **Strategy for cooperation:** Since its inception the EC aimed to achieve a customs union first and an abstract “ever closer union of the people” with political connotations which necessitated the states to come together for realising the common objectives. But with stress on economic integration and bilateral conflicts on the backburner, political issues tactically were avoided explicit mention. In this strategy of achieving higher forms of integration, starting from the least controversial sectoral (‘low political’) integration, step-by-step

approach was adopted in which present stage of integration was hoped to create condition for next stage of integration. In this strategy, which is in tune with neofunctionalist assumptions, sovereignty instead of being surrendered is only asked to be pooled up to the extent required for joint performance of functions.

In South Asian context the neo functional strategy is difficult to be replicated since every area including water, health, population, technology etc. are related to the national development and are nationally sensitive. Therefore 'high' and 'low' sectors are difficult to be distinguished. But, at the same time, it is necessary to look beyond the mere intergovernmental, state-driven process of regional cooperation and the essence of neo functionalism here could be relevantly applied.

In South Asia it is essential to move the cooperation beyond the official national confines especially in those areas beneficial to all or many if regional cooperation has to be meaningful. The present cooperation in SAARC under the Integrated Programme of Action (IPA) is mostly confined to the official interactions and other programmes are affected by lack of political support. Therefore it is necessary to go beyond official confines in IPA as well as promote cooperation in other areas having regional implications<sup>12</sup>. This could be in the area of river water harnessing, industrial and technological up-gradation in a regional framework strengthening cooperation in national planning process and poverty alleviation etc.

Once cooperation is effected keeping in mind the regional rather than narrow national interests, such cooperation over a period of time tend to develop its own logic, pressure and incentives for further progress notwithstanding possible official sanctions. Here bilateral conflicts need not preclude the negotiation on such areas if regional cooperation is perceived as a positive development.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, the present SAFTA endeavours can go a long way in sustaining and promoting regional cooperation. The 'deepening' of regional cooperation process can help member states to understand each other better and prepare ground for reconciliation gradually but willingness to cooperate in the mutually beneficial areas is essential.

In this context recommendations of the Group of Eminent Persons (GEP) are important. In economic area, for instance, GEP suggest that SAARC need to realise not only South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) but also move beyond it towards Customs Union and

South Asian Economic Union.<sup>14</sup> Such concrete moves not only benefit people but also create interest in regional integration by their tangible and intangible benefits resulting in reduction of bilateral conflicts and transformation of attitudes.

Further, the SAARC has to move not only towards higher forms of cooperation/integration but also, like EC, move in time framework. This enables states to be ready for the changes and to effect suitable policy measures at the domestic level. The deadlines have to be realistic but once decided should not be extended. Therefore, it is imperative that SAARC need to take up only that area which is feasible and workable for its success could result in conducive atmosphere for increased cooperation in other areas.

iv) **‘Deepening’ relations:** In EC while official interactions continued integration process has slowly percolated into civil society. Over the years number of interest groups have emerged showing interest and seeking to influence the integration process.<sup>15</sup> The networks that begun to develop across the member states were enduring and it could sustain itself even when official interactions were at the ebb, often influencing policy process in favour of closer cooperation. Though EC/EU is not seen as panacea for all problems, its role has come to be increasingly recognised and EU is mostly seen as inevitable.

On the other hand, EU is also eager to move closer to the people and increase legitimacy of its actions by encouraging them to internalise the EC through sustained campaigns, media programmes and other socialisation techniques impressing people of its desirability. Though may not be totally successful, EU is consistently striving to overcome its perceived ‘legitimacy crisis’ and ‘democratic deficit’. The EC institutions are also increasing transparency in their proceedings and EC holds open and structured dialogues with interest groups. The EC Commission has also made available a list of non-profit interest groups to both officials and general public and the access to internal documents of the European Commission are regulated by a set procedure.

In contrary, South Asian cooperation has not gone beyond state-managed process and interactions at non-official levels remain minimum. Civil society is yet to internalise SAARC or develop an idea that SAARC is instrumental to progress or at least see its presence as an inevitable. SAARC Documentation Centre is setup in Delhi to make science and technology information available to interested parties. But, unlike EC, there is no code of conduct with regard to access to SAARC documents for scholars and Non-Governmental Organisations

(NGOs). The impact of SAARC Audio-Video Exchange (SAVE) programme is insignificant and the SAARC's drive to reach people has been poor. Consequently, the SAARC process has failed to get the recognition and the importance it deserves.

Hence, SAARC like EC need to adopt measures to make cooperation process in South Asia not only durable but also effective. Such measures could supplement official process of cooperation and primarily aim at reaching and involving people in cooperation process. This includes, among others, active involvement of NGOs and interest groups, easing of travel restrictions, as in EC orienting educational systems and media programmes to foster regional cooperation. Reaching civil society, hence, is inevitable for SAARC success. Significant undercurrent of mutual understanding facilitated by unnatural boundaries, shared social and cultural characteristics, broadly similar levels of economic deprivations, concerns for stability and prosperity and deeply entrenched historical linkages etc. which Prof. Muni terms as "Pull factor" could supplement the process.<sup>16</sup>

**v) Institutions and institutionalisation:** The framers of the EC deemed it necessary to create separate institutions for the management of the EC affairs that would be independent of member states. What finally emerged was a balance between supranational (Commission, European Court of Justice, European Parliament etc.) and intergovernmental (Council of Ministers) institutions. However, the hopes were pinned on the Commission, which was regarded as the motor of European integration. But as events in EC revealed, the Council did not lag behind in involving and directing the integration process along with its own bureaucracy- COREPER (Council of Permanent Representatives) and suitably modifying its decision making structure, say from unanimity to Qualified Majority Voting (QMV) as situation demanded.

What ensued was a competition between the Commission and the Council to direct and shape the integration process which increased not only the authority of both but also held them together in a closer net of competing as well as converging interests. Convergence led higher phases of integration. Here intergovernmental Council did not prove antithetical to supranational Commission.

Along with these the assertive Court of Justice and the influential European Parliament sustained those vested interests which advanced economic and political integration and generating community bureaucratic ambitions. In other words, EC institutions



and institutionalisation process established bureaucratic specialists who had interests and knowledge to further shape the integration and legislation. The elite socialisation in the EC and the internal dynamics of EC often influenced the political perception of member states and manipulated their choices. The credit of promoting, sustaining and advancing integration process can not be given solely to EU institutions, for, contexts and circumstances were equally important. Nevertheless, there is no gainsaying that the proactive EC institutions and institutionalisation of integration process did make the integration process not only irreversible but also forward-looking.

While the EC institutions have given rise to mutually reinforcing process of institutionalisation and bureaucratisation of integration process, at the non-official and civil society level there have emerged many interest groups with a stake in integration process. The interaction and networking among them have proved conducive to integration and the institutionalisation of interaction and cooperation has made the integration process stable, dynamic and irreversible.

It is clear that the EC institutions and institutionalisation process although devoid of power have begun to control their own resources, accumulate knowledge and exert authority. The whole process, although at times assumed diverse forms and appear to take the EC/EU process in different directions, impress upon the public mind of the inevitability of EU and its integration process. This has helped in further advancing the integration process. But what is important is that the whole process has acquired a distinct identity and autonomy of its own independent of national official process.

The institutionalisation and bureaucratisation of integration process have led to the accusation of rigidity in integration process and 'integration from above'. Nevertheless, integration momentum is sustained and the people's perceptions in favour of integration have largely emerged as a consequence of such institutionalisation. People and interest groups have foreseen advantages in such a process. Institutionalisation, hence, could help the integration process and SAARC needs to intensify such process.

Nevertheless, in SAARC member states are still the driving force behind the cooperation process and their mood and political climate to a large extent shape the nature and pace of cooperation in South Asia. Moreover, the SAARC, unlike the EC, emphasises on intergovernmental 'cooperation' rather than supranational 'integration'. Hence, it is not a

surprise that the SAARC institutions, unlike most EC institutions, are not endowed with the authority of their own with the power to initiate, direct or enforce the integration process.

Even in formal cooperation process not much consistency could be found. Complete and sustained support to SAARC activities especially by the bigger countries hardly exists. The Summit meetings - important platform for formal and informal interaction among leaders and forward push to cooperation - themselves are becoming irregular and when held are devoid of cooperative spirit. At Summits, sometimes substantive issues are discussed but initiative and implementation largely rest with national bureaucracies rather than the SAARC secretariat. Consequently the regional institutions including Secretary-General are constrained by the considerations of 'national interests' and are unable to shape or influence the member states' policy perspectives towards regional concerns.

In SAARC the secretariat is the only regional institution of SAARC and other SAARC institutions such as Council of Ministers, Standing Committee etc. work more as coordinating agencies of national perspectives. There have been no moves made to introduce other regional institutions like SAARC Parliament despite the suggestions by academia etc. which actually could have increased the legitimacy and initiatives of SAARC. Agencies outside SAARC have their own limitations - financial, legitimacy and reach - in furthering the SAARC process and thus not very effective.

Hence it is necessary to strengthen the existing SAARC institutions as well as support regional endeavours which could develop interest in sustained regional cooperation. Learning from the experience of the EC/EU, it is necessary to endow regional institutions with certain autonomy to perform regionally oriented activities, encourage non-governmental initiative on regional activities and attempt to bring the SAARC process closer to people so as to make it effective and durable. These might require, among others;

- (a) Endowing SAARC, particularly the Secretary-General and his team, with certain freedom and powers at least to suggest measures for enhanced regional cooperation and implementation similar to, if not exactly like, the European Commission. Role of Secretary-General and staffing of the SAARC Secretariat need to be reviewed as an essential element of capacity building;<sup>17</sup>
- (b) Strengthen the SAARC regional institutions to truly make them nodal points of SAARC activities in concerned areas rather than duplicate national institutions and evolve an

acceptable procedure for official and public access to the information; (c). Actively involve and give more role to NGOs and Professional bodies like SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SCCI), Association of SAARC Speakers and Parliamentarians, SAARCLAW (Association of persons of the legal communities) etc. in SAARC activities. Networking should be encouraged in these bodies so that a institutionalised process could become supplementary to SAARC activities and at times could exert pressure for increased cooperation. Beside, the institutionalised interactions among media professionals, business class as well as police, customs officials etc. could be encouraged to facilitate the SAARC;

(d) As EU experience suggest convergence/harmonising policy perspectives not only provide greater leverage to deal with issues but also increase the bargaining power of the region . Therefore, in SAARC the existing procedure of consultation and discussion among the Commerce ministers to evolve a regional viewpoint before WTO meetings, SAARC's informal discussion with the EC, ASEAN etc. and the coordination among SAARC planning ministers, finance ministers etc. should be regularised and allowed to take a institutionalised form. This not only presents SAARC as a visible entity inside and outside South Asia but also help SAARC member states to evolve common viewpoints and approaches towards the issues which will help in sustaining and encouraging momentum in SAARC cooperation.

(e) Set up a representative (parliamentary) body for SAARC with possible extension of present Association of SAARC Speakers and Parliamentarians.

Once these programmes, some of which are already through, are initiated, intensified and encouraged, as EU experience suggest, regional institutions and institutionalisation would over a period of time de-couple itself from national official points of view and begin to develop their own rationale and processes for integration/cooperation often influencing political perceptions of member states and manipulating their choices. Regular, institutionalised interaction, therefore, not only facilitates exchange of ideas but also conflict prevention exercise. Moreover, the elite socialisation thus promoted could, as in EU, become a major force in sustaining and promoting further advances in regional co-operation/integration.

At the same time SAARC should be able to construct an increasingly dense net work of interdependent bargains making it difficult for member states to pursue exclusionary politics. Eventually all these might lead to ‘domestication of SAARC’ as in EU the ‘domestication of Europe’ and, if not subsidiarity, at least perception of inevitability of increased presence of SAARC in certain areas. The increased institutionalisation process, therefore, not only makes integration/cooperation process irreversible but also furthers it.

Hence, EU’s developmental experience could be relevantly applied in the South Asian context. In addition to the above mentioned areas, taking a clue from EU’s approach towards (intra-European) regions SAARC also need to have a policy towards the region and strengthen present position i.e. though not exactly mean ‘sub-regional approach’ there could be an emphasis on growth triangles or quadrangles or alternatively sectoral integration among three or four countries which could focus on locally available resources like water, hydropower, iron and steel etc. These measures could effectively harness local resources, for example, water in Himalayan region, and benefit the South Asian region. Such increased collaboration could take place even among the areas of cooperation covered under IPA and efforts could be boosted by mutually eliminating/reducing tariff and NTBs and agreed investment incentive measures.

These measures, as in Franco-German relations or Benelux within EU, could help in experiment of certain aspect of integration on a smaller scale, and subsequently it could exert pressure for extending such cooperation on the larger scale in the organisation. Moreover, as EU experience show disparity within the region need not be a hindrance to closer cooperation and member states within SAARC like EU could go at different speeds to integration within the broader framework and help others to raise the level of participation. Therefore, bilateral/trilateral cooperation within the region like Indo-Sri Lankan Free Trade Arrangements or Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal Growth quadrangle (BBIN-GQ) need not be seen as antithesis of regional cooperation and SAARC emphasis on consensus should not be an impediment to such moves.<sup>18</sup>

Nevertheless, to avoid existing discrepancies widening and disturbing the regional cooperation process and to help relatively backward countries to effectively participate in SAARC process, a SAARC Fund (which is already contemplated) in the lines of EU structural and cohesion fund need to be setup. This fund could be used for different purposes such as developing certain regions and sectors. The existing South Asian Development Fund

(SADF) for instance, could be broad based in the lines of European structural fund to assist vocational training, to undertake new forms of agriculture, fishing etc. beside regional and joint venture projects. In the given structure although states might be the ultimate beneficiaries of the assistance, the fund could increase SAARC's legitimacy by acting as a developmental and re-distributive agency that promotes its visibility in the process of states donating, appealing and bargaining for funds, drawing attention of even public towards SAARC. The resources of the fund could be raised by the contributions of member states, but external funding need not be rejected if given for developmental purposes, a proposal that is also made by the GEP with regard to SADF.<sup>19</sup> This SAARC Fund could help in building the organisation as well as nation-building by overcoming uneven and imbalance in development.

All these efforts could make SAARC a composite bloc and a visible entity enhancing its legitimacy in international relations. As could be seen in the EC/EU, the strengthening of regional organisation need not be a zero sum transfer of power leading to weakening or restricting the autonomy of the states or denial of sovereignty. When region progresses it is the people and member states progress. Therefore, the region and member states could witness the economic progress, region wide space, peace and stability and collective strength to bargain and to interact with rest of the world which in turn could strengthen the capacity of the states to act in diverse areas with greater vigour. This, in fact, adds to the essence of the concept of sovereignty. Thus the regional cooperation can lead to mutual and balanced gains, if not equitable benefits; and the returns from the investment in regional cooperation could be in diverse forms – peace, stability, market space and other varying economic dividends because of trade-offs. So strengthening of regional organisation and region would in a way mean strengthening of constituent member states and what is transferred is returned by way of increased capacity of the states to act backed by the strength of regional space, resources and good will.

Therefore, a closer look at EU suggests the benefits of SAARC and the cost of 'non-SAARC.' This should enable member states to strengthen SAARC as an investment in mutually profitable process. In this process there could be debates and contestations but there can be no denying of the fact that facilitating SAARC is the facilitation of the members' own good. Hence, SAARC member states, particularly India and Pakistan --two important countries in the region whose support is absolutely essential for the success of SAARC --

need to shed the perception as evident in their action that SAARC is peripheral institution not important in national developmental process and strengthening of SAARC accrue no obvious advantage or they would not be better than what they would be by strengthening SAARC in a irrevocable way.

Success of SAARC, therefore, mainly depends on member states' willingness to promote increased interaction in South Asia at different levels – government, private sector, civil society – for mutual benefit and for strengthening of SAARC to realise the objectives for which it was created. Insights from EC/EU's development process could certainly motivate them if their own and regions progress is considered as important by them.

## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> See, Reinhardt Rummel, "Transformation of EC in to EU: Its Saliency and relevance to regional peace and development in South Asia', In L. L. Mehrotra, H.S. Chopra and Gert W. Kueck, eds., *SAARC 2000 and beyond* (New Delhi: Omega Scientific, 1995) pp. 286-89
  - <sup>2</sup> The development of European consciousness now came to be based on what Robert Frank identifies as four rejections - the rejection of war in 1920, reactivated in 1945; fascism; Russian imperialism during the cold war; and non-acceptance of the relative decline of the European nation-states. See, Robert Frank, "European Identities, Consciousness and Construction: Harmony and Disharmony between Politics, Economics and Imagination", In H. S. Chopra, Robert Frank and Jurgen Schroder, eds., *National Identity and Regional Cooperation: Experiences of European Integration and South Asian Perceptions* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999) pp. 44-48. In fact, Delanty argue that idea of Europe (cultural) existed long before people identified themselves as Europeans. But the idea of Europe failed to become a cohesive collective identity, for, instead of European unity configurations of national identities were formed. Strategically this was developed in to European identity ('Self conscious political identity') as a form of consciousness. See, Gerard Delanty, *Inventing Europe: India, Identity and Reality* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1995).
  - <sup>3</sup> Jean Monnet, *Memoirs*, Richard Mayne, trans., (New York: Doubleday, 1978), p.298; Richard Mayne, "The Role of Jean Monnet", *Government and Opposition* (London), vol.2, no.3, 1966-67, pp.349-71. For Schuman plan see, *Documents on American Foreign Relations*, 1950, vol.12 (Massachusetts, 1951), pp.85-87.
  - <sup>4</sup> See, Jayaraj Amin, "Inter-regional cooperation: A study of EU-SAARC Relations" in Rajendra K. Jain, Harmut Elsenhans and Jayaraj Amin, eds, *The European Union in Transition: Economy, Politics and Society* (New Delhi; Radiant, 2007) pp.33-38; Jayaraj Amin, "The European Union and SAARC: Estranged Inter-Regional Partners?" in Rajendra K. Jain, ed., *India and the European Union Building a Strategic Partnership* ( New Delhi; Radiant, 2007) pp. 13-32
  - <sup>5</sup> See, Klaus-Dieter Borchardt, *European Integration: The origins and growth of European Union*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn., (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1995); Hans Von der Groeben, *The European Community, The Struggle to establish the Common Market & the political union (1958-1966)* (Luxembourg: Office of the official publication of the European Community, 1986); Neill Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union* (London: The Macmillan, 1995); Martin Holland, *European Community Integration* (London: Pinter, 1993)
  - <sup>6</sup> See, Alan S. Milward, *The European Rescue of the Nation state* (London: Routledge, 1992) especially pp. 318-44.

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- <sup>7</sup> See, Arif A. Waqif, "Costs and Benefits of Regional cooperation in South Asia", In L.L. Mehrotra, et al, eds., *SAARC 2000 and beyond* n.1, pp. 131-40
- <sup>8</sup> Moonis Ahmar, for instance, points out the problems in South Asia such as suspicion and mistrust while contrasting the EC without considering the fact that EC emerged among the former adversarial states. Moonis Ahmar, "European Union as a model for SAARC", In K. B. Lall, H. S. Chopra, Thomas Meyer, eds., *The European Community and SAARC* (New Delhi: Radiant, 1993) p. 44-45, 53-54.
- <sup>9</sup> K. K. Bhargava, "The SAARC: Challenges and opportunities", In K.B. Lall, et al eds., *The European Community and SAARC*, ibid., p. 25
- <sup>10</sup> Rummel, n. 1, p. 294
- <sup>11</sup> See, H. S. Chopra, "The Franco-German reconciliation: Its relevance to the Indo-Pak perspectives on South Asian Peace Order", In Mehrotra, et al, eds., *SAARC 2000 and beyond*, n.1, pp.350-55
- <sup>12</sup> Lama and Lavakare opine that South Asia could benefit from programmes similar to EUREKA which are based on the collaborative spirit and willingness of member states to look at long term gains rather than short term inconveniences. See, Mahenda P. Lama and Prabhakara J. Lavakare, "Technology Missions for South Asia: Cooperation in the high tech domain", In Mehrotra, et al, eds., *SAARC 2000 and beyond*, n. 1, pp. 167-99
- <sup>13</sup> Pakistani Scholar Iqbal Cheema, for instance, argues that bilateral disputes need to be subjected to collective discussion and the exclusion of bilateral and contentions issues by SAARC charter is a 'problem'. Pervaiz Iqbal cheema, "SAARC needs Revamping", In Eric Gonsalves and Nancy Jetly, eds., *The Dynamics of South Asian Regional Cooperation and SAARC* (New Delhi: Sage, 1999), pp. 97-93, 103. But resolution of bilateral conflicts though could be conducive need not be a precondition for increased regional cooperation.
- <sup>14</sup> *SAARC vision beyond the year 2000: Report of the SAARC Group of Eminent Persons Established by the Ninth SAARC Summit* (Delhi: Shipra, 1999) p. 53-57
- <sup>15</sup> See, Percy Allum, *State and civil society in Western Europe* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995) pp. 281-83; Laura Cram, *Policy making in the European Union, Conceptual lenses and the integration process* (London: Routledge, 1997) pp.123-53; Sonia Mazey and Jeremy Richardson, "Pressure groups and lobbying in the EC," In Juliet Lodge, ed., *The European Community and the Challenge of the future*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., (London: Pinter, 1993) pp. 37-47
- <sup>16</sup> S. D. Muni, "Regional Conflicts in South Asia and role of SAARC in their management," In Lall, et al, eds. *The European Community*, n. 8, p. 61; SAARC vision, n. 14, pp. 48-51
- <sup>17</sup> See, Kant Kishore Bhargava, Heinz Bongartz and Farooq Sobhan, *Shaping South Asia's Future: Role of Regional Cooperation* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1995) pp. 34-37
- <sup>18</sup> The idea of BBIN-GQ was resented by Pakistan, Maldives, Sri Lanka and also within Bangladesh as such going against the SAARC spirit. In 1997 in Bangladesh when Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina was supportive of the idea, leader of the Opposition Begum Khalida Zia was bent on its opposition. See. Abdul Kalam, "Sub-regional Cooperation in South Asia in comparative perspective: Ideals and Realities", In B.C.Upreti, ed., *SAARC Dynamics of Regional Cooperation in South Asia, Vol. I, Nature, scope and Perceptions* (New Delhi: Kalinga, 2000) pp. 109-143. Three of the SAARC members are also part of another sub-regional grouping (outside SAARC forum) called BIMST-EC (Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand Economic Cooperation) whose inaugural ministerial meeting took place in Bangkok in June 1977.
- <sup>19</sup> SAARC Vision , n. 14, pp.70-71

## **HINDU-MUSLIM COMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN INDIA: AN ANALYSIS OF CAUSES**

**Santosh C Saha**

### ***Abstract***

*Sociologists, political scientists, and historians of various persuasions, have explained Hindu-Muslim communal riots virtually from all angles and a majority of studies has argued that religious violence is intrinsic to India. Instead, I argue that the current vast literature, although quite rich and powerful, has some serious deficiencies because a conflict of religious values and interest is not sufficient for “manufacturing” (Brass 2003) violence between the Hindus and Muslims.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, it is argued that religious values of difference and exclusion can establish in and out groups and thus ground for violence but it is incorrect to claim that many moral distinctive religious traditions give us divergent and violent ethical traditions. Indeed, collective religious interest is a potentially confused notion because often religious ethnicity seems to be relatively benign. An underlying thesis in this study is that incidents of riots in India are symptoms of genuine assorted problems, such as inefficiency in management, governmental misrule, corruption, and over-concentration of political power in the hands of the ruling elite, including the corrupt political machineries, influenced by the dada culture (strong man’s undue influence).*

### **Introduction**

There is a paradox in explaining religion-based violence. Violence to defend religion appears to be a virtue to some, whereas violence against religion appears to be a vice to many. The French author Rene Girard shapes the theoretical discourse concerning religion and violence arguing that “ritualized violence” provides a way to displace aggression.<sup>2</sup> Opposing Girad’s position, the noted sociologist, Mark Juergensmeyer, in a comparative mode and examining culture as both ideas and social groups, regards violence, sanctioned by its links to ancient religious traditions (in Indian instance, violence in the name of “epic glory” of Aryan India), as an expression of the postmodern rebellion against Enlightenment modernity and secularism,<sup>3</sup> but it is discouraging to observe that he has no simple proposal for ending violence or severing the

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“tight web that exists between religion and violence” (Stein 2002:102-04). A solution to the paradox is offered by philosopher Arapura who argues that modern Indian secularists conveniently forget the positive implication of secularism – the freedom to be “religious” in each person’s own way, and that its concrete application can only come within the situation of religious pluralism.<sup>4</sup>

Conflict studies have been confused due to the wrangling between the “left secularists” and the Hindu revivalist nationalists and their intellectuals. The noted Indian sociologist T.N. Madan justifiably concludes that secularists’ stigmatization of the majority Hindus as superstitious and irrational is both moral arrogance and political folly (Madan 1987:747-59). He insightfully delinks ethnicity and religion by arguing that religion cannot be a subsystem on Indian society, because “holism and pluralism” have never been in conflict in Indian pluralistic society (Madan 1987). If some sections of the Muslim community were engaged in riots, that development could not be categorized as the religious riots, because forming a political minority group, the Muslims in general have kept an “oppressive psychosis,” arising out of their suspicion of the economically dominant Hindu majority. With the prevailing religious particularistic tendency in social interaction, the Muslim “minority psychosis” has reinforced their negative ethnicity by maintaining a self-imposed isolation from the mainstream. It is possible that the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS), and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and other revivalist parties used the destruction of the Ayodhya mosque to build “Hindu vote bank,” but they did not provide any coherent strategy to organize riots. It is illogical to argue that everything from the religious past is reduced to an infantile attitude, people of the past become uneducated, and their faith to religion becomes their weakness (Sharma 2001:132). The political strains between Muslims and Hindus that were precipitated by the Shah Bano Case in 1985 were enhanced by the Hindu perception that Muslims were being favored by a quota system recommended by the Mandal Commission. (Sharma 165). Some authorities testify that Hindu and Muslim communities share rituals, music, and concerns throughout India. The participation of Hindus in the ritual atmosphere of the *Nagore*, *Sri Mushnan*, and *Madurai darghas* is not a unique incident in the map of Hindu-Muslim relations in Tamilnadu. (Sharma, 2001, 181); they testify to accepted religious pluralism. Stewart and Shaw suggest that the term “syncretism” should be limited to the domain of religions or ritual phenomena where elements of two different traditions interact or even combine (Sharma 195). This dynamic is particularly

obvious during the *urs* celebrations of one the Sufi at his tomb in a Bihar village. Indian social history proves the presence of the multiple identities and social complexities. On a wider scale, the sociology of religion has stressed the positive contribution of religion to the maintenance of social order (Durkheim 1965; Parsons 1964; Wilson 1982).

Nevertheless, the increasing polarization of communal politics in India decreases the identities shared between Hindus and Muslims. (Mittal Book:218). Today, *Hindutva* forces imbue increasing numbers of Hindus with an exclusionary vision of their communities and nation as necessarily Hindu. Bigoted and at times volatile cultural leaders among both Hindus and Muslims sometimes exacerbate cultural and political tensions, as seen in the 2002 Gujarat riots (Gottschalk, Peter; 206, 244-45). On the other hand, many more Muslims today consider the “Hindu activities” that Muslims must exclude themselves from in accordance with a more rigidly defined identity of “Muslims.” Rejecting the arguments of conflict prone thesis of the secularists, including Paul Brass (1993), Daniel Gold (1991), Christophe Jaffrelot (1996) and others, I conclude that conflict is not an inevitable outcome of Hindu-Muslim religious ethnicity. My argument is that the ethnicity perspective may well be treated as “ethnicity-as-strategy” because rioters, not the masses of people, calculate about how best to secure political and economic resources. Psychological rewards associated with community’s religious affinity are not enough to cause violence.

## **Existing Literature: Misplaced Emphasis**

### *Psycho-analysis of Riots*

Psychoanalysis became established in India at politically tumultuous times when Mahatma Gandhi emerged as the new consensus leader of the Indian struggle for both independence and social harmony, and the psychoanalysis then had a non-ideological stance. Sudhir Kakar, who is widely known as the father of Indian psychoanalysis and a former trusted associate of Erik Erikson of Harvard University, and who manages to keep the discipline’s significant presence in India, argues, in his significant works, that a primordial instinct in religious ethnicity takes an upper hand in a confrontational situation because human anger is the

natural outcome of ancient hatred. At the same time, many sociologists reject as invalid the behaviorist approach in psychology because behaviorists deny the existence of mind on the ground that mind can not be perceived without the intervention of matter. Several features of psychoanalysis as used by Kakar to explain riots are examined below.

Kakar begins with an assumption that religious “ultimacy,” with a strong force of inner spirituality based on Hindu traditions, was expressed during the Ayodhya riots over temple-mosque controversy in 1992 demonstrating the peril of Hindu-Muslim cultural differences (Kakar 1996:192). Admitting that that “religion was the way man defended himself” from anxiety and afflictions (Kakar 1991:55), he adds that a threat to the community aspect of religious identity expands his self and creates a feeling and resonance with other believers. In this sense, the destructive communalism is the individual’s “assertion of being part of a community (Kakar 1996:192). With this analysis of cultural identity formation, the psychological ground for violence has already been prepared, he assumes, but he does not explain why violence must occur. The next stage in Kakar’s argument is that the cultural identity takes a violent form when “a primordial antagonism” between the Hindus and Muslims is combined before the impending riots. Thus, the arrest of a wrestler in Hyderabad city erupted into widespread riots, because of the common theme of communalists who cherished an ancient hatred that made no distinction between “crime and valor.” In the process of fear and anger, both Hindus and Muslims derive inner strength from an “inherent pathological apprehension” (Kakar 1996:136). Consequently, the image of a Muslim butcher in his “blood-flecked under vest and *lungi*, wielding a huge carving knife” appears to be figure of awe and dread for “the Hindu child” and instantly generates “repulsion for an adult Hindu” (Kakar 1981:135). His approach is based on the works of Freud and Erikson who argue that “ego” being separated from “id” acquires certain functions that have to do with the external world, i.e., relations of one’s self with objects, persons, and things. One of these functions is constructing images: self-image and images of other persons and objects. Volkan adds that the ability to construct images develops in infancy and early childhood. Very often the images formed by infants are either all-good or all-bad, in other words, “unintegrated”<sup>5</sup> (Yagciglo 1988).

Kakar’s identity theory explains how an individual identity adopts an in-group identity and how it contributes to the emergence and indeed perpetuation of inter-group conflict (Kakar 1996, 1997, 2001), eventually leads to the violent acts in accordance with a novel situation of a

historical tradition of anti-Hindu or anti-Muslim mob violence (Kakar 1996:46-47). He continues that the individuals act in terms of the crowd's identity and the religio-cultural identity becomes an "unconscious human acquirement" to remain consciously salient when there is a perceived threat to its integrity (Kakar 1996:150). This development has a strong religious root, he adds, because a Hindu child's early up-bringing is prone to severe reaction. In transferring allegiance from mother to father at the age of about five, the "twice-born" Hindu child becomes a rebel, infused with confusion and anger. Thus, Kakar contends, an adult Hindu ego becomes an underdeveloped ego created by the rigid social norms and religious rituals (Kakar 1996:46).

Unfortunately, Kakar falls into a trap when he refers to the group of one's own group members in the singular. He presumes that the individual balances his or her personal identity with a singular group identity that is defined by his or her religious community. Like the secularist, he assumes that the religious group regularly threatens to submerge the individual, thereby erasing his or her individuality and subsuming his or her to its latent violence (Gottschalk 2007:207). The fallacy of his argument is that individuals are believed to have been already programmed in order to identify with a particular group opposing a particular hostile group. But we are informed by other authorities that if identification develops in ordinary sociological ways, there must be a large role for rational, self-interest consideration (Hardin 1995:21). What is unclear in Kakar's analysis is why individuals must invest their own existence within the group, knowing fully forthcoming risks in having a riot. Do the individuals expect to derive some gains from the crowd? Tambiah suggests that individuals take extreme actions believing that there are "moderate dangers." (Tambiah 1986). Donald Horowitz has a more earthly explanation when he writes that ethnic parties create congenial condition for political reasons which appear to be attractive to individuals. Acknowledging that animals have an instinctive behavior in kin selection, Reynolds and others (Horowitz 1987), working under the rubric of socio-biology theory, legitimately reject the idea that negatives such as exclusionary ethnicity, selfishness, and racism are "genetic imperatives" of human nature. Indeed, we know very little about the psychology of a prejudiced group because collective psychology is at best a psychology of the "crowd." Milosevic may successfully mobilize sections of Serbs behind his Serbian nationalist program, but it is unlikely that the same people will concur on his other major policy matters that will eventually arise.<sup>6</sup> Allan Baron puts this issue in a proper perspective by suggesting that a sample of individuals does not guarantee the investigators to conclude that

individuals have already interacted with others in the crowd. Horowitz has a point in claiming that in India, institutional arrangements, rather than human habits are responsible for ethnic conflict. Here a “radicalized will” for some reasons becomes a driving force. Thus, Kakar’s suggestion of the existence of distorted normative social realities seems to be untenable because it is not enough to explain recurrence of conflict itself is a proof for the existence of an aggressive instinct.

Last, both Horowitz and Kakar concur that the crowd take pleasure in over-doing violence because of the presence of ethnic bias. Both affirm that anger can grow over time, be stored, redirected, and then released all at once. Rioters connect today’s provocative action because of yesterday’s ethnic hatred. But Horowitz legitimately concludes that a hostile relationship between two ethnic groups, not necessarily an ancient enmity, produces hatred leading to violence.<sup>7</sup> It is recognized that both Horowitz and Kakar imply that the political and psychological, and the instrumentalist and primordial approaches should not be viewed in either/or terms (Kakar 1996:151)

#### *Assessment of Kakar’s psychoanalysis*

First, Kakar has developed resources for conceptualizing an account of conscious behavior, not just as a derivative of unconscious determinants, but as inherently intelligible and relatively autonomous in its own rights, suggesting that a psychoanalytical paradigm is value-free or at least neutral (Hartmann 1960). But there are others who argue that teleological view is governed by purposes and goals rather than by mechanistic forces. Psychoanalysis is neither religious nor non-religious, but an impartial tool which can be used in the service of the sufferer (Meissner 1984: 17, 213). Second, Kakar takes social-psychological analysis too far when he argues that “representations of collective pasts” are psychic ones, not just intellectual ones (Kakar 1996:12-13). This approach of Kakar, contends Paul Brass, does not merely justify collective violence; they distortedly explain it (Brass 2003:28). Kakar’s psychoanalytic vision seems to be tragic and “ironic,” bearing the burden of inescapable conflicts (Kakar 1992:127). This image contradicts Marx’s historical progress as well as Hindu romantic and purified view of life. As Erik Erikson argues, the problem of identity varies in intensity from one historical moment to the next, and in this respect, the demonstration of psycho-social and psycho-historical

is only a part of methodology in inquiry. Such inquiry becomes important when we are faced with cultural conflicts in our “concepts and terminology” (Erikson 1992:25).

Last, Kakar’s in-depth analysis of rumors and religious riots has a sound foundation in explaining communal violence. Referring to riots in Hyderabad in 1969 and 1990, and especially Gujarat riot in 2002, he observes that there is psychoanalytical theory of rumors, but gossip advances propositions on the psychological role of rumors in situations of grave danger. Gossips in the community-specific Hindu fear include “large amounts of arms and ammunitions have been sent to the Muslims from Pakistan,” and Muslim-community fear includes, “they are breaking our mosques.” Kakar correctly argues that by linking rumor with an armed and dangerous enemy, the Muslim minority becomes a psychological threat which is justified by its numbers. In short, rumor and gossip help in releasing the feeling of identity with his or her group (Kakar 2005:58-59). For a rumor to have weight it must be considered potentially accurate, creating a “politics of plausibility” (White 2005:241-254), and in this respect, there is a lineage between politics, religion, and violence in India where chaotic politics in too much democracy undermines a person’s ability to deal effectively with the environment that is constantly fed by rumors. Historians have been less eager to see rumors as explanations and collective efforts. The tension between the religious perspective and psychoanalysis remains a problem. However, both Kakar and Horowitz miss a procedural link, the role of the interlocutors.

### **Interlocutors**

Because the psycho-analysis ignores the intermediate process in interaction leading to violence, there is a need to recognize the conversational dynamics of Hindu-Muslim disputes. Their conversation engages multiple interlocutors in varied settings and as such takes place in many explosive modes. For instance, in the Panipur village in Bangladesh in 1954, Muslim Fakir and Hindu Tarkhania did not initially respond to each other as representatives of competing categories. Only as their conflict escalated did they fall into ranks of self-identified Muslims on one side, self-identified Hindus on the other. Every contentious conversation proceeded through incessant improvisation. Here the crucial processes of contentious politics did not stem from a competition of elites for political power and economic resources. Without organization and command, many thousands of Hindus and Muslims rushed to each other, but did not attack. Instead, they sat in tidy lines as if they were a canal separating them.<sup>8</sup> Just before the actual riot

in Panipur, Muslim Altaf-uddin, supporting the Muslims, was in agreement with Freud when he declared, “People...are animals.” This simple but powerful assertion does not say why and how people came together in the particular groupings as they did. Why did Altaf elect to indulge his feelings when and as he did, not earlier, not later, not in the market place or at the polls?<sup>9</sup> This aspect in the development stages has been largely ignored mainly because many of the riot studies have been undertaken by peace and civil rights activists, specifically with a view to pressurizing the government to intervene in an ongoing episode of violence, or to attend to the process of rehabilitation in the aftermath. In short, the aggravated dialogue was conversational as it proceeded through historically situated, culturally constrained, negotiated, and consequential interchanges among multiple parties.<sup>10</sup> In this context, Tanikar Sarkar’s statement that *Hindutva* “sadism” was expressed in the Gujarat riots in 2002 amounting to a planned “genocidal pogrom” appears to be simplistic. It was never an “ethnic cleansing,” nor was the Gujarat riot was planned. This application of violence may not be not ancient because if “you have learned it in your own life-time, you did not learn it at the Battle of Kosovo in 1389” (Russell: 150). For secularists such as Sarkar and many others, being pro-Hindu becomes synonymous with being anti-Muslim. What turns a conflict violent may be far less systematic, because violence is commonly a tipping phenomenon. Once violence reaches a high enough level, it is often self-reinforcing (Russell: 155).

As Ashutosh Varshney coherently argues, analysts fail to distinguish between ethnic conflict and ethnic violence. Even if there is animosity, it does not follow that a riot is waiting to happen. He asks why 96 percent of the communal violence takes place in cities, while only four percent happens in villages. But Varshney undermines the role of the state.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, he does not examine government institutions such as the judiciary, the National Human Rights Commission, or the National Commission for Minorities.

## **Cultural Conflicts and Actual Violence**

### *Hindu Revivalists as Factors*

Hindu revivalists developed an idea that modern nationalism originated in the West where the state was always a legal and political entity, but in India, nation had been mostly a cultural entity. Traditions bound and politically conscious Hindu groups began to organize cultural celebrations such as the *ratha jattras* (chariot processions), *dharnas* (worship prostrations),

*andolans* (movements), and the *padayatras* (walking processions) in which less known groups such as the Bajrang Dal (BD) and the *Virat Hindu Sammelan* also participated. These celebrations attracted sympathy from the unlikeliest of people – the lower and middle classes, farmers, and business communities. The RSS general secretary, Rajendra Singh, spelled out the goal of the Hindu state. A former lecturer in nuclear physics at Allahabad University, he declared that a “Hindu nation” that “accepts all diverse religions as sects, but which does not give any special treatment to any sect, is our goal. We want a consolidated Hindu society, based on national heroes, and it should be homogenous.”<sup>12</sup> (*India Abroad* Feb 2, 2000) K. C. Kullis, the publisher of the *Rajasthan Patrika*, a pro-*Hindutva* newspaper, succinctly wrote, “There has been a spurt of religious activity in all areas.... It is the response of a people who are not at peace,”<sup>13</sup> (*India Today* May 31, 1986). He seems to imply that Hindus were not in peace because of internal contradiction and division. He was thus for unity of the Hindus, rather propagation for anti-Muslim ideology. Desiring to form a Hindu state, the VHP secretary Ashok Singal pronounced in 1987 that “Hindu consciousness” would keep the “Hindu interest in the forefront”<sup>14</sup> (*Probe India* 1996). This sort of keying to tradition was especially important in India, a “context sensitive society,” in which people perceived much of their behavior against the background of a social, religious, and historical-legendary context.<sup>15</sup> Whereas intensely religious Mahatma Gandhi invoked aspects of Hinduism to envision a new state after independence and yet stressed a religious pluralism, the contemporary revivalists sought a state mostly based on Hindu cultural values. “Gandhism both legitimized this thrust (Hindu religious thrust) and ensured that it would not take the extreme form of a political demand for a Hindu state.”<sup>16</sup>

We need not underestimate the broader goal of the controversial *Hindutva* movement which was undertaken for cultural cohesion -- to bring various Hindu communities under one faith. The VHP resorted to a strategic syncretism for Hindu unity. The group had strong ties with the RSS funded schools, hospitals, charities, social uplift projects, and disaster relief. More importantly, it promoted a social homecoming by urging some groups, who had adopted certain Muslim practices, such as the burial of the dead, to return to Hindu customs. They were urged to give up “wrong traditions” and take up “pure Hindu practices.”<sup>17</sup> When a mass mobilization called the *Hindu Sanghathan* or Hindu social organization and unity was planned.<sup>18</sup> This cultural assimilation and subordination paradigm was echoed by the VHP when it declared that Hinduism was a cross national identifier of population contesting non-religious interests. In this respect,



Hinduism was equated with an organic moral purity.<sup>19</sup> In the revivalist organicist view, the nation was ordered as an organic whole. The vision was consistent with traditional views of caste hierarchy, where different castes served complementary functions. The RSS's ideal of caste was revised to emphasize all functions as equal in the sense of being necessary for social organicism. The party, in tune with modernity, preached against caste pride but did not actively try to abolish caste institutions. Golwalkar, the second head of the RSS, defended the caste division by writing that "work is assigned" by religious practices.<sup>20</sup> Govindacharya, the RSS ideologue, claimed that "voluntary surrender of rights and acceptance of duties will promote" cooperation and take away the sting of disparity.<sup>21</sup>

Some observations are due. First, even if we accept Golwalkar's idea that the basic difference between the state and society, and between the Hindu state and Hindu nation, would eventually wither away, the question remains: Would Hindu cultural conformity contribute to social violence? Second, if the revivalist parties give up Hindu-ness agenda, they may lose primacy in politics and as such the movement used religion for political gain, and thus, Geertz is correct in concluding that there is a difference between the religious-minded and "idolization of religion."<sup>22</sup> Last, it must be acknowledged that Hindu revivalist social engineering and limited consensus building process have strong deficiencies. Lord Parekh correctly claims that "civility" requires that cultural minorities not only be tolerated within limits, but free to challenge the consensus. What makes civil society liberal, as Galston contends, are not the "officially" promoted or required notions of the "good," but that the strategy of coercion is held "to a minimum" for common good.<sup>23</sup> Thus, questioning the integrity of the Hindutva social engineering, Hansen legitimately argues that the actual physical confrontation by Shiva Sena or RSS in Bombay against the "Muslim Other" is not only a demonstration of "masculinity," but also an expression of unacceptable cultural nationalism. Christophe Jaffrelot traces Golwalkar's reliance on German cultural historians in his first publication, "We – Our Neighborhood Defined" from 1939 (Hansen 1996:168). In this respect, the revivalist practices worked toward alienation of the Muslim minorities (Jaffrelot 1996), a significant factor in the causation of riots. Beyond the motivational issues, revivalist cultural relativism is predicated on the invalid construction of Hindu traditions as if they were stable and defined by the unchanging and discrete values, symbols, and practices. This Hindu paradigm denies internal tensions and various conflicts, and in fact, refutes religious transcendent ideal to debase the faith.

### *Minority Responsibility*

The Muslim minority (12% of population) suffered from two complexes, in the words of social science literature, reactions of “withdrawal” and “oppression psychosis.” Withdrawal from the work of the mainstream is prompted by real or imaginary complex that the minority is discriminated in jobs. An oppression psychosis causes minorities to imagine discrimination even if there may not be any in fact. Sociologically, the discrimination that is felt to exist may not necessarily be due to communal relations. Muslims, however, are more acutely hit because unlike caste or linguistic minorities, who have the privilege of constituting a majority in some region, they do not form a dominant group anywhere except in Kashmir. There is a structural, not purely religious, discrimination; Muslim boys and girls do not join schools in great number. The typical minority reaction has been to turn to religion since it helps to sublimate the failures and frustrations of the secular world.<sup>24</sup>

When Islamic groups are involved in a communal conflict, either as a minority or majority group depending on the regions, religion generally becomes relevant. In fact, when one group is Islamic, on average the relevance of religion nearly triples, and when both groups are Islamic, the average relevance of religion quadruples.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, there is a crisis in Muslim leadership that lacks a coherent fundamental theme in a pluralistic society. Islamic jurists and politically powerful Muslim leaders traditionally generated several options for minority Muslim in non-Muslim societies: (1) struggle to incorporate into *Dar al-Islam* (domain of Islam); (2) migration to the domain of Islam; (3) social and cultural isolation from non-Muslims; and (4) engagement in a pact with the non-Muslim states to ensure religious freedom to basic religious obligations. Currently the basic issue is the depth of willingness of the Muslims to make peace for all, and their instruments may be legal, institutional and cultural (Philip 2004:88). As Kakar observes, to protect themselves from possession of reported maligned Hindu spirits – the *devīs* and *devatās* – most Muslims all over the subcontinent are asked by their leaders to be intimately pious and constantly and aggressively protect their faith (Kakar 1982). Such “calls to the battle stations of faith” reflect the primary fear of Indian Muslims who are fearful of being absorbed by the “insidious Hindu society surrounding them (Kakar 2004:56). Thus, under conservative Muslim leaderships’ pressure, Rajiv Gandhi’s government gave in to the minority demand by passing the Muslim Women’s Act in 1986, overturning the court’s earlier decision, thereby reaffirming, under duress, the legal importance of Islamic personal law at the cost of poor

Muslim women's material interests. There began an ideological polarization that caused both Hindus and Muslims to riotous paths. The issue is: Can the secular state of India act as an antidote to religious nationalism? Ashis Nandy, T.N. Madan and others for long legitimately tried to develop a harmless intellectual indigenous cultural basis for Indian unity, because as Vanaik (Vanaik 1990:259) observes that Indian nationalism had widely been conceived in terms of religious orientation, mostly Hindu symbols. This emphasis on Hindu symbols by the Hindutva movement in recent years has generated tension. Here Kakar is correct to conclude that religious orientation may bring "primordality" in relation to shared myths and symbols.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately there has been a lack of healing function in the age of selfish political competition; religion as expressed by Muslim extremism and Hindu revivalism has lost what T. Parson calls "integrative, or balancing, or stabilizing sub system" of society.

As both Tajfel and Turner (1985) observe, rival groups that cultivate discrimination are not ethnocentric but simply the opposite. In a comparative situation, a confrontation is not inevitable. Charles Taylor presumes that in any in-group and out-group comparison, there is "misrecognition" which can inflict harm. The rival groups may be imprisoned "in a false ... mode of being," the outcome of the comparative situation may not be violent. The notion of social and economic comparison, being part of the normal psychological functioning, is only a social creativity, a mental creation that has no force or ferocity. Thus, identity theorists do not need to perceive the comparison conditions in terms of conflict (Hassan 1980:11) comments that the fact that the Indian Muslims "harbor Pan-Islamic feelings is perhaps a pointer to the view" that the Muslims have made India their home, but "they look outward if "something happens in the Islamic crescent." And yet it remains to be seen why violence should be the outcome. A large part of the answer is that there is a stepwise progression from identification with a group, to mobilization of still stronger identification, to implicit conflict with another group, and finally to violence, especially when both groups are faced with increasingly good incentives for preemptive action.<sup>27</sup> The participants in any religious procession may insult members of the opposing group or its religious symbols; then there develops scuffles. This has reputedly been the case on Hindu and Muslim festival days in India. Twice in 1984 in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, Hindu processions were stoned by Muslims, producing violence. In Ahmadabad, a Muslim procession was attacked by Hindus in 1969 when the procession passed through the

Hindu temple. These incidents were exaggerated by extreme organizations when riots occurred. Here both features – competition and aggression – are important to begin riots (Horowitz: 274).

In sum, there is a difference between Hindu revivalist reformist revivalism and Jehadist Islamic fundamentalism. Hindu identity, despite many fault lines, has an identity with an all-India national culture, admitting that the *Hindutva* movement has created high tension in recent decades. As Jonathan Spencer argues, the nature of religious violence can be explained but there is shortcoming in the explanatory power necessary to furnish answers to the more basic question as to why violence occurs (Spencer 1992). Exclusion and subsequent violence between the Hindus and Muslims have been motivated by misperception of supposed enemies, economic disadvantage, or religious beliefs. Individuals may have an interest in reducing themselves to something less than human, a standard pawn in a larger strategic and political game, plotted by leaders. Individuals acting in group riots are at times being bolstered by norms of religious exclusion, only at the cost of degradation of self and other.

### **Violence and Marxist Interpretation**

Marxism has a much more serious impact on interpretation of riots than psychoanalysis. A Marxist sociology that reduces civic and religious cultures to a direct reflection of economic forces is not conducive to the sociology of religion. Indian Marxists, in analyzing causes of riots, view religious culture as a semi-autonomous sphere of civic society, thereby disproportionately increasing the significance of economic factors.

The materialistic interpretation of causation of riots has a broad range of varieties. The general argument in Marxist analysis is that economic well-being leads to an upper class lifestyle including a greater sense of personal and financial security, which is instrumental in drawing individuals away from a confrontational situation. On the other hand, economic backwardness stands in the way of social modernization and upper mobility and as such creates conditions for violent reaction. Residential segregation in Bombay, arising out of social inequality, for instance, allows the Muslim poor to remain in desperate conditions. But the behavioral scientists submit that this rich-poor segregation may lead to inter-group tensions, and not necessarily actual violence.<sup>28</sup> At best, ethnicity of the lower class is more oriented toward the self-identity type while that of the rich Muslim class is more oriented toward the self-assertion.<sup>29</sup> In short, the rising salience of poverty sets into motion forces of conservatism, orthodoxy, and

fundamentalism. No doubt, by “coercing” Muslims to be “true Muslims,” ethnicity deprives the poor communities of liberalism, but may not create conditions for actual violence.

Reporting on the Hindu side, Prem Shankr Jha, a political analyst and a senior columnist for *Outlook* magazine, writes that in Gujarat, the largest proportion of *petit bourgeoisie*, the shopkeepers and small businessmen, mostly Hindus, take a leadership role because owner-managed small businesses always feel the least control over their future. This breeds certain general insecurity and becomes a factor in causing riots, as communal tensions get tense. Ashghar Ali Engineer, a scholar-activist, claims that the Muslims who’s “economic situation was far from enviable” showed in the past aggressive behavior demanding social justice. The Muslim artisan class is generally more formally religious than other classes, Engineer believes. The political leadership exploits this religiosity of “lower middle class Muslims and riots are expressions of these economic disparities.” Whereas Engineer relies on structural or social assumptions, Gail Omvedt, a sociologist, posits the ethnic violence in southern India in terms of class conflict. An Islamic Study, on the other hand, offers a more reasonable argument about economic causes when he writes that riots in Sabzimandi in Hyderabad in 1978 could be explained in economic terms. It was alleged that the Muslims had a “hidden agenda” designed to recapture Subzimandi vegetable market from Hindu traders (Islamic Studies, January – March 1994). Perhaps Kakar has a more legitimate explanation for this and other riots in Hyderabad and nearby places between 1978 and 1984, when he argues that both Hindu and Muslim mobs, mostly poor, blamed the political authorities “in fulfilling their duties,” and in that situation communal riots derived some legitimacy, not in the name of religion but for the sake of justice or lack of good economic opportunity (Kakar 1996:48).

There are several shortcomings in the leftist interpretations. First, from Engineer and Omvedt, it appears that economically depressed Muslims react, almost in a typical linear Marxist mode. Second, to a Marxist interpreter, a deeper hidden factor rather than a primordial ethnic emotion, as alleged by Sudhir Kakar and others, that causes riots. The Marxist analysis is comparable to the Freudian analysis in that both refuse to accept outward meanings at their face value. Last, it is open to debate whether a class ideology is a more compelling force than ethnicity. Thus, Varshney concludes, civic engagement between Hindus and Muslims can prevent violence. After studying 28 riot-prone Indian cities, he finds that cities lacking strong inter-group ties have caused “regular incidents of violence.” This notion of “associational life”

(business clubs, recreations associations and sports clubs) in India does not include associations defined on particularistic primordial identities, such as kinship and religion.

In sum, there appears to be some miscalculations in the leftist interpretations of riots. Gyanendra Pandey, Amiya K. Bagchi, Sumit Sarkar and many others argue that most Muslims, being poor, are likely to be violent because Hindus are better off. Implicitly the burden of causing riots is laid on the discriminatory social system and supposedly rich Hindu majority. We may argue that if Hindu-Muslim conflict is about resources, then bargain is possible through social action, and in fact, in different societies bargains have been successful. Indeed, there is a difference between the existence of class system and the presumption of being-conscious. Amiya Bagchi correctly warns that unless “material conditions of living” are improved, “riots are likely to occur. Traditional Marxist “economism” disregard the autonomy of the cultural sphere from the economic. Perhaps, Messner (1989) offers an acceptable explanation when he writes that social discrimination has a stronger effect on promotion of violence than economic inequality.

### **Religious Politics Paradigm (NRP)**

The new religious paradigm is based on the assumption that the individual enters the political culture with a dual identity – civic identity based on nationalism and a cultural identity based on primordial instincts. Whenever the primordial instincts dominate in intermingling with religious issues, the new religious model vehemently upholds the religious attachment and political action becomes manipulative. Paul Brass minimizes the significance of NRP when he argues that the production of riots is very much a political one, being associated with intense inter-party competition and mass mobilization.<sup>30</sup> Nikki R. Keddie of UCLA makes a difference between religious nationalism, like revivalist cultural nationalism, that is primarily directed against other religious communities. He adds that Indian revivalism is not based on monotheist scripturalism but on religious politics, conservatism and cheap populism. The religious cultural thrust, being a populist movement, aims at gaining political power in order to transform the state into a religio-politico entity which is against the current political philosophy in India. Here politics is used for both religion and politics. Although he sees the emergence of Hindu revivalism is a necessary reaction to “fundamentalist movements in nearly all Muslim countries,” he concludes that Hindu parties such as VHP, RSS, etc., not only preaches particular brand of Hinduism but also demand an increase of religion in government.<sup>31</sup> This manipulative trend is

noted by Ranajit Guha and others. Guha postulates at the local level where the action is, agents of religious hate speech prepare the “politically correct” atmosphere in the midst of intense religious antagonism, and then are supplemented by a range of learned professions such as teaching, vernacular journalism, and books that are not free from religious prejudice. Eventually, the official political power holders permit the commission of violence that is augmented by regional circumstances. Unfortunately, to political leaders, this manipulative act appears to be a moral task.<sup>32</sup>

## **Conclusion**

We have begun our discourse about riots with the premise that religious ethnicity takes a back seat in causing violence, admitting fully that ethnicity has been used by politicians to cause enormous damage. But the basic question is: Have religious ethnicities caused extreme violence in most cases? Paul Brass finds that renewed Hindu civilizational consciousness itself is a problem (Paul Brass 2003:137). For Hansen, revivalist emphasis on culture appears to be an “exorcism of the Muslim “Other”” (Hansen 1996:155). To Raju (1987:16-17), the “real/imaginary grievances” of the majority of Hindus have resulted in increasingly frequent Hindu-Muslim frictions and communal riots.

However, there is no contradiction between primordial and instrumentalist aspects of Hindu-Muslim religious ethnicity because the two can reinforce each other. The fact that ethnicity is a social construction and as such is collectively and individually imagined does not mean that it is not real. Ethnicity is a real phenomenon and is perceived as such; more significantly, that perception has crucial behavioral consequences. In their secular urge to create political unity and central institutions, most Indians have ignored the negative character of ethnicity rather than recognized it as a building bloc. Ethnic movements are instruments for political pressure and rectification of historical wrongs. By focusing on ethnicity, historians have unduly treated the significant units of social action as innate. Ashis Nandy touches on the central chord as he stipulates that Indian sense of “self” (identity) differs from Western perception, because there is a continuum of civilization consciousness. Anthropologists may readily discern an ethnic group, but until the members themselves are aware of the group’s uniqueness, it is merely an innocent ethnic group. Thus, employing ethnicity in relationship to several other types of identities clouds the relationship between ethnic group and the riots. Consideration of

religious ethnicity as a divisive obstacle to peace remains partial. Thus, insightfully clarifying the ethnic issue, Thomas Scheff argues that ethnic conflict is potentially a soluble problem, since it mostly arises out of injustice and alienation. Interminable and senseless riot, he adds, is caused by an internal machine, unacknowledged damaging alienation and the associated “spiral of shame and anger.” If this theory is true, then “a possibility that the bad machine in ethnicity can be dismantled” by incorporating religious egalitarian values into the Western individualistic construct. Civil society, family, and community can provide eternal codes around which a counter-offensive may be mounted against the culture of religious division.

Second, Kakar, the psychoanalyst, misleadingly argues, as does his mentor Erik Erikson, that an identity has a sense of inner identity, i.e., an inter-psyche one, an internal process only. Sociology contradicts that stance by arguing that an identity is socially constructed and, as such, there is a need to shift away from the cognitive focus of Cooley (1902), Mead (1934), and Blumer (1969) who earlier ignored significance of economic disparity or regional instinct. In philosopher Charles Taylor’s terms, a pluralistic society like India, as a political community, is capable of both consensus and contestation for common goal. Blaming internal psyche, using a provocative word like “alienation” and “anger” of Hindu child can only sweep away the problem of violence itself. It is a “cognitive illusion” to argue that a particular group, such as Hindu or Muslim, has antipathy for a specific group. Social psychology needs more culture and historic-specific concepts to explain conflicts like riots. No doubt, Kakar accurately describes the process by which the communalist dehumanizes the other while focusing more intently on the in-group. However, he ignores an important factor – the possibility of a member of the out-group belonging to one of the multiple social groups to which most individuals belong -- the village, clubs and even nation, not to mention religious and devotional groups. If affiliation, association, and even empathy are to be lost, then there must have been some elements with which to begin. Admittedly, Kakar’s psychoanalysis of violence provides a much-needed corrective to a complacent analysis fostered by the increasing categorization and description of contemporary lives by focusing on the social and political events.

Third, the new religious paradigm has successfully explained the political misuse of communal riots; in the Gujarat riots in 2002, selfish politics of both the Congress Party and the BJP played a significant role. Paul Brass exposes the mean and narrow political strategies by which endemic communal violence is deliberately provoked and sustained. He implicates the



state police, criminal elements and Aligarh's business communities – all of which are led by manipulation of local leaders. He adds that local politics in Gujarat acted as the catalyst in causing riots. Explaining the success of political use of religion, Kanchan Chandra, of MIT, argues that local and national leaders use the method for only short term political gain, but that the manipulation depends on the local social structure, time and space. Thus, the CPM government in West Bengal succeeded, minimizing the use of religion in politics and, as such, riots have been less frequent there. However, it is not clear whether state or party connivance is a crucial reason in the outbreak of riots or if it is only a subsidiary factor.

In sum, despite many incidents of riots in India, the pluralistic nature of community and political life does not have the typical situation of frontier settings, as, for instance, do the cases in Congo, Somalia, and Liberia. Whether Hindu-Muslim religious violence is on the rise is debatable, but scholars are simply more aware of it.

Last, what is true in secularists' arguments about violence is that the mode of the revivalist social engineering and conservative attitude of the Muslim clerics, some people's cultures are more fully reflected in public policy than others.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, religious pluralism and secularism in India are predominant in Indian social and political life. What is needed is not so much the promotion of either secularism or *Hindutva* alone, but rather, an active dialogue between the two. In conclusion, we observe that a one-dimensional explanation is inadequate because state and society ignore the fact that forms of collective action are not only the instrumental means that people use to demand new rights and privileges, but they are also real demands for material improvement in conditions of life, and here the economic interpretations have some relevance.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Brass, *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India* (Seattle: University Washington Press 2003).

<sup>2</sup> Rene Girard cited in Ervin Staub, "The Roots of Evil: Social Conditions, Culture, Personality, and Basic Human Needs," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 3(3) (1999), 185.

<sup>3</sup> Cited in Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 90.

<sup>4</sup> J.G. Arapura, *Religion as Anxiety and Tranquillity: An Essay in Comparative Phenomenology of the Spirit* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1972).

<sup>5</sup> Dimostenis Yagcioglu, "Psychological Explanations of Conflicts between Ethnocultural Minorities and Majorities: An Overview," Internet: <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/8945/sycho.html> ; Vamik Volkan, *The Need to Have Enemies and Allies: From Clinical Practice to International Relationships*. Northvale, N.J.: Jason Aronson, 1988.

- <sup>6</sup> Russell Hardin, *One For All: The Logic of Group Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 23-24.
- <sup>7</sup> Donald Horowitz, *The Deadly Ethnic Riot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
- <sup>8</sup> Beth Roy, *Some Trouble with Cows: Making Sense of Social Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 82.
- <sup>9</sup> Roy, *Some Troubles with Cows*, 138.
- <sup>10</sup> Charles Tilly, "Contentious Conversation." <<http://www.geocities.com/usmanfar82/contentious.html>> (18 March 2004).
- <sup>11</sup> Ashutosh Varshney, "Contesting Meanings: India's National Identity: Hindu Nationalism and Politics of Anxiety," *Daedalus* 122 (3) ( Summer 1993).
- <sup>12</sup> *India Abroad* (February 2, 2000), p. 38.
- <sup>13</sup> Cited in *India Today* (May 31, 1986), p. 31.
- <sup>14</sup> *Probe India* (November 1987); Lise McKean, *Enterprise: Gurus and the Hindu Nationalist Movement* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996), p. 27.
- <sup>15</sup> Philip Lutgendorf, *The Life of a Text: Performing the Ramcaritamanas of Tulsida* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 23.
- <sup>16</sup> Achin Vanaik, *The Painful Transition: Bourgeois Democracy in India* (London: Verso, 1992), p. 142.
- <sup>17</sup> James G. Lochtefeld, "New Wine, Old Skins: The Sangh Parivar and the Transformation of Hinduism," in *Religion*, vol. 26 (1996), pp. 108-09.
- <sup>18</sup> Balraj Madhok, *Rationale of Hindu State* (Delhi: Indian Book Gallery, 1982), pp. 14-16. Christophe Jaffrelot, "The Idea of the Hindu Race in the Writings of Hindu Nationalist Ideologues in the 1920s and 1930s: A Concept Between Two Cultures," in Peter Robb (ed.), *The Concept of Race in South Asia* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 349-50.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-44.
- <sup>20</sup> Daniel Gold, "Organized Hinduism," in Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (eds.), *Fundamentalism Observed* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), pp. 554-55.
- <sup>21</sup> *Probe India* (November 1987).
- <sup>22</sup> Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primal Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," in Clifford Geertz (ed.), *Old Societies and New States* (New York: 1986), 109.
- <sup>23</sup> Bhikhu Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory* (London: Macmillan 2000), 137.
- <sup>24</sup> A. R. Saiyed, *Religion and ethnicity among Muslims* (Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 1995), pp. 240-42.
- <sup>25</sup> Jonathan Fox, "Counting the Causes and Dynamics of Ethnoreligious Violence," *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions*, vol 4, issue 3 (Winter 2003), p.26.
- <sup>26</sup> Sudhir Kakar, *The Essential Writings of Sudhir Kakar with An Introduction by T.G. Vaidyanathan* (Oxford University Press, 1981), 135.
- <sup>27</sup> Russell Hardin, *One for All*, 23.
- <sup>28</sup> A. R. Saiyed, *Religion*, pp. 254-56.
- <sup>29</sup> A.R. Said, *Religion*, 267.
- <sup>30</sup> Paul R. Brass, *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- <sup>31</sup> Nikki Keddie, "The New Religious Politics and Women Worldwide: A Comparative Study," *Journal of Women's History* 10 (4) (1997), 4.
- <sup>32</sup> Cited in Veen Das (ed.), *Mirros of Violence: Communities, Riots and Survivors in South Asia* (Delhi: Oxford University Press,, 1990).
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## **INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY AND AMBEDKAR: READING HISTORY FROM DALIT PERSPECTIVE**

**P Kesava Kumar**

### *Abstract*

*Dalit historiography throws a challenge to colonial, nationalist, Marxist and right wing and even to the so called historians of subaltern studies. In this context, Ambedkar's method of constructing the history from dalit perspective is path breaking, and provides insights for contemporary historians of all shades.*

‘Time is infinite and earth is vast, someday there will be born a man who will appreciate what I have said’- Bhavabhuti quoted by Dr.Ambedkar in his preface to ‘Who are the Shudras?’<sup>1</sup>

### **Introduction**

Ambedkar came to forefront in Indian academics from the decade of nineties with the intensified struggles of Dalits. The struggles of the ordinary people forced the centers of power and knowledge to consider the importance of Ambedkar and his ideas in social reconstruction of the nation. With Ambedkar as the source of inspiration, Dalits are struggling to write their own history by interrogating the dominant Brahminical traditions. The project of De- Brahminisation of Indian history has appeal among the Dalit scholars in writing Indian history, culture and philosophy. The relevance of Ambedkar has to be read with the fifty years developments of post Ambedkar of post independent India. His approach to Indian society and its history are crucial in understanding contemporary India and the struggles of the oppressed. The paper will focus on the importance of historical method of Ambedkar in relation to the theories of contemporary historiography of India. Ambedkar's notion of history is identified with ‘moral community’ imbued with the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity. His historical method borrows tools from Marxism in understanding the ancient history. Rather than mechanically applying Marxism, he had creatively used it in keeping the specific context of Indian society. He approached Indian society from the point of religion and finds the religion as source for the different ideological position. For instance, Buddhism is considered as revolutionary and Hinduism as counter revolutionary. ‘Rationality’ is the guiding principle in evaluating the principles and practices of religion. For the claims of religion he applied rationalistic principle. He brings the religion

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as a focal point in reference to caste system. To construct the Indian history in proper, he avail all the convincing ideas of his times, from liberal to Marxist. This may go in tune of pragmatism. The pragmatism of Ambedkar differs from the context of western societies. The pragmatic method of Ambedkar came out of his social responsibility and in presenting the history from the victim's point of view. In essence he made a serious attempt in constructing the Indian history in which one finds dignified place for 'sudras' and 'untouchable communities'. Ambedkar is a source of inspiration for contemporary dalit movement and so for constructing history from dalit point of view. Dalit historiography establishes its own method by challenging the colonial, nationalist, marxists and subaltern approaches of Indian historiography.

### **Philosophy of History**

Historians have always tried to provide rationally justified knowledge about past, cause and effects of events. Philosophy of history can function as a conceptual enhancement for working historians and also it can function as a source of rational criticism of specific methods or approaches within contemporary historiography. Historically, there are various attempts to read history from diverse ideological and methodological positions. Many thinkers contributed to the philosophy of historical ideas. Many who have concerned themselves with questions about the nature of historical knowledge and interpretation of the past have spent a good deal of time studying the history of various historical concepts and ideas; and in doing so some have concluded that there are no absolute ideals of historical method or truth which can be isolated from their own peculiar historical and social contexts. Broadly there are two streams identified in approaching the historical knowledge- idealistic and materialistic. In the realm of epistemological understanding of truth value of historical knowledge- rationalistic and empiricist methods were followed. The empiricist views past as an ordinary object of empirical investigation. The rationalist views past as an object of rational reconstruction and understanding. There raised a basic questions what is history about? Kant, Hegel and Marx have common strand and answered this question differently. For Hegel, history is unfolding of human freedom. Hegel's conception of history presupposes an abstract or absolute spirit. History of humanity becomes history of abstract spirit of humanity, a spirit above and beyond the real man. The clue to history, in Hegel's view, is to be found in the idea of freedom. 'World history', in his words, 'exhibits the development of

the consciousness of freedom on the part of spirit, and of the consequent realization of that freedom.’<sup>2</sup>

Marx answered in another way – that the underlying driver in historical change is the tension between the forces and relations of production or class struggle. For Marx, the first premise of all human history is, of course the existence of living human beings. All historiography must begin with these natural bases and their modification in the course of history by men’s activity. Unlike the idealist view of history, it does not have to look for category in each period, but remains constantly on the real ground of history, it does not explain the practice from the idea but explains the formation of ideas from material practice. The whole previous conception of history has either completely neglected this real basis of history. Consequently, history has always to be written in accordance with external standard, the real production of life appears to be ahistorical.<sup>3</sup>

During the Nineteenth century the central concern is changed from metaphysical issues about ‘direction of history’ to epistemological issues about ‘historical truth’. In twentieth century these concerns about truths in history focus on dispute between two views on question into what is history. A good part of the twentieth century was devoted to a debate sparked by the philosopher of science Carl Hempels claiming that historical explanations -- to be legitimately scientific ones have to be developed from the physical sciences.<sup>4</sup> In contrast with Hempel’s thesis, some, such as R. G. Collingwood and William Dray<sup>5</sup>, have insisted that the historian is more concerned with understanding the motives of historical agents than with predicting events. Collingwood, author of ‘The Idea of History’ argues that all history is the history of thought. He replaced the ‘positivistic’ notion of history with one which treats *thought* as the fundamental concept of historical inquiry.<sup>6</sup>

Philosophy of history-as-discipline has also addressed concerns about the justification and limitations of historical objectivity, the truth of historical claims, and the nature of historical explanations. Are there any proper methods in understanding history? Is it possible to find the historical method without any ideological and political positions? The discussion further continued that historians’ ideological and political positions play a role either approaching the knowledge of past or constructing the ideas of past. The historians are selective in interpreting the knowledge of past. In other words, the contemporary demands force them to probe into the past. As the historian Croce said ‘all history is contemporary’. As Carl Becker declares, ‘the facts of history do not exist for any historian till he creates

them.’<sup>7</sup> As E H Carr explains, ‘history is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts and unending dialogue between the past and the present.’<sup>8</sup> ‘All history depends ultimately upon its social purpose.’<sup>9</sup>

### **Historiographies in writing Indian history**

Keeping the above discussion as a background, this paper, gives emphasis on the historical method of Ambedkar in countering the dominant social groups’ construction of the Indian history. Both in construction of history of India and in having its historical method- Colonial, Orientalist, Nationalist, Marxists, Cambridge historians and Subaltern historians who played a vital role.

History writing in India as a conscious exercise began with scholars of Colonial and Orientalist persuasion and followed by nationalist elite and others. At present four dominant streams in Indian historiography are important - Colonial, Nationalist, Marxist and Subaltern schools. Each school has its historical social context in emphasizing its method in writing Indian history. Each school argued its case in relation to other. The decade of eighties is turning point in Indian history in bringing new epistemological positions corresponding to the struggles of Dalits, Women, Adivasis. In writing history, categories wise, caste, gender, region became reference points. On the other hand, struggles rallying religious nationalism are trying to invoke the ‘glorious past’. With the many contesting positions, to reach out historical objectivity is not an easy task.

When researches into India’s past began in the late 18th century and early 19th centuries, Orientalist ideas structured historical representations. Inspired by the romanticism and classicism of the time, Orientalists like William Jones and H.T. Colebrooke returned to the ancient past, discovered its greatness and defined a specific notion of a glorious classical age. It was in this age, so the Orientalists told us, that the essence of Indian civilization – embodied in its language, laws, institutions and religious texts – came into being. Subsequent to this golden age there was a continuous or cyclical decline to a degenerate present before the British rule. If India had to develop, its lost past had to be rediscovered, its essence had to be properly understood, its juridical and religious texts had to be translated and canonized, its



poetry had to be recaptured. The Orientalists saw themselves as the mediators who would define this relationship between the past and the present. As codifiers and translators they would be the ones to discover the ancient texts and ascribe to them their true meanings.<sup>10</sup>

By the early 19th century, with liberalism gaining ground, Orientalist histories were questioned from within the fold of imperial thought. If Orientalists had glorified India's past, the liberals condemned it. From a veneration of classicality we moved to a phase of arrogant deification of modernity. Liberal histories idealized the modern West and the assumed principles of its order – individualism, freedom and democracy. Other societies – of the past and present – were understood and characterized only in terms of the presence and non-presence of liberal values. While Orientalists had discovered in India's past a succession of golden ages, liberals like James Mill and Thomas Macaulay could see only shades of darkness.<sup>11</sup> In the West liberal histories traced a series of great transitions – from darkness to light, irrationality to rationality, magic to science, superstition to reason. Modernity had emerged from the age of darkness, through the Renaissance and Enlightenment into the modern age. In India and other 'dark continents', as the liberals saw it, this transition never took place. India had remained unchanged, constrained by the social institutions that defined it – caste, village community and Oriental despotism.

The colonial historians were tried to construct the Indian history that suits their political interests. The colonial historians tried to show that Indian nationalism was nothing more than an unprincipled, selfish, amoral bid for power by a few Indian elites. They had used the traditional bonds of caste and communal ties to mobilize masses for their own ends. The colonial assumptions of historical thought was enshrined by Hegel and expounded by Macaulay, Mill, Seeley, and many others. In the historical literature, colonial powers escaped serious interrogation outside of the specific contestations of the nationalist struggle until new critical inquiries were initiated by figures as various as Bernard Cohn, Edward Said, and Ranjit Guha.<sup>12</sup> Nicholas Dirks argues that British colonialism played a critical role in both the identification and production of Indian 'tradition'.<sup>13</sup> Essentially colonial history of India is Eurocentric and imperialistic. The tendency to read Indian history in terms of a lack, an absence, or incompleteness that translates into 'inadequacy' is obvious in these excerpts. The British conquered and represented the diversity of 'Indian' pasts through a homogenizing narrative of transition from a 'medieval' period to 'modernity'. The terms have changed with

time. The 'medieval' was once called 'despotic' and the 'modern', the 'rule of law'. 'Feudal/capitalist' has been a later variant.<sup>14</sup>

While the nationalists mounted a critique of colonial ideas, they continued to accept many of the key categories through which imperial representations of Indian society were fashioned. But in their critiques, nationalists still borrowed from the Orientalists, transforming the founding Orientalist notions of India's past – the idea of classical golden ages and the corollary myth of a subsequent civilizational decline – into accepted orthodoxies of Indian history. But most nationalist histories continued to periodize pre-colonial history through religious categories. They referred to ancient India as Hindu and medieval India as Muslim – as if a unitary religious essence permeated the entire age and the whole society.

By the 1980s history writing in India saw a new phase of dramatic change. Influenced by the new social history in England and the cultural turn in social sciences, *Subaltern Studies* challenged the elitism of earlier histories that attributed historical agency to the elites and looked at the world from above. Subaltern histories emphasized the need to understand the experiences and lives of the dominated – peasants and workers, tribals and lower castes, women and dalits – people who leave few written records, whose voices are difficult to hear, whose actions appear inconsequential. The cultural turn in history writing all over the world shifted the focus away from economist and reductive reading of historical processes. Power and domination, economy and society, experience of work and leisure, identities and interests, were all seen as culturally constituted.

The real break came with the rise of a much more sophisticated historiography from the 1950s and '60s pioneered by scholars, to name few of the most important, like D.D. Kosambi, R.S. Sharma and Irfan Habib. There was a veritable paradigm shift, particularly in ancient and medieval Indian history.

The historiography of the Hindu Right necessarily sticks to periodization by religion: in effect, the religion of rulers, for that is the only way through which the premise of medieval 'Muslim domination' or 'tyranny' can be made credible. The only real evil for it is religious, cultural or political domination coming from sources it considers external and alien, because non-Hindu. The failure to go beyond the single evaluative standard set by the colonial/anti-colonial binary produces similar problems for histories of subordinate caste and Dalit protest. Arun Shourie's onslaught on Ambedkar typifies this tendency at its worst, but

an indication of the difficulties is revealed by the interesting recent attempt by G. Aloysius to write an alternative history of modern India from a 'Dalit-Bahujan' perspective. Its many virtues include a valid stress on the complicities between colonialism and continued or refurbished high caste domination (a theme which Jyotiba Phule had opened up), as well as on the numerous overlaps between 'mainstream' nationalism and Hindutva. Even Nehru's *Discovery of India* is revealed as being not entirely immune from such contamination.<sup>15</sup>

In the decade of eighties, a group of scholars identifying with subaltern historiography got prominence by differing with earlier nationalist and Marxist historiography. This rise coincided with that of the Dalit movement which was taking aspiration from the philosophy of Ambedkar. Dalit movement, on the one hand, questions Brahminism and its basic assumptions and on the other hand finds 'faults' with Marxism in practice as an alternative to dominant classes. The scholars influenced by the Dalit movement are even critical about the subaltern studies especially their treatment of the issue of caste.

Subaltern studies came into prominence from the decade of eighties in projecting a new method of historiography by countering the earlier ones. This approach came along the line of 'history from below' approach of European history writing in 1970 and 1980s. It came in opposition to both colonialist and nationalist historiography. It is skeptical about the established orthodoxies of both liberal nationalist and Marxist historiographies. Writing history from subaltern point of view was to show that neither nationalist nor left progressive historiography had a place for autonomous historical actions of the subaltern classes.<sup>16</sup> As mentioned by Rajit Guha in an introductory note to Subaltern studies Vol.1: 'The historiography of Indian nationalism has for a long time been dominated by elitism-colonialist elitism and bourgeois-nationalist elitism.'<sup>17</sup> The thrust of the argument is subaltern consciousness is distinct and autonomous. The histories of class divided societies have been written and preserved in accordance with interests of dominant classes. Only rarely does subaltern consciousness appear in its autonomous form in these accounts. Subaltern consciousness evolved out of the experience of subordination, out of struggle, despite the daily routine of servitude, exploitation and deprivation. The subaltern consciousness can not be found in archival material conventionally used by historians, since it is prepared and preserved by dominant groups. For the most part, those materials only show the subaltern as subservient. It is only the moment of rebellion that subaltern appears as the bearer of independent personality.

The subaltern studies are criticized by scholars on different grounds. The criticism is on the agency involved in this project and on the method. Many complained that subaltern history was becoming bhadralok history, the history of elites.<sup>18</sup> Sumit Sarkar in an article, 'The decline of the subaltern in subaltern studies' argued that in the name of theory, a tendency emerged towards essentializing the categories of 'subaltern' and 'autonomy', in the sense of assigning to them more or less absolute, fixed, de-contextualized meanings and qualities. They were not advanced further by pointing out the economic reductionism of Marxism. What is conveniently forgotten is that the problems do not disappear through a simple substitution of 'class' by 'subaltern' or 'community'. Reifying tendencies can be actually strengthened by the associated detachment from socio-economic contexts and determinants out of a mortal fear of economic reductionism. The handling of the new concepts, further, may remain equally naïve.<sup>19</sup> The subaltern studies, symptomatically has ignored histories of the left and of organized anti-caste movements throughout, and the line between past and present-day neglect can be fairly porous.<sup>20</sup> He further argues that subaltern studies don't have ideological strength to counter the communal violence.

There is another criticism by branding the subaltern school as idealistic. 'Guha masks his idealism by formulating a critique of official, liberal and left historiography. Guha's idealism can be seen most clearly in his attempt to criticize the analysis of the social and economic conditions which generate rebellion. By accepting the basic premises of idealism, peasant consciousness is rendered supra-historical as it is not determined by any objective historical forces. It is at a par with the Hegelian 'geist' which is not determined by history, while the development of history is march towards the self realization of this spirit. Guha's idealism consists not in emphasizing the importance of consciousness, but in placing consciousness beyond the pale of historical determination or mediation.'<sup>21</sup>

Definitely there is a breakthrough in methodology in constructing the history with much authenticity. Subaltern Studies becomes a blanket term for all subaltern communities like dalits, women, peasants, adivasis etc. in countering the hegemony of the dominance. Within the subaltern studies, if each community had its own logic and approach to history, then the project of subaltern studies is in trouble. For instance, the issue of caste is important in writing the history so as the historians/scholars from the dalit communities had altogether different approach in constructing/imagining Indian history. Immediately, it even dismisses the so called subaltern by dismissing them as elite/ or non dalits.

Dalit historiography throws a challenge to colonial, nationalist, Marxist and right wing and even to the so called historians of subaltern studies. In this context, Ambedkar's method of constructing the history from dalit perspective is path breaking, and provides insights for contemporary historians of all shades. Infact, very few historians worked out in the field of ancient history with sound ideological commitment and with a purpose of liberating the oppressed masses from dominant social and philosophical systems.

### **Ambedkar : In pursuit of Historical truth**

One may derive Ambedkar's 'historical method' in all his major writings on Indian history, culture and philosophy.<sup>22</sup> The writings on this kind of issues not only provoked the scholars, political leaders of nationalist movement and orthodox Hindus of his times but helped deconstruct the dominant construction of ideas of Indian society. He made a systematic attempt to construct the histories and genealogies of the submerged social groups of Indian society by questioning the elite and dominant established Brahminical positions. He seems confident of his position by declaring it as 'fresh insights and new visions' in looking at Indian history and philosophy. In the year 1946, Ambedkar identified five streams of thoughts among the Hindus of Indian society in his writing on 'who are Shudras'- Orthodox, Aryasamajists, respecters of law (Hindu social system is all wrong, but who holds that there is no necessity to attack it. Since law does not recognize it, it is dying, if not dead system) Political minded (Swaraj is important than social reform) and Rationalists (regard social reform as primary and even more important than Swaraj). Among these five classes of Hindus, Ambedkar would like to identify his position with rationalist Hindus who were arguing for social reform as immediate agenda rather than any other.

In the words of Ambedkar; "I claim that in my research I have been guided by the best tradition of the historian who treats all literature as vulgar- I am using the word in its original sense of belonging to the people –to be *examined* and *tested by accepted rules of evidence* without recognizing any distinction between the sacred and profane and with the *sole object of finding the truth.*"<sup>23</sup>

As has been well said, an historian ought to be exact, sincere, and impartial; free from passion, unbiased by interest, fear, resentment or affection; and faithful to the truth, which is the mother of history, the preserver of great actions, the enemy of oblivion, the witness of the past, the director of the future. In short he must have an open mind, though it may not be an

empty mind, and readiness to examine all evidence even though it be spurious. The non-brahmin scholar may find it difficult to remain true to this spirit of historian. He is likely to import the spirit of non-brahmin politics in the examination of the truth or falsity of ancient literature which is not justifiable. I feel certain that in my research I have kept myself free from such prejudice. In writing about sudras I have had present in my mind no other consideration except that of *pure history*.

Respect and reverence for the sacred literature cannot be made to order. They are results of social factors which make such sentiments natural in one case and quite unnatural in another. Respect and reverence for sacred literature of the hindus is natural to a Brahmin scholar. But it is quite unnatural in a non-Brahmin scholar.<sup>24</sup>

In the historical method of Ambedkar; man is the maker of history: Ambedkar evaluates the three different views on the causes of historical changes, Augustine, Buckle and Marx. According to Augustinian, history is only an unfolding of divine plan in which mankind is to continue through war and suffering until that divine plan is completed at the day of judgment. Ambedkar pointed out that this is not acceptable to many except theologians. For Buckle, history was made by geography and physics. As per Marx, history was the result of economic forces. Ambedkar finds the limitations of these three arguments by holding the opinion that none of these would admit that history is the biography of great men. Indeed they deny man any place in making of history. He considers there is a truth in Buckle and Marx, but their views do not represent the whole truth. They are quite wrong in holding that impersonal forces are everything and that man is no factor in the making of history. That these impersonal forces are a determining factor can not be denied, however, the effect of impersonal forces depends on man must also be admitted.<sup>25</sup>

The methods employed by Ambedkar in reconstructing the history are unique and convincing. In developing an historical method he followed Goethe, as he said 'the historian's duty is to separate the truth from false, the certain from the uncertain...' Ambedkar agrees with Goethe in bringing out the relevant and necessary facts to forefront. Ambedkar proceeds further and points out into what the duty of historian in reconstructing the authentic history in situations, where he confronts with many missing links, i.e. when no direct evidence of connected relations between important events is available. He himself faced this kind of situation in explaining the origin of sudras and untouchables as in both cases no documentary evidences were available or its antiquity. "In case of reconstructing history

where there are no texts, and if there are, they have no direct bearing on the question. In such circumstances what one has to do is to strive to divine what the texts conceal or suggest without being even quite certain of having found the truth. The task is one of gathering survivals of the past, placing them together and making them tell the story of their birth. The task is analogous to that of the archaeologist who constructs a city from broken stones or of the paleontologist who conceives an extinct animal from scattered bones and teeth or of a painter who reads the lines of the horizon and the smallest vestiges on the slopes of the hill to make up a scene.”<sup>26</sup>

Ambedkar appears very much aware of the role of *historian's social affinity* in dealing the material in relation to the problems of social history. In an introduction to ‘who are the Shudras’, he made this point more clear. He finds the difference between the non-Brahmin scholar and Brahmin scholar in treating the same source material of sacred literature of Hindus. The Brahmin scholar's attitude is identified as uncritical commendation, and where as the Non-Brahmins attitude in dealing this is unsparing condemnation. Ambedkar finds both the attitudes are harmful to historical research.

It is often argued by many Brahmins that sacred literature has to be treated with reverence and respect. Ambedkar staunchly believes that in pursuit of historical truth, there is nothing wrong in exposure of these very sacred texts which are responsible for the decline and fall of nation and society. It is the duty of a scholar to treat the literature without having any distinction of sacred or profane in pursuing truth. It is quite natural for Brahmin scholar to treat it as sacred with lot of respect and reverence. More over its object is to sustain the superiority and privileges of Brahmins as against the non-brahmins. Since he finds the comfort and privilege, it is not possible for the Brahmin scholar to be critical about sacred literature. In fact, it is his whole production and finds livelihood on it. ‘Knowing that what is called the sacred literature contains an abominable social philosophy which is responsible for their social degradation, the non-brahmin reacts to it in a manner quite opposite to that of the brahmin..... I am a non-brahmin, not even a non-brahmin, but an untouchable.’<sup>27</sup>

Ambedkar had more focus on philosophy of religion in understanding the socio-historical phenomenon and the moral basis of Indian society, than exclusively depending on either religion or philosophy. He developed it as a method. It seems in evolving this method, he got influenced by John Dewey. Dewey is one of those pragmatic philosophers who wrote extensively on philosophy of religion from this perspective. In the west, religion is identified

with faith, and philosophy is with reason/science/rationality, in the age of enlightenment. It is also understood as tradition and modernity dichotomy. Religion and science started considering adverse to each other. In this backdrop pragmatism of Dewey got importance by considering religion on practical utility.

Religion is an institution or an influence and like all social influences and institutions, it may help or harm a society which is in its grip. Religion not only crossed everywhere the wrap of Indian history it forms the wrap and woof of Hindu mind. The life of the Hindu is regulated by religion at every moment of his life. Besides religion acts as a social force, and it stands for a scheme of divine governance. The scheme becomes an ideal for society to follow. 'The power of religious ideal depends upon its power to confer material benefit'. Ambedkar favours for religion that stand for reason rather negating religion. He felt that Hindu religion need to undergo a reform. Caste is a natural outcome of certain religious beliefs which have the sanction of shastras. To abolish the sanctity and sacredness of caste, one has to destroy the authority of the shastras and Vedas. One has to destroy the religion of sruti and smriti. Ambedkar not only proposed the religion that should stand for reason, but also tries to link it up with the governing principle of politics. In simple terms, he thought *reason* and *critical analysis* as a method used for the study of religion.

### **Caste as key principle in understanding Indian history**

Ambedkar identified caste as an important institution, in understanding the Indian society. In evolving his political theory, one could not ignore the role of caste system in India. No political theory is possible without some understanding of the caste. Ambedkar is the first thinker who systematized the conception of caste in analytical way. Earlier discussions on caste are ethnographic and descriptive in nature. His approach is more political rather ethnographical. He made an attempt to understand the origin and functioning of caste in order to understand the lives of the victims of the caste system. He understood that whole Indian social system was founded on the caste and the beliefs, customs, knowledge all are centred around caste system. All the human activities are determined by the caste. Caste has social, political and economical implications. In simple caste is the primary institution of Indian society and other institutions like family, state, nation, school are directly or indirectly related/ influenced by it.



Most of his writing occupied the discussions on caste.<sup>28</sup> It is generally understood that Indo-Aryan society of ancient India was based upon varna system, where the society was divided into Brahmins, kshatriyas, vaishyas and sudras based on the principle of labour and heredity. Some of the scholars would like to argue that chaturvarna system based on economic theory of division of labour and that the varna system is scientific. In later days where the people deprived of this varna system contesting it is argued that the individuals are defined as their innate qualities (guna) but not by birth. However, Ambedkar refutes the chaturvarna system and argued that it is not only divided the society but also divided the labourers. Further, this chaturvarna is opposed to natural law and spirit of human development.

Ambedkar argued that initially there were only three varnas in Indo Aryan society. The shudras were not a separate varna but were part of kshatriya varna. There was a constant feud between sudra kings and Brahmins. Brahmins were insulted and tortured by these kshatriya kings. Ambedkar believes that Brahmins began to take revenge upon kshatriyas through 'divinity' and 'infinity' ideas which later on came to be attached to religious laws continued in course of time as sacred laws. Brahmins hatred towards sudras culminated into a situation where Brahmins refused to invest the sudras with sacred thread. The sacred thread in ancient India presupposed a higher social and economic status. Owing to the loss of sacred thread, the sudras were socially degraded and demoted to the rank of the fourth varna. Ambedkar illustrates this point through the examples from Hindu mythology.

### **Reinterpretation of Marxism in Indian context**

Ambedkar made an attempt to interpret Indian society by using Marxian methodology for his own convenience. Contrary to the opinion that ancient India doesn't have any history, Ambedkar tried to dig out its history with the help of Buddhist literature. The rise of Buddhism considered by him as a revolutionary against Aryan Brahminism in the history of India. More than religious revolution, it is social and political. The Brahmins were the custodians of religion by monopolizing the priestly profession and guided the people in all its moral and spiritual matters. They set the standards to be followed by all others. The Aryan community at the time of Budha was steeped in the worst kind of debauchery: social, religious and spiritual. The Aryan religion never concerned itself with what is called a righteous life. In the Aryan society the shudra or low caste man could never become Brahmin. But Budha not only preached against caste but admitted them at the rank of bhikku.

The phenomena of the decline of Buddhism, followed by the triumph of Brahminism - was considered by him as counter revolution and attempted to situate the sudras, women in relation to this counter revolution. In understanding this phenomenon, Ambedkar made an attempt to understand the Brahminic literature and mythology from historical point of view. He finds the riddles of Hinduism in its sacred literature. He questioned the very authority of vedic literature and its privilege of *apaurusheya*.

‘Present day hindus are probably the strongest opponents of Marxism. They are horrified at its doctrine of class- struggle. But they forget that India has been not merely the land of class struggle but she has been the land of class wars’. (V.3 p.48) The bitterest class war took place between Brahmins and kshatriyas. The classical literature of hindus abounds in reference to class wars between these two varnas.<sup>29</sup>

Conceptual structures will grow only when they are used in everyday life and in the context of thought and when contemporary thinkers in India begin to articulate their experiences about man, society, and polity in terms of classical thought, a new direction will be given to concepts. In a sense, Indian thinkers from the time of Ramamohan Roy have been trying to do this, but the focus has mostly been on matters primarily non intellectual and non conceptual in nature. Indian philosophy like Indian culture approached with either too much enthusiasm or total negation of it. To assess Indian Polity properly, one has to keep aside both positive and negative emotions. There are certain myths about IP and claimed as facts. The claim of spirituality was never put to the test. In fact it seems so self evident as to require any argument or evidence on its behalf. No body feels it to question the worthiness of this claim.

Amedkar’s contributions are not only significant in writing Indian history but in evolving a method which is more relevant even for contemporary historians of different schools. On the one hand, he tried to prove that historian’s social affiliation plays a role in interpreting the past. This he illustrates by citing the brahminical scholarship. On the other, he argues for objectivity in case of non-brahminical scholars rather carried by the romanticism of non-brahmin struggles. He identifies the historical change with socio-economical, political and cultural struggles of the people. He observed that this historical phenomenon reflected as a whole in evolution of religion. He considers the religion on moral basis that stand for the reason. For Ambedkar, religion had become important category in constructing/interpreting Indian history. Further he proceeds by understanding religion in historical dialectical way. He borrowed the tools of Marxism in understanding Indian history

in this fashion. Buddhism had been considered as revolutionary strand against Brahminism and against the triumph of Brahminism. Moreover, he made a systematic attempt to bring in view the history of victims of Indian society, where one finds no trace of any historical evidence in official records or narratives of dominant brahminical class.

## **Dalit Historiography**

There is a significant scholarship coming up from Dalits in writing their own history. Their intervention is crucial in many ways. The history writing came along with the dalit struggles. In search of their identity, they dig the past in all possible ways. In writing of dalit history or interrogating dominant history from Dalit point of view, Dalit scholars/ activists/ writers may not be systematic, argumentative but are striking in their attack and provide an alternative forcefully. One may find many missing links in the construction of the dalit history or questioning the dominance from Dalit point of view. They are in vernacular languages. These writings are often reproduction of oral narratives. Some of them are in the form of autobiographies.

In this connection this paper presents historical claims of dalits of Telugu society as a case study. The word 'Dalit' in telugu society become familiar with Dalit Mahasabha, which came into existence with Karamchedu massacre of 1985. Dalit movement had taken roots at popular level and oppressed Dalit masses started questioning the dominance and hegemony of the upper caste people. The newly emerged dalit middle class, however small, played a role in production of knowledge systems in the fields of literature, culture, politics, philosophy and history. Dalit movement provided the spectacle through which they could uphold the culture, history and politics of the lower caste. Dalit intelligentsia is making serious attempt to construct their cultured past and history as against the upper caste Brahminical hegemony. The literature coming in the name of Dalit, shattered the existing canons of Telugu society. As a Telugu Dalit writer G. Kalyana Rao (2000) felt, 'We have to dig a lot and simultaneously bury a lot.' The Dalit intelligentsia is active in this mission to strengthen the on going Dalit struggles. Of course, within Dalit movement, there exists a variety of political positions. However, caste becomes a reference point in understanding history, philosophy, culture and politics, with active Dalit struggles.

From the trained historians, though negligible, there exists significant number of historical writings. Kancha Ilaih's *Why I'm Not a Hindu* (*Nenu Hindunetlaitha* in telugu) is a prominent intervention from Dalit-Bahujan perspective against Brahmanism. It is a critique on hindutva, culture, politics and economics from a sudra perspective. He reflected on these issues from his social experience. He argues that dalit-bahujans have different food habits, culture, customs, and religious practices, which are unique, democratic and different from brahminical Hinduism. Dalit bahujans culture emerged from their involvement in labour. They are productive classes and so their culture is real, natural and authentic.<sup>30</sup> In his article, *The Dalitbahujan Understanding of Telugu cultural and Literary History*, he argues that construction of history taking place from two opposite and conflicting views: the brahminical and dalit bahujan. He questions us to whether the brahminical writings (based on Sanskrit language, Sanskrit texts, and Sanskrit lipi, etc.) should really be called history at all? 'For brahminical people, history is a march of god on earth; where as for dalit bahujans, history is the march of people (that is, the dalit bahujan majority) on the earth.' Further, the dalit bahujans history mostly lies in folklore/oral tradition. The language of this folklore is far richer, humanitarian and democratic-perhaps that is the reason why it has been relegated to the margins by the brahminical historians.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, productive castes had their own Telugu language, but it never figured in the brahminical writings. Though it is in autobiographical form, the arguments directly go against the dominant forms of knowledge systems. A. Sayanarayana, Professor in History made an attempt to write history from dalit bahujan perspective in his book *Dalits and Upper Caste, Essays in Social History*. He tried to construct dalit history by using the alternative literary discourses of dalits which are marginalized in the mainstream literary discourses.<sup>32</sup> Y. Chinna Rao's doctoral dissertation *Dalit Movement in Andhra, 1900-1950* captures the dalit struggles of colonial times. This tried to establish that alternative struggles of dalits in colonial times rarely found mention in both colonialism and nationalism. To focus on the specific nature of resistance and struggles of dalits against the dominance, he uses the framework of James Scott's 'Weapons of the Weak.' The major argument is that contemporary dalit struggles are in continuation of these struggles. In other words, charging the mainstream historians for not documenting the dalit struggles. 'Dalit movements have not become a part of Indian historiography yet, even though their study is of immense importance in view of their inherent radical democratic identity and their interrelation with contemporary movements. The available studies on dalit movement in India suffer from lack of historical and written documentation, leaving scope for ambiguity.'<sup>33</sup> Moreover, there are attempts from the conscious Dalit activists also. From

late nineties, there are considerable numbers of books on history. Katti Padma Rao, Sanskrit teacher and activist in rationalist movement turned to a leader of Dalit Mahasabha. In the process of his active involvement in dalit struggles reflected on many issues in relation to the liberation of dalit community. His *Dalitula Charita*<sup>34</sup> constructs the history of the dalits based on the sources of Sanskrit texts. His *Caste and Alternative Culture* makes an attempt to construct history and struggles of the untouchable and sudra castes against Aryan –Brahmin-Hindu culture. He explores this theme from ancient times to contemporary times. He is even critical of the communist movement of contemporary times led by the upper castes like Reddy and Kamma communities and their silence on the issue of annihilation of caste. He explains the philosophical background of dalit movement. The matriarchal culture, Carvakas materialism, Budhist sangha philosophy and humanism are the foundation of dalit movement. He argues that in the Indian sub- continent, the makers of history are the dalit people. Ancient Indian culture was matriarchal in character, founded on the principle of equality. The Aryans after arriving in India established Hindu kingdom and tried the culture of the ancient indigenous Indians. They introduced casteism, patriarchal culture and politico-economic dictatorship. Suppressing all the indigenous castes, they propagated their own Hindu culture in Indian society, and forcefully implemented Hindu way of life<sup>35</sup>. Dr. Vijaya Bharathi<sup>36</sup> came out with three books on *Puranalu-Kulavyavastha*.<sup>37</sup> She has critically evaluates the puranas and their role in protection of caste system. Though the puranas are not considered as history, but are intend to cultivate ideal society to control the different social groups. On analyzing the story of Satya Harischandra, though this story seems to uphold the truth, but its purpose is essentially to consolidate the varna system and controlling the women in the name of pativratyam. She made her analysis based on Markandeya puranam, skandha puranam and Harischandropakyanam.<sup>38</sup> ‘If we observe the stories and the constructed ideology around the avataramurthi’s of different yugas, the whole effort is to implement and introduce the sanctions of the varna systems in the lives of ordinary people. Dharmasamsthapanam means varna dharma samsthapanam.<sup>39</sup> The stories of the *shatchakravarties* (Pururudu, Purukutsudu, Harischandrudu, Sagarudu, Naludu, Karyaveeryarjunudu) are made popular because they stand as the symbols in protection of varnadharma.<sup>40</sup> In a similar fashion the mythological god *Rama* represents the dominant brahminical system.<sup>41</sup> Bonigala Rama Rao<sup>42</sup> made an attempt to trace out history of untouchables. In his *Antarani Jathula Charitra*, he tried to establish that untouchable communities are not only the sons of the soil but also earlier ruling communities. Though weakened economically, they are protecting their culture and social ideology. He proposes an arugment that the names of the untouchable communities are

nothing but the relics of the vanished kingdoms. To construct the history of untouchable communities he relied mostly on historical texts, books of linguistics and inscription rather puranas and epics.<sup>43</sup> He further wrote *Mala Kannamaneedu* and *Adiguruvu Acharya Chandala*. The writings of Kathi padma rao and Bonigala Ramarao have influenced the later writings on the history of dalits – this includes Dr.K.Lakshmi Narayana<sup>44</sup> who tried to explore history of dalits in the *Aadibharattheyula Charitra* (from 2500 BC to 2500 AD)<sup>45</sup> and Pilli Rambabu's *Adi Baratheeyulu*.<sup>46</sup>

Apart from these, Dalit literature as a creative intervention of dalit intelligentsia played a significant role in constructing dalit history.<sup>47</sup> The historical consciousness is very much internalized in the structure of their literary narratives. The importance of dalit writings lies in authentic representation of the community by questioning the existing brahminical and progressive writings. The protest against the caste and class dominance is central to the dalit writings. Mostly, Dalit literary writings are autobiographical reflections of the community. Dalit writings are conscious effort of bridging the oral and written cultures.<sup>48</sup> Dalit writings often invoke social memory as the source of their knowledge system. This also helps in maintaining the historical continuity. Dalit literature enriched with content and description of dalit struggles for human dignity. There has been constant effort from dalit writers in translating the condemned life styles and practices of marginalized people into symbols of protest and pride. In the process of writing their own history, they thoroughly interrogated the existing histories of dominant caste/class groups in their literary writings. As Dalit writer, Sivasagar marking the assertion of dalits in writing their own history against the brahminical history centred around advaita of Sankara. With a smile on his face/Shambhuka is slaying rama/ with his axe/Ekalavya is cutting drona's thumb away/with his small feet/ Bali is sending Vamana down to pathala/ With needles in his eyes/ and lead in his ears/Manu, having cut his tongue is seen rolling on the graveyard/standing on the merciless sword of time/and roaring with rage/The chandala is seen hissing four hounds on Sankaracharya/ Oh..!/ The history that is occurring today/Is the most Chandala history<sup>49</sup>

## Conclusion

The historical writings and method employed by Ambedkar had serious implication for writings of colonial, nationalist, Marxist and even subaltern historiographies on Indian history. As against the colonial writings, he showed that Indians had a tradition of rich democratic struggles throughout its history and overcomes the dichotomy of tradition and

modernity created by the colonial scholarship. He countered the nationalist historiographies. In order to counter colonial rule, the nationalist projects Indian spiritual tradition of their glorious past. Ultimately, the elite Brahminical ideology valorized through the writings of nationalists in the name of nation. Ambedkar was critical against this kind of brahminical scholarship by showing the other worldview of oppressed groups. He totally dismisses the glorious past of vedic and upanishadic times. He is critical about the brahminical past and at the same time he valorizes the democratic past of the oppressed sections of India. Altogether he gave different meaning for nationalism of oppressed. Although Ambedkar was lenient towards Marxism, he is against mere economic reductionistic approach of it. He forcefully argues that other factors like culture and religion too influencing the world view of people. This may come as a parallel to Frankfurt school of late sixties and cultural studies of contemporary times. He argues Marxism had to creatively interpret by considering specificity of Indian context rather than mechanically interpreting it. He throws a challenge to Marxists on understanding the issue of caste. The subaltern studies are much concentrated on modern Indian history. It masks the socio-economic realities in the name of consciousness. In the context of communalization of history with the rise of hindutva forces, theoretically it does not have strength to counter it. As subaltern studies argue in favour of indigenous culture, this may be appropriated by right wing politics. But Ambedkar's method had potential to counter religious nationalism of hindutva kind and in place of it proposes democratic nationalism of the oppressed. Ambedkar's idea of history came out of the struggles of the oppressed communities and had the imagination of better future by owning the reasoned/democratic past.

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<sup>1</sup> In pursuit of historical truth by exposure of the sacred books so that Hindus may know that it is the doctrines contained in their sacred books which are responsible for the decline and fall of their country and their society. If Hindus of this generation do not take notice of what I have to say I am sure that future generation will. (p.15)

<sup>2</sup> Hegel. 'Philosophical History', In Patrick Gardener (Ed.) Theories of History, New York: The Free press, 1959. Pp. 61-73.

<sup>3</sup> Marx, Karl. 'The Materialist Conception of History', In Patrick Gardener (Ed.) Theories of History, New York: The Free press, 1959. Pp. 126-132.

<sup>4</sup> Hempel, Carl G. 'The Function of General Laws in History' In Patrick Gardener (Ed.) Theories of History, New York: The Free press, 1959. Pp.344-355

<sup>5</sup> Dray, William. 'Explaining What' in History', In Patrick Gardener (Ed.) Theories of History, New York: The Free press, 1959. Pp.403-408

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- <sup>6</sup> Collingwood, R.G. 'History as Re-enactment of Past Experience' In Patrick Gardener (Ed.) Theories of History, New York: The Free press, 1959. Pp.249-251
- <sup>7</sup> Becker, Carl. Quoted in E.H.Carr, What is History New York: Penguin Books, 1964 , P.21
- <sup>8</sup> Carr, E H. What is History New York: Penguin Books, 1964 , P.30
- <sup>9</sup> Thompson, Paul. The Voice of the Past, Oral History, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, P.1
- <sup>10</sup> Bhattacharya, Neeladri, The Problem , Seminar – Special Issue on Rethinking History, 522, Feb. 2003, web resource: [http://www.india\\_seminar.com/2003/522/522 the problem.html](http://www.india_seminar.com/2003/522/522%20the%20problem.html)
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>12</sup> Dirks. Nicholas B. Castes of Mind, Colonialism and the making of modern India, Delhi: Permanent Black,2004 pp.306
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid. p.9
- <sup>14</sup> Chakravathy, Dipesh. Post Coloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts? In Padmini Mongia (ed.)Contemporary Post colonial theory A Reader, Oxford University publications: New Delhi, 2000 P. 227
- <sup>15</sup> See Aloysious, G. Nationalism Without a Nation in India, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000. He elaborated his philosophical position in his writings such as Dalit-Subaltern Emergency in Religio-Cultural Subjectivity, Iyothee Thassar and Emancipatory Buddhism (New Delhi: Critical Quest,2004) and Religion as Emancipatory Identity, A Buddhist Movement among the Tamil under Colonialism (New Delhi: New Age International Publishers,2000)
- <sup>16</sup> From the nationalist standpoint, the agenda of subaltern historiography seemed to run entirely against the narrative of historical emergence of a unified nation-state. From the progressive left stand point, the subaltern approach appears to implicitly reject the role of an advanced bourgeois intellectual vanguard and of revolutionary part.
- <sup>17</sup> Guha, Ranjit on Historiography of Indian nationalism' in Guha (Ed.) Subaltern Studies Vol.1 Dehi: Oxford University press, 1982.
- <sup>18</sup> Chatterjee, Partha. The brief history of Subaltern Studies (unpublished)
- <sup>19</sup> Sarkar, Sumit. The Decline of the Subaltern in Subaltern Studies in David Ludden (Ed.) Reading Subaltern Studies, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003 Pp.405
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid.Pp.420-421
- <sup>21</sup> Sangeetha singh, Minakshi menon, Pradeep Kumar Dutta, Biswamoy Pati, Radhakantha Barik, Radhika Chopra, Partha Dutta and Sanjay Prasad Subaltern Studies II A review article. Pp. 58-107 In David Ludden (Ed.) Reading Subaltern Studies.
- <sup>22</sup> Especially '*Who are the Shudras? How they came to be the fourth varna in the Indo-Aryan society, The Untouchables- Who were they and why they became untouchables?*'(vol.7), '*Caste in India, Annihilation of caste, Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah, Mr. Russel and Reconstruction of Society*' (Vol.1) '*Philosophy of Hinduism, Revolution and Counter Revolution, Buddha or Karl Marx*'(Vol.3), '*Riddles in Hinduism*'(vol.4) '*Essays on Untouchables and Untouchability*' (vol.5).
- <sup>23</sup> Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches Vol.7 Who were the Shudras? The Untouchables Bombay: Department of education, Government of Maharastra,1990. Pp. 16
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid. p.16
- <sup>25</sup> Ambedkar "Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah" Dr.BabasahebAmbedkar Writings and Speeches Vol. 1 Mumbai: Government of Maharastra, 1989 p.212.
- <sup>26</sup> Roudrigues, Valerian. The essential writings of Ambedkar, Delhi : Oxford University publications p.116.
- <sup>27</sup> Ambedkar Dr.BabasahebAmbedkar Writings and Speeches Vol. 7. Mumbai: Government of Maharastra, 1990. p.16.



- <sup>28</sup> Some of the important works of Ambedkar in this regard are- *Castes in India- their origin, genesis and mechanism, Annihilation of caste, Who were the Shudras and how they came to be the fourth varna in Indo Aryan society? The untouchables: Who were they and how they became untouchables?*
- <sup>29</sup> Brahmins and kshtriya king Vena, Puravaras(Adiparva of Mahabharata),Nahusha (Udyogaparva of Mahabharata), Nimi (Vishnu purana relates the story), Samukha (Manu mentioned, but no details available).From this it must not be supposed that the Brahmins and kshtriyas as two classes did not clash.Viswamithra and Vasishta, slaughter of Brahmins by kshtriyas (adiparva-Kritvirya-Brighus), parasuram.It must not be supposed that this class war in India is a matter of ancient history. It has been present all along. its existence is very much noticeable in Maharashtra during the Maratha rule. It destroyed Maratha empire.. in India the class war is a permanent phenomenon which is silently but surely working its way. It is a grain in the life and it has become genius of hindus.
- <sup>30</sup> Ilaiah, Kanche, Nenu Hindunetlaiatha (Hindutattvam, samskriti, rajakeeya, ardha sastrampai sudra vimarsa) Hyderabad: Hyderabad Book Trust, 2001.
- <sup>31</sup> Ilaiah, Kancha. 'The Dalit Bahujan Understanding of Telugu Cultural and Literary History' In Satish Poduval (Ed.) *Refiguring Culture, History, Theory, and the Aesthetician Contemporary India* , New Delhi: Sahitya Academy,2005 pp.68-77
- <sup>32</sup> Satyanarayana, A. Dalits and Upper Castes, Essays in Social History, New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers,2005
- <sup>33</sup> Chinna Rao, Yagati. The Rise and Growth of Dalit Movement in Andhra, 1906-1946, Indian Social Science Review, 5,1 (2003), New Delhi: Sage Publications P.117.
- <sup>34</sup> Katti Padma Rao is a popular leader of movement of Andhra Pradesh and led various struggle and one of founders of Dalit Mahasabha.
- <sup>35</sup> Padma Rao, Katti (Translated by D.Anjeneyulu) Caste and Alternative Culture, Chennai: The Gurukul Luthern Theological College & Research Institute, 1998 (First edition 1995)
- <sup>36</sup> Dr.Vijaya Bharathi is from the family of conscious Dalit scholars and leaders. She is the daughter of Bhoyi Bheemanna, first generation Dalit writer and wife of Bojja Tarakam, founder member of Dalit Mahasabha and active Dalit leader. She was the first Dalit doctorate of Osmania University and the Director of Telugu Academy.
- <sup>37</sup> Dr.Vijaya Bharathi. Puranalu-Kulavyavastha I Satya Harichandrudu, Puranalu-Kulavyavastha II ShatChakravarthulu, Puranalu-Kulavyavastha III Dasavataralu , Hyderabad: Hyderabad Book Trust, 2003.
- <sup>38</sup> Dr.Vijaya Bharathi. Puranalu-Kula vyavastha, Hyderabad: Hyderabad Book Trust, 2003
- <sup>39</sup> Dr.Vijaya Bharathi. Puranalu-Kula vyavastha II, Dasavatharalu, Hyderabad: Hyderabad Book Trust, 2003
- <sup>40</sup> Dr.Vijaya Bharathi. Puranalu-Kula vyavastha III, ShatChakravarthulu Hyderabad: Hyderabad Book Trust, 2003
- <sup>41</sup> Dr.Vijaya Bharathi. Puranalu-Kula vyavastha IV, Ramudu . Hyderabad: Hyderabad Book Trust, 2003
- <sup>42</sup> Bonigala Rama Rao is a Customs Officer by profession and he had written good number of books in the line of constructing history of dalits from popular mythology and historical legends of oppressed communities.
- <sup>43</sup> Ramarao,Bonigala. Antarani Jathula Charitra, Samarlakota: Ramsha Sireesha Publications,2002
- <sup>44</sup> Dr.Laxmi Narayana is a Faculty in telugu department of Sri Krishna Devaraya University, Ananthapur. He published a series of books on Dalit Stories and Poetry. Most of his are funded by Christian missionaries of his region.
- <sup>45</sup> Lakshminarayana, K. AdiBharateeyula Charitra, Kurnool: Kurnool Diocese Social Service Society, 2006
- <sup>46</sup> Rambabu, Pilli. Adibharateeyulu, Ramachandrapuram: ChandraGraphics Offset printers, 2005
- <sup>47</sup> See Laxmi Narasaiah, G. and Tripuraneni Sreenivas (Eds.) *Chikkanavutunna Pata (Thickening Song)*, Vijayawada: Kavittam, 1995. Kesava Kumar and K.Satyanarayana (Eds.) *Dalit Manifesto*, Hyderabad: Vishpotana, 1995. Laxminarasaih, G. (Ed.) *Padunekkina Pata(Sharpened Song)*, Vijayawada: Dalita Sana, 1996, Kalyana Rao, G. *Antarani Vasantham(Untouchable Spring)*, Hyderabad: Virasam, 2000.
- <sup>48</sup> See Kalyana Rao, G. *Antarani Vasantham (Untouchable Spring)*, Hyderabad: Virasam, 2000.

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<sup>49</sup> Sivasagar. Nadustunna Charitra (Tr. Laxminasaiah) G.Laxminarasaiah, The Essence of Dalit poetry ; A socio- philosophic study of telugu Dalit poetry, Hyderabad: Dalitsana publications, p.34.

## **MEMOIR AND MARGINALITY: REPRESENTING SUBALTERNITY OF THE DALITS IN COLONIAL ANDHRA**

**K Venugopal Reddy**

### *Abstract*

*Memoir reconnects the past with the present or present with the past. It demonstrates how an individual's memory can intersect with the historical phenomenon. The paper therefore critically explores and interrogates the representation of the subalternity of dalits in colonial Andhra as presented in a memoir i.e., Poor Life by Yelamanchili Venkatappayya. The memoir was written in 1985 in Telugu language. The focal purpose of the memoir, as stated transiently in the preface of the text, is essentially to articulate on socio, economic, moral, political and religious conditions in colonial Andhra and also to provide the contrast that is markedly evident between the contemporary Andhra scenario and that of the colonial Andhra. The Memoir is thus the narrative of the life lived and experienced by narrator during heyday of the British colonial rule.*

### **Introduction**

There is an exciting discourse on the relationship between History and Memory. Some scholars contend that Memory is an alternative to History as it constructs social reality employing subjective imagination as its source.<sup>1</sup> They argue further that the emergence of memory promises to rework history's boundaries.<sup>2</sup> Others strongly oppose this view and maintain that Memory is not a substitute to History as it lacks the objective and scientific interpretation of social events based on hard evidences. It is therefore questioned whether the history written with memory as a critical source is genuine or a truly representative of the past. Does it essentially "...re-enchanted our relation with the world and pour presence back into the past." Thus while some scholars argue that all History is a narrative<sup>3</sup>, the others tend to see it as basically a faulty argument and a misrepresentation of History emanating from those who are obsessed with the use of oral or subjective sources.<sup>4</sup> There are seemingly mutually conflicting ideas on the relationship between *Memory* and *History*. The 1980s witnessed an upsurge of interest in the uses of memory and its status as an alternative source of history.<sup>5</sup>

I argue that History and Memory are not really opposites. Conversely, what needs to be interrogated is space that lies in between both the arguments. I consider that the imagination and the use of creativeness is as essential to the historian who constructs history and interprets

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the social events based on hard sources as to the fiction writer or memoirist, who articulates on any social phenomenon or personal experiences or the myriad aspects of the past or the present essentially through an act of recollecting or remembering those events or things shaping or transforming the society. Therefore to dismiss the narratives, oral or written, as of meaningless descriptions to the project of comprehending the past or the history is too hasty. Similarly, to posit that all history is only a narrative explanation of social phenomenon or events of the past is to negate and deny the significance that history possess as scientific endeavor to comprehend the past. I therefore locate the significance of memoir as a creative and critical text on the multiple contexts in the past or present.

Memoir as an exercise of memory also reconnects the past with the present or present with the past and it demonstrates how an individual's memory could interconnect with the historical events.<sup>6</sup> Because memoir as also an outcome of "memory begins when something in the present stimulates as association."<sup>7</sup> And every retrieval of memory is a reassembly of memory and our memories and our histories are inevitably shaped by present needs.<sup>8</sup>

The paper, therefore, endeavors to critically explore and interrogate the social milieu of colonial Andhra as represented in a memoir of Yelamanchili Venkatappayya. Writing in 1985 in Telugu lingo, the narrator briefly states in the preface to the text *Poor Life* that the principal purpose of the narration in articulating on multiple aspects of colonial Andhra is essentially to provide the contrast that is strikingly evident between the contemporary Andhra scenario and that of the colonial Andhra. The *Poor Life* is thus the saga of what, according to the narrator, existed and happened from the perspective of a participant as well as a spectator, who shaped as well as witnessed the unfolding of the diverse facets of life in different realms of colonial Andhra. Through his allusions to the irrationality of practices, which were extant in the society of colonial Andhra, he goes on representing the colonial Andhra in its varied and multi dimensional manifestation. This gifts the memoir a unique voice as past traditions, practices and events are both described and interpreted.

### **Biography of Yelamanchili Venkatappayya (1898-1997)**

Yelamanchili Venkatappayya was born in the year 1898. His parents were Aademma and Ankappa. His village was Kanumuru, in Pamaru "firka", Gudiwada taluq, Krishna district, where there were many "Kammas" followed by Brahmans. He married Basavamma in some time in 1924. He had a son and a daughter, who were born in 1934 and 1938 respectively. He married Basavamma, the third daughter of Bobba Basavayya from Maineni

vari palem in Repalle taluq of Guntur district some time in 1924. His wife died in 1976 and he expired in 1997.

When Venkatappayya was a child, his father shifted the family to Paidi Kondapalem in Gudivada Taluq in 1912 from Kanumuru. Afterwards, he stayed for some time at his aunt's house in Kotta Kumuddali village, which was near to the village Kanumuru and learnt English from Gatti Subba Rao Pantulu in 1914. He studied English for two years and joined 8<sup>th</sup> std in S.K.P.P High school in Vijayawada some time in 1916, where he was helped financially by the generosity of Pinnamaneni Peda Subbayya from Kurumaddali village. After some months, he spent some of his student life in Kamma Students Hostel. He failed in S.S.L.C. exams and had again prepared for it in 1919. He was influenced by Gandhi's speech, when he visited Vijayawada in connection with the propaganda of the Rowlatt Agitation. His interest in Hindi took him to Nellore, where for six months in 1922, he had learnt the Hindi language in Hindi Pracharak Shikshana Kendra. In 1924, he traveled to Kasi and then to Allahabad, where he had learnt Hindi for another six months in Hindi Vidya Petam established by Sri Purushotam Das Tandon. Then he visited Sabarmati Satyagraha Ashram established by Mahatma Gandhi in Ahmadabad. He attempted to teach Hindi in some of the villages in Krishna district and also Guntur district. After his marriage, he stayed there in the village Maineni vari palem till 1927 and later on moved to Iyitanagar in Tenali in 1929, where he happened to meet Gandhi who was on a campaign of Temple entry program of the Harijans. He also translated his speech from Hindi to Telugu.

After India's independence, he concentrated imparting Hindi in Iyitanagar in Tenali starting a school exclusively for the girls. The school was closed in 1967. He wrote several books on different themes such as "What is Caste?", "Gods meant for whom?", "Is not idol worship contrary to Vedas?", "What for Swaraj?"

### **Subalternity of Dalits and Dehegemonising Discourse on Brahminical Culture**

The memoir addresses the issue of subalternity of the historically marginalized Untouchable community. It focuses on the multiple forms of its mortification in colonial Andhra and demonstrates the critical role of Brahminical culture in the process. It further delineates the location of their houses, the denial of accessibility to the basic facilities of living, the language that is used to address them, the disarming hold of dogmas, the fetter influence of the concept of purity and pollution.

The conditions of this hapless community are described thus: 'The houses of the untouchables were located on the peripheries of the villages. They had to depend on the mercy of caste Hindus to get some drinking water, as they were ritually prohibited from going near to the wells. Their water pots were placed far way from the well and they were filled only by the merciful upper caste Hindus. The untouchables were afraid to walk even on the streets of non-Brahmin castes and were not allowed to enter the villages with their footwear. They were not permitted to use brass utensils and wear coif (*Tala paga*). Even the language that was used by the Brahmins to refer to the Untouchables was condensing, which only reinforced their social subordination. The Brahmins were addressed in more respectable terms. Several restrictions were observed in their movement and manner' (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 60 & 61). The narrator mentions that in his village even the non-Brahmin castes like Kammass observed the rules of purity and pollution even though they employed them as domestic servants (*Paaleru*). Thus, the *Malas* or the *Madigas* as untouchables had to experience the most inhuman treatment in their everyday subsistence (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, p. 51 to 53).<sup>9</sup>

The mere touch of the Untouchables was polluting to the Brahmins and the caste Hindus. However many items of daily use made or prepared by the Untouchables were used by them without cleaning them in the water. While they were not regarded polluted, the narrator reasons, the mere physical touch of the Untouchables was polluting to the Brahmins. This position was often justified by the Brahmins by referring to the statements of God in the *Shastras*. The memoir thus provides several interesting anecdotes or sketches of prevailing beliefs reinforcing the Brahminical superiority and assortment of discriminations and disabilities placed on the Untouchables (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 54 & 57)<sup>10</sup> The narrator advances a very forceful argument, which seeks to demystify the Brahminical culture and thereby asserting the equality of Untouchables with the position of Brahmins. Through his serious ideological persuasion, he endeavors to dehegemonize the ideology and culture perpetuated by the Brahmins in the society of colonial Andhra. He further raises the paradox in the approach of the Brahmins that those Brahmins who follow the practice of Untouchability idolize the beef eating Europeans. In their view, it might seem a correct practice because of the richness and material advancement of Europeans. He concludes his acerbic ideological attack with a meaningful and relevant suggestion that if the backward Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in our country are too provided the economic, social,

educational and medical facilities and develop them rich, the Brahmins and the caste Hindus would certainly love and respect them (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 59-60.)

The English medium schools were rare and they could be located only in one or two towns namely Machilipatnam (*Bandaru*) or Vijayawada. They were very few among the non-Brahmins who could study even the Telugu language. Therefore the desire to learn the English was limited. Above all the Brahmins used to inform that the English language was “*Mala* language” and “*Madiga* language” and therefore it should not be learnt. Moreover, the Englishmen and women propagated the Christianity visiting the ‘*Madiga*’ colonies. Therefore, the non-Brahmins considering the English language “*Mala* language” hated it and kept themselves away from it. The *raison d'être* for it was that the non-Brahmins blindly followed the words of Brahmins. Whatever the Brahmins pronounce, some non-Brahmins followed without any deviation (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, p. 39). This perhaps implies that there was consistent attempt on the part of Brahminical culture to preserve its domination and monopoly of the education, particularly the English education.

The narrator exceptionally articulates on the Brahminical domination over the non-Brahmins and how they used to scare them with irrational aphorisms or dictum. The non-Brahmins were terribly frightened of them. Any small boy of Brahmin family commanded so much of respect that even the well mannered old non-Brahmin could not get. Then the narrator goes on communicating the different manners in which the non-Brahmins were ill-treated and Brahmins commanded respect in the society of colonial Andhra. The condition of social discrimination and pre-eminence was evident in the use of language where the non-Brahmins were addressed in condensing tone. But strangely, the vegetables from the non-Brahmin family were sought and accepted (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 39-40).

Venkatappayya narrates an event of utter social arrogance and discrimination, where the Brahmins were given priority in the distribution of betel leaf against all other people present at the occasion of marriage of non-Brahmin. This, according to the narrator demonstrated the social subordination of non-Brahmins in the society. There were several beliefs prevailing among the non-Brahmins reinforcing the Brahminical dominance. Any attempt at clear pronunciation of the words by the non-Brahmins was mocked at and discouraged by the Brahmins. Their penchant to ridicule the efforts in such direction usually ran thus: “What Venkatappa! Like our Brahmin youth, you are able to speak perfectly and plainly? What you too want to become Brahmin?” (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 42-43).

The diversified manifestations of the Brahminical domination in different realms of culture and society of colonial Andhra have been carefully interrogated and explained. He showed how the Brahmins in the society made their position indispensable at every social or cultural occasion and commanded allegiance and obedience from the other non-Brahmin castes through recourse to the invocation of concept of sin. Psychological pressure was thus applied to command obedience to the rituals and practices and thereby reinforce their domination. This is evident in the explanation and conduct of several ceremonies from the birth to the death ceremony, where the Brahmins played an indispensable role. Many economic gifts were given to the Brahmins by the non-Brahmin caste people on all these occasions (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 44-50).<sup>11</sup>

The discriminatory practices and Brahminical superiority were evident in every social and cultural realm. In observing pollution in the event of death of a male person (*Maila* or *Sudakamu*), there was disparity between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. While former followed ten days, the latter had to observe it for fifteen days (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 62-63)

The condition of widows was very dehumanizing and the narrator was a witness to this practice in the context of his own sister. The rules for the Brahmin widows were even more dreadful and these widows were called by the name *Munda Mopi*. He refers to the practice of child marriages, which was more prevalent among the Brahmins because of which there were more widows within the community (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 64-65).

The memoirist narrates with great insight into the prevalence of superstitions on the spread of viral diseases in the villages and these diseases were all attributed to the anger of village goddesses. Ceremonies were organized to propitiate these goddesses and there were several trained priestly class to perform or offer worship to the angry goddesses. At the last day of the ceremony, animal sacrifices were also conducted to satisfy the goddesses (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 65-68).<sup>12</sup> He also refers to the superstitious belief in the power of the evil spirits and the different methods to drive them out and the prevalence and practice of witchcraft in the villages. The narrator comments that in the name of providing protection against the evil spirits or to cure people from their influence and also in the name of practice of witchcraft, the credulous common people were exploited by the priestly class in those days (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 69).



The memoir mentions that the ordinary people were afraid of smoking beedies and drinking arrack or taddy before the Brahmins, as these habits were not socially sanctioned. So, the shops selling the arrack or taddy were generally located far from the villages. The memoir further provides very illuminating information on a variety of entertainment programmes that were popular in the society of colonial Andhra. Among them the street plays and poppet shows were most common. The tricksters or con artists (*Garadi vaallu*) used to attract the huge crowds (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 76-78).<sup>13</sup>

### **A Critique on the Contemporary Milieu**

In the final chapter, he completely writes with a didactic objective. He concentrates on prevailing crisis of political system, declining and degenerating moral values, corruption in political, religious realms. He focuses on the marginalization of the lower castes and classes. He reminds the readers of the role of the political system to take care of all the needs of these people particularly the improvement of their educational, medical, and economic status. He states that religion has a great responsibility to mould the moral and psychological condition of the people. He is extremely critical of the perverse role of religion in postcolonial India. The religious system has become completely rotten as a consequence of which the moral condition of the common people also got smashed. The political class is guided by the religious priests and saints, who are morally bankrupt. The political system has become prone to all corruptions. The common man is forgotten. No body either moneyed class or the middle class thinks of the welfare of the poor man in the country.

He eloquently states that a secular, true democratic political system only can rescue the common man from moral, ideological and economic degradation. The common man through the exercise of his vote and by electing genuine secular and democratic representatives to the political system in this democratic country can bring about the required change. Only such elected representatives, can establish a truly secular, democratic political system which works for eradication of several ills and amelioration of common people in our society (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 132-138).

### **The conclusion**

India is a land of multiple identities constructed by people themselves as active agents or by outsiders who has objectives different from those involved in it. Therefore some of the most pressing issues of India today are the problems concerning the expression and

realization of the goal of identity. Identities vary from locality to nation, from caste to class, from community to culture, from religion to rationality. People agitate and cogitate to negotiate or negate these identity formations. Therefore a critical interrogation of the memoir reveals how multiple identities act on an individual, who was a negotiator as well as a spectator to the unfolding of the historical events in colonial Andhra.

It is therefore a highly forceful text on the extant social conditions of colonial Andhra. The memoir captures very interesting snapshots of society in its penetrating and critical lenses. The society in colonial Andhra was captured and presented to the people in its naked and ugly expression through the memoir. What we find in the memoir was a decayed, putrefied and ossified and stratified society, where the subalterns had to endure very mortifying experiences in their daily existence. They encountered several social, cultural, and economic disabilities. Their entire existence was deeply embedded in worn out dogmas, which only perpetuated their historical social, cultural, ideological and economic enslavement.

The memoir traces the events in the life of Yalamanchili Venkatappayya and also the ossified and irrational social and cultural practices in colonial Andhra particularly from 1919 to 1947. The memoir is thus a remarkable comment on the extant socio-cultural practices that colonial Andhra had negotiated throughout the era. The central theme however remains his tirade against the prevalent debilitating social system entwined by Brahminical domination. The idea that social traditions, cultural and religious practices need to be transformed runs throughout the memoir.

His memoir displays his phenomenal growth from a poor and struggling child undergoing many hurdles to acquire education to freedom fighter, promoter of Hindi language and a bitter critic of social obscurantism. Therefore, what we get from the memoir is a subaltern's perspective on all aspects of the society of colonial Andhra. The memoir is significant for the following striking ideas:

- Illuminating the culture with a participant's sensibility.
- With today's knowledge and yesterday's experience, he portrays the conditions of colonial Andhra.
- He perceives the things that were happening in the social whirl and he has so much sympathy for those underdogs or the downtrodden in the society of colonial Andhra.
- The memoir is full of social message and implies the need for affecting transformation in contemporary social, cultural, moral, religious and political realms.

The memoir succeeds in connecting the past with the present by its representation of the colonial society delving deeply into the different layers of its culture and unwrapping its entrenched shortcomings. A society of colonial Andhra with all its myriad manifestations was recreated in the memoir.

## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> Kerwin Lee Llein, 'On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse', *Representations*, No. 69, Special Issue: Grounds for Remembering. (Winter, 2000), p. 145; Note: Memory can come to the fore in an age of historiographic crisis precisely because it figures as a therapeutic alternative to historical discourse.; Also see James E.Young, "Interpreting Literary Testimony: A Preface to Rereading Holocaust Diaries Memoirs", *New Literary History*, Vol. 18, No. 2, Literacy, Popular Culture, and the Writing of History. (Winter, 1987), pp. 403-423.
- <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 128. See for Memory as a alternative to History, Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire", *Representations*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter Memory. (Spring,1989), pp.7-24; See for consideration of memory as a source of History, Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 102, No. 5. (Dec., 1997), pp. 1386-1403; See also for the idea that history is a project of memory as memory bears testimony to history, David Lowenthal, "History and Memory", *The Public Historian*, Vol. 19, No.2 .(Spring, 1997), pp. 30-39.
- <sup>3</sup> Note: 'In 1973, Hayden White's Metahistory inaugurated a critical movement that challenged historians to think of historiography as a kind of literature that is subject to new forms of literary analysis, especially structural and post structural readings. While the historical profession as a whole has been slow to incorporate White's perspective into mainstream thinking about the nature of written history, more historians in the last decade have foregrounded the literary condition of their histories in their work. A few that come to mind are Simon Schama, Gabriel Spiegel, and Dominick LaCapra'. According to Hayden White, historians shape historical evidence into literary forms that make sense, have coherence or dramatic impact. The shaping of evidence is a fictive act, the construction of historical narrative a discursive act. Much of White's work reinforces the central theme of the literariness of written history; See Michael I. Carignan, Fiction as History or History as Fiction? George Eliot, Hayden White, and Nineteenth-Century Historicism.' (CLIO, Vol. 29, 2000) see <http://www.questia.com>;
- <sup>4</sup> Note: Roy Porter expressed his apprehension that the post-modernist directives run the risk of reducing history to commentaries upon texts; See Pasi Ihalainen, 'Language and Literature in Intellectual History,' in David Robertson, (ed), *English Studies and History* , Tampere English Studies 4 (Tampere 1994), pp.223-244;
- <sup>5</sup> Kerwin Lee Llein, p. 127; Also see "Introduction: History and Memory," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 105, No. 5, (Dec., 1997), p. 1371; Note: "Over the last decade, memory in its many guises has become a critical and widely used means of examining the past."
- <sup>6</sup> Daid Paul Nord, 'The Uses of Memory: An Introduction,' *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 85, No. 2. (Sep., 1998), p. 409.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid, p-410; Note: Memoir too tell the history and is connected to history. Thus memoir and oral history "challenge time by retrieving something from the flood of the past and preserving it for the future." See Sharon O'Brien, "A short reflection on teaching memoir and oral history", *The OralHistory Review*, Vol.25, No. 1/2, Practice and Pedagogy: Oral History in the Class room. (Summer – Autumn, 1998), pp. 113.
- <sup>9</sup> Note: Some Brahmins considered looking or talking to the Untouchables sinful and therefore kept themselves away from them. Also the Madigas were afraid of going to the streets where the Brahmins lived. Many of the social disabilities that are movingly articulated by Y. Venkatappayya are fictionally represented in the novel *Untouchable* published in 1935 by Mulk Raj Anand (New Delhi, 2001). Also please see the following works for an insight into the conditions of the dalits in general in India: Marc Galanter, *Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India*, (London, 1984); Sir George Schuster, *India and Democracy*, (London,

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1941); Gail Omvedt, *Reinventing Revolution: New Social Movements and the Socialist Tradition in India*, (New York, 1993).

<sup>10</sup> Note: In this context, the saying goes, “Nandi ante Nandi; Pandi ante Pandi.”; See for a critical explanation of the conditions dalits, Dhananjay Keer, *Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission*, (Bombay, 1962), pp. 1-2; Also V.T. Rajshekar, *The Black Untouchables of India*, (Atlanta, 1987); Michael J. Mahar, (ed), *The Untouchables in Contemporary India*, (New Delhi, 1998).

<sup>11</sup> Note: Because there is a strong superstition that any donation to a Brahmin would bestow divine favor on those who give it. The non-Brahmins, even if they are very aged, are unfit to receive any gift from any body. That would only invite sin on those who offer it. This is also the myth that is circulated by the Brahmins.

<sup>12</sup> Note: These diseases were called in Telugu namely *Calara*, *Ammoru* (*Maschuchikamu*), *Tadapara*, *Aatalamma*. The goddesses were called: *Mutyalamma*, *Polerumma*, *Ganganamma*, *Maremma*, *Inakundamma*, *Korlamkamma*, *Potaraju*; The thatched huts built for them were called *Purams*.

<sup>13</sup> Note: There were Veedi Bhogotalu, Veedi Natakalu, Jangam Kathalu, Tolu Bhommalu, Keelu Bhommalu, Pitchi Guntala Vari Kathalu, Jamukula Kathalu, Pitta Doralu, Chenchulu, Gangi Reddululavaru, Buda Bhokkalavaru, who provide entertainment to the people in the villages. Those days, through Bhorra Kathas Jangam Kathalu, Pitchi Guntala Vari Stories, Jamukula Kathalu, Tolu Bhommalu, Veedi Bhogotalu were propagated in the villages. Jangam Kathalu by Jangalu, and Pitchi Guntala Vari Kathalu by Harijans were appealing to the people in the villages. The heroic stories narrated by them exercised a great influence on common people.

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# **THE FACTORS THAT AFFECT INDIAN MIGRANTS' DECISION TO STAY IN OR COUNTER MIGRATE FROM THE UNITED STATES: A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ROLE OF TOURISM RELATED IMAGERY AS A DETERMINANT**

**Babu P George & Anuratha Shyamsundar**

## ***Abstract***

*In the light of the changing socio-economic realities of the present times, this paper explores the complex dynamics underlying Indian immigrants' decision to continue to stay in the United States or to counter migrate back to India. In a reversal of fortunes, the specific set of conditions that once triggered a massive inflow of economic migrants from India to the US has been causing a counter migration to India. Based on a review of literature and an exploratory study involving focus groups the paper identifies some of the major migration / counter migration related factors. Then, employing a survey, the relative importance of each of these factors is gauged for individuals associated with different professions. In addition, the study explores as a special case the role of tourism related images about the US being held by immigrants as determinants of their migration related decisions. Tourism images held by the migrants and the tourism opportunities provided by the US act more as hygiene factors than as motivators. In course of the exploration, a number of hypotheses are emerged that are of interest to future researchers. The study has got significant implications for migration/ counter migration policy makers, industry practitioners, and the migrants themselves.*

**Keywords:** Determinants of migration and counter migration; tourism-migration inter-relationship; work and tourism; focus group; life history of migrants; implications for policy; USA; and India.

## **Introduction**

In many parts of India, it is rare to find a family without at least a single migrant (Mosse *et al*, 2002). There exist two major types of outbound migration from India (Pandey 1996): firstly, the migration of people with technical skills and professional expertise to countries such as the USA, Canada, UK and Australia; secondly, the migration of unskilled and semi-skilled workers to oil exporting countries of the Middle East. Most migrants in either category come from the southern states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, in addition to the northern state of Punjab. In percentages, it is just one percent of the Indian population that has migrated so far; yet, the consequences to the sending regions are myriad.

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India's massive investment in higher education, particularly technology, during the past decades has resulted in large numbers of the highly trained personnel willing and seeking to work abroad. The US has emerged far and above its competitors as the number one choice for immigration, although there exists a great deal of competition amongst developed nations for India's highly trained workforce. In addition to technical competence, cultural openness, willingness to learn, and mastery over the English language make the Indian labor pool a superior class compared with the other seekers of migrant labor to the US. Another reason for the Indian labor presence in the US is the existence of large numbers of Indian owned or managed MNCs in the US. Also, Indian students represent a significant chunk of overseas students being enrolled in the US higher education system every year; most of these students get an H1-B work permit or a green card after their graduation and continue to work in the US. Some commentators note that the Indian migration to the US will continue unabated even in the event of a US policy shift against migration (Reichl, 2005). This is because Indians in the US constitute a highly collective society just like they are at home and the social networks and ties will sustain migration even without policy support.

Extant literature has listed out a number of generic causes for migration (Castles and Miller, 1998; Skeldon, 1997). The attractions in the destination countries include higher levels of income, low poverty level or at least social support for the poor, low level of crime, opportunities for self expression, opportunities for courtship, avenues for career growth, tolerance for religious practices, higher standard of living, family ties and cultural proximity, colonial ties, escape from wars and other calamities, escape from environmental degradation, escape from political oppression, prospects for entrepreneurial activities, escape from overcrowding, among others. Some studies show that it is the educated middle class that is most likely to migrate (Kritz, *et al.* 1992). Once someone migrates successfully, the same leads to a chain reaction: the migrant's colleagues, friends, relatives, and so on are more likely to migrate in that event, with the snowballing effect increasing exponentially with the passage of time. Thus, although mass migration is almost always through the same paths treaded by a few pioneers, over a period of time, it becomes a self-sustaining social mechanism (Castles, 2000). Most temporary workers in wealthy destination countries seek permanent residency, too, as the case with H1-B visa holders in the United States (Meissner *et al.*, 2006). A study by OECD (2001) found that, of the 33.5 million foreign born residing in the US, approximately 38 percent have obtained US citizenship through naturalization.

The current phase of transnational migration is one in which immigrants forge and maintain concurrent multi-stranded relations between home and host societies (Glick Schiller et al., 1995). Literature has segregated the traditional 'political' migrants to the more recent 'economic' migrants (Pedraza-Bailey, 1995). While the United States has historically received millions of political migrants in the past, the nature of migration has fundamentally changed in the recent decades (Suárez-Orozco et al, 2005). While issues like persecution, war, famine, and calamities motivated political migrants, economic migrants are a totally different class: they leave their country of origin motivated by the economic advancement opportunities and the associated enhancements in the quality of life offered by the host countries. Generally, they do not have socio-political or cultural deprivations that drive them out of their home countries and even while at the host country they ardently practice the cultural practices of their home (Iredale, 2001). This factor plays a very important role in the counter-migration of Indian and Chinese economic migrants from the United States. As a result of the recent economic surges in the emerging economies across the world, the very same conditions that triggered migration in the past have begun to appear in these countries. This is a significant motivator for many economic migrants who want to take the mantle of the new wave. The US experience is a big advantage for them in getting lucrative offers from the neo-multinationals in these countries who want the US corporate history from the mid 1950's replicated in their corporations. Likewise, many senior executives have begun to go back home to launch start-ups, often with the wealth they have accumulated while being in US or with venture capital funds that are widely available for start-ups. If immigration has shaped the United States over the past century, counter migration has become a formidable force in shaping the destiny of countries like India in the twenty first century.

During the 1970s and 1980s, there existed serious concern that India was losing its educated workforce to the West, particularly to the United States (Bhagwati, 1976). However, since the first decade of the 21st century, attention has re-focused from 'brain drain' on 'reverse-brain drain' or 'brain-gain' (Chacko, 2007). The reverse brain drain that began in small numbers seems to have a snow-balling effect as well: the few who counter-migrate initially induce their colleagues to go back to India and the effect has dramatically spiraled over the past few years. Long back, Piore (1979) noted that migration sustains itself. Likewise, in the present set of conditions, we find that counter-migration too seem to sustain itself. Studies show that the pride of migrant Indians about their homeland has been steadily on an increase; especially, the phenomenal growth of India's information technology industry



has produced a transnational class of professionals who are actively engaged in constructing a notion of a new India that is global in scope, yet Indian in essence (Radhakrishnan, 2008). Discourses of a new belonging that emphasize the re-invention of Indian family values gain strength through constant circulation among the expatriate circles.

If immigration is historically demand driven and is primarily facilitated through recruitment from the receiving nations to fill unattractive jobs at home, even in the initial years of counter migration, it is not so. The migrants in the host countries were generally looked down upon, until they acquired a respectable status due to their professional competence. However, the counter-migrants to India, from the very beginning, has been able to create an elite class of their own in India: They come back home as respectable citizens who have done wonders in another country and are looked towards with awe and aspiration by the rest of the society. There is an added dimension to this: most of the Indian migrants to the US are from the lower castes of the highly class-structured Indian society. Being able to work in the US seems to have the effect of erasing the traditional stigma attached to being a lower caste individual. A testimony to this is the fact that lower caste individuals have increasingly gotten into traditionally higher caste occupations through the experience and contacts developed in the US in the last few years.

In the context of the temporary specialty workers, technically termed as H1-B Visa holders, who constitute the largest chunk of Indian immigrants in the US, an unanswered issue in the literature is where to put them in the available classification schema. If we follow the dual labor market hypothesis of Piore (1979), H1-Bs should fall under the secondary sector laborers. But, according to the traditional theory, the flexibility of the secondary sector manifests itself in a general undesirability of the jobs it offers: lower wages and prestige, expendability, and part-time or irregular work. And, the nature of the jobs in this sector renders them unattractive to natives; thus there is an inherent, constant demand in the secondary sector regardless of general unemployment or wage changes. But, H1-Bs constitute a highly qualified and specialized labor pool, often more educated and experienced than the natives who are in the primary labor sector (Chakravartty, 2001). Also, natives do compete with the temporary workers for these specialty jobs and when selected are rarely paid any more than what the temporary workers are paid. Thus, based on the nature of their job, they do not fall under the secondary labor sector. Yet, the checks and balances that are placed upon their jobs, especially Visas that are tied to particular employers, tend to denigrate

their societal status and make them to exhibit at least certain characteristics of the traditional secondary labor pool. Another noteworthy thing is that many so called specialty occupations that get filled by temporary workers are 'specialty occupations' merely from a legal standpoint: for instance, Iredale (2001) noted that, due to the increased standardization of software programming and interoperability, the mobility of IT workers from one job to another has tremendously increased, leading to the situation of an invisible deskilling. Despite the fact that these jobs have become 'clerical' in scope, the societal acclaim attached to them has not reduced significantly since the mainstream society remains largely unaware of these changes.

Chacko (2007) notes that Indians began immigrating to the United States in large numbers after the Immigration and Naturalization Services Act of 1965 abolished the national-origin quotas that had been in place in the United States since 1924. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were only a couple of thousands of persons from India in the USA. But, according to the 2000 Census, the foreign born in the US of only three countries, namely, Mexico, Philippines, and India had a population of over one million; the Indians represent the third largest immigrant group in the US. Even though the foreign born from India make up only one percentage of the total US population, in a single decade from 1990 to 2000, the Indian immigrant population almost doubled, highlights a statistics released by the Immigration Policy Institute (IPI, 2003). During this period, data available with the United Nations reveal that the overall percentage of international migrants in the US has just moved from 17.8% to 22.9% (UNO, 2008). According to the US Department of Homeland Security, 47,582 applications from Indians for naturalization have been approved in the year 2006 alone (YIS, 2006).

**Table 1: Stock of Indian born population in the US from 1995 to 2006**

Year	1995	'96	'97	'98	'99	'00	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06
Population (In thousands)	540	757	748	722	839	1007	1027	1304	1142	1262	1411	1446
Percentage	2.2	3.1	2.9	2.7	3.2	3.5	3.4	4.0	3.4	3.7	4.0	4.1

*Source: Migration Policy Institute*

Table 1 summarizes the number of Indians in the US over a period of ten years. As per the US Census (2000), most of the Indian population resides in the following states: California, New Jersey, New York, Illinois, Texas, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Florida, Maryland, and Virginia, in the descending order.

The Census also highlights that the number of male/female migrants from India are almost equal: 53.9% males and 46.1% females. Individuals in the age group of 25-34 comprise 30.7% of the migrants, followed by individuals in the age group of 35-44 which comprises 20.7% of the population. The median age is calculated to be 35.4 years. Of the migrants, 74.8% come as married people. These statistics taken together may imply that most of the migrants come for employment while others come as their dependents.

The educational attainment of Indian migrants is remarkable, too: 69.1% of the Indian population has got at least a Bachelors degree; and, 38% has attained a graduate or professional degree. Also, 57.8 % of the Indian population had registered for a college or graduate school program when the census was undertaken. The types of jobs that Indians get in the US may imply their societal status: As per the Census, 42.1% of the Indian migrants do jobs related to education, health, social services, science, and professional administration and management. Among the total number of professional highly skilled immigrants admitted to the US from all countries, India made up 19.5 percent in period between 1971-1980, and 13.4 percent between 1981-1990 (Nayyar, 1994). Most interestingly, according to the Census 2000, the unpaid family workers are only 0.4% of the total Indian population in the US. Also, 67.9% of the population has own car, truck, or van. Almost a half of the population has got own homes while the remaining half lived in rented homes.

## **The Study**

The present study was conducted during December 2007. Three focus groups, in two stages, were organized among the migrants from India in the United States. The focus group was mainly to elucidate the reasons held for the Indian migrants to stay on in the US or to go back home in the light of the newly emerging realities. In addition, the focus groups discussed the importance of touristic images of the US being held by Indians in their migration and counter migration decisions as well as in their attitude towards work. Focus group is an accepted exploratory technique often used to unearth opinions, beliefs, and attitudes on issues of interest held by a community. The semi-formal setting arranged for a focus group interview encourages guided brainstorming on topics of interest. The immediate outcome of this exercise is the understanding of what people think, which helps the researcher to generate testable hypotheses for more structured and quantitative studies in the future. Some contend that a quantitative stage as noted above is avoidable if multiple focus groups are conducted and a theoretical saturation, equivalent to statistical generalization, is

achieved (Morgan, 1996). For the present study, due to the time and resource limitations, only a minimal quantitative investigation was done after the focus group. The data for this stage was gathered in the form of a short, researcher administered questionnaire.

Participants for the focus group study were identified from the audience of a Christmas-New Year celebration event conducted by the overseas Indian community in San Francisco. These initial informal interactions served to identify some of the potential questions to be raised during the focus group discussion as well. Sixteen participants were selected on a first come first served basis and were divided into two groups of eight participants in each. Excluding the time taken for warming up and partying, each of the two focus groups lasted for around one hour. With no professional sophistication like one way mirrors and recording devices, there remained a warm and cordial informality all around. The researcher himself acted as the facilitator. These two focus groups were conducted with relatively less facilitator intervention to allow free flow of ideas. Both the focus groups were organized independently of each other and the topics discussed or ideas generated during the first focus group were not brought into the second one. The questions raised elicited a great deal of respondent interest and many interesting conjectures were emerged.

It was decided that participants for the third focus group would be individuals selected on a quota sampling basis from the first two focus groups: five participants from each. Due to the inconvenience factor, a couple of participants dropped out and in the end three participants from the first group and four participants from the second group finally agreed to participate in the third focus group. The two-stage focus group is an incremental methodological innovation and was conceived with a view to minimize the first degree “groupthink”. Groupthink occurs when a group makes faulty decisions because group pressures lead to a deterioration of mental efficiency, reality testing, and moral judgment”. Individuals affected by groupthink ignore alternatives and tend to agree for irrational decisions (Janis, 1982). In the present research design, the third focus group is aimed at reducing the net groupthink effect since the groupthink effects associated with the first two focus groups work in the third focus group to create a dynamics of dialectics. Ideally, the groupthink can be entirely eliminated only by an infinitely large sequence of focus groups, which is impractical. However, moving from the first degree groupthink to the second degree groupthink alone is sufficient to minimize the idea losses due to groupthink to a very great extent. In addition, by the end of the first two focus groups, the facilitator is likely to gain a

great deal of clarity about the issues being discussed and hence can pre-script the proceedings of the third group. And this really happened in course of the present study.

In between the focus groups, prolonged informal interactions took place between the researcher and a few interested participants: this helped to unravel some interesting aspects of the life history of Indian immigrants to the United States. The focus groups, the informal interactions, and a review of popular literature taken together yielded a number of variables that potentially represented the important reasons to migrate and counter-migrate. Later, the importance of these variables in the propensity to migrate or counter-migrate was assessed using a questionnaire. The questionnaire also contained a question to measure the influence of touristic images in the migration/counter-migration decisions.

### **Tourism and Migration: The Inter-relationships**

Since most technical definitions of migration stipulate that boarder crossings should be for a minimum period of at least six months, strictly speaking, tourism does not fall under the category of migration (Castles, 2000). Yet, for a pragmatic observer, international tourism constitutes the most major form of temporary migration in the present times (Gustafson, 2002). Resettlement of labor and capital to provide products and services to tourists in the destination countries is a related form of migration. Entrepreneurial migration takes place motivated by the desire of entrepreneurs to capitalize upon the potential opportunities provided by a destination. In addition, tourism flows may lead to the creation of consumption oriented systems like second homes in the destination countries. It has been noted that such systems more often than not lead to the permanent migration of tourists to the destination countries (Rodriguez, 2001). Tourism attractiveness of a destination country may trigger non-touristic permanent migration: destination attractiveness is sometimes taken as a proxy for the quality of life at a place. Such migration in turn results in the development of other industries in or near to the destination areas wherein these industries thrive on the new-found migrant settlers. Again, the permanent migration of workforce may boost VFR (Visiting Friends and Relatives) tourism (Yuan *et al.*, 1995). The migrants themselves may travel back to their country of origin for VFR or other purposes (Feng and Page, 2000).

Tourism attractiveness of a destination results in retirement migration as well. These changes have the power to metamorphose the traditional image of a tourism destination: say, from the image of a laid-back backpacker haven to a booming business destination.

Sometimes, tourism acts as an anti-migration influence: tourism creates jobs in the destination countries and the same acts as a compelling reason for the residents not to migrate elsewhere (Ferreira, 2007). The triadic forces of liberalization, privatization, and globalization in the recent times have amplified multiple times the scale and scope of these changes. The definition of migration itself is becoming more and more complicated than ever before: an Asian in the US can simultaneously be a student, worker, a tourist, and a likely “permanent resident” in the near future. Tourism related migration has yielded a range of socio-cultural, economic, and political issues for the migrants, for the destination communities, and for governments, many of which have been under-researched (O’Reilly, 2003).

The migration drivers can be classified into push and pull factors: push factors are motivations that make one to think that he has to migrate and are socio-psychological; pull factors are the country attractions that ‘pull’ the individual to it. For example, motivation to get a better paid job is a push factor. It ‘pushes’ the individual to search for different country alternatives to migrate; information is sought and presented; many competing country alternatives enter the individual’s choice set as potential migration destinations. Out of them, he chooses the one alternative that pulls him the most. Tourism images of a country constitute an important medium through which the information about a potential country for migration is passed on to individuals. Touristic images are intensely perpetuated, widely held, and are attested by many seemingly independent agencies: these characteristics make them trustworthy (Garbarino and Johnson, 1999) and may heavily influence one's migration related decisions.

One of the chief attractions for migrants in the United States is its promise of improved quality of life. Millions have sold their property in other countries and have left their friends and relatives in search of a better quality of life that they believe is available in the US. Apart from the globally pervasive influence of the mass media, international inbound tourism to the United States is one of the vital communicators of this widely held image. International tourism has become one of the the dominant faces of our times and the markers that once used to separate tourism from the rest of routine life have thinned down to a negligible level (Medlik and Lockwood 2002). The present investigation on the influence of touristic images held by Indians about the US upon their migration and settlement plans in the US as well as in their decision to counter-migrate to India is to be seen in the light of the above.

## **The Social Construction of Work versus Tourism**

Work and tourism has traditionally been defined in diametrically opposite terms: it has been an *a priori* assumption that work and leisure compete with each other for time that is scarce (Adler and Adler, 1999). This view continued largely unchanged despite the information and communication technology revolution in the recent past that enabled people to free work from its spatio-temporal boundedness and gain more autonomy and flexibility.

Lawson (2000) notes that migrants' experiences are socially constructed and are situated in particular political-economic and cultural contexts in meaningful ways. The complex interplay of desires, identities and subjectivities determine belonging, exclusion, and affiliation felt by the migrants. According to world systems theory (Chase-Dunn and Grimes, 1995), master-slave structuration of the international system accounts for economic, political, and cultural relationships between core and peripheral nations and these relationships manifest as ideological infiltration of the peripheral nations by those of the core. A common result of this is the 'Edenization' of the core countries, leading to the intellectual elites gazing at them with a touristic awe. But, these elites are not economically capable enough to visit and live in the developed core countries as tourists and they rather seek employment opportunities in these countries. Another advantage of being a resident rather than a tourist is the images of belongingness that it communicates: For instance, if one is a tourist to USA from India, he is still an Indian; but, if one is a resident in the USA, he becomes more a part of the host society, which is seen as an important elevation in the peripheral countries like India.

Manrai and Manrai (2003) suggest that time usage patterns for work versus leisure activities differ across individuals originating from low and high context cultures. This study revealed that, in any particular work-leisure situation, respondents from high context cultures perceived the work time to be higher and their counterparts from low context cultures perceived the leisure time to be higher. The saying quoted by Buttler (1995) that Americans are workaholics than any other population because they do not have a clue on how to live makes real sense in this context. If this is the case, immigrant workers from the East, conditioned by the added influence of their prior touristic experience in the US, are much more likely to be dissatisfied in any work-leisure situation the US than the natives. Even otherwise, individuals informed in their decision to become migrants in a country by the touristic images of that country may continue to hold touristic attitudes towards everything

even after migration, which is unlikely to be sustainable in the longer course. Their attitude towards work is likely to be 'negative' (or they may take work as 'fun') given that tourism is conceived in terms of its dialectical opposition to work. As noted by Uriely (2001), work is strictly scripted with its dos and don'ts whereas the activities of tourists involve playfulness that gives them escape from work and hence loosely defined. In addition, if prior touristic expectations are not met, this may further their chances of returning back to the home country.

Another study by Uriely and Reichel (2000) shows that those who perceive their work situation as a means to continue their travel are less likely to have positive attitudes about their hosts than others who grasp their work situation as part of their touristic experience. These authors suggest that while the touristic orientation of the latter induced them to develop social exchange with their hosts, the mercenary approach of the former limited their encounter with hosts to economic exchange only. This could mean that those migrants influenced by the touristic images of a country and engage in jobs that they consider as constituting their touristic experience may remain favorable in their perception about the host country than others.

Yet, most often than not, tourist spaces are artificially organized for authentic experiences (MacCannell, 1973). Without their knowledge, what tourists get is an assemblage of frames creatively staged with a view to satisfy their desires. But, when an individual becomes a migrant later, there will not be a tourist agency in his service to continue to serve him with the staged touristic realities. This leads to something like cognitive dissonance, the feeling of an uncomfortable tension coming from holding two conflicting thoughts in the mind at the same time (Festinger, 1957; Oshikawa, 1972). They expected touristic comforts and pleasures in the country to which they migrate but meet with harsher situations. The resultant uncertainty and the need to cope up with the unexpected create strains in them.

## **Discussion**

The focus groups helped to generate a number of subjective decision bases for people to continue to work in the US or to counter-migrate: These are listed in tables 2 and 3. Many of these reasons were anticipated and have already appeared in the extant literature (Narayanan, 2007) and are referred in the previous sections. Some reasons were found to be more important for some migrant segments than others. Material comforts provided by the



US emerged as the highest rated reason for migrants to stay, followed by career opportunities, international exposure to kids, and an increased purchasing power. However, there exist profession-wise differences in perception. For instance, IT workers did not give much rating for 'exciting work place' as a motivator; nevertheless, this was a great motivator for those in the academics as well as those who perform managerial jobs. Likewise, those who do academic-research jobs love the individualistic orientation and multi-culturalism prevalent in the US, which, however, is not a significant motivator for any other class. This may have something to do with the elitist-idealistic orientation of those who are into these professions. This may be contrasted with the attitude of the manufacturing workers: their 'practical' attitude towards life may be envisaged from the higher ratings that they have given for items like material comforts and international exposure for kids.

Everyone agreed that higher purchasing power is a motivator: but, given that most of the migrants spend at least a half of their earnings to maintain a family or infrastructure in India and given that dollar is weakening against the Indian rupee as a currency, this may not continue to remain as a major motivator. Many focus group participants compared the purchasing power that they had a decade back and the same now, both within the US and in India, and lamented that they are loosing out in both fronts. In addition, the increasing purchasing power of the Indian rupee and the current trend among many Indian companies to give salaries with global parity has been cited as attractions to go back to the homeland. Also, note that, in table 3, the low cost of living in India is highlighted as the most important motivator for going back to India.

One striking aspect across all the classes of respondents is the value they give for family. For instance, giving an international exposure to their kids has been rated as an important item by all classes of respondents, irrespective of whether they believed in the idea of multi-culturalism. Likewise, it can be seen from table-3 that the need for parents to be taken care of has been cited as a major reason favoring the decision to go back. Also, many of the respondents participated in the focus groups lamented that they would have a better family life if they were in India. Many were concerned that their family name might cease to exist soon in India if they do not go back and root the next generation there. In fact, this is one of the recurring themes that emerged in all the three focus groups. The survey outcome fortifies this. However, this preference is unlikely to be rooted in the macro-cultural preferences: quite contrary to the popular perceptions and highlighting a gap in the theoretical

rhetoric, the motivation to imbue the values of the East in the kids got only an average preference rating. Also, in many Indian families, grand parents are the ones who look after the kids until they go to school and give them the preliminary introduction to culture and heritage; but, re-connecting kids to grand parent is not a significant motivator enough to go back home. Close to this, again contrary to what appears constantly in the populist media most do not think that they want to go back to give something back to their motherland or to make their kids to love India. This is a motivation for a few philanthropists, but not to the larger segments of mainstream migrants. Or, are these because the so-called self oriented American values have influenced the Indian migrants to that extent? More study is required for an answer.

In popular discourses on the life of migrants in the US, a topic that appears so often is the issue of racial discrimination (Schuman *et al.*, 1997; Tonry, 1995). However, the participants of the survey do not seem like perturbed by the same at all. In fact, it came as the least important variable in their counter-migration decision. Those who work in the medical profession and those who are into academics or research did not even consider it as a problem worth mentioning. This variable was included in the survey since during the focus groups some raised it as a significant issue. However, the survey implies that, if at all some groups are concerned about it to some extent, they are the manufacturing workers and those who do miscellaneous jobs. To probe into why this happens so, we need to examine the demographics of these two segments. Most of the manufacturing/industrial workers whom the researcher interviewed are un/semi-skilled personnel who reached the US as dependents of their spouses on green cards and are employed mostly as school teachers or as nursing/para-medical staff. Likewise, the respondents who fell under the category 'others' are mostly part-time workers or self-employed for a living. Does this mean that racial discrimination is still prevalent in the lower echelons of the society? In a post-focus group follow up, this question was raised: many seemed to believe that, given the magnificent economic progress of India and that many Indians are working in top organizational capacities of many US MNCs, the Indian migrants have got an increasingly higher respect in the US in the recent times. Also, many believed that since Indians are neither black nor white, they escape from the direct effect of discrimination, if any.

Eastern societies are known for forming thick relationship networks (Hofstede, 2005). And most Indian families in the US are parts of strong community networks that help to

nurture continuation of the home culture through frequent cultural activities, events, newsletters, and so on. Most Indian migrants are parts of online social networking communities, too. In addition, by the time kids begin to go to school they develop a different set of cultural ties with their pals in the school. During the focus groups, many highlighted these community ties that they formed here as a maintenance factor for them to continue to live in the US. Some narrated the stories of families that counter migrated: the feeling of isolation at the homeland due to protracted years of separation; adjustment problems for kids in an entirely different educational system; expectation of kith and kin to continue to get gifts the way they used to get before counter migration; difference in job orientation; and so on. But, the survey implies that the networks formed while the migrants are in the USA are not a strong motivator enough to hold them here, *ceteris paribus*, other things are favorable for counter-migration. Taking part in the community activities here in the US may be a compromise out of necessity, with a feeling of ‘something is better than nothing’.

The only entrepreneur participant in the focus groups highlighted the positive changes in the entrepreneurial climate of India: business friendly governments, decreasing corruption, fast track and single window clearances, improved access to capital and labor, world class infrastructure, and so on. He said that he is slowly moving his business back to the home country. According to him, he is the last among his group of friends who came to the “land of opportunities” around two decades back and that he saddened by the stagnation that he perceives everywhere in the US economic sphere.

In response to the question of why there are thousands of migration applicants waiting for the favorable consideration of appropriate US authorities, a lot of discussions were taken place. This is an issue that emerged from both the first two groups. It is true that people have to wait for months even to get a Visa appointment and the H1 quota available under various categories is getting filled at the beginning of the year. One set of participants responded to this by noting that those who show craze to land in the US do not understand the changed ground realities. A louder voice, however, was that even these days a few years of US experience is a great addition to one’s resume. Based on personally known instances, these participants explained that the salary and perks offered to a US returnee is at least a half more than those offered to someone who spent his entire career even in the IT hot spots of India like Bangalore and Hyderabad. Also, most US returnees directly fetch managerial positions once they are back. Academic assignments are another hot area: US returned professors

attract huge salary from a burgeoning number of private schools and universities in India that plan to replicate the American model in India. Likewise, US returned school teachers are quickly absorbed by the private international schools in India that follow international curriculum. However, these incentives are not available for all classes of employees or across all industries: one noted example is the medical profession. The United States continue to be a great attraction for those trained in the medical, nursing, and para-medical professions: the salary and perks offered in India for them, except for a small segment of outstanding doctors, is menial compared to the US rates. An added incentive for them is the ease with which they can grab a green card.

**Table 2: Reasons for Indian migrants to continue to stay in the US  
(7 point scale; Rounded off to the nearest whole number)**

<b>Reason to Stay in the United States</b>	<b>Information Technology Employees N=25</b>	<b>Medical/Para Medical Employees N=28</b>	<b>Administrative/ Managerial Staff N=17</b>	<b>Manufacturing Workers N=16</b>	<b>Academic /Research Staff N=11</b>	<b>Others N=14</b>	<b>Average Importance N=111</b>
Career Opportunities	7	6	5	5	7	4	6
Meritocracy	7	5	4	4	7	3	5
Exciting Workplace	4	6	7	4	7	4	5
Multiculturalism	4	2	2	2	6	2	3
International Exposure for Kids	7	7	5	6	7	4	6
Individualistic Orientation	2	2	2	1	7	2	3
Material Comforts	7	7	7	7	6	6	7
Efficient Systems and Procedures	3	3	4	3	5	2	3
Less Corruption	4	4	4	4	4	5	4
Higher Purchasing Power	6	5	6	5	6	6	6
Tourism Opportunities	5	4	5	2	5	2	4
Enjoyable Life	5	4	5	5	7	5	5
Less Pollution	2	4	1	1	4	2	2
Medical Care	3	3	2	2	4	2	3
Established a Network in the US	6	2	2	1	1	7	3

**Table 3: Reasons for Indian migrants to counter-migrate to India (7 point scale;  
Rounded off to the nearest whole number)**

<b>Reason to Leave Back to India</b>	<b>Information Technology Employees N=25</b>	<b>Medical/Para Medical Employees N=28</b>	<b>Administrative/ Managerial Staff N=17</b>	<b>Manufacturing Workers N=16</b>	<b>Academic /Research Staff N=11</b>	<b>Others N=14</b>	<b>Average Importance N=111</b>
Take Care of the Parents	5	6	5	6	5	5	5
Imbue Eastern Values in Kids	3	5	3	5	2	4	4
Reconnecting Kinds with their rand Parents	3	4	2	4	2	3	3
Give Back Something to India	4	3	2	1	7	3	3
Overcome Homesickness	2	2	2	4	4	2	3
Family Life a Casualty in the US	6	5	5	5	3	6	5
High Level of Crime in the US	3	4	2	2	3	2	3
American Culture in Immoral	2	6	2	3	1	4	3
Continue the Family Lineage in India	5	7	5	6	5	7	6
Make Kids to Love India	3	4	3	3	4	3	3
Low Cost of Living in India	6	7	7	7	6	7	7
Career Opportunities in India	7	2	6	2	6	3	4
Racism in the US	2	1	2	3	1	3	2

To the central question of the importance of touristic images and experiences in determining the decision to migrate, a variety of responses came out from the focus groups. For many, the influence of touristic images began from their childhood: they began to hear the glory of the United States from their primary school teachers which got fortified through

years of higher schooling and exposure to the international media. Some revealed that, as kids, they found their migrant neighbors coming back to home once in a year or so with a lot of foreign goods and enviously gazed at the extravagant and pompous way they lived their lives. For many, these images were important; they agreed that the tourism attractions available in the US are an important add-on to the motivating factors. Yet the more important pull factors that the US provided were the opportunity to realize their intellectual potential; merit based rewards; higher income; superior quality of life; a range of career opportunities, and so on. Of course, touristic images provide one of the vital-most clues to the subjective evaluation of factors like quality of life. Towards the middle of the first focus group, there was a consensus that touristic images, although important, were not a motivating factor. The discussions sounded like an empirical substantiation of the famous two factor theory involving motivating and hygiene factors (Herzberg, 1959). Touristic images form a hygiene factor which cannot increase the motivation or satisfaction of a migrant although a lowering the same may lead to dissatisfaction.

Some members of the first group commented that the widely prevalent touristic image of the US in India as a highly promiscuous society in fact work against the decision to migrate. In many traditional aristocratic family settings, elders prohibit the youth from migrating to the States. The hardcore Hindu families, likewise, do not allow the young generation to visit the US even for a short while since people in the US consume beef, which is anathema for Hindus. Even now, women of many aristocratic Hindu families will not be given in marriage to a US employed, how much so ever educated or wealthy the groom may be. Tourism promotional materials have caused another unfounded perception: the perception that sex and drugs are freely available in the US. Due to this, some participants complained that whenever they go back home to India for a holiday, they hear rumors around them like "that girl is with another guy", "he has got four wives there", "he is a drug addict", and so on.

Members of the second focus group expressed that they had some sort of cognitive dissonance after reaching the States. The images of the United States that they knew were far different from what they saw when they landed here. It was difficult for most to believe that there were poor people in America. Many recent migrants quipped that some of the cities in India like Bangalore and Pune were much better in terms of amenities than the places in the US they stay and work and for them their presence in the US provided a vantage point for making informed contrasts. The Utopian image of the United States seamlessly propagated

by the international tourism industry creates a lot of unrealistic expectations in the Indian migrants is something that emerged very clearly from the focus groups.

Respondents across all the focus groups agreed that the wonderful tourism attractions that US has got across the country and a highly affordable air transportation system make them to vacation more. For them, this is a great stress reliever and rejuvenator, too. Many said that they rarely took a long distance tour in India but after coming to the US they go at least two times year for a long distance tour. The esteem ascribed by the host society for travelling is another reason for this, according to some. In addition to long distance vacationing, many Indian migrants go to nearby vacation spots for spending the week-ends. In both cases, they take a lot of photos and videos and share them with their friends and relatives back in India. This constitutes a large chunk of personal collection of the Indian migrants in online sites such as Flickr and You Tube.

Thanks to these colorful touristic imageries, many did not think that workers would be required to do manual labor in the US. The expectation was that, since "everything in the US is computerized", there would be no need to physically exert oneself as an employee. This was one of the most disconfirmed expectations for most of industrial workers whom we interviewed. A couple of construction workers who participated in the focus group said that the physical strain for a similar job back in India was much less compared to the same in the US. Even though not in the matter of physical toil, similar expectations were held by most Indians migrants. The cut-throat competition and the rampant hire and fire policy prevalent in the employment scenario in the US were difficult to grapple with for many who have enjoyed highly protected jobs. Many glorified the successes they achieved through trade union mediated negotiations and employment strikes. However, some of the focus group participants who had a stint of work experience in Middle-East before coming to the US intervened and commented that the job situation in the US is far superior than in the Middle East and that they felt relieved. Any how, rather than lamenting over it and deciding to go back, migrants quickly learn to live up to the new set of circumstances. Some members responded that they began to respect work irrespective of the "class of work" only after reaching the US.

## **Conclusion**

The United States accepts more legal immigrants as permanent residents every year

than any other country in the world and immigration has been a major source of cultural and institutional change throughout much of US history (YIS, 2006). Yet, the economic, social, and political aspects of migration have always remained an issue of hot debates due to its controversial impacts upon economic growth, settlement patterns, environmental and aesthetic deterioration, social change, criminality, moral values, political loyalties, and so on (Suárez-Orozco *et al.*, 2005).

The present study has explored the complex set of motivations that are held by the Indian migrants in the United States in the matter of their migration and counter migration related decisions. While a large number of migrations related studies can be cited in the literature, not many India-US specific migration studies are available, which is shocking given the specific nuances associated with it. The Indian migrants in the US form a highly influential group and the recent trend of their counter migration back to India may have far reaching consequence for the US and Indian economies. It is said that the US software industry remains largely in the hands of India born IT experts and the information technology edifice may need fundamental redesign if the exodus of top brains continue. A weakening dollar and the lure offered by the new generation India based companies may amplify the trend and cause the US to loose a significant part of the software business to India. Returning high skill migrants bring with them knowledge, expertise, access to global networks and capital, but also a international sensibility that influences where they work, live and their expectations and vision of life in the Indian cities in which they settle. If this trend is to be arrested, large scale changes may be required in the US immigration and citizenship regulations. Of course, this is an important topic worthy of a separate discussion. Counter migration is an issue of importance to the policy makers of countries like India too, given that the same may exacerbate the inequalities in the society. NASSCOM, the premier organization that represents and sets the tone for public policy for the Indian software industry has put in its recent strategic review a detailed road map on how to integrate the US returnees and help to maximize their contribution to the Indian software trade (NASSCOM, 2008).

When counter migration becomes a massive trend governments may need to bring in counter migration policy frameworks, just as they have had migration policy frameworks so far. Counter migration can affect the lives of not only the ones who do it but also the lives of residents, firms, and the industries as well. It is high time national governments think about this issue seriously. The US government is yet to have a strategy or plan of action to follow in



case the migrants decide to leave the country massively. Likewise, despite the motivational rhetoric taken by the government of India in welcoming back the migrants, it is yet to have a clear vision on how best to accommodate them into the mainstream fabric of the society or how best to utilize their learning and experience.

With regard to the role of tourism in the migrants' decision framework, the study revealed that tourism imagery is very much part of the subaltern minds of migrants and sway some influence in the migration decision. However, their dominant role comes as hygiene factors: tourism images enhance the ego satisfaction of the migrants; they act as tension busters; and they enrich the lives of migrants. Migrants who reach the US conditioned by the tourist imagery do go through a stage of disconfirmation of expectations, but, rather than continuing to lament about the gaps in perception, they quickly learn to live with the newly encountered reality.

A study built upon a few focus groups and an elementary survey conducted among just above a hundred respondents cannot become a solid base for generalization. Also, the geographical bias of the study towards the California region is very likely to have biased the results. The researchers could have collected data on other pertinent variables and could have conducted more sophisticated analyses, which was not possible within the time resource constraints for the present study. However, this preliminary investigation is sure to have thrown light upon some of the important factors that determine the propensity of migration and counter migration and future researchers may take leads from this.

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## **THE INDIAN OCEAN: COLD WAR - POST-COLD WAR SCENARIO**

**Ashwani Sharma**

### ***Abstract***

*Indian Ocean during the last about one a half decade has changed its character altogether particularly after the collapse of Soviet Union and, in the light of globalization and liberalization. It is not that ocean which it used to be. Rather the military alliances and competitions of the 1950s and 60s are being translated into economic alliances.*

After the end of the Second World War, international politics was dominated by the cold war for almost four decades, thus, resulting in ideological, philosophical, military and strategic changes that completely altered the complexion of the world politics in general and that of the Indian Ocean in particular. Therefore, the Indian Ocean is not what it used to be in the decades and centuries previous.

The Second World War changed the world and the politics permeating it, radically, irreversibly. The empires dissolved giving place to scores of sovereign states and a profuse proliferation of international organizations. Ideology gripped the minds of men and divided the world into two blocs (western and socialist) sworn to destroy each other; the ensuing cold war warped the perception of people and pushed the new great powers – U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. – to woo and win the loyalty, particularly of the newly emergent independent nations. A path-breaking posture and philosophy of non-alignment made its appearance carving a new pattern in international politics. The dawn of the nuclear age set the pace for galloping technological advancement which today touches every single aspect of man, his life and his aspirations, while, at the same time posing a threat to his very survival. Perseverance and promotion of peace have now become vital and pre-requisite conditions of that survival. Indeed, the world and its politics have changed beyond all recognition.

So has the Indian Ocean in its face and functions, directly and indirectly as a consequence of the transmutations of the world.

During the Second World War, British naval supremacy was challenged the world over, particularly in the East by Japan. At the end of the war, although Britain was still nominally the master of the Indian Ocean largely because there was no other power in or

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around the region to call the bluff her naval capability had been severely sapped. The devastation of the war had drastically depleted her manpower, strained her resources, and dangerously emaciated her economy. The near total exhaustion caused by the war brought about simultaneously the inevitable weakening of British control over the Afro-Asian possessions and the political will to hang on to them any further. While the latter was due to the rise to political power in Britain of the Labour party (with its vastly different political philosophy, perception and program), the former resulted from the rising tide of nationalism in those possessions becoming fiercer and irresistible by the day.

The inevitable came to pass eventually when India became independent within a couple of years of the conclusion of the war in Asia. This triumph of nationalism started the wave of independence that in a matter of years had dissolved the mighty British Empire and released a large number of colonised countries in the region. Thus, whereas in 1945, of the 40 Indian Ocean littoral states, only 9 were self-governing and sovereign, by about mid-1960s that number had multiplied almost four-fold.

However, practically all these newly independent countries were economically emaciated and militarily inconsequential. And so the myth of British mastery of the Indian Ocean persisted. The Ocean kept on being considered an area where British responsibilities and capabilities were paramount.

But this had to change, and it did change with the unfolding of the U.S. global strategy in the cold war. Through military pacts of the 1950s – CENTO, SEATO etc. – the U.S.A. steadily increased her presence in the Indian Ocean area.

At the same time, realization also grew in Britain that it was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain effective British military presence in the Indian Ocean region. With the U.S.A. determined to establish its direct military presence in the area,<sup>1</sup> the need for Britain to remain in control had become redundant.

The Labor Party entered office in Britain in 1964, decided upon drastic cuts in military expenditure in the wake of the devaluation of sterling announced in November 1967, and felt obliged to formally declare its new *East-of Suez* policy some weeks later. Prime Minister Harold Wilson announced in Parliament on 16 January 1968 that British forces stationed beyond Suez in the Persian Gulf and Southeast Asia will be withdrawn by the end of 1971. The following text of his statement offers the justification for this crucial decision:<sup>2</sup>

“Our decision,” said the Prime Minister, “has been based on two main principles. First ...it is not only in our own interest, but in those of our friends and allies for this country to strengthen its economic base quickly and decisively. There is no military strength whether for Britain or our alliances except on the basis of economic strength ...We, therefore, intend to make to the alliances of which we are members a contribution related to our economic capability while recognizing that our security lies fundamentally in Europe and must be based on the North Atlantic alliances.

Second, reductions in capability whether in terms of man power or equipment, must follow and be based on a review of the commitments which the services are required to undertake. ...Defense must be raised to the requirements of foreign policy, but it must not be asked in the name of foreign policy to undertake commitments beyond its capability. Major foreign policy decisions, therefore, are a prior requirement of economies in defense expenditure. In taking these decisions we have to come to terms with our role in the world. It is not only at home that in these past years we have been living beyond our means...

We have accordingly decided to accelerate the withdrawal of forces from their stations in the Far East which was announced in the supplementary statement on defense policy of July 1967 and to withdraw them by the end of 1971. ...We have also decided to withdraw our forces from the Persian Gulf by the same date. ... The broad effect is that, apart from our remaining dependencies and certain other necessary exceptions, we shall by that date not be maintaining military bases outside Europe and the Mediterranean. ... Again by that date we shall have withdrawn our forces from Malaysia and Singapore...”

Clearly, the British decision to withdraw from the Indian Ocean resulted from the economic considerations and pressures at home as well as from the faith or compulsions that the Ocean was now better left to the Americans whose involvement in the area was growing by the day as a consequence of the overall global US-USSR equation.

It is also apparent that this decision announced termination of Britain’s military role as a world power, which the changed realities of the world so obviously warranted. Indeed, ending the East of Suez role was viewed as leaving Britain not weaker but stronger, for in a military sense Britain would be the strongest European power west of the iron curtain. Finally, it was felt that escaping from the straitjacket of the fixed overseas bases; Britain will acquire a degree of diplomatic flexibility it had not possessed for decades.<sup>3</sup>

The real British retreat from the region was not so much naval as it was abandonment of the land around the periphery of the ocean: strident nationalism of the newly emerging states was obliterating whatever British influence had held these lands all these years. Nor did

the retreat follow any single pattern as evidence from the variety of ways these countries, particularly the island states of the Indian Ocean, got their independence from Britain.

Whether or not the British withdrawal brought about a “vacuum” that the superpowers sought to fill does not alter the basic fact that by this time the overall political complexion of the Indian Ocean had changed from one of European dominance to that of local assertion. At the same time, the curiosities and concerns the superpowers had in course, and as a consequence of normal augmentation of power, expanded to become global instead of remaining regional or local. This would automatically bring these powers to parts of the world where they had never been before. The Indian Ocean was one such region which could possibly not remain outside the pale of awareness or activity of the superpowers, especially when it was now a region of dense population and rapid political, economic and social changes that would willy nilly touch them sooner or later in a world that was fast becoming one through ongoing hectic technological revolution. So, not only could the superpowers not leave the Indian Ocean region out of their calculations and operations without impairing their status of being superpowers, the conditions in the region itself were such as to involve these powers one way or the other eventually.

Implicit in the “vacuum” theory is also the proposition that in this day and age not only is it possible for a single power to ‘master’ the Indian Ocean in the fashion in which the Britain, and before them the Portuguese, did, but also the corollary that the peoples of the region would reconcile themselves to a status of subservience rather than asserting their sovereign equality. This has, thus, been contested by the countries of the region –India, in particular- as undesirable, impractical, and simply not feasible.<sup>4</sup>

### **Geopolitical aspects of the transformed ocean**

The most dramatic among the features of the Indian Ocean till about the end of the Cold War has been the active superpower presence, proclivities and pursuits in it. The global superpower military competition had, since about mid 1960s, spilled over into this ocean, and both of them were engaged in inducting overtly and covertly the various components of their naval, military and surveillance power on an ever-growing scale. They had, thus, sought in the littoral and mid-ocean states of the region bases and other facilities. Both felt obliged to bolster their respective presence in the region to meet a real or imaginary regional vulnerability and had lead over the other.<sup>5</sup> We now take note of the measure of their respective military capability they had in the Indian Ocean till about the end of 1980s.

## US presence

Some believe that the United States of America's interests in the Indian Ocean were limited in general, to the oil-producing states and, of course, to an overall containment of communism in so far as it touched the region of this ocean; her political interests in the area did not have a strategic base.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the British withdrawal from the region would not necessarily mean replacement by the US or competition with the Soviet Union.

At the same time the typically 'cold war' view was also fairly widely held that the newly emerging Afro-Asian states in the Indian Ocean basin were fragile, vulnerable and incapable of defending themselves internally and externally, and leaving this vast and highly volatile field entirely to the Soviets was not in the interests of either the West or for the world peace and stability.<sup>7</sup> As it turned out, it was the latter view that prevailed.

The successful testing of the long-range Polaris A-3 submarine led to the establishment in November 1963 of a separate Indian Ocean Command naval fleet in the US. On 5 April 1964, a US task force entered the ocean to spend about six months in the area. Such visits subsequently became regular features of the area. A joint Anglo-American team surveyed the ocean in August 1964 for remote, virtually uninhabited islands that could be made bases for serving as landing stages for troops, and fuelling and communication centers for the US navy.<sup>8</sup> Agreement followed in May 1966 to set up a communication and satellite tracking station on *Mahe* in the Seychelles, and negotiations were initiated in regard to Diego Garcia in Mauritius.

Soviet naval movements in the Indian Ocean started being noticed in 1966, though actual deployment of Soviet navy there began a year later. In an apparent response, in November 1966, the British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT) comprising the Chagos Archipelago, the Farquhar, the Aldabra group and the island of Desroches were established. Given the Soviet potential, the task of countering or containing their naval presence in the Indian Ocean was totally beyond the British. The US must thus come in; hence the agreement on 30 December 1966 to give Diego Garcia on a 50 year lease to the United States for developing this tiny coral reef initially as a communication facility and a missile tracking station in the far away Indian Ocean from the USA.<sup>9</sup>

The value of such a foothold to the US was obvious in view of the fact that while the northern part of the Indian Ocean area, particularly the Arabian Sea, could be used for deploying strategic missile submarines offensively against the Soviet Union, but the Soviets



could not make a similarly offensive use of the Indian Ocean against the US, for the Indian Ocean is the most remote ocean from the USA.<sup>10</sup>

What was claimed and begun as an innocuous, modest 'communication facility' at Diego Garcia, accordingly, developed into a nearly full fledged US naval base over the years.<sup>11</sup> Within years of the agreement, the island was being used as logistic support of a US aircraft-carrier task force. Enough funds had been allocated in the 1970s to enlarge the island, dredge the harbor, extend the runways, provide more accommodation to the increased personnel stationed there, and vastly augment the radio and other telecommunication installations. It had soon become a base for long distance reconnaissance aircraft between Kenya and the Philippines. In 1977 there were 1,400 US troops and 25 British military personnel stationed on the island. In the wake of the Iranian revolution and American hostage crisis there, followed by the Soviet military entry into Afghanistan in December 1979, the US committed itself more fully and openly to the island, which now was so obviously of pivotal importance to possible her military and strategic measures.<sup>12</sup> In contrast to the limited measures that friendly littoral states (like Oman, Somalia, Kenya or Egypt etc.) might allow the US, a suitably modified and equipped Diego Garcia offered unlimited offensive capabilities.

Accordingly, from 1981 onwards great expansion of the naval and air base at the island has occurred. It can now take in aircraft carriers and a dozen ships in its deepened lagoons, and B-52 bombers, military transport planes etc. On its 12,000 foot runway, ships, submarines that dock and the bombers that land on the island's runway are often suspected of carrying nuclear warheads – a suspicion that has persisted in the Indian Ocean and other countries despite vehement denials by the US. Reports said that a new station for anti-satellite directing system was underway on the island.<sup>13</sup> The expansion of this important rocket base involved laying out special air-strips on the island for B-52 strategic bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons and cruise missiles.

Without such a base, the US navy would be taxed to the absolute limit in supporting naval operations in the area. Diego Garcia, quite clearly, has become the only stable US base in the Indian Ocean because it is away from the restricted waters and narrow straits and has the capacity to receive supplies directly from American metropolitan bases. Moreover, it is relatively secure from political disturbances. It can adequately support the American aircraft carrier battle groups in the region, while providing a safe anchorage for pre-positioning ships.

Even though the base is not perfect on all counts,<sup>14</sup> the island constitutes a crucial element in the American strategy and capability in the Indian Ocean region.

As long as the British maintained their military presence, the US seventh fleet visited the Indian Ocean only to take part in the combined CENTO naval exercises. It was only after the British withdrawal that USS vessels, including the aircraft carrier *Ticonderoga*, entered the ocean in summer 1971. A few months later (in December), came the formidable US task force “74”, headed by US *Enterprise* the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, accompanied by a helicopter carrier, dock-landing and other ships capable of establishing beach-heads in the ocean, in an ostensible show of force, even as the UN General Assembly was calling in its resolution for the Indian Ocean to be declared as a ‘Zone of Peace’. Immediately thereafter, in January 1972, the jurisdiction of the US *Seventh Fleet* was extended to cover the Indian Ocean area with the obvious intent of registering a permanent naval presence there.<sup>15</sup> About the same time agreements were concluded with Bahrain in the Persian Gulf for using port facilities there. The ‘energy crisis’ (1973) was made the occasion by Bahrain, however, to serve notice on the US for vacating the base and these facilities were eventually withdrawn in 1977. The US Secretary of State, accordingly, announced in 1973 that from then onward the US navy would make periodic visits to the Indian Ocean area. Since then the US navy has been patrolling the ocean without a break. The US military might was further augmented by the battleship group led by USS *Missouri* which was then the most powerful and heavily armored in the entire American fleet.<sup>16</sup>

The US strategy in the Indian Ocean region recognizes naval deployments as a rather essential element in the defense of that country’s security interests. The absence of proximate US or allied land bases in adequate numbers, and the unwillingness of the regional states to provide these facilities for an in-place foreign army and air force naturally points in the absolute need for maritime superiority. In the light of the geographical realities of the American position in general, and the distance involved in the Indian Ocean in particular, the emphasis placed by the US on sea power makes perfect sense, whether its policy makers are following the precept of Alfred Thayer Mahan consciously or not.<sup>17</sup>

Diego Garcia constitutes the lynch-pin in the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) the US raised in 1980,<sup>18</sup> even though strategic air bases were also available to the Americans in Egypt, Oman and other places. Raised as integral to the *Carter Doctrine*, which stressed establishing American strategic superiority in all areas of defense, both conventional and nuclear, all over the world, the RDF was to be the instrument of the military force, if need

arose, to protect US vital interests in the Persian Gulf. The naval capability of the CENTCOM (Central Command) – headquartered in the gulf since January 1983 largely as a compulsion and component of the global US strategy – are directly linked to Diego Garcia base. The CENTCOM in the Gulf is also linked to the “VLF Station” in the north-west cape of Australia, which communicates and control the network of the ballistic missile submarine force in the Indian Ocean area.

The US role in the outer space and the value of Diego Garcia for its defense and strategic interests is still higher, as one of the five proposed GEODSS (Ground based Electro-Optical Deep Source Surveillance) systems installed at the island can yield excellent results. Similarly, the island forms a crucial link in the communication network in so far as its airfield is constantly used by long-range aircraft on electronic and maritime reconnaissance missions.<sup>19</sup>

In short, the US has found enough military, political and economic justification for steadily augmenting its formidable military presence in the Indian Ocean over the years and this potential enables the USA to exercise considerable political and other influence in the region. Under the circumstances, the almost reflexive response of the Soviet Union could only be expected.

### **The Soviet Presence**

It appears that till about the mid-1960s there was hardly any Soviet movement in the Indian Ocean. The Soviet navy began to be deployed in the Ocean somewhat openly in 1967. This was the consequence of two interconnected Soviet considerations arising in the 1960s. The Soviet climb down on Cuba in late 1962 exposed the Soviet inferiority in naval capability, which the leadership decided to rectify with determination by overall augmentation of its navy in general. The 1960 decision to develop Soviet navy as an autonomous arm of the Red Army was reinforced by the Cuba debacle, and pursued with vigor and urgency. This showed results in time, and their spill-over in the Indian Ocean towards the end of the 1960s was only logical particularly when the ocean constitute a large and vital link between the Soviet ports in the Pacific and the Black sea.<sup>20</sup> The second, of course, was the open US naval manifestation the ocean at the British *East-of-Suez* declaration of January 1968.

So what might have appeared as a departure from the traditional Soviet concerns with the Atlantic and the Pacific<sup>21</sup> was but the inevitable geopolitical compulsion for the USSR to

give in to, once the Indian Ocean manifestly rid itself of the myth of being an inviolable British preserve. The compulsion seemed to gain further edge as China moved out of the Soviet orbit to assert its own Afro-Asian – if not global – aspirations while getting closer to the USA. It was felt that the Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean would be able to contain the Chinese adventures in the area.

Accordingly, in contrast to the earlier (1967) Soviet naval deployment mainly to counter the anticipated US strategic submarines in the Indian Ocean, from March 1968 the Soviet ships began calling at ports in this ocean as was practiced by those of the other great powers. This activity expanded over the years.<sup>22</sup> The Soviet flag was, from now on, markedly visible in the important strategic area of the Indian Ocean.<sup>23</sup> In strategic terms the Soviet vessels, especially the *Kiev-class* carriers equipped with anti-submarine helicopters, could keep the US ballistic missile submarines well beyond the range of the industrial centers in the Soviet Ukraine and other places, for now the Soviet naval vessels could be deployed in the region legitimately.<sup>24</sup>

By the end of 1971, Soviet navy had made about 50 visits to 16 countries on the perimeter of the Indian Ocean. Such visits increased over the years but nobody panicked about it. In mid-1970s, the constant Soviet naval presence in the north-west Indian Ocean on any given day averaged about 20 ships, including missile-armed ones and submarines.<sup>25</sup> With the increase in its size, the Soviet activity increased in the following decades particularly in the form of surveillance of US forces and training in the Gulf of Aden and Socotra island. The Soviets had concentrated their squadron in anchorage in the southern Red Sea, and with a small force of maritime patrol and ASW aircraft, they did periodic surveillance of the western forces (viz., those of the US and her allies) operating in the Arabian Sea.<sup>26</sup>

Notwithstanding the attempts to exaggerate the size and significance of the Soviet naval strength in the Indian Ocean – as has been done, for instance, by the Lee Hamilton committee of the US Congress<sup>27</sup> – the more plausible fact seemed to be that the Soviet presence there was quite limited. And in view of the decline in the overall naval built up in mid-1980s,<sup>28</sup> the presence in the ocean was not likely to have gone up – certainly not in comparison with that of the US there. Soviet aircraft carriers were reportedly capable of limited air support to Soviet surface vessels and sub-marines, and maritime reconnaissance.<sup>29</sup>

Contrary to the western – essentially US – contention that the Soviets had three “bases” (at the island of Socotra, Aden and Dahlak island of Ethiopia), they had in fact none

in the Indian Ocean. But even by American accounts, these were not bases; they were just places where the Soviet vessels and warships had facilities for berthing, repairs and revictualling,<sup>30</sup> which Russia maintain even today after USSR disintegration. The Soviet Union did not have any formal treaty or agreement with any of the Indian Ocean littorals, to maintain her base facilities. Mauritius refused to grant even these small facilities to the Soviets in 1970.<sup>31</sup> Consequently, the Soviet navy in this ocean operated under considerable constraints as had been pointed out by a former CIA Director William Colby.<sup>32</sup>

Apparently then the nature and extent of the Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean was different from that of the Western powers. Not only was it more transient, it was also relatively smaller in size: in 1984, for instance, it was believed to have an average 25 ships in the ocean at any time, with about half as support vessels and auxiliaries.<sup>33</sup>

However, the Soviet Union did maintain in the Indian Ocean quite a few oceanographic research vessels, some of them of “Pueblo type”. These vessels could, of course, intercept communication and transmission of messages between the American VLF base in Australia and the submerged US Polaris submarines in the Indian Ocean. It is believed that a substantial part of the large Soviet oceanographic and fishing fleets – the largest in the world, according to some<sup>34</sup> – was allotted to the Indian Ocean. A number of its fishing trawlers were equipped for intelligence collection. Together with the Oceanographic ships, these tended to be the ears and eyes of the Soviet intelligence in areas not covered by the naval units of the USSR.

Quite clearly the position of the then two superpowers in the Indian Ocean was rather unequal. Nonetheless it was devoid of the element of mutual rivalry which had inherent in it the potential of exploding into disastrous consequences for the states and the people of the Indian Ocean region.

### **Indian Ocean as a ‘Zone of Peace’**

Under the circumstances, the states and the people of this region persistently demanded a radical transformation in the military features of the Indian Ocean. In all regional and international foras these states campaigned collectively that the ocean be declared and respected as a zone of peace.<sup>35</sup> The campaign intensified as the military-strategic scenario in the ocean unfolded itself from about the mid 1960s onwards, and as the non-alignment started shaping into a movement.

The then Sri Lankan Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike took the initiative in formulating and promoting the idea of the Indian Ocean as a 'Zone of Peace'. The country's permanent representative in the United Nations, accordingly, asked that the item be included in the agenda of the 26<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly (1971). This was discussed and the resolution declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace was adopted. It has been re-iterated many a times in the UN General Assembly particularly till the end of the cold war when the Soviet Union disintegrated. But the stark reality is that despite all these efforts, till date, and after about 450 meetings of the Ad hoc committee, the contemplated zone of peace still has not come to be. Moreover the key western members of the committee withdrew from this body in 1989, arguing that since the superpower rivalry in the Indian Ocean had ended with the end of the cold war, therefore, creation of zone of peace would be a purposeless exercise. A statement in 1997 by the US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, followed this to the effect that "Ad hoc committee is an example of the financial wastefulness of the United Nations and should be disband".<sup>36</sup> However, this was not considered by the US and the issue is still pending in the Ad hoc committee.

The resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly on 16 December 1971,<sup>37</sup> is admittedly rooted in the concept of non-alignment as it articulated the "determination of the peoples of the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean to preserve their independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, and to resolve their political, economic and social problems under conditions of peace and tranquility".<sup>38</sup>

Stressing the great power rivalries hindered and threatened the desperately needed socio-economic reconstruction of the people of the Indian Ocean region through unnecessary diversion of already scarce resources and simultaneous augmentation of tensions, the resolution asserts that the establishment of the zone

"could have a beneficial influence on the establishment of permanent universal peace based on equal rights and justice for all, in accordance with the purpose and principles of the charter of the United Nations".<sup>39</sup>

The resolution solemnly declared that the Indian Ocean "together with the air space above and the ocean floor subjacent thereto, is hereby designated for all time as a zone of peace". The great powers were called upon to (1) halt further escalation and expansion of their military presence in the ocean, and (2) eliminate from there all bases, military installations and other paraphernalia especially the nuclear materials.

At the same time, the countries of the region were urged to enter into consultations to ensure that military vessels were not allowed to use the ocean “for any threat or use of threat against (their) sovereignty, territorial integrity” and independence in contravention of the UN charter. The resolution assured that the “right to free and unimpeded use of the zone by the vessels of all nations are unaffected” in accordance with the norms of international law.

Apparently, then, the peace zone implied:

“on the one hand measures to insulate the area concerned from dangers of war, originating from powers external to the zone, and on the other hand, measure to promote peaceful relations among zonal powers themselves”.<sup>40</sup>

It also aims simultaneously to diminish the potential of the outside powers to interfere, influence or manipulate the internal situations and strategies of the local politics of the region, the outside powers in the area constitute a kind of ‘fuse’ which could detonate a military explosion on a broad geographical area.<sup>41</sup>

### ***The catalyst of Indian Ocean resources***

Advances in science and technology have imparted a new and rather valuable dimension to the geo-political importance of the Indian Ocean. Its waters are now believed to contain and cover fabulous resources. Even though much of its seabed has still not been explored, whatever area has been has revealed huge quantities of material on which industrializing countries put great worth. As a result, both the Indian Ocean and its bed have aroused almost universal interest and attracted rapidly growing attention.

It is true that as yet no one knows the full measure of what the Indian Ocean bed contains. But the growing belief, widely shared, is that much –if not all- that we need, can also be furnished by this sea-bed, which is replete with a huge variety of minerals (metallic as well as non-metallic). Besides inexhaustible mass of beach sand and gravel, the Indian Ocean sea-bed has heavy minerals associated with beach deposits, surface deposits of manganese and phosphates. It also has iron, copper, gold, uranium in substantial quantities among others.<sup>42</sup>

The most important of these are, of course, the polymetallic (mainly manganese) nodules – each nodule a composite containing an array of a number of metals among other substances – which layers the Indian Ocean sea-bed covered with about 70,000 tons of nodules. These would yield about 30,000 tons of manganese, 3,600 tons of aluminium, 2,300

tons of nickel and 650 tons of copper. In money terms, the nodules are worth \$ 70,000 per square mile.<sup>43</sup>

Nodules on the sea-bed were first discovered during the three year oceanographic voyage by a British vessel as early as 1870 at a depth of 12,000 to 20,000 feet. Their discovery in the Indian Ocean came in 1880; the international Indian Ocean Expedition in the 1960s confirmed this.<sup>44</sup> In 1981 the research vessel *Gaveshani*, belonging to the Indian National Institute of Oceanography, recovered these polymetallic nodules from the oceanic bed near Minicoy island and the Seychelles.<sup>45</sup>

Copper, cobalt, nickel and manganese are the four elements of commercial interest in the nodule.<sup>46</sup> This makes the polymetallic nodules an item of great attraction for industrial nations as well as those seeking economic development through industrialization. While the extraction and the economic exploitation of these and other metallic minerals of the ocean is not yet a viable proposition, the immediately usable – and thus extremely valuable – non-solid minerals that the Indian Ocean offers is, of course, petroleum in the form of natural gas and crude oil.<sup>47</sup>

Oil was discovered in the Persian Gulf region of the Indian Ocean in 1890,<sup>48</sup> and even today this area is believed to contain about 75% of the world's proven offshore reserves. Otherwise too the Indian Ocean and its continental margins are now known to possess the largest quantities of these reserves. This is attributed to the fact that this ocean has one of the world's largest continuous continental shelves and the one yet barely touched by exploitation and exploration. The feverish prospecting and drilling activity in the vicinity of the Indian sub-continent, which has shown positive results bears testimony to the general belief of this ocean being rich in oil.

The exploitation of the vast potential of this ocean in this regard, however, requires technology capable of drilling and harnessing oil at depths of thousands of feet which, at present, is beyond the reach of most of the countries of this region. This means that till such technological breakthrough is achieved indigenously, these countries will have to depend upon others from outside the region – the West, Japan or some other – for using the ocean as easily as is done in the mainland. The many ramifications of this dependence can well be imagined than Laboured here.

In any case, this technological gap is one major factor responsible for bringing into the Indian Ocean formidable outside powers and the consequences that arise therefrom. Even



though the economic facet of many of these powers through their multinational corporations are what meets the eye, the political fall out and their political involvement have not remained latent for long.

And it is not merely the non-living resources of the Indian Ocean which have brought this situation; the living marine resources of the area have contributed to it in no small measure. The latter category includes fish and other edibles, and other growing marine products of medicinal or pharmaceutical value.

We all know how heavily – if not exclusively in many cases – the people of the Indian Ocean region depend upon fish and fishing. The economies of a large number of the states of the Indian Ocean have fisheries as rather prominent sector in them. Estimates put the annual yield potential of fish of the Indian Ocean at 11 to 12 million tons in a total world production of 92 million tons.<sup>49</sup> According to the International Indian Ocean Expedition, the tropical waters of this ocean do sustain large shoals of fish like Sardines, Mackerel, Tuna and Prawns. Most of the fishing so far has traditionally been in the zone of shoals near the coast and in the continental shelf up to a depth of about one thousand feet. Technology could provide more advanced techniques for fishing in the continental slopes from 3-6 thousand feet, thereby easily doubling the present catch. That the fish figures prominently in the life of the people of the Indian Ocean go without saying. It could, evidently the nourishment needs of these people still further once the yield is raised.

Geographically, Antarctica is an integral part of the Indian Ocean and with this the resource position of the ocean becomes still more formidable, indeed. The supposed variety and volume of the metallic and non-metallic resources of Antarctica have already transcended the realm of fable to become tangible inputs of national policies the world over. Although lack of appropriate technology has prevented the harnesses these resources so far, the position in this regard may change in not too distant a future.

Nevertheless, one item of Antarctica resources – namely *Krill*<sup>50</sup> – is already finding immediate use as a source rich in protein, and thus a nourishing food for some people of the world. In 2002-03 the Krill catch reported to be 110,334 tones. It was expected that by the end of 2004 the Krill catch will increase by 30%.<sup>50</sup> Russia, Japan and many European countries are among the more prominent harvesters of *Krill*, and their numbers are likely to increase.

Inspite of the abundance of these resources, the Indian Ocean region is among the poorest in the world; and the reasons for these are many and known.. It is enough for the purpose to take note of this geopolitical reality, the implications of which are many.. The one outstanding fact that emerges is that of the urgent need for very rapid economic development, and possible modernization of this region as a whole.

### **Preponderance of low-income economies and underdeveloped states in the region**

Excepting the two model countries – South Africa (2005 GNP per capita = \$4959) and Australia (2005 GNP per capita = \$32170)-<sup>51</sup> and possibly some oil producers in the Arab Middle East, practically all the countries of the Indian Ocean areas belong to the group of low-income economies and are at various levels of economic underdevelopment (Table I). In rapid industrialization and modernization in other sectors of their economies they see the means of requisite economic development, but the necessity and consequent tendency of their dependence upon others for fulfilling the task of development alone cannot meet the expectations and aspirations of their demanding and impatient people.

In many aspects the inevitable dependence poses dilemmas and choices for these countries which are not easy to fathom fully and resolve expeditiously. While over-using the rhetoric of self-reliance the nation-states fashion their linkages and alignments within the region, and without, keeping in view all the time as to how best to carry out their developmental responsibilities. This impairs or effects their autonomy and independence of action in international affairs.

Instances of technology transfer; foreign aid; terms of trade, importation of skilled manpower to man or manage the various sectors of modernizing the economy; impact of the new values and work- cultures of these old societies etc. etc. leading to all kinds of pressures internally and compromises externally on the part of countries of the Indian Ocean region are too numerous and too well known.

The net result of all this is the entry and spread of outside powers, agencies and organizations, into the area and not for altruistic purpose too. There are, thus, multinational corporations, international organizations of various kinds, UN agencies, bilateral commissions etc. operating in the area to the extent and on a scale which perhaps bears no comparison with other parts of the world certainly not in the other two oceans: Atlantic and the Pacific.

Does this encourage or inhibit mutual cooperation within the region? How far are hegemonistic tendencies on the part of the large states of the area effectively curbed or contained and by what means and at what cost? What do the local conflicts portend for the region and the world, and how do they affect the progress of peace? These, and many other, are open questions that evidently jeopardize the stability of the region.

### **Concentration of population**

Of the total population of the world, a huge number is located in the 40 littoral countries of the Indian Ocean region (Table II). The most striking feature of the population of this region is that it is growing very fast. The average rate of its growth is nearly 2.84% in contrast to that of 0.5% in Europe and 0.7 % and 0.9% in the US and Canada-<sup>52</sup> the developed part of the world. As a result, whatever gains are made by economic development are eaten up and nullified by the ever-increasing number of people. This not only leads to general poverty, low levels of consumption, malnutrition, low life expectancy etc., it also strains the economic systems while rendering precarious the political systems there. Economic dependence of these countries, thus, gets enmeshed with high potential political instability conducive to foreign interference and manipulation. The high rising population further renders ineffective the attempts at social reordering and modernization of these societies. These are the impediments that inhibit the political autonomy of these countries in regard to international relations.

### **Feature and force of non-alignment**

The most significant development in this region in the post World War II era was the policies of the states of the region to remain non-aligned. In fact it was in the posture of non-alignment that these countries sought the capability of autonomy in international relations and foreign policy.

Accordingly, almost all the 40 countries of the Indian Ocean region chose non-alignment as their policy and posture in world affairs. Their subscribing to non-alignment in such large numbers was one factor responsible for transforming the concept of non-alignment into a strident *Non-Aligned Movement* during the cold war years. The Indian Ocean countries component, while lending due weight to the NAM's economic struggle *vis-vis* the industrially advance in the North –South, spearheaded the political campaign of making the ocean a zone of peace.

Their non-alignment, at the same time also, either dissolved or rendered redundant the military pacts of the 1950s, or effectively prevented attempts at forging such alliances afresh. With the strengthening of this movement the international relations underwent qualitative changes. Even the superpower rivalry during those days, despite pressures from both the blocks, particularly the western, lacked the kind of local support or association it would have automatically acquired had NAM not been so manifestly and deeply entrenched here. In fact the movement encouraged the exploration of mutual cooperation among the people of this region. Inducements to intra-regional interaction and cooperation are far greater now than they were ever before. This precisely makes the Indian Ocean environment one of cooperation and collaboration in the tackling of common problems and tasks than one in which some could dominate or dictate the other easily as was the practice during the cold war days.

In the post cold war period, according to some critics of NAM, the scene has entirely changed and non-aligned movement –to large extent, has lost its relevance particularly after the breakup of its founding member, Yugoslavia. In 2004 Malta and Cyprus ceased to be its members and both joined the European Union(EU) but it should not be forgotten that NAM with all its internal contradictions, can play a very pivotal role in crisis situations in future, as it did in cold war years. The role, then and now, when a window of opportunity arises, will only be limited. NAM now can expound the merits of a new international economic order; involve itself in global issues like global warming; HIV/AIDS; can make significant contribution to the emerging global water crisis and also for ushering in a new world trade order. Most importantly, it can take a leading role in sensitizing the world public opinions for eliminating poverty, hunger and famine from the world and for the creation of a more egalitarian and democratic international system. These are the new challenges for the NAM in the years to come.

### **Post Cold War Scenario in the Indian Ocean**

As discussed earlier that immediately after the second world war both the super powers were in competition with each other to establish their hegemony in the Indian Ocean region in one form or the other – in the name of ideology to be more specific. This competition continued till about the end of 1980s. Both the powers contended with one another for political advantage in the region. Apparently the Indian Ocean was also significant in terms of the nuclear arms race between both the powers.

But with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 the scene has changed drastically. The world is no longer bipolar now; it is only uni-polar. The USA, now, is the sole master and player of the Indian Ocean. With this the American naval doctrine has undergone a dramatic transformation. The focus on a global threat during the cold war years has shifted to one of challenges and opportunities. Consequently, the doctrine of open-ocean war-fighting at sea, against the erstwhile Soviet Union and nuclear forces, is increasingly changing to one of power projection and the employment of naval forces from the sea, in order to influence the events in the littoral regions of the world, particularly the Indian Ocean region where USA has very high economic and political stakes. In fact it is the economic stakes which has shaped the American Indian Ocean policy, particularly in South and South-West Asia and more recently in the Central Asian Republics as these states are rich in metal and mineral resources. This has been notably demonstrated by it in the Gulf war in 1991, Afghanistan in late 2001 and early 2002 when the US warships in the Indian Ocean played a major role in its operation against Taliban and Al-Qaeda and then in Iraq in 2004. The balance, earlier provided by the Soviet Union, no longer exists there. The so called 'global coalitions' are in fact only a cover for US dominated presence. The fact of the matter is that most of the states of the Indian Ocean region, including the island states have no option but to become part of such groupings, reflect the realities of the international order emerging after the end of the cold war.

It is, in fact, the growing US strategic profile in the Indian Ocean region that has characterized the growing US military presence in the region in the form of renewed security links with countries of the region Pakistan to be more specific, particularly after the Al-Qaeda attacks on World Trade Centre and Pentagon (9/11) in September 2001<sup>53</sup>, modernizing its Indian Ocean strategic infrastructure particularly after the 1991 gulf war and more so since 1995 when Clinton administration shifted towards a more robust and international posture.<sup>54</sup> This has certainly jeopardized the security of the Indian Ocean region.

Therefore, the post-cold war geopolitical realities in the Indian Ocean region are more complex and compelling than ever before; certainly far more complex and compelling than the weapon supplies and system in the area might suggest. A vast majority of the thickly populated states in the region together account for the largest concentration of population in the world. These people struggle to survive under the conditions characterized by chronic poverty, precarious political systems, stagnating economies, fragmented politics guided more by the considerations of power politics than by ethos of 'welfare policies', ruffled social

systems and self centered ruling elites clinging on to political power through the clear manipulation of the masses by the use of rhetoric or by force. Therefore, the deteriorating political systems in general and economic in particular have encouraged the people of the region to form a new grouping in the form of IOR-ARC (Indian Ocean Association for Regional Cooperation) as being discussed in the last segment of this paper.

### **Emergence of Indian Ocean Association for Regional Cooperation**

The disappearance of the bi-polar world has generated more factionalism and strife in Africa, Asia and Europe because of sub-nationalism, ethnic cleansing, religious extremism, famine and environmental degradation. The countries of the Indian Ocean have been vulnerable to these multi-faceted pulls and pushes as most of them are brittle, underdeveloped with little financial or industrial stamina to withstand the dictates of the developed nations. In the light of this argument the formation of the Indian Ocean Rim Trade Block is an important development in the post-cold war world. This is seen as a more fruitful way of tackling the problem of economic development and increasing the bargaining power of the developing countries *vis-à-vis* the developed world. It is beyond any doubt that this region because of its vast resources<sup>55</sup> has great potential for economic development and regional trade.

A significant regional development has been the return of South Africa to the international community after apartheid, and rise of China as a potential and challenging economic power particularly in the last about one and a half decade. In fact it is this emerging international scenario which is the main driving force behind the countries of the region to have economic alliances for mutual benefits.<sup>56</sup> Popularly known as M-7<sup>57</sup>, the seven countries of the region took the initiative to form Indian Ocean Rim Association when they met in Port Louis (Mauritius), from March 29-31, 1995, to discuss the enhancement of cooperation among the countries of the Indian Ocean region. It was decided that initially trade and investment promotion would be the main focus of the association. It further acknowledged the vital interests shared by the Indian Ocean region in the expansion of trade and investment - regionally and globally<sup>58</sup> and expressed the conviction that closer cooperation was needed for the more effective utilization of human, natural and other resources of the region, and for the accelerated and sustained growth of regional and sub regional economies. This conviction has further strengthened with the need to formulate and implement programs of economic cooperation including expansion of trade, tourism and direct investment. It was also agreed to

strengthen cooperation and dialogue among members in international forums on global economic issues.<sup>59</sup> The fear of being economically marginalized and an attempt to wield greater influence through collective action has lent urgency to the formation of economic association.

Therefore, on March 5, 1997, the IOR-ARC was formally launched in Mauritius as a 14 nation <sup>60</sup> inter-governmental association for economic cooperation in the region. The working mechanism of the association was earmarked in this meeting, according to the given provisions. Perhaps the IOR-ARC working groups are the Indian Ocean Rim Academic Group (IORAG) which comes from academia and the Indian Ocean Rim Business Forum (IORBF) representing the business community. These forums identify special areas of cooperation by identifying projects to strengthen the process with enough understanding and mutual consultations. IORBF's main agenda is to focus on cooperation on trade related infrastructure and on establishing programmes for cooperation in technology, tourism and human resource development. Similarly, the objectives of the IORAG are to serve the rising needs of both the business and the governments within the ambit of IOR-ARC, to promote intellectual environment and dialogue between member states and to provide coordinated research in support of IOR-ARC. This is being done to promote applied and scientific research with underlying motives of academic and scientific exchange within the region. Another important aspect of this association is to concentrate on areas of economic cooperation which would provide maximum opportunities to develop shared interest and reap mutual gains at the regional as well as at the global level. They have set a goal to remove all barriers for free trade of goods, investment and technology within the Indian Ocean region.

A principal commonality among these countries is that, at one time or the other, they were colonized by the Europeans. Few of them became independent in the late 1940s and most of them in the 1960s and 1970s and are quite young with limited resources to assist them. Another important aspect is the sheer diversity among the member states of the IOR-ARC, making it the most heterogeneous of the major economic groupings. This relates to their size (Australia *vis-vis* Singapore), population (India's 1,131.43 million *vis-vis* 1.25 million of Mauritius), and the nature of political systems (The world's largest democracy *vis-vis* the authoritarian regime), their language, cultures and religion. The GDP growth rate varies from 9.1 % in case of India to 8 % for Mozambique, 2.7 % in case of Australia to 7.9 % for Singapore.<sup>61</sup> Keeping aside all these disparities, the member states aim at bolstering greater economic cooperation among themselves. This is considered to be a major task

because IOR collectively accords for only 8% of global GDP and just 11% of trade worldwide. Moreover the level of intra-rim trade is only 25% of the total Indian Ocean trade, even though this has been increasing over the past couple of years.<sup>62</sup>

Nonetheless, the prospects and opportunities for greater economic cooperation amongst the IOR-ARC member states are considerable.<sup>63</sup> These countries alone count for as much as 65% of intra-rim trade. Six of them: Singapore, Malaysia, Australia, Indonesia, India and South Africa dominate the total trade accounting for 97% of the total IOR-ARC intra-rim trade.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, both imports and exports have increased at a faster rate with developing countries as compared to the world as a whole. Although the IOR – has shown an adverse balance of trade with the rest of the world, its trade gap is negligible – less than 2% of its trade.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, the focus of the association is clearly and rightly so, on economic issues and not political or military. In this association the participating governments have taken a back seat in its core activities, merely playing the role of facilitators. The other two bodies – business and academic- are to do most of the actual work i.e. implementation of the projects of work program in order to enhance the economic cooperation. It is also important to note that the IOR-ARC is truly an association indigenous to the Indian Ocean rim. It does not permit membership to any non-Indian Ocean state nor should it do so. It is, therefore, far too early to reach a judgment on its efficacy and achievements. The bottom-line, however, is that its future will depend very much on its success in the years to come. But it is beyond doubt that if security issues are kept aside and if IOR-ARC confines itself to trade and other forms of economic cooperation, then there is tremendous potential for creating intra-regional trade opportunities, opening markets, developing entrepreneurial and business links and effective exponential growth in intra and inter-regional investment flows.

## **Conclusion**

From the foregoing discussion it is quite evident that the post – Second World War international politics was dominated by the cold war for almost four decades, thus, resulting in ideological, philosophical, military and strategic changes that totally changed the complexion of the world politics in general and Indian Ocean in particular. Both the superpowers were one after the other to win friends and allies in this region which could meet their immediate needs-military, economic and ideological to greater extent. They were bent upon destroying each other to establish their hegemony in this region – ideologically, politically, militarily or economically. But there were countries here which could not be allured by any of the powers to fall in their game plan as they opted to remain non-aligned



because they felt that siding with either of the superpower will pose a direct threat to their freedom, sovereignty and integrity which they had achieved after centuries of struggle. Nationalism was more important for them. But there was no laxity on the part of the superpowers to have their foothold in this region by creating proxy wars and skirmishes, only to make their presence felt in this region against each other. In this plan the USA succeeded to a large extent when it was able to establish a permanent military and strategic base at Diego Garcia in Mauritius posing a direct threat to the littoral states of this region. The scene remain hostile to the states of this region till the end of the 1980s when one of the then superpowers – USSR, disintegrated, thus, leaving the ocean to the Americans. Since then, Indian Ocean states with their huge resources underneath, varied level of economic development and vast cultural diversities have shown tremendous potential to mutually cooperate and work with each other for the growth of this region. Indian Ocean during the last about one a half decade has changed its character altogether particularly after the collapse of Soviet Union and, in the light of globalization and liberalization. It is not that ocean which it used to be. Rather the military alliances and competitions of the 1950s and 60s are being translated into economic alliances. The focus, now, is more on regional organizations which can bolster their economies not only at the regional level but also at the global level. The countries of this region now look more towards each other for mutual help and cooperation in almost all areas of development. They realize that they can, with limited resources –economic as well as scientific – make more progress and development mutually than looking towards outside help. The regional perspective, particularly, with the emergence of IOR-ARC, is meant to compliment, supplement and incorporate without any political intervention. It aims at promoting sustained growth and balanced development of the Indian Ocean region and to have a common ground for regional economic cooperation. Regionalism with institutional foundation is the most appropriate policy to have strong economic linkages within the Indian Ocean region.

**Table - I**

<b>Countries</b>	<b>Population (in millions)</b>	<b>GNP (Per capita Income Dollars)</b>
1. South Africa	47.86	4,959
2. Mozambique	21.40	310
3. Tanzania	40.46	350
4. Kenya	37.54	527
5. Somalia	8.70	136
6. Yemen	22.40	19.2
7. Ethiopia	77.13	156
8. Oman	25.95	8,999
9. United Arab Emirates	4.38	24,213
10. Kuwait	2.80	23,483
11. Iraq	29.00	599
12. Iran	71.21	2,771
13. Pakistan	162.22	689
14. India	1131.43	724
15. Bangladesh	158.66	467
16. Malaysia	27.50	4,963
17. Indonesia	231.62	1,279
18. Australia	21.80	32,170

*Source: World Development Report-2007, pp. 256-57, 264.*

*Also see [www.en.wikipedia.org](http://www.en.wikipedia.org) (UN estimates 2007)*

**Table –II**  
**Population of the countries of the Indian Ocean Region (mid 2005)**  
(in millions)

Country	Population	Country	Population
1. Australia	21.80		
2. Indonesia	231.62	21. Israel	7.20
3. Malaysia	27.50	22 .Jordan	5.90
4. Burma	36.10	23. Somalia	8.70
5. Bangladesh	158.66	24. Sudan	38.50
6. India.	1131.43	25. Yemen	22.40
7. Maldives	3.06	26. Botswana	18.82
8. Pakistan	162.22	27. Tanzania	40.46
9. Sri Lanka	19.30	28. Kenya	37.54
10. Bahrain.	7.53	29. Lesotho	2.08
11. Iran.	71.21	30. Malawi	14.00
12. Iraq.	29.00	31. Mozambique	21.40
13. Qatar	8.41	32 .Zambia	11.93
14. Kuwait	2.80	33. Swaziland	11.41
15. Oman	25.95	34. Zimbabwe	13.50
16. Saudi Arabia	24.73	35. Uganda	30.88
17. United Arab Emirates	4.38	36. South Africa	47.86
18. Egypt	75.49	37. Comoros	6.82
19. Ethiopia	77.13	38. Madagascar	19.63
20. Djibouti	8.33	39. Mauritius	1.25
		40. Seychelles	8.70

*Source: World Development Report 2007, pp. 256-57, 264.*  
*Also see [www.en.wikipedia.org](http://www.en.wikipedia.org) (UN Estimates 2007)*

## Notes

1. Diego Garcia negotiations were initiated on 30 December 1966 and finalized in December 1968. The British and American governments signed an agreements allowing the US to establish , operate and maintain at the island of Mahe in the Seychelles a tracking and telemetry facility for orbitary control and data acquisition, in connection with various US space projects; facilities for meteorological and seismological research; and communication facilities for such projects. These facilities were valid till 1990, and the military base at Diego Garcia till 2016, physically manifested the American presence in the Indian Ocean. *Strategic Analysis*, January 1982, pp.560-61.
2. Reproduced in *Asian Recorder*, vol.XIV, 8-14 July 1968, p. 8417
3. *New Statesman* (London) 19 January 1968, p.61; *The Economist* (London) 20 January 1968, p.17; Bhasin,V.K.,SUPERPOWER RIVALRY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN( New Delhi)1961,37ff., Desmond Wettern,“Royal Navy and the continuing commitments”, *US Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol.97, no.8, August 1971, p.20.
4. The then Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, for instance, held that the British withdrawal did not create a vacuum. Reacting strongly against the theory of “power Vacuum”, Mrs. Gandhi said: “There has been no dearth of theories to justify military presence. One of the most inane of them is the theory of power vacuum. The colonial powers were compelled to leave because of an opposite political force –the urge of nationalism”. Cited in Kaushik, Davendra, THE INDIAN OCEAN, towards a peace zone (New Delhi) 1972, p.23. If at all a vacuum existed it should be filled by the local rather than outside power(s); she rejected out of hand the suggestion that India should be the one to fill the supposed vacuum. *The Hindustan Times*, 21 May 1966.Also, “What Agnew found in Asia: Support for US Role there”, *US News and World Report*, 26 January 1970,p.1
5. *Indian Quarterly*, vol.37, no.1, January- March 1981, p.38ff
6. T.B.Miller, ‘The Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean: Some Strategic Considerations’, *Adelphi Papers*, no.57, May 1969, p.6
7. *New York Times*, 12 January 1968
8. Kaushik, *op.cit*, p.17; Report of the three experts to the Secretary General of the United Nations, A/AC/1959/per/1 (New York); also, *infra*, reference 15.
9. Briefing on Diego Garcia and Petrol Frigate, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 93<sup>rd</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> session (1974),p.37; David T. Johnson, “ The Indian Ocean, A new naval race”, in Johnson, David T & Barry R. Schneider (ed): CURRENT ISSUES OF US DEFENCE POLICY (New York), 1976, p.84; Cohen, Robin(Ed),AFRICAN ISLANDS AND ENCLEVES(New York) 1983, pp.41-46.
10. See, *The Indian Ocean Political and Strategic Future*, House of Representatives Committee on Foreign affairs Hearings; 92<sup>nd</sup> Congress, 20-28 July 1971 (Washington D.C.), p.206; *UN Document*, A/AC, 159/1, 3 May 1974, pp.6-7.
11. *US Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol.107, no.1, July 1981, p.55; *IDSA NRSAIO (News Review on South Asia and Indian Ocean)*, August, p.863; Braun, Dieter, THE INDIAN OCEAN, Region of conflict or ‘zone of peace’? (Oxford) 1983, pp.41-46.
12. Within a couple of weeks of the Soviet military entry into Afghanistan on Christmas 1979, Washington announced on 5 January that as a consequence of crisis in Afghanistan and Iran, the US government had decided to maintain a permanent naval presence on Diego Garcia. A week later (on 12 January) the government informed Britain that it would augment its military facilities on the island. “The network which we have developed for the region (of the Arabian sea) is centered around Diego Garcia, where we expect to expand our facilities greatly in consultation with the United Kingdom”, informed the US Under Secretary for Defense in the House Foreign Affairs Committee on 2 April 1980. Cited in Day, Alan J (ed): BORDER AND TERRITORIAL DISPUTES (London), 1982, p.148; also see, Melkote, Rama S (ed): INDIAN OCEAN, issues for peace (New Delhi), 1995, p.12.
13. *Indian Express* (Chandigarh), 18 January 1985.
14. For instance, it cannot substitute for facilities more proximate to the potential theatre because of its distance. Men and aircraft would have to be flown somewhere near the trouble spot from where Diego Garcia, and ships would have to move to a nearby port to deliver the equipment. In any protracted

- operations, "forward operating locations" must be available in the area as join-up points to facilitate action. Rasul B Rais, "An Appraisal of US Strategy in the Indian Ocean", *Asian Survey*, September 1983, p.1045.
15. K. Subrahmanyam, "Bases in Indian Ocean" Political and Psychological Tool", *Weekly Round Table* (Delhi), 19 may 1974, pp.10-12
  16. In 1970s, the US naval ships had access to 16 countries of the Indian Ocean littoral whereas the Soviets were welcome in only 13 such states for fuelling and bunkering. *US Congressional Records*, House of Representatives, 94<sup>th</sup> Congress, vol.121 (28 July 19750, pp.7656, 13929; also *Indian Express* (Chandigarh), 12 August 1987.
  17. Thomas B Hayward, "The Future of US Sea Power", *US Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol.105, May 1979, p.68; Thomas H Moorer and A. J. Cottrell, "The Search for US bases in the Indian Ocean : A last chance", *Strategic Review*, January 1980, pp.30-31.
  18. R.R. Subramanian, "Super Power Conflicts in the Indian Ocean of the 1980s", *Strategic Analysis*, vol.8, no.10, January 1985, pp.973-74; Andrew C.A. Jampoler, "America's Vital Interests", *US Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol.107, no.1, January 1981, p.30.
  19. To support an effective space strategy an extensive network of ground and space-based command, communication and intelligence (C<sup>3</sup>I) network is necessary. More than 70% of the Pentagon's communications are routed through space. The US GEODSS system which will scan like radar with the sensitivity and range of a Baker-Nunn camera (the ability to spot a one foot diameter object at 25,000 miles altitude) is one example. A minimum of 5 GEODSS systems are required to provide effective spatial coverage.  
  
The very size of the Indian Ocean (and the landmass in the northern hemisphere) not being under direct control of the USAO would suggest a requirement for at least one of them to be located in this region. Jasjit Singh, "Geopolitics and Superpower Rivalry in the Indian Ocean", *Strategic Analysis*, November 1984, p.807; R.R.Subramanian, "Superpower Conflicts in the Indian Ocean of the 1980", *ibid*, January 1985, p.978.
  20. For the growth of the Soviet navy, see the MILITARY BALANCE 1982, 1983 (London, Institute of Strategic Studies) cited in the discussion in Kaushik, *op.cit.* Pp.28-29; also Vali, Ferenc A: POLITICS OF THE INDIAN OCEAN REGION, the balances of power (New York), 1976, p.177.
  21. See Subramanian K, "Bases in the Indian Ocean: Political and Psychological Tools" *Round Table* (New Delhi), June 9, 1974, p.13
  22. Kaushik. *op.cit.*, pp.30ff; Vali, *op.cit.*, p.177
  23. The somewhat dramatic passage of the Soviet warships through Malacca Straits when the Commonwealth Prime Ministers were in conference at Singapore in January 1971 provided the opportunity to the British Prime Minister, Edward Heath for alarmist cold war invective against the Soviet designs, and justify Britain's Simonstown naval agreement with South Africa much to the chagrin of most of the Prime Ministers assembled for the conference. See, besides the *Times* (London) and *Guardian* (Manchester) of the period, *IDSANRSAIO*, February 1972, p.161; Parliament of Commonwealth of Australia, "Australia and the Indian Ocean Region", *Report of the Senate standing committee, Foreign Affairs and Defence, parliament Paper No.330, 1976*, pp.128-129; Kaushik, *op.cit.*, pp.210-22;
  24. *New York Times*, 25 January 1975; Bhasin, V.K *op.cit.*, p.54.
  25. *US Congressional Records*, Senate, 94<sup>th</sup> Congress, vol.121, no.122, 28 July 1975, p.13947.
  26. *Strategic Analysis*, *op.cit.*, June- July 1981, p.160; Ulrich Meister, "Strategic Shifts in the Indian Ocean", *Swiss Review of World Affairs*, vol.32, no.1, April 1982, p.20
  27. See, Satyabrata Rai Chowdhuri, "Soviet Might in the Indian Ocean", *Indian Express* (Chandigarh), 13 May 1981
  28. R. R. Subramanian, "Superpower conflicts in the Indian Ocean of the 1980s", *Strategic Analysis*, January 1985, p.976.
  29. *Africa Report*, January-February 1985, p.10

30. Inder Malhotra, "Non-aligned and the ocean: problems that must be faced", *The Times of India (New Delhi)*, 10 March 1983.
31. It has only treaties of friendship and cooperation with North and South Yemen, India, Iraq, Ethiopia and Mozambique, which are far from constituting military alliance of any kind. Kaushik, *op.cit.*, p.32; For some details of Soviet military activity on so called "bases", see *ISDA Journal*, April-June 1976, p.592; Drew Middleton, " Soviet Base in Re Sea of Strategic Importance", *The Times of India*, 1 November 1980.
32. David Johnson, "Troubled Waters for the US navy", *Africa Report*, January-February 1975, p.10.
33. Jasjit Singh, *Strategic Analysis*, November 1984, p.812.
34. Bhasin, *op. cit.*, pp54-56.
35. For full discussion in this regard, see K P Misra, "Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace: The concept and alternatives:", *India Quarterly*, January- March 1977, pp.19-32.
36. Donald L Berlin, "Indian Ocean Redux- Arms, Bases and re-emergence of Strategic Rivalry", *Journal of Indian Ocean Studies (JOIS)* (New Delhi) vol.10, No.1, April 2002, p.27.
37. UN Doc. A/Res/2832, p. 22.
38. *Ibid.*, p.20
39. Full text of the resolution is available at appendix F in Braun, Dieter, *op.cit.*, pp.214-15; also *ibid*, pp.174-180; see *Asian Recorder*, 18-24 June 1973, p.11453.
40. Hedley Bull, " The Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace", A paper presented at the Seminar on Indian Ocean, organized by the Jawaharlal Lal University, New Delhi, 18-19 February 1974, p.2.
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44. S.Z Qasim, " Resources of Seabed", *JOIS*, vol.10, no.2, August 2002, p.281
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46. S.K.Singh, "Indian Ocean Security", *JOIS*, vol.11, no.2, August 2003, p.178.
47. Ashok Mohan, "The sea-bed riches adjoining India", *National Herald*, 24 September 1981.
48. Braun, *op.cit.*, p.6; Fransson, " *Oil and Gas in the ocean*", *Naval War College Review*, vol.26, no.6, may-June 1974, p.54
49. watersids@un.org, "Indian Ocean/ Seychelles", Ministry launches beach monitoring program. 22 July 2003.
50. K. Satyanarayana, "Antarctica: No longer the unknown", *Science Reporter*, August 1982, p.450. In Antarctica's Southern ocean, the food chain is unusually short and it depends primarily on a single species of Zooplankton called 'Krill' which is tiny, shrimp like crustacean that eats microscopic marine plants called *Phytoplankton*. Krill forms the base of the marine food chain. Its predators include fish, squid, penguins, other seabirds, seals and whales. All species either depend on krill as a dietary staple or prey on a species which preys on krill. Swayam Prabha Das, "Antarctica-The last or the lost continent", *JOIS*, vol.10, no.2, August 2002, p.179.
51. *World Development Report- 2007*, p.256, 257, 264.
52. *ibid*.
53. *The Times of India*, 12 September 2001
54. David Calleo, "A new era of overstretch: American policy in Asia and Europe", *World Policy Journal*, (Spring 1998), p.23.

55. Indian Ocean Region accounts for 66% of the world's oil resources, 60% of Uranium, 40% Gold, 98% Diamonds supply, 50% of the rubber. For details see, "Indian Ocean Rim Regional Cooperation: An idea where time has come", *Financial Mail*, vol.136, no.2, April 1995, p.22.
56. Indian Ocean pioneered several regional associations in the post-colonial era. Experiments in regional economic cooperation undertaken in the 1960s and 1970s were guided broadly by the philosophy of reducing dependency on the north through south-south cooperation. Their progress, however, was disappointing, given the structural developments and industrial fragility. Historic developments within the region such as regime change in South Africa and Indian market reforms are equally significant in hastening the integration process. The shift from closed regionalism to new-regionalism is too evident. No other decade in the post war era had witnessed such a closer economic engagement among IOR countries as during the last decade of the century.
57. They are: Australia, India, Kenya, Mauritius, Oman, Singapore, and South Africa. Out of these seven, it was South Africa's Foreign Minister Rieffel Pick Botha who mooted the concept of IOR in November 1993 and thereafter President Mandela in January 1995 gave a kickstart to ocean rim trading block (during his visit to India) when he declared that "the nature of the facts of history and geography that Nehru spoke of should broaden itself to include exploring the concept of an Indian Ocean Rim for socio-economic institutions such as UN, NAM and Commonwealth". See, Roy Mihir, "Indian Ocean Trading Block : Cure for Afro-Asian Sea blindness", *JOIS*, vol.2, no.3, July 1995, p.225
58. Dennis Venter, " The Indian Ocean Rim Initiative –a vehicle for South- South cooperation", *Indian Journal of African Studies*, vol. 1& 2, April-October 1996, p.17. Later on more members were added and the number rose to 14.
59. For details see, Rahul Roy Choudhary, "IOR-ARC-The Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation", *Asian Strategic Review*, 1996-97, pp.115-35
60. The 14 members are: Australia, Indonesia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritius, Oman, Singapore, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Tanzania and Yemen. Later on March 1, 1999, three more members i.e. Thailand, Seychelles and UAE were added making the number 19. It is without any doubt that IOR-ARC is not a preferential trade bloc and the member states are committed to the principle of non-discriminatory treatment to one another on the basis of Most Favored Nation (MFN) status to those who are also WTO members. *Strategic Digest*, vol.27. no.4, April 1997, p.417. Also see, annexure 6 containing resolution on the adoption of the charter of IOR-ARC; also see Mahmood Alam "Regionalism and contemporary Indian Ocean Region", *JOIS*, vol15, no 1, April 2007, pp.48-58.
61. [www.en.wikipedia.org/India/mozambique/Australia/Singapore-2007](http://www.en.wikipedia.org/India/mozambique/Australia/Singapore-2007)
62. *World Development Report-2005*, pp.256-57.; also Rajesh Mehta, "Indian Ocean Rim: Economic and Trade Issues", *Strategic Analysis*, May 1997, pp. 260-61.
63. It is noteworthy that the last couple of years have seen considerable trade and growth performance in the IOR. From 1994 the IOR countries have doubled their value of global trade to nearly US\$ 1 trillion. See, S.K.Mohanty, "India and the Indian Ocean Rim", *World Focus*, October- December 1996, p.55.
64. *Asian Strategic Review*, op.cit., p.124.
65. McDougall Derek, "Indian Ocean Regionalism: Prospects for Mauritius, Seychelles and Reunion", *The Round Table*, vol.34, 1997, pp.63-64; see also, "Alam, Mahmood Mukhtar,"Regionalism and the Contemporary Indian Ocean Region", Khalid, Mohammed, " India and the Indian Ocean-A Geo-Economic Dimension", *JOIS*, vol.15, no.1, April 2007, pp.48-60 and 61-78,

## NON ALIGNMENT AND POST-COLD WAR INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

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### *Abstract*

*In the course of its rapid development as an international movement, Non-alignment has changed in a significant way. From a primarily political strategy against imperialism and colonialism individually and collectively followed by the new states, it has transformed itself fundamentally into a collective economic movement of the third world countries. While direct political imperialism is by and large only past experience, economic and cultural imperialism practiced by the same imperialist powers is an obnoxious contemporary reality. The fact is that the collapse of the bi-polar system and emergence of uni-polarity in political, economic and military terms is leading to further inequality and injustice and hence, the role of Non-alignment becomes much more important as a counterforce to unilateral military and economic coercion. This surge of inequality especially in the conditions of extreme economic instability such as those created by the global free market in the 1990's is the root of the major social and political tensions of the new century. In the absence of countervailing forces which existed in bi-polar world the Allied forces under the hegemony of United States using unrestrained force in Afghanistan, in Iraq or in Kosova underline the need for restraining the use of military power to settle disputes. In the present context of the collapse of east bloc led by Soviet Union and the consequent globalizing capitalism and neo-imperialism the notion of non-alignment appears more problematic.*

### **Introduction**

As an impulse and an idea, Non-alignment is rooted in the ethos of world politics that developed as a consequence of the great collapse of the hegemony of the West European imperial system after the World War II. During the Cold War the super powers – USA and USSR, by their very nature, tended to divide up the world into their own spheres of influence. However, the disintegration of the USSR and the end of the Cold War has radically changed the international environment. The United States became the only dominant power in restructuring the international political and economic order. The dominant position of USA and the continued tendencies of political and military expansion demonstrated by the United States and its Western allies, in different parts of the world stands in sharp contrast to world trends characterized by the strengthening of multilateralism and of open, mutually beneficial international co-operation. Then there is the interface between global and regional organizations in the context of globalization. Some times these accounts are concerned with

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the implications for sovereignty of the increasing permeability of national borders, a symptom of globalization, with what are seen to be transnational systems of accountability and authority (Taylor 2006:25). In this largely chaotic situation, international relations have become extremely complex and unpredictable due to the new distribution of military and political might, the domination of United States as the only super power as well as the emergence of many countries, varying in size and strength, which do not try to conceal their ambitions to create their own respective spheres of influence. These new realities are particularly important for the Non-aligned Movement (NAM), the biggest independent and informal association of countries on a *sui generis* basis created by disavowing bloc divisions and the bipolar domination of two super powers. The present paper has been largely an attempt to conceptualise NAM and analyse the problems NAM faces in the Post - Cold War world order.

### **Cold War and the Emergence of Non-Alignment**

Like any other movement Non-alignment began in the minds of certain visionaries as a response to the complex challenges of post 1945 world reality. With the end of Second World War, the dominant nations of the world grouped into two power blocs under the United States and the USSR. Emerging from the nightmare of global war, the world found itself on the threshold of an era of escalating international tensions and Cold War politics. It was against this background of a rapidly deteriorating international situation, contributed by Cold War rivalries, that a number of nations of Asia and Africa became independent. The newly independent states vibrating with nationalist spirit were eagerly looking forward for their rightful and honoured position in the community of nations.

The aim of the Asian-African nations was a progressive revision of international order and the internal set up. They saw the Cold War as a struggle for power between two super powers for world domination. Non-alignment as an idea was a concerned appeal to the nations of the world for a retreat to peace and security. The initiative came from the three nations- India, Yugoslavia and Egypt, respectively represented by the three statesmen Jawaharlal Nehru, Josip Broz Tito and Gamal Abdel Nassar<sup>1</sup>. From its modest beginnings at the Belgrade Conference in 1961 with a participation of 25 nations the NAM has expanded to include 119 members at the Havana (Cuba) summit conference in 2006.

Originally as projected in India's foreign policy, Non-alignment implied a country not joining any of the Cold War power alignments while trying to maintain friendly relations

with all kinds of nations and helping the preservation of world peace. Jawaharlal Nehru elaborated the idea while replying to the debate on foreign affairs in the Lok Sabha on December 9, 1958. He said

“When we say our policy is one of Non-alignment, obviously we mean Non-alignment with military blocs. It is not a negative policy. It is a positive one”. He further said “....we do not align ourselves with either bloc....the policy itself can only be a policy of acting according to our best judgment, and furthering the principal objectives and ideals that we have .....” (Jawaharlal Nehru’s Speeches, 1955-1963:381)

Nehru’s concern after attaining Indian independence was peace and economic development. He described Non-alignment as a policy which is nationally profitable for any country. Nehru, successfully emphasized that Non-alignment is an instrument for catering national interests and every non-aligned nation is certainly guided in whatever it does by the considerations of its national interests. In this respect, it is important however that enhancing the prospects of world peace and international co-operation has come to them as something akin to their common interest of gaining political and economic stability. At the same instance Non-alignment as a universal movement, directed towards universal democratization of international relations or as Marshall Tito said “Active Non-alignment means an increasingly broad and active participation in the struggle for the triumph of the principles of the United Nations” (Schou and Brundtland, 1971:103). Thus, by challenging the monopoly of the United States and USSR and their blocs in the world organization, the Non aligned Movement made an important contribution to preserving the universal nature of the United Nations (Jevremovic 1996:293).

Elucidating the opposition of Non-alignment to imperialism and colonialism Nehru asserted:

“Where there is continued domination, whether it is in Asia and Africa, there will be no peace either there or in the people’s minds elsewhere, there will be a continuous conflict going on, continuous suspicion of Europe in the minds of Asia and therefore the friendly relationship which should exist between Asia and Europe will not come about easily. It is therefore important that all these areas of colonial dominations should be freed and they should be able to function as free countries.” (Nehru 1961: 44-48).

India gave its lead further, in elaborating the concept of Non-alignment and in causing the evolution of its new dimensions by working out with People’s Republic of China, the five principles of peaceful co-existence<sup>2</sup> governing bilateral relations between two sovereign countries following different social ideologies and political systems. These

principles were first enunciated in the Sino- Indian agreement on Tibet and then in the Joint Statement by the Prime Ministers of India and People's Republic of China in 1954. Both India and China had credit of giving birth to '*Panchsheel*' or the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

It is in the early phase of Non-alignment that the fundamental objectives of the non-aligned nations were determined. These are to maintain national identity in world politics instead of becoming cogs in the wheels of great power politics, to help the preservation of world peace and promotion of international co-operation antithetically to the Cold War for the sake of a pluralistic and just world order; to seek the liquidation of colonialism, racialism in international politics; to promote disarmament, conventional as well as nuclear, to work for riddance from economic backwardness by putting the pressure of persuasion on the advanced nations for economic and technical aid and for relaxed trade terms; to promote and help sustain egalitarian and democratic trends in world politics against hegemonistics ones. The idea is that, Non-alignment seldom if ever means isolationism or neutralism. It signifies not a way of withdrawing from world politics, but of avoiding permanent or certainly onerous prior and continuing commitments to a particular multinational military team led by a super power.

### **NAM and Changing Manifestations of Imperialism**

In the course of its rapid development as an international movement, Non-alignment has changed in a significant way. From a primarily political strategy against imperialism and colonialism individually and collectively followed by the new states, it has transformed itself fundamentally into a collective economic movement of the third world countries, entered forcefully into the North-South economic confrontation and sphere headed the demand and the struggle for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) based on equality and justice (Bandyopadhyaya 1977:143).

While direct political imperialism is by and large only past experience, economic and cultural imperialism practiced by the same imperialist powers is an obnoxious contemporary reality. Today, the whole international system itself is in a state of crisis and the cohesions - political, economic, social, cultural and otherwise which have held it together are coming unstuck at an alarming rate. The fact of the paradigm shift is that the global strategic situation continues to be dominated by the United States. It shows a greater inclination to stimulate, encourage and control conflicts in the Third World to serve its own strategic goals.

Consequently military interventions and exertion of direct and indirect pressures by the super power have significantly increased. The United States has seemingly arrogated to itself the role of policing the world as it was articulated by in its policy of New World Order.<sup>3</sup> Zbigniew Brzezinski<sup>4</sup> has spelt out better than anyone else the geopolitical requirements for establishing American hegemony – domination of Eurasia [a chain of military related bases, over 730 in over 135 countries – far more than at the peak of the Cold War era. (Vanaik, 2008:68-73). Unless the developing countries, who are also the members of NAM put up united resistance against these onslaughts by the US, the world prospects of peace, security and equality of status for nation states will remain a distant dream.

The process of globalization, the use of World Trade Organization (WTO) for forcing developing countries to reduce tariff walls and observe labour standards, while continuing to protect the economies of developed countries by tariff barriers and other no-tariff measures, is another case in point. Joseph E. Stiglitz, once chief economist of the World Bank, in his critique of globalization has observed that the financial institutions [World Bank and the International Monetary Fund] have pushed a particular ideology – market fundamentalism – that is both bad economics and bad politics; it is based on premises concerning how markets work that do not hold even for developed countries much less for developing countries. The IMF has pushed these economic policies without a broader vision of society or the role of economics within society. And it has pushed these policies in ways that have undermined emerging democracies (Stiglitz, 2002). Consequently globalization itself has been disadvantageous to developing countries, especially the poor within those countries. (Loomba, 2007:221).

The situation calls for a common strategy from the Non-aligned Movement to deal with the crisis of the international system and to adjust the terms of its dialogue for the global negotiations to the new conditions, integrating the security and economic as well as development aspects of problems through a set of regional approaches, within a global perspective. It is obvious from the current developments in world affairs that there is a dialectical relationship between the imperialist economic order and imperialism, and the Third World can never hope to alter the one without the other. As K.R. Narayanan has succinctly remarked, “That politics is the soul of the movement (NAM) and even when you are following questions of global economics or elimination of economic disparities, it is this political attitude, which is propelling, which is giving vital life to this movement even though

the problem has taken an economic shape” (Narayanan, 1986:20). Hence the battle for a new economic order is the battle against neo-imperialism.

### **NAM in the Post Cold War Era**

On the surface it does seem logical that with the disappearance of bloc divisions and rivalry between the two nuclear super powers, there was no longer any reason for countries wishing to stay away from these divisions to remain together hence the relevance of Non-aligned Movement. It may seem paradoxical that the first serious dilemmas concerning the future of the NAM were voices, both within and outside it, as *detente* evolved between United States and USSR. It was said in various quarters that the Non-aligned Movement has become superfluous. Now, it is alleged that during its decades of existence Non-alignment has proved to be ineffective. However, at the same time NAM maintained its regular schedule of periodic summit meetings, while increasing its number of member countries. The steadily growing memberships of NAM eliminate all doubts as to the relevance of the NAM.

On the other hand, the phenomenal expansion that has occurred in the membership of the NAM gives rise to a situation of internal contradiction together with apparent and potential tensions and reservations among its member states, leads to stalemate in the capacity of the Non-aligned to play a positive role in world affairs. The NAM is turning into a club where one can discuss and debate international issues rather than resolve or influence them. One should note that the existing contradictions within the Non-aligned movement itself - which could exacerbate discrepancy between theory and practice, between declared goals and behaviour in practice-weaken the capacity of NAM to carry out more successfully its historical mission. This is obviously because NAM's position on many issues remains fairly generic. There is nothing quite specific in summit declarations that suggest that the Movement is truly coming to grips with the issues arising out of a unipolar strategy aimed at maintaining the hegemony of the North over the South. Most important, looking at the world economy and international economic relations, the NAM's progress in two central and consistent goals, development and eradication of poverty, continue to flounder (Narang, 2001:177-178). This means that the NAM is far from its cherished goal of being constructive and effective force in international politics in the new millennium.

The fact is that the collapse of the bi-polar system and emergence of uni-polarity in political, economic and military terms is leading to further inequality and injustice and hence,

the role of Non-alignment becomes much more important as a counterforce to unilateral military and economic coercion. (Dutt, 2001:62).

Politically as Ngaire Woods suggests that the impact of globalization differs not just according to the sector of the economy being examined but also according to the character of each state. Strong states have not only influenced the nature and pace of globalization, but, equally, have controlled their own integration into the world economy. Their sovereignty may well be qualitatively changing, but it is surely not being eroded. Weak states by contrast risk being further weakened by globalization. At the same time however, globalization is opening up new kinds of governance (such as regional institutions ) and adding new actors to the process (such as non-governmental organizations and transnational arbiters and regulators) (Woods 2000: 2-3) This is because capitalism's globalizing tendencies have been substantially realized in particular historical context, and this has been the political project of a tendentially transnational – if also US led- historic bloc comprised of particular fractions of the capitalist class, state managers and international bureaucrats, journalists and mainstream labour leaders. (Rupert, 2003:190).

This naturally reminds us of the 'World System' theory of Wallerstein which means in a nut shell, the following: Capitalist accumulation {and its attendant exploitation} has created global inequalities based on the domination of the core capitalist states of the West over non-western peripheral countries<sup>5</sup>. This surge of inequality especially in the conditions of extreme economic instability such as those created by the global free market in the 1990's is the root of the major social and political tensions of the new century. In so far as international inequalities may be under pressure from the rise of the new Asian economies, both the threat to the relatively astronomic standards of living of the peoples of the old north and the practical impossibility of achieving anything like it for the vast populations of such countries as India and China, will produce its own domestic and international tensions. (Hobsbawm 2007:3).

In the absence of countervailing forces which existed in bi-polar world the Allied forces under the hegemony of United States using unrestrained force in Afghanistan, in Iraq or in Kosovo underline the need for restraining the use of military power to settle disputes. There are still many areas of conflict- in Sri Lanka, Angola, Bosnia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Sudan and Somalia. The NAM does not appear to be doing anything to settle these disputes. This proves that the international system is potentially unstable and the disintegration of the USSR and the East European communist models increased this

instability. In this situation Non-alignment has to be reformulated and revitalized to be able to respond more effectively to the needs of the Third World's national security that are overgrowing in magnitude and complexity. Unless the NAM pays adequate attention to these matters, it may not be able to halt the present drift or resist erosion.

## **Conclusion**

In the present context of the collapse of eastern bloc led by Soviet Union and the consequent globalizing capitalism and neo-imperialism the notion of non-alignment appears more problematic. However the Movement constitutes an integral part of the profound changes in the structure of contemporary international relations. The only way to strengthen the role of Non-aligned Movement as the greatest independent and biggest peace movement in the world is to reinforce the Non-aligned countries unity. The basis of such an approach can be cited in the idea of democratization of international relations as an imperative necessity of our times, which will lead to the realization of the unfettered development and genuine independence of all states. Democracy then requires the collective public regulation of these activities responsible for our social reproduction, which in most parts of the world are currently affected through the capitalist market (Colas 2003: 97).

This means that the uni-dimensional and unipolar versions of the new international system need to be contested by the NAM as a whole. Unity and solidarity among the Non-aligned countries are all the more necessary in the present crisis in international relations. In the new situation with issues of military occupations, human rights, new dimensions of North-South conflicts, restructuring of the United Nations and nuclear disarmament, it falls on the NAM to survive meaningfully and not just ceremonially as a movement. This would require a newer unifying rationale (Vanaik: 5047) to strengthen the United Nations to ensure security of smaller states, to settle disputes among the member states and to defeat the Neo-con ambitions globally.

It is difficult to discern the future political profile of the Non-aligned Movement in the turbulent present day world. Notwithstanding, all the development occurred in the international arena within the last decade of the 20th century, the world situation is still in a state of transition. It is, therefore, incumbent on the Non-aligned Movement to ensure its full participation in the building of the new world order, the more so because a new international order has proven to be elusive and what transpired to date is little more than a new

international realignment. One of the greatest living historians of the world, Eric Hobsbawm is poignantly prophetic in stating

“that the US has failed and will inevitably fail, to impose a new world order (of any kind) by unilateral force, however much power relations are skewed in its favour at present, and even if it is backed by an (inevitably short-lived) alliance. The international system will remain multilateral and its regulation will depend on the ability of several major units to agree with one another, even though none of these states enjoys military predominance. How far international military action taken by the US is dependent on the negotiated agreement of other states is already clear.... The era of wars ending with unconditional surrender will not return in the foreseeable future.” (Hobsbawm, 2007:27).

It is therefore imperative for the NAM to play its role in defining and shaping the international realities, to adapt to change and to articulate and implement appropriate strategies and approaches in the new millennium.

## Notes

1. Non-alignment first sprang into popular use with V.K. Krishna Menon, while articulating the aspirations of the newly independent countries in the United Nations. see, Peter Lyon (1980), ‘Non – alignment at the Summits: From Belgrade 1961 to Havana 1979- a Perspective View’, *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 41, No. 1, March, p.149., also see K.R.Narayanan (1986), ‘Relevance of Non alignment’, *Kerala Journal of Political studies*, Vol.1, No.1, January, p.16.
2. The five principles as they originated in the Sino-Indian Agreement on Tibet were: 1. Mutual respect for each others territorial integrity and sovereignty; 2. Mutual Non-aggression; 3. Mutual non-interference in each others internal affairs; 4. Equality and mutual benefit; and 5. Peaceful co-existence.
3. The idea of a ‘New World Order’ was camouflaged by president Bush as “a new era, free from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace, an era in which the nations of the world can prosper and live in harmony”. For full text of president George Bush’s statement of 11 September 1990 see, US Department of State (1990), *Current policy Documents*, No. 1298, Washington DC.
4. The two important works of Brzezinski are ‘*The Grand Chess Board*’ (1997), Basic Books, New York and ‘*The Choice*’ (2004), Basic Books, New York.
5. For a detailed analysis see, Immanuel Wallerstein(1979), ‘*The Capitalist World Economy*’, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

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## **NEHRUVIAN NON-ALIGNMENT AND GAULLIAN UNALIGNMENT: CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE**

**B Krishnamurthy**

### ***Abstract***

*India and France worked for maintaining sovereignty and independence in foreign policy under the traditions of Nehruvian non-alignment and the Gaullist unalignment. Both challenged the American domination in their own way; tried to keep the bi-polar system as loose as permissible and contributed for the establishment of multipolar world order. Their successors too followed this tradition cautiously and consciously; cooperated and collaborated in several fields, especially nuclear, in their effort to nurture multilateralism in the post-Cold War period. Of late, there are certain doubts about the commitment of India and France to the cause of multipolar world. It is argued in this paper that India has to adopt and adjust its non-aligned foreign policy moorings in the light of the realities and compulsions of present day globalised, interdependent world. India may have to emulate France in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.*

### **Introduction**

The division of the World on the basis of the ideological differences into a bipolar system and the eventual rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union to the point of annihilating each other and the entire world in the process was unacceptable to the proponents of the non-alignment like India. Establishment of a genuine multipolar world has been one of the goals of the Indian foreign policy and non-alignment turned out to be a concept as well as one of the means designed to cope up with the bipolarization of the Cold War era and to cushion and moderate its harsh impact on the Indian national political and economic interests (Babu 2003:57-8).

### **Nehruvian View**

The Indian leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru detested the bi-polar structure built around military alliances and nuclearisation, with consequential terror of 'Mutually Assured Destruction'. India sincerely believed that in spite of the ideological differences, both the blocs could co-habit and live peacefully and there is no need for them to attempt at annihilating each other. Soon Nehru took up the mantle of challenging the supremacy of the two Super Powers and he laid stress on national sovereignty and territorial independence, which meant opposition to the formation of integrated military alliance structures and to the

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setting up of military bases by the Super Powers on foreign soil. Nehru took such a stand since he sincerely believed that the 'bloc politics' would create a situation in which emerging regional powers such as India would find it highly difficult to maintain independence in their foreign policy and would face severe restrictions on their long-aspired and newly-won sovereignty.

During the course of his lecture at Columbia University on October 17, 1949, Nehru maintained that one of the major objectives of the Indian foreign policy is "the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major power or group of powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue". This made India to follow the policy of non-alignment or keeping itself aloof from the bloc politics, while supporting or opposing either of the blocs on the merit of issue by issue. Though the Indian leaders like Nehru refuted time and again that non-alignment is not for developing another bloc in international politics, their efforts, consciously or unconsciously, resulted in the development and projection of non-aligned countries as a group in international politics. His misgivings on bloc politics influenced Nehru to turn down the offer of the US to join the military alliances like SEATO and CENTO, so as to steer clear of military alliances and obligations. He opposed the American military aid to Pakistan as a part of the 'alliance system' on the plea that "a new factor making for tension and instability should have been introduced by this arms aid" (*The Hindu* 1956: March 21). While reacting to the SEATO Council's reference to Kashmir, Nehru maintained that such an action confirmed India's apprehensions about the Organisation itself.

In the nuclear field also India championed the cause of total and complete nuclear disarmament. On the face of both horizontal and vertical proliferation of nuclear power among the Bloc leaders and their immediate camp followers, Nehru maintained in 1964: "I hope Indian scientists will use the atomic force for constructive purposes.... But, if India is threatened, she will inevitably try to defend herself by all means at her disposal" (Wiesner and Krosney 1981:132). As a young Parliamentarian in 1964, Atal Behari Vajpayee was forthright and claimed that "the answer to an atom bomb is an atom bomb, nothing else" (Sharma 1998:30). Moreover, India was unhappy with the all-encompassing nuclear restrictive regime in the making and in early 1960s, Homi Bhabha, the Czar of Indian nuclear establishment, argued that it was unreasonable to impose safeguards on equipment and materials or on natural uranium, which was then an article of commerce.

## Gaullist Stand

The division of the World on the basis of ideological differences into a bipolar system under the shared hegemony of the two non-European Super Powers was quite intolerable and so, unacceptable even to some partners of the 'bloc politics', especially France. President Charles de Gaulle downwards, the French leaders sincerely believed that France was ordained to rise above ideologically guided politics to play the role of mediator, a role, which demanded that it maintains its independence as an international actor (Moisi, Dominique and Flynn 1990:57). Moreover, France considered itself as a 'privileged interlocutor' and "an intermediary between Europe and Africa, between the Christian World and Islam, between the West and the Marxist states of the developing world" (Aldrich and Connell 1989:10). France intends to play such a role within the context of the East-West as well as the North-South formulations, in spite of its being a party to the camp of the capitalist West and the developed North.

The French quite often talked about 'overcoming' Yalta Agreement, which resulted in the division of Europe and consequently of the world. Bi-polarity was considered both immoral and dangerous to world peace and prosperity. It was believed to be "...immoral because it limited the freedom of choice of the people of many countries whose political choice were made dependent on strategic considerations that has nothing to do with their aspirations." (Guehenno 2001:31). Alfred Grosser was quite right when he says: "... for a whole group of reasons, independence is a key reference in the French political game" (Aldrich and Connell 1989:4).

The French have always detested the American 'protectorate' over Europe and opposed the Super Power nuclear duopoly with determination. President de Gaulle, the renegade in the Western Camp, advocated a French-led Europe to emancipate it from the Super Power domination. Throughout the course of the Cold War, a certain depressing feeling continued to prevail among the French that Europe was treated as a foot-soldier of a US-dominated North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, on the economic side, the 'privileges of the dollar' in the international monetary system was highly resented by the French leaders like de Gaulle (Hoffmann 1987:294). Michel Debré, his close associate and one-time Premier, scornfully referred about the US corporate monsters, which turned out to be menaces of economic and corporate life in different parts of the globe. The French were highly critical of the egotism of the US, which never hesitated to export its inflation at the expense of the rest of the world (Smouts 1989:240).

The Indian stand on imposition of safeguards on equipment and materials or on natural uranium found a natural ally in Bertrand Goldschmidt of France. In the 1950s and 60s, India and France took identical views on the question of international control on atomic energy and France agreed that no safeguard obligations would be applicable for the reactor installation or for natural uranium (Srinivasan 2002:50-51). France had centred its policy of independence on nuclear deterrence and followed a 'vacant seat' policy at the Eighteen-Member Disarmament Committee, which had begun its works in Geneva in March 1962 (Boquérat 2004:25).

Throughout the 'Cold War era', as and when time and opportunity was available, France tried to loosen the bi-polarity by challenging the US domination from within the capitalist bloc. The partnership between the US and France in the Western alliance has aptly been called as the 'troubled partnership' and France was considered by the Americans as a 'troubled' or 'reluctant' ally.

Regarding the dilemma among the European leaders, whether to be an Europeanist or an Atlanticist, Chirac echoed the French position when he said: "If being an Atlanticist means being one of the 500 million Westerners who hold a certain notion of freedom in common, then I am quite definitely an Atlanticist. If, on the other hand, an Atlanticist means being linked against one's will to a great power that tends to confuse an alliance of equals with casual hegemony, then, quite obviously, I cannot be an Atlanticist" (Chirac 1978:494). Soviet analysts like A.I. Utkin identified Europeanism as "an ideology of isolating Western Europe, of forming the Western European alliance as an autonomous center in the world arena" (Laird 1990:107).

### **Convergence of Indo-French Views**

Thus, one could observe a remarkable convergence of views of both India and France over the bipolarization and nuclearisation of the international politics. There was common fear that such a grouping would affect world peace, their sovereignty and independence in foreign policy and they would be needlessly drawn into wars caused by the ambitions of the bloc leaders. Above all, both dreaded the possibility of the two Super Powers coming to compromise and divide the world between them, thus reducing the great and regional powers like France and India respectively into insignificant and helpless spectators

## **Indo-French Coordination in the Post-Nehruvian Period**

Since the desire of the non-aligned India and the Gaullist France to remain independent of the two power blocs converged at certain point, India's choice for an interlocutor in Europe was quite naturally France, because of its policies and the personality of President de Gaulle. In 1965, Jean Daridan, the then French ambassador to India, refers about the keenness of the Indian leaders, especially Nehru, to find an interlocutor in Europe, which could be none other than France and to secure its support.<sup>2</sup>

The non-aligned movement's attitude towards Western Europe in general and France in particular, should be regarded in the general context of the evolution of the non-alignment doctrine. In the 1970s, the movement started developing special approaches to each of the centres of international politics, which was being coloured by the inter-imperialist rivalry. At a Conference in 1972, Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers pointed out that the former bi-polar alignment of forces in the world was being replaced by a multipolar structure and that the non-aligned nations should be wary when dealing with the new centres of power (*The Non-Aligned Movement in Documents and Materials* 1979:139).

It should also be remembered that when international tensions ran high, the non-aligned movement's "anti-bloc" orientation assumed an "anti-super power" posture. The point that is to be borne in mind in this context is that the non-aligned nations often regarded international tensions from the viewpoint of the "two super-powers' rivalry and equal responsibility". This had on the one hand led to more criticism of the "super-powers" and to steps towards contacts with allied "non-super powers" on the other, aimed at achieving a bipolar system as loose as possible (Reznikova 1988:61). This concept accounted for the increasingly active political relations between the Non-Aligned Movement and Western Europe in general and with France, which always projected itself as first among the unaligned states, in particular. France overwhelmingly reciprocated the attention from the developing world with a sympathizing ear and heart.

### **Positive French Reaction**

France tried to employ economic and military assistance as an effective means to improve French political influence in the developing, non-aligned world. The French perception had been that through selling arms to these nations to develop their own defence system it could prevent them from depending on the Super Powers for security. Thus, France played the role of guardian of the nation states belonging to the developing world against the

hegemonic drives of the Super Powers and as the protector of the independence and interests of the developing states (Kolodziej 1980:57). It is pertinent here to note that France's arms exports unlike those of the two Super Powers went mainly to non-aligned states, which were glad to find a supplier, who did not commit them to either of the two blocs. France argued that its arms sales to the non-aligned states fare conducive to stability and peace in the world for they increase the national security of these states without drawing them into the Cold War between the Super Powers. The French efforts to assist India in its defence preparedness by supplying arms must be viewed in this context (Krishnamurthy 2005:68-76).

While elaborating the French interaction with India within the context of the non-aligned movement, Dominique Moisi, points out that India served the French interest almost as a 'two-way plug'. On the one hand it served as a conveyor belt to Moscow. At the same time, New Delhi's regional fears of growing Soviet strength in this part of the world were encouraged by France, to bolster the Indian neutralism. France, by coming to the support of Indian non-alignment, hoped as well as helped to make it truly neutral (Moisi 1981-82:353).

In short, France was projecting itself as an ally (of the US) as well as a country most powerful among the unaligned states. Claude Cheysson, the French Foreign Minister under Mitterrand, on July 6, 1982 announced in the French National Assembly that non-alignment appeared to be the best means for keeping local and regional problems free from East-West rivalry (Embassy of France 1983:3). Scholars like De Porte maintain: "France is not non-aligned but that it encourages those that can 'escape' alignment. The word 'escape' has a poignancy in this context which is surely not Gaullist. The General broke the constraints that tied France's hands, or claimed to. Mitterrand accepts them while counselling the Third World countries to avoid the fate that sadly overtook Europe in the 1940s: division by the superpowers" (De Porte 1984:157-8). Cheysson also projected France a 'genuinely non-aligned' country.<sup>3</sup> This pronouncement *in toto* falls in line with the unaligned traditions of Gaullist foreign policy (Levy 1987:170).

In 1982, Jean-Pierre Cot, Minister for Cooperation and Development, under the Socialist President Mitterrand, maintained: "Different attitudes toward non-alignment, in fact, constitute the crux of the disagreement between France and the United States regarding North-South issues. Whereas the US government believes that non-alignment is detrimental to the interests of the West, France is convinced of the contrary" (Cot 1982:7). The courting of the non-alignment by the Europeans and especially the French was also the result of realization that the developing world is inevitable for the sustenance of the developed world.

‘The Economist’ puts this predicament succinctly: “Officially, the policy remains intact: a good leg-up for the predominantly non-aligned developing countries is the best way to ensure the industrialized West’s own survival. The French believe it is just the reverse of America’s policy of bolstering authoritarian regimes against liberation movements...” (*The Economist* 1982:18).

The French leaders like Mitterrand advocated that the G-7 industrialised nations should offer due recognition to the Non-aligned countries of the developing world and must take their opinions into consideration while taking some decisions in their summit meetings. Way back in 1986, Mitterrand suggested a periodical dialogue between the Heads of the industrialized countries and India, who was then the head of Non-Aligned Movement.<sup>4</sup>

The growing influence of the non-aligned movement in world politics and the Western European and especially the French desire to pursue a more independent force in its foreign policy, have contributed to the readiness of these two forces to consider each other’s interests to a certain extent, and to seek extra influence in the world arena by coordinating mutual support.

### **Convergence of views in the Nuclear Front**

Again, both India and France refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which came into force in the late 1960s. France opposed NPT on the ground that the accord kept an unequal balance in the world overwhelmingly in favour of the US and the erstwhile Soviet Union. However, France was lukewarm in its opposition to NPT and on the same breath, indicated that it would abide by the terms of the NPT, while not being a party to it, which came to be referred as the ‘French formula’.

On the face of a nuclear arms race among the five recognized Nuclear Weapon States (the P-5) and their consciously built up capacity of ensuring Mutually Assured Destruction, India refused to sign NPT, which it considered as discriminatory and an off-shoot of the bipolar system. Its hope to achieve total nuclear disarmament had failed miserably due to the ambiguous policy followed by the ‘nuclear-haves’ to preserve their position at any cost and to their manoeuvring to keep the ‘nuclear-have nots’ so, for ever. As such, a fragmented and half-hearted version of nuclear disarmament ushered on the international community, with the aim to perpetuate the control by the present nuclear-haves for all time to come (Ramanna 2001:121). All these forced India to keep its nuclear option open as long as it was possible, to



be exercised at appropriate time, and this decision too must be seen in the context of its aspiration to maintain independence in foreign policy and its opposition to bloc politics.

Thus, throughout the Cold War era, both France and India tried to work for more power centres and refused to accept bi-polarity as such and their success in this regard proved to be a mixed bag of different degrees of success and failure according to the circumstances, realities, vicissitudes and vagaries of international politics.

### **Quest for Multipolar World – Post Cold War Scenario**

Post Cold War era had witnessed the exuberant unilateralism and arrogance on the part of the sole Super Power, the US, in the international political scenario and this was not to the liking of other lesser privileged powers, especially France, which renewed its drive for building up a new multipolar world order. In its search for other poles France turned naturally to Asia, where both India and France shared a commitment towards a more balanced international order. There remained a convergence of interest between them that the new world order should not be based on power equation but should have its moorings in international institutions. They resolved that the solutions to the challenges thrown by present global order should be resolved through UN rather than by one or two nations, however powerful and influential they might be.

Both the French and the Indian leaders agreed that the unipolarity was not good beyond a threshold and they recognised the importance of other centres of power like India, Japan, China, Brazil, Argentina and the European Union. During his visit to India as the Guest of Honour on the Republic Day Celebrations in January 1998, Jacques Chirac, the French President, called on India: “Let us build an ambitious partnership on our capital of mutual regard and interest. Let us unite our efforts in building a multipolar world that the Indians and the French want to be harmonious and just.”<sup>5</sup>

As a result of the ‘strategic dialogue’ initiated in September 1998 between India and France, there is convergence of views between them on the need to build a multipolar world. As part of their effort to build a strategic partnership and create a multipolar world, India and France have been considering ways to intensify the interaction in a variety of high technology areas. The political unease in both the countries at the dominance of the world by one power and the consequent quest for a ‘multipolar world’ continue to remain the foundations of the Indo-French strategic dialogue (*The Hindu* 2000: February 10).

Hubert Védrine, Former Foreign Minister of France, has characterised the US, a 'hyper power' or an 'omni power', which always resorts to 'unilateral practices', be it in "the attempt to bypass international institutions, in strategic decision making or in failing to meet commitments expected by the world community."<sup>6</sup> This made the French to resolve "to be friends and allies" of the Americans, but not "aligned" with the US (Krishnamurthy, 2002: 134-7). They are determined to play the cards at their disposal well so that France will be in a position to make its mark on the ongoing process of globalisation (Védrine 2000: *passim*).

On the eve of his visit to India in February 2000, Védrine insisted on India's essential place in a multipolar world, on the need to establish with it the closest possible partnership and on the French support to its candidature, a legitimate one, for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. In New Delhi, while projecting 'a strong and united Europe' as one of the poles of the ensuing multipolar world order, Védrine suggested Russia, China, Japan and India as other prospective poles and invited India to collaborate with France in its effort to design 'Cooperative multi-polarity' with an improved version of multilateralism that respects all members of the international community as expressed by the United Nations.

This stand continues to influence the Indo-French 'strategic dialogue' and Dominique de Villepin, the then French Foreign Minister, during his visit to India in September 2002, maintained: "France and India are two great powers which play an important role on the world stage, and they can both help to forge new strategic balances. Our two countries are concerned to build a world with a greater sense of solidarity, respectful of international law and attentive to the new social and environmental challenges" (*The Hindu* 2002: September 9). Again, Paris insisted on injecting an element of multipolarity by inviting countries like India to have a dialogue with the G-8 countries prior to their summit meeting in Evian, France. India has been invited for the G-8 enlarged dialogue to discuss the questions of globalisation and international governance. It must be taken note off that the decision to have enlarged dialogue was taken at the initiative of the French President Jacques Chirac.<sup>7</sup>

In turn, India too reacted favourably to such a formulation in international political scenario. The Indian leaders too criticised the Uni-polarity by pointing out that it amounts to the assertion of political unreality. "For whereas uni-polarity asserts, at least ideologically freedom from bias, yet paradoxically, it denotes the very same intoxication of ideology – an intoxication that is born of precisely such an assertion of the relevance and centrality of the nation state and the sovereign interests of the one verses the many", the then Indian Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh asserted in February 2000 (Singh 2001: 214).

While positively reacting to Védérine's call to build a different and better world of many power centers, Jaswant Singh called for "a concert of open societies" supported by an "over-lapping network of institutions among governments and civil societies" to build a 'plural order' in the world. During his visit to France, in April 2000, the then Indian President K.R. Narayanan too came out openly in favour of a multipolar world, in place of the existing system (*The New Indian Express*, 2000: April 20). Thus, Jean-Luc Racine, an India specialist at France's National Centre for Scientific Research, is quite right when he says: "India has basically a Gaullist vision of the world," and "Like Chirac, the Indian leadership has believed in a multipolar world".

The then Indian Foreign Minister Yashwant Sinha, in August 2002, attributed the French support for India's candidature for permanent membership of the Security Council as an integral part of France's commitment to build a long-term strategic relationship with India "as part of our shared vision of a multipolar world" (*Strategic Digest* 2002: 1041). As in the case of the French leaders, the Indian leadership too was not for confrontationist policies and programmes in the name of multipolar world. While maintaining that "India's vision of a multipolar world is one of partnership and not confrontation", Sinha pointed out that "the concept of multipolarity sometimes is mistaken for a policy of creating poles in opposition to each other. These are prescriptions that have in them seeds for re-creating the confrontationist model of the Cold War. They do not serve India's interests" (*The Hindu*, 2003: October 19). He was confident that there is "... realization that a secure and stable India will be an asset to the emerging world order".

### **Indo-French Nuclear Cooperation in Post-1998 Period**

To equip their country to be a 'pole' of considerable influence in the ensuing multipolar world order, the Indian Government conducted nuclear tests in May 1998 and unilaterally declared India as a nuclear weapon state. It also refused to sign the NPT and CTBT in their present form, thereby displaying independence in its foreign, nuclear and security policies.

France was the only nuclear power which reacted favourably to the Indian nuclear test and subsequent developments. Chirac advocated for the offer of civilian nuclear technology to India against dropping of its nuclear weapons programme. Besides commercial interest, this favourable reaction from France could be attributed to Indo-French quest for multipolar world (Krishnamurthy 2005:109-125).

The Indian leaders tried to capitalize on this French sentiment. While addressing the Indo-EU Summit of June 2000, the then Indian Premier Vajpayee tried to present the Indian Nuclear Power status within the context of the ensuing multipolar world order. Taking cue from the quest of the EU Member States in general and of France in particular for achieving an effective multipolar world order, Vajpayee reiterated the Indian belief that for an effective multi-polarity, it was necessary to create a plural security order that accommodated and acknowledged the growing strength and confidence of the emerging economic and security players such as India, which intends to create and have a strategic space and independence in decision-making. “In an increasingly interdependent world, a plural security order alone can deal with the challenges of the new era. It is in this context that the development of our nuclear capability should be seen”, he argued (*The Hindu* 2000: June 29).

Chances for Indo-French civilian nuclear cooperation are brightened by the cautious and conscious policies followed by the French. In its position paper for the NPT Review Conference in May 2005, France proposed that the NSG avoid unduly stringent export controls for Non-sensitive nuclear goods, such as low-enriched Uranium technology and reactor control equipment, if the recipient non-NSG member-country has adequate export controls. Also, it called for the application of Zangger Rules rather than the more stern NSG Guidelines for all nuclear exports (*The Hindu* 2005: April 25). It is significant to note that Zangger Rules require only facility-specific safeguards and not full-scope safeguards (FSS) of the International Atomic Energy Agency on all the nuclear activities of the recipient country, as obliged by the NSG Guidelines.

In the wake of the Indo-US Nuclear Cooperation Agreement in July 2005, France promised in September to leave “no stone unturned” to enable India to meet suitably its civilian nuclear needs. India on its turn hinted that it was ready to buy French nuclear reactors in its belief that France will work with other NSG members to ensure that India’s requirements of nuclear fuel and technology are met. Indo-French Joint Statement of September 12 emphasised on the need to further develop international cooperation in promoting the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes (*The Hindu* 2005: September 13). France also acknowledged the need for full international civilian nuclear co-operation with India and promised to work towards this objective by working with other countries and the NSG and by deepening bilateral co-operation.

France has been pushing for a special regime for India by the Nuclear Suppliers Group on conditions that it meets certain obligations that would align it with the non-

proliferation regime such as separating its civilian and military nuclear programmes, placing its civilian facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards and adhering to the Additional Protocol on civilian nuclear facilities and continues to work within the NSG to strengthen India's claims for special status. The Indo-US civilian nuclear cooperation agreement of July 2005 is being considered by France as a new ray of hope. Relaxation of the NSG rules in favour of India would enable Areva and Cogema, the French companies involved in the construction of nuclear reactors, to cooperate with India in nuclear power generation.

### **Contemporary Scenario**

Leaders of both India and France continue to harp on the establishment of a multipolar world order and to bolster the Indian stature in the international political arena, the French leaders like Chirac and Nicolas Sarkozy, unequivocally support the Indian candidature for the permanent membership in the UN Security Council and also advocate the expansion of G8 into G13, including India. Both the leaders have also assured civilian nuclear cooperation with India, which is expected to strengthen and sustain the Indian economic development. Sarkozy was more upright in his support for India (Baruah 2008: January 24).

Of late, the international analysts observe certain dereliction on the part of both France and India towards their commitment to the establishment of a viable multipolar world order. The press also harps on this factor.<sup>8</sup> Recent cosyness between India and the US, born out of the global Indo-US 'strategic partnership', which resulted in the Indo-US civilian nuclear deal, quadrilateral arrangement under which the US, Australia, Japan and India coming together as a group of democratic powers and subsequent visit of the nuclear-powered USS Nimitz to the Indian waters are cited as indicators of this trend. On the other hand, the French 'no' vote to the European Constitution, is being projected as its 'no' to a strong 'United Europe', thus jeopardizing the chances of its blossoming into a 'pole' in the ensuing 'multipolar world order'. After taking over the French Presidentship, Nicolas Sarkozy gave wide hints to the effect that there would be a remarkable shift in France's relationship with the US and close and cordial relations would be maintained. While addressing French ambassadors in August 2007, Sarkozy said the very concepts of Third World and Non-Alignment had lost their meaning. All these made the international relations watchers to conclude that France's commitment to the Multipolar world order has drained.

Again, in the domestic front also there is strong opposition to the so called shift in the Indian and French foreign policy and especially, in their relations with the US. The left parties accuse the UPA government, which they support from outside, of moving away from the cherished goal of independent foreign policy and of becoming part of an 'overreaching alliance' with the US imperialism. Condemning the Manmohan Singh government of surrendering the Indian sovereignty to the Americans, they even threaten it of worst consequence. Sarkozy was blamed for bringing in a paradigm shift in the Franco-US relations.

However, any keen observer, who has studied the Indian and the French foreign policy goals carefully, cannot forget that how much both the countries value independence in foreign policy, and they will not be ready to forego their sovereign right for any short term benefit. Both India and France, by tradition as well as by temperament, cannot be subservient to any other power.

Indian actions may very well be attributed to their eagerness to build up energy security, without which India cannot continue to achieve national economic growth at the present level. The Indian leaders are weary of the nuclear isolation which the country had to suffer due to international nuclear exclusive regime. Without finalising the deal with the US, getting benefit of civilian nuclear cooperation from other friendly nuclear powers like France and Russia is impossible. All these must have prompted them to move closer with the US.

In the same way, Sarkozy's new enthusiasm towards the US too need not be stretched to its maximum or be taken as paradigm shift in the Franco-US Relations, as he himself had made it clear that "there can be nothing other than friendship for a country that has always been an ally and, at the same time, total freedom to assert the interests and positions of France, because there is no friendship without freedom"(Baruah, 2008: January 24). During the course of his address to the United States Congress, Sarkozy made his stand clear, when he said: "France is a standing friend, an independent ally, a free partner". He would make France a closer partner with the US, but would not confuse friendship with "submission".<sup>9</sup> There is no tangible difference between Sarkozy's stand and Védérine's statement referred about earlier. Again, there is no need to read much about his remark on Non-Alignment also, as Sarkozy was just referring about the changed international situation of the contemporary era from the earlier Cold War and bi-polar realities, which called for alignment as well as non-alignment. He was actually emphasising on the interdependence of powers in the present day globalised world.

## Conclusion

India had followed the policy of non-alignment during the Cold War era to maintain independence in its foreign policy, without being dominated by either of the blocks. It could afford to follow such a policy as it was far away from the main theatre of confrontation and was successful to a greater extent in preventing from getting it sucked into the Cold War international politics. France, which was denied of this advantage, still was successful to a greater extent in maintaining its independence, through tactfully handling the situation.

India and France contributed to the cause of multipolar world through the Nehruvian tradition of non-alignment and the Gaullian tradition of unalignment, respectively. Nehru-Gaullian ideas of independent foreign policy and the quest for achieving multipolar world order continues to have relevance in the contemporary world. The successors of both Nehru and de Gaulle followed the path laid down by them and there was remarkable continuity of policy in this regard throughout the Cold War era. The post-Cold War 'global unilateralism' on the part of the sole Super Power, the US, is being challenged by other power centres. India and France in their common 'quest for controlled and constructive multipolarity' are determined to build a multipolar world order, in order to correct the imbalances being bred in the present unipolar world, not through confrontation but through consolidation.

To achieve this goal, France continues to have 'a far-reaching strategic dialogue' with India. It is helping India through several ways and means to equip itself to play its due role. The Indo-French collaboration in India's defence preparedness; in various spheres of science and technology, especially in the nuclear field; in the economic development and in containing terrorism, which is forcing India to concentrate on regional problems and preventing it from thinking and acting globally must be seen and evaluated in this context.

In the post-Cold War situation, India has lost this advantage of keeping itself insulated from the developments all around. It has to become part of the interdependent, globalised world and could not keep itself aloof from the political, security and economic factors and developments. Being a victim of terrorism since the 1980s, it has to speak, if not act, in support of international coalition against terrorism, to beget the support of its new victims to its cause.

In the changed situation, India can continue its non-aligned policy only at its own peril. India is in such a predicament at present, where the Western European countries like France were during the Cold War era. Its security threat from the neighbourhood is real and

fundamental. Pakistan plus China is a serious security threat and need to be faced squarely. Though naming the enemy in public, as George Fernandez, former Defence Minister of India, did in case of China, is foolish and so, avoidable, his genuineness cannot be doubted. Besides the irresolvable (due to fantastic territorial claims on the part of China based on concocted and self-convenient historical basis) border problem, India has to compete with China to its worth in every conceivable sector and front in the globalised economy, whether it is for Foreign Direct Investment, markets, or procurement of energy resources. This is the case in its foreign policy goalposts such as India's Look East Policy and its relations with the South East Asian countries. Moreover, India's South Asian front itself is in constant danger from the Chinese onslaught. In SAARC, India has an enemy from within in Pakistan, which has succeeded in bringing in China as an observer and ever ready to allow the latter to play its anti-Indian game in the South Asian Region. Again, China consciously follows the policy of encircling India by developing close relationship with its neighbours and is ever ready to exploit any anti-Indian feeling of her neighbours.

In such a situation, India has to rethink and reformulate its non-aligned policy by making it suitable to the present international environment. It should become part of the globalised world, but, at the same time maintain close and mutually beneficial relations with the 'other' countries, especially Russia, thus forcing the Americans to accept an 'agree to disagree' policy, as was the case with France during the Cold War era. To be precise, India may have to emulate France in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is eminently suitable to play such a role in the present, new international environment and with its upward-moving economic growth.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Jean François-Poncet, a distinguished French politician in his Introductory Speech delivered in an International Seminar on *India and France in a Multipolar World*, held on February 2000 at New Delhi echoed the general French feeling on the Americans and the NATO. The French always considered the NATO as a "tool of America".

<sup>2</sup> Telegram from Jean Daridian, November 27, 1965. *Archives du Quai d'Orsay, Asie- Océanie*, 1956-1967, *Inde*, vol.186, as cited by Boquérat, *op.cit.*, p.28. Rajeshwar Dayal, the then Indian ambassador to France too vouchsafes to this effect

<sup>3</sup> *Time International*, June 21, 1981, p.11 (Interview with Claude Cheysson, the then French Foreign Minister under Mitterrand). While accepting that France was compelled to keep away from NAM due to geographical position, Cheysson was of the firm opinion that the results of the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit that was held in New Delhi in 1982 were of the greatest importance and significance and that the industrialised states should get a better understanding of the non-aligned concepts

<sup>4</sup> "*La Politique Etrangere de la France: Textes et Documents*", *La Documentation Française*, Paris, April 1986, p.61. In an interview to the Japanese daily "*Yomiuri Shimbun*" on April 27, 1986, before the Summit of the Industrialised Countries at Tokyo, Mitterrand said: "I think it will be wise that the Summit of the Industrialised countries has, each time, an exchange of views with the leaders of the Third World countries. I



would have wished, for example, that Mrs. Gandhi were invited to Williamsburg, that the President of the Non-Alignment could have a discussion with us each time. I think it will be a good path to follow". This idea got fructified in late May 2003. The realisation that the opinions of countries such as India, China and Brazil had to be taken into consideration on trade and financial issues made the French President Chirac to take personal initiative to have an "enlarged dialogue" between the G-8 and the 12 developing countries, India being one among them – on questions of globalisation and international governance.

<sup>5</sup> M.R. Josse, "France's Ties with China, India and Pakistan", <<http://www.yomari.com/preview/1998/10/151098/fra.html>>. Chirac maintains in his article of November 1997 in *Politique Internationale* entitled "My foreign policy priorities" that in the context of France in a multipolar world he is visiting India in early 1998. While admitting that India is an "extremely important player" in the Europe-Asia triangle, he maintains: "...there's no conflict between our having a partnership both with India and China".

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.france.diplomatie.fr/actual/evenements/inde2/inde4.gb.html> (Védrine's interview to Press Trust of India on April 12, 2000). Védrine maintained that this overly uni-polar system "is excessive, it is questionable and it has negative implications, including for the United States" and in turn, advocated the formation of a multipolar world where a single 'hyper-power will not be the sole-decision maker.' The American concession by way of the projection that the present day world is uni-multipolar and not uni-polar as alleged, failed to carry conviction with the French. In such a situation, the major French concern was to "cooperate without uncertainties with an omnipresent United States", without nonetheless "giving up our own ideas about the organisation of the world".

<sup>7</sup> François Mitterrand and Claude Cheysson visualised such a development in mid 1980s itself.

<sup>8</sup> Vaiju Naravane, "France looks to firm up ties with India" in *The Hindu*, September 12, 2005. In her article, Ms. Naravane quotes extensively Christophe Jaffrelot, Director of *Centre des Etudes des relations internationales*, who juxtaposes Indo-French relations with the new camaraderie between India and the US.

<sup>9</sup> [http://www.ndtv.com/debate/showdebate.asp?show=1&story\\_id=341&template=sarkozyinindia&category=](http://www.ndtv.com/debate/showdebate.asp?show=1&story_id=341&template=sarkozyinindia&category=)

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## **HEALTH CONDITION OF THE ELDERLY WOMEN: A NEED TO ENHANCE THEIR WELL BEING**

**J Sheela & M Jayamala**

### ***Abstract***

*Ageing is a multidimensional process; old age is the closing period of the life of an individual. A person's activities, attitude towards life, a relationship to the family and the work, biological capacities and physical fitness are all conditioned by the position in the age structure of the particular society in which he lives. Today in India elderly women face the miserable conditions in their life, as they are family bonded and not ready to live in old age homes. In order to study the condition of elderly women the present study was conducted in Coimbatore district with the focus on socio-economic and health status of elderly women. Totally 333 samples were selected by using the simple random sampling method. It was inferred that the elderly women have psychological problems like depression, isolation, loneliness and irritation. Health problem is the most serious thing that has to be concerned by the society on the whole.*

Ageing is a biological process and experienced by the mankind in all times. It refers to a sequence of changes across a life span of an individual. Though ageing is a multidimensional process, old age is the closing period of the life of an individual. It is a period when people move away from their more desirable period or times of 'usefulness'. Kumar (1992)<sup>1</sup> have stated that ageing is a toil some treadmill grinding to a tragic halt as the years pile up. It is a life spanning process of growth and development running from birth to death. It is generally associated with decline in the functional capacity of the organs of the body due to physiological transformation.

Though old age is the universal phenomenon with varying degrees of probability, it is overlooked as fundamental aspects of social structure and social dynamics. A person's activities, attitude towards life, a relationship to the family and the work, biological capacities and physical fitness are all conditioned by the position in the age structure of the particular society in which he lives. The term 'old age' conjures up images of frustration and pity, sickness and poverty, despair and senility, warmth and responsibility. The relationship between ageing and the society's response are complex in the industrial society. Aging is more difficult in the rapidly changing materialistic society. The modernization plays a vital role in the aging process of an individual. The aged feel a sense of social isolation because of

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the disjunction from various bonds viz., work relationships, and diminish of relatives and friends, mobility of children to far off places for jobs. The situation of the elderly still worsens when there is physical incapacity and financial stringency.

The general characteristics of old age are physical and psychological changes. It is common to associate old age with disability. Older people are heterogeneous i.e., extreme losses of physical, mental and social functions are often seen in old people. Yet many people continue to maintain high level of function. However, as “young-old” move in to the “old-old” category, they tend to have more health complaints and diagnosed illness. The presence and duration of the chronic diseases account for a portion of variation in the functional disability of the aged (Camacho et al., 1993)<sup>2</sup>. The elderly people face number of problems and adjust to them in varying degrees in their old age. These problems range from absence of ensured and their dependents, to ill-health, absence of social security, loss of social role and recognition, and the non-availability of opportunities for creative use of free time.

Today aging is a concern world over. Inadequate support from the care givers leads to lack of moral, emotional and physical support for elderly. The living condition of elderly differs in both developed and developing countries. When comparing the world scenario of elderly population, China is not alone with respect to extremely rapid populating aging among developing countries. The proportion of elderly in Korea will climb to a higher level with a large annual increase rate than in China. Mexico and India, two developing countries with large population sizes also will undergo very rapid population aging at annual increase rates of 2.6 and 2.1 per cent, although the proportion of elderly in 2050 will be substantially lower than in China. The annual increases in the proportion of the elderly between 1990 and 2050 in China, India, Korea and Mexico are all much higher than in European and north American countries. This fact deserves serious attention not only in those developing countries, but also from international organizations and developed countries (Kevin et al., (1992)<sup>3</sup>, Linda et al., (1994)<sup>4</sup>).

### International Comparison of Indicators of Population Aging

Countries	Percent of elderly aged 65+		
	1990	2030	2050
China	5.6	15.7	22.6
India	4.3	9.7	15.1
Korea	5.0	18.1	24.7
Mexico	4.0	19.9	18.6
Canada	11.2	22.6	23.8
France	14.0	23.2	25.5
Germany	15.0	26.1	28.4
Italy	15.3	29.1	34.9
Japan	12.0	27.3	31.8
UK	15.7	23.1	24.9
USA	12.4	20.6	21.4

*Source: UN Population Division (1999)<sup>5</sup>*

In India according to the 2001 census estimates the elderly constitute about 7.45 per cent of the total population. India is one of the few countries where the elderly sex ratio favours males. Dependency ratio for the old has been rising from 10.5 in 1961 to 11.8 in 1991 and is projected to be 16.1 by 2021(Rajan et al., 1999)<sup>6</sup>.

For a developing country like India, rapid growth in the number of older population creates issues that hardly perceived yet, this must be addressed for social and economic development. Gore (1993)<sup>7</sup> opined that in developed countries, population ageing has resulted in a substantial shift it emphasis a significant change in the share of social programmes going to older age groups. But in developing society these transfers will take place informally and will be accompanied by high social and psychological costs by way of intra-familial misunderstanding and strife. In the Indian scenario, as such found in many developing countries health problems and medical care are the major concern among a large majority of the elderly. The health problem in West Bengal was studied by Chakraborty (2005)<sup>8</sup> in which he found that among the elderly (> 60 years) residing in a rural area neighbouring to a cosmopolitan city showed that 72.6% of the elderly were suffering from chronic illnesses. The step-wise multiple logistic regression model showed that income,

socio-economic status, absence of any affect on daily physical activity and accompanying persons were found to be inversely related to irregular treatment. Significant gap was seen between need and treatment provision particularly for visual and hearing problems. Rural government facilities and unqualified practitioners were the two most frequent providers as first contact. Qualified private practitioners were seen to play a major role in peri-urban rural areas. Homeopaths and medicine shops were not first choice of rural elderly but their substantial presence as current provider (30%) indicates inadequacy of rural government facility as regards health needs of aged.

Elders suffer from desires, psychological problems of usefulness and abundant. Women react in different ways in this diminishing role. Those who have not occupied positions previously with little authority or influence perhaps feel it the least those who have occupied positions of authority have considerable difficulty in coping. It should be noted that problems of the old age are highly individualistic in nature. In order to provide better living condition of the elderly women the government of India decided in the year 1983-84 for the first time to give grants to voluntary organization for services to the aged, for health care, income generation subsistence, training and old age homes.

Thus the growing concern with the problem of ageing and constant development of services have brought about demands for professionalisation of care of older people through man power development and training. Yet old women face the miserable conditions in their life, as they are family bonded and not ready to live in old age homes; they suffer aloof until their life ends. This is the condition that prevails in the present scenario in most of the rural as well as in urban areas in our country. In order to study the condition of elderly women the present research study was carried out with the focus on socio-economic and health status of elderly women in city areas of Coimbatore District. The main objectives of the study are: to know the socio-economic condition of the elderly women in urban areas, to understand the psychological and health problems faced by the elderly women and to bring out the physical and moral support rendered by the family members to the elderly women.

## **Materials and Methods**

Coimbatore the selected study area is the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest growing city in Tamil Nadu. As it is exposed to the Palghat gap of Western Ghats it enjoys a salubrious climate. There are more than 25,000 small, medium, large and tiny industries and textile mills in Coimbatore. No wonder it is rightly called the Manchester of South India. The present population of the

city is approximately 13 lakhs including a floating population of around 1.5 lakhs. Coimbatore is a place where age old customs survive, where family bonds are strong and where fusion of tradition and modernity remains.

Coimbatore was selected mainly due to the increase in the number of old age homes. The research was carried out in the entire four zone of Coimbatore city. In the study area totally 333 samples were selected by using the simple random sampling method. The tool used for the study was a detailed interview schedule. The schedule consists of questions about the elderly women's economic condition, family background, health problems, societal responsibilities, their hobbies, daily activities, and caregivers of elderly. All the information was collected from the elderly women in the age group of 60 years and above. Data collection was carried out for a period of three months i.e. from the month of February to April 2006. Frequency distribution and cross tabulations are the statistical tools used for the analysis of the data.

## **Results and Discussion**

Age is an important criterion, which shows the physical and mental ability of a person. The sample includes 333 women, who are in the age group of 60 to 85 years old. Panel 1 of Table 1 highlights that among the elderly women, 52 per cent of them are in the age group of below 65 years, followed by 22.8 and 14.4 per cent of them are in the age group of 66-70 and 71-75 years. The remaining 10.8 per cent of the elderly women fall in the age category of 76 years and above. The mean age of the elderly women is 67 years. India, the land of spirituality and philosophy considers religion as an integral part of its entire tradition. Worship of various religions and its ritual plays a significant role in every aspect of human life it also has a great impact on the personal lives for every individual. The population in Indian society is diversified in religious practices it is obvious from the study too (panel 2 of Table 1) that as high as 95.5 per cent of the elderly women belong to Hindu religion whereas meager percentage of 2.4 and 2.1 of them belong to Christian and Muslim religion respectively.

Caste is the most distinguishing cultural stratification in Indian society. It influences the socio-cultural relationships of each and every individual. In the study caste classification is of three types namely backward caste, most backward caste and scheduled castes/tribes. The analysis on percentage distribution of the elderly women by caste indicates that (panel 3 of Table 1) more than half of them (58.6 %) belong to backward community and nearly one-

fourth (24.9%) of them belong to SC/ST and only 16.5 per cent of the elderly women belong to most backward caste.

Among the cultural variables, type of family and marital status are the two important factors that plays the pivotal role in identifying the living arrangement/condition of the elderly persons. The results based on the type of family (panel 4 of Table 1) shows that 52.9 per cent of them live in nuclear family and the remaining 47.1 per cent of them live in joint family. The analysis on the marital status of the elderly women (panel 5 of Table 1) indicate that three-fourths of the respondents (76.0%) are married, while 21.3 per cent of the respondents are widowed and only very few i.e., 2.7 per cent of them are separated from their husband. Education is a crucial ingredient for a person's professional development. Data related to educational status of the elderly women given in panel 6 of Table 1 highlighted that as high as 83.8 per cent of the elderly women are illiterates and the remaining percentages of them are literates.

Financial problems add to the misery of the aged. Having spent all their hard earned money on children's education and marriage, they are generally demoralized when their off spring refuse to give them shelter. No doubt, economic security is vital for the elderly. However very often this gets undue attention at the expense of psychological, social, occupational and cultural needs. Income is generated to fulfill the economic needs of the family. Occupation occupies or engages the time and attention of the elderly person and it also act as a bridge for the family and elders. The occupation of the elderly women (panel 7 of Table 1) infers that majority of women (83.8%) are homemakers and 16.2 per cent of them are working as coolie, servant maids, clerks and those involved in petty business. Based on the occupation 9.6 per cent of the elderly women received Rs. 1000 and below as their monthly income, whereas 5.4 percent and 1.2 per cent of them each receive Rs. 1001-2000 and Rs. 2001 and above as their monthly income.

### **Illness of the Elderly Women**

For an individual, measures of disability and independence are directly influenced by the number and severity of chronic diseases present and are central components of quality of life. At the population level, disability measures are key indicators of overall health status and whether women can generally expect to spend more years of their lives with some functional limitations. Healthy life expectancy as normally used refers to life expectancy without limitation of functions that may be the consequences of one or more chronic conditions.



There are powerful economic, social, political and cultural determinants which influence how women age with far reaching consequences for health and quality of life, as well as costs to the health care systems. Poor economic status earlier in life and is a determinant of health at all stages of life. The older women often reflect the cumulative impact of poor diets. Another determinant of health is education. Increased literacy for older women will bring health benefits for them and their families. Lack of good food and safe drinking water, a gender based division of domestic chores; environment hazards etc also have a cumulative negative impact on the health of women as they age. Table 2 explains the illness of elderly women suffering for the past six months due to various chronic diseases like cough, diabetics, joint pain, ulcer, heart problem, blood pressure, paralysis, viral fever asthma etc. It is inferred that nearly half (46.8%) of the women are suffering from joint pain for the past six months, 33.0 per cent of them are suffering from blood pressure, and 17.1 per cent of them have diabetics. Remaining 6.6 per cent, 4.8 per cent, 4.5 per cent, 2.7 per cent, 2.4 per cent, 1.2 per cent and 0.6 per cent of them suffer from diseases like heart problem, back pain, cough, nerve disorder, skin problem, ulcer, brain tumour, kidney trouble respectively.

### **Care of the Elderly Women**

Physical incapacity is common for the elderly people. Medical treatment is vital for their effective function. Results from panel 1 and 2 of Table 3 infer that 200 elderly women visit government hospital for their treatment, another 126 elderly women visit private hospitals and the remaining 7 elderly women visit naturopathy and homeopathy hospitals. Different types of treatment taken by the elderly women are allopathic (97.9%), homeopathic (0.9%) and ayurvedic (1.2%).

Indian social system exhorts the individual to look after the old, the infirm and the elderly. The aged parents live in their own roof with their grown up children who take care of their well being especially during illness. Panel 3 of Table 3 explains the care giver to the elderly women. It is obvious that nearly half of the respondents i.e., 42.3 per cent of them are taken care by their sons during their ill health. Another 27.6 per cent of the elderly women are taken care by their daughters. For 10.5 per cent of the elderly women both sons and daughters are the care givers during the illness of their mother, whereas 11.4 per cent of the elderly women happened to be alone with out the care of anybody even during their ill health. The lack of physical or emotional support even during the ill health of the elderly women by their offspring is due to the migration of them to various places with regard to their education, occupation, marriage etc. Only 8.5 per cent of the elderly women are taken care by

their close relatives. Thus the elderly women seek the support of their son, daughter and relatives during their ill health and some remains alone due to radical changes, not only in occupational pattern, but also in population dynamics. Migration breaks the bond of traditional family structures and functions.

Women are economically, physically weaker as they age. They are support seekers for their living in most of the condition especially when they are ill. Though some women may have savings as their economic security, their son, husband, daughters and relatives who are bonded with them meet their medical expenses. The panel 4 of Table 3 gives the clear picture about the person who meet medical expenses for the elderly women. It is inferred that 42.6 per cent of the women's medical expenses are met by their son, another 27.9 per cent of the aged women's medical expenses are met by their daughter and for 7.8 per cent of the elderly women, their husbands met the medical expenses, but 19.8 per cent of the elderly women met their medical expenses through their savings and there is no one to share the medical expenses for 1.8 per cent of the aged women.

In addition to physical changes, elderly individuals also experience psychological and social changes. Some individual cope with these changes effectively but others experience extreme frustration and mental distress. It is important for the family members to be aware of the psychosocial changes and stresses experienced by the elderly.

Physical disability in the aged often gives rise to profound anxiety and a sense of apathy and helplessness. This situation is indeed very difficult, since the aged in such conditions invariably tend to be withdrawn, negative and inflexible. In such cases, the role of the family is crucial and calls for greater sensitivity and tolerance. It is also observed that women resist more than the men, in receiving and accepting any kind of correctional help or support. This tends to alienate and push the elderly, especially women into a cycle of depression and social isolation. Panel 5 of Table 3 explains the problems like depression, loneliness, irritation and isolation faced by the elderly women due to their inability and lack of proper support. It is observed that 42.9 per cent of the women have no problem whereas another 23.7 per cent of the women suffer from both depression and isolation; another 20.4 per cent of the women have depression alone and the remaining 10.8 and 2.1 per cent each of the women have loneliness and irritation due to their physical and psychological inability.

### **Nature of Treatment by Background Characteristics**

Use of non-allopathic treatment practices has been a long tradition in India. Even after the emergence of the fast growing allopathic treatment in recent years, many people resort to alternative treatment such as ayurvedic, homeopathic, naturopathy, indigenous herbs etc. Particularly the elderly people adopt the non-allopathic therapy because this may represent a trend towards mysticism in the modern world. These so called alternative therapies act as placebo or the ingredients may specially treat the diseases. An attempt is made here to examine the type of treatment undergone by the women by their age. The results showed that (panel 1 of Table 4.) 98.3 per cent of the elderly women who are in the age group of below 65 years take allopathic treatment. Similarly the other age group women too take allopathic treatment in large number. In all age group only few of them take homeopathic (5.5%) and ayurvedic (4.6%) treatment. Conspicuously the difference in the age and the nature of treatment taken by the elderly women turned out to be statistically insignificant ( $\chi^2 = 3.822$ ;  $p < .701$ ). Type of hospitals adopted for the treatments by the elderly women are shown in panel 2 of Table 4. It is exhibited that the elderly women who take allopathic treatment visit both government and private hospitals. In case of homeopathic and ayurvedic treatment elderly women visit private hospitals and other type of informal places. The Chi square result do support the fact at highest level ( $\chi^2 = 193.47$ ;  $p < .000$ ).

### **Type of Hospitals by Background Characteristics**

The hospitals are committed to ensure that, it provides quality health care and social welfare services to all leading to a healthy production and prosperous nation. It is important that elderly persons get medical checkups regularly to prevent the onset of any of the health conditions. The aging population will likely have a major impact on hospital utilization. This research allowed comparisons on usage of type of hospitals among different age groups and educational categories of elderly women. Details about the age group of the elderly women (panel 1 of Table 5) by the type of hospitals visited when they are sick exhibited that out of 333 elderly women 173 of them in the age group of below 65 years visit government hospitals (65.9%), private hospitals (32.4%) and other (1.7%). In the age group 66-70 years there are totally 76 elderly women. Among them 60 per cent of them visit government hospital and 36.8 per cent visit private hospitals. Similar pattern is observed in the age group of 71-75 years. Contradictory to this elderly women who are in the age group of 76 years and above visit private hospitals (58.3%). This is mainly because the old-old category elderly women have the high risk of survival. The family members have a notion that private hospitals are well equipped than the government hospitals. So the preference of private

hospitals during the sickness of old-old women shows at large number. The differences in age vs type of hospital they visit is statistically significant at lower level ( $\chi^2 = 11.290$ ;  $p < .080$ ). Difference in visiting the type of hospital based on their educational category is described in panel 2 of Table 5. It is obvious that 279 elderly women are illiterates and majority of them (62.0%) visit government hospitals. In case of elderly women who attained primary school of education, half of them visit private hospitals, 13 elderly women have completed middle school education and among them the primary preference is government hospital when they are sick. The similar pattern is observed for those elderly women who have completed high school and above too. As a result the differences in educational category and the hospitals they visit is insignificant.

### **Health Problem by Age**

It is evident that (Table 6) in the age group of below 65 years, out of 173 elderly women 42.2 per cent of them have no health problem. Depression and the combination of depression and isolation are the health problems faced by 21.4 per cent and 20.8 per cent of the elderly women. Similar results were observed in the other age groups of the elderly women too, though all the age groups have one or the other health problems due to various circumstances and physical conditions, this becomes more severe and vulnerable for the age groups of 55 and above. It is widespread that elderly women suffer from depression due to their physical and mental inability. Such suffering causes helpless condition for them to survive. Moreover they suffer from isolation as their younger ones leave them alone for their work without giving proper care to their elderly parents.

### **Conclusion**

Elderly women are the growing population in our country. It is estimated that by the year 2050 elderly population will out reach the youth population and India will be in the first position all over the world. Due to the change in the social outlook the elderly population are unconsidered in most of the circumstances both in rural and urban areas. Thus they have become the most vulnerable sufferers in the society especially the older women. The living conditions of the elderly women are dynamic. They change over the life course, adopting changing life circumstances. Their conditions are mainly influenced by variety of factors like marital status, financial well being, health status and family size and structure as well as cultural traditions. Moreover as age grows they suffer from lack of physical and mental well being mainly due to the improper support received from their family members.

Health problem is the most serious thing that has to be concerned by the society on the whole. It was observed that almost all the women suffer from one or the other disabilities like visual (58.0 %), hearing (11.1%), speech (1.6%) and physical (0.9%). The other physical problems they suffer from are chronic diseases like cough, diabetics, joint pain, ulcer, heart problem, blood pressure, paralysis, viral fever etc. In order to receive the medical treatment most of them prefer allopathic treatment and they visit government hospitals followed by private hospitals. Very few respondents also took the treatments like naturopathy and homeopathy. Care giving is essential for the elderly women during their illness. Nearly half of them receive care from their sons next from their daughters. Half of the elderly women have psychological problems like depression, isolation, loneliness and irritation.

The result on allopathic treatment by age does not show any significant result. The ‘young old’ group visits government hospitals whereas the ‘old old’ groups prefer to go to private hospitals due to the natural tendency that private hospitals are well equipped than the government hospitals. The educational status and the preference to go to the hospital shows no significant difference. During their ill health they prefer to be cared by their sons and daughters. Thus elderly women suffer from ill health without the proper attention and care.

### **Recommendations**

- Rural government facilities lacked essential geriatric care facilities. As a result, the elderly had to be satisfied with the mobile care units. Therefore, geriatric care at the rural areas should be strengthened.
- Health care delivery staff must be equipped to give proper health care counseling to the elderly.
- Volunteers must be encouraged to accompany the elderly in seeking health care.

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**Table 1: Percentage Distribution of Elderly Women by their Socio-economic Characteristics**

<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>No. of Respondents</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>1. Age</b>		
≤ 65	173	52.0
66 – 70	76	22.8
71 – 75	48	14.4
76 – 80	24	7.2
81 +	12	3.6
<b>2. Religion</b>		
Hindu	318	95.5
Christian	8	2.4
Muslim	7	2.1
<b>3. Caste</b>		
SC/ST	83	24.9
MBC	55	16.5
BC	195	58.6
<b>4. Type of Family</b>		
Nuclear	176	52.9
Joint	157	47.1
<b>5. Marital Status</b>		
Married	253	76.0
Widowed	71	21.3
Separated	9	2.7
<b>6. Educational Status</b>		
Illiterate	279	83.8
Primary	34	10.2
Middle School	13	3.9
High School & above	7	2.1
<b>7. Occupational Status (Current)</b>		
Not Working	279	83.8
Coolie	11	3.3
Petty Business	16	4.8
Clerical Work	10	3.0
Servant Maid	17	5.1
<b>8. Income</b>		
No Income	279	83.8
≥ 1000 Rupees	32	9.6
1001 – 2000 “	18	5.4
2001+	4	1.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>333</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 2: Percentage Distribution of Elderly Women by their Illness**

<b>Diseases</b>	<b>Yes</b>		<b>No</b>	
	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
Cough	15	4.5	318	95.5
Diabetics	57	17.1	276	82.9
Joint Pain	156	46.8	177	53.2
Ulcer	4	1.2	329	98.8
Heart Disease	22	6.6	311	93.4
Blood Pressure	110	33.0	223	67.0
Paralysis	6	1.8	327	98.2
Fever	2	0.6	331	99.4
Asthma	15	4.5	318	95.5
Nervous Disorder	9	2.7	324	97.3
Skin Problem	8	2.4	325	97.6
Brain Tumour	2	0.6	331	99.4
Kidney Problem	2	0.6	331	99.4
Back Pain	16	4.8	317	95.2



**Table 3: Percentage Distribution of Elderly Women by their Health Related Characteristics**

<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>No. of Respondents</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>1.Type of Hospital</b>		
Government	200	60.1
Private	126	37.8
Others	7	2.1
<b>2.Nature of Treatment</b>		
Allopathic	326	97.9
Homeopathy	3	0.9
Ayurvedic	4	1.2
<b>3.Care Giver</b>		
No one	38	11.4
Son	141	42.3
Daughter	92	27.6
Son and Daughter	35	10.5
Other Relatives	27	8.5
<b>4.Persons Meet Medical Expenses</b>		
No Expenses	6	1.8
Husband	26	7.8
Son	142	42.6
Daughter	93	27.9
Savings	66	19.8
<b>5.Psychological Problems</b>		
No Problem	143	42.9
Depression	68	20.4
Loneliness	36	10.8
Irritation	7	2.1
Depression & Isolation	79	23.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>333</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 4: Elderly Women's Nature of Treatment Undergone by Selected Characteristics**

Characteristics	Nature of Treatment							
	Allopathic		Homeopathy		Ayurvedic		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
1.Age								
≥ 65	170	98.3	1	0.6	2	1.2	173	100.0
66 - 70	75	98.7	-	-	1	1.3	76	100.0
71 - 75	46	95.8	1	2.1	1	2.1	48	100.0
76 +	35	97.2	1	2.8	-	-	36	100.0
	χ <sup>2</sup> Value & Sig. Level: 3.822 ; 0.701							
2.Type of Hospital								
Government	200	100.0	-	-	-	-	200	100.0
Private	123	97.6	3	2.4	-	-	126	100.0
Others	3	42.9	-	-	4	57.1	7	100.0
	χ <sup>2</sup> Value & Sig. Level: 193.472 ; 0.000							
Total	326	97.9	3	0.9	4	1.2	333	100.0

**Table 5: Type of Hospital by background Characteristics of the Elderly Women**

Characteristics	Type of Hospital When Sick							
	Government		Private		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.Age								
≥ 65	114	65.9	56	32.4	3	1.7	173	100.0
66 - 70	46	60.5	28	36.8	2	2.6	76	100.0
71 - 75	25	52.1	21	43.8	2	4.2	48	100.0
76 +	15	41.7	21	58.3	-	-	36	100.0
	χ <sup>2</sup> Value & Sig. Level: 11.290 ; 0.080							
2.Educational Status								
Illiterate	173	62.0	102	36.6	4	1.4	279	100.0
Primary School	15	44.1	17	50.0	2	5.9	34	100.0
Middle	8	61.5	4	30.8	1	7.7	13	100.0
High School & above	4	57.1	3	42.9	-	-	7	100.0
	χ <sup>2</sup> Value & Sig. Level: 8.282 ; 0.218							
Total	200	60.1	126	37.8	7	2.1	333	100.0

**Table 6: Elderly Women's Health Problem by their Age**

<b>Age</b>	<b>No Problem</b>		<b>Depression</b>		<b>Isolation</b>		<b>Irritation</b>		<b>Depression &amp; Isolation</b>		<b>Total</b>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
≥ 65	73	42.2	37	21.4	23	13.3	4	2.3	36	20.8	173	100.0
66 – 70	32	42.1	18	23.7	7	9.2	1	1.3	18	23.7	76	100.0
71 – 75	20	41.7	7	14.6	3	6.3	2	4.2	16	33.3	48	100.0
76+	18	50.0	6	16.7	3	8.3	-	-	9	25.0	36	100.0
	$\chi^2$ Value & Sig. Level: 8.793 ; 0.720											
<b>Total</b>	143	42.9	68	20.4	36	10.8	7	2.1	79	23.7	333	100.0

## **WOMEN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND PERCEPTION – A CASE STUDY OF SOUTH ASIA**

**C S Anuradha**

### *Abstract*

*While the public and private spheres are often compartmentalized on the basis of gender, the female movement from the private to the public has hardly been appreciated. Their personality has always drawn negative criticism when assertive and judged as unsuitable for leadership when docile. Also, the rise of women to political power casts aspersions on their relations with male leaders. However the personal lives of male political leaders are seldom treated as testing ground of their skill in the public realm. The media representation of the South Asian women political leaders has been far from favourable. Highly opinionated and concentrating more upon the personality, the style of leadership rather than its essence, perceptions of the media have been exaggerated at best. Even in the case of analysis the 'report card' by journalists and media on women is harsher and more judgmental.*

### **Introduction**

As the debate on the possibility of the first woman President in USA ever in history heats up, the image of the woman in power and how it affects women leadership the world over makes interesting study. The Chinese leader Mao Zedong said women hold half the sky. This is true demographically but politically this is not a fact. While the presence of women at the political level can be traced to the Middle Ages when queens ruled vast empires, their numerical representation in modern legislatures and the executive positions is relatively poor. The discrimination of women in all fields of activity continues in many parts of the world. However surmounting such odds, women outshine their male counterparts in areas like management, corporate and business enterprises. The breaking of the glass ceiling occurred slowly but surely. Hitherto male territory even in sports like wrestling, boxing and weightlifting are witnessing enthusiastic participation by women.

On the other hand, the political arena presents some interesting facts. In the West women's political representation has risen with the evolution of the feminist movement. It is in tandem with the all round empowerment of women. The Nordic countries have among the highest political representation of women in the world. In fact very few countries have

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achieved the legislative representation of nearly 40% that the Scandinavian countries have successfully forged<sup>1</sup>.

While women are still expected to clarify the role that their gender will play in their campaign, they must simultaneously justify their participation in what is perceived as a male dominated realm. The construction of gender identities in politics has very real consequences not only for female political candidates, but more for their ability to exercise power and control their image<sup>2</sup>. According to the patriarchal view of society, male and female genders are assigned different roles and the individuals are always viewed through these “lenses of gender”<sup>3</sup>. These include notions that men and women are fundamentally different, oppositional and natural. This informs perceptions of persons in public life as well as famous personalities. This lens also provides a hierarchical structure whereby men dominate the public sphere (which is considered important) while women are relegated to the (relatively unimportant) private sphere. Femininity and masculinity characteristics are also opposite. Thus female leaders operating in a male dominated sphere are unfit due to their femininity. This means that due to the intrinsic quality of females they cannot take up the “male” tasks. Further, if such leaders attempt to be assertive or authoritative then such acts are labeled “unfeminine”. Hence women are thought incapable of leadership. In other words, the issue of femininity is used both as a scale for assessment of and disqualification for women becoming political leaders. Perceptions, judgments and evaluations have been harsh if the women depart from expected feminine behavior. This article seeks to estimate how women political leaders in the South Asian region are viewed.

### **South Asian paradox**

The region of study here, namely South Asia, is unique in several respects. South Asia as a region has elected more women to the helm of public affairs as state executive than any other region in the world. Yet the plight of the common women has hardly changed. As members of one of the poorest regions of the world and dogged with illiteracy and social and economic discrimination, their voices have still not been heard.

The high rate of women to political office is, to some extent, ascribed to the politicisation of the entire population. During the anti colonial struggle especially in countries like India, Sri Lanka, the continued imprisonment of the men involved in the process forced the women to lead the struggle<sup>4</sup>. This mobilization together with Gandhian ideology and the

importance of kinship are cited as the driving factors for the prominence of Indian women in politics.<sup>5</sup> The proximity of some women to the male power base has also emerged as one of the main reasons for South Asian women participating in politics. Another surprising feature is that, though the South Asian society is generally seen as conservative and traditional in outlook, it has managed to elect more women leaders to the echelons of power.

### **Gender and Leadership style**

Pathbreaking research and observations have come out with startling findings. For example, in the field of business, the leadership styles are analysed and two major types of leadership emerge namely transactional and transformational leadership. It is felt that the transformational model is more effective as this type of leader functions by example and encourages participation of the subordinates in making decisions and provides incentives. In general, transformational leaders are defined as those who serve as role models, mentor and empower workers and encourage innovation even when the organization they lead is generally successful. Researches point to the possibility that women could make better leaders by using the transformational style as it is a nurturing and more skillful way of leadership<sup>6</sup>. However the transactional leadership is one that depends on reward and punishment offered to subordinates as incentives. Here the leader performs a transaction. It has been found that women leaders are perceived as more transformational than men<sup>7</sup>.

Alice H. Eagly, Makhijani and Klonsky made a meta-analytic study of gender and leadership and found that women leaders were devalued more than men when they were autocratic and directive<sup>8</sup>. Personality profile has also been studied to indicate contribution to leadership style. The complex character of a woman political leader like Indira Gandhi, the only woman Prime Minister of India was assessed as a 'dichotomy'. Whereas one part of her personality, "sought fulfillment in political leadership, the other craved for greater intimacy, peace and security of private life"<sup>9</sup> Researchers are seeking to explain this manifestation of contradictory personality types as an operative of gender using more rigorous case studies.

### **Path to power**

Apart from the apparent disjunction between the women leaders and the status of the common woman, there is yet another interesting factor to be observed. In a majority of cases, the South Asian women have not assumed leadership solely through the dint of their work but more by quirk of fate. Stanley Wolpert describes it as "accident of gender"<sup>10</sup>. Another

commonality in these women leaders has been the manner in which they gained the mantle. Most are victims of the violent death of a close male relative – a husband or father. In other words, paraphrasing what Shakespeare said in the *Twelfth Night* on greatness it can be said, "Some have leadership thrust upon them". And even in the case of exceptions where they were groomed for the highest office it was not by their ability alone but more because of a proximity to male rule.

Indira Gandhi was the daughter of the illustrious Jawaharlal Nehru who died a natural death. Benazir Bhutto assumed the mantle of the Pakistan People's Party after the hanging of her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto by the military leadership. While Indira and Benazir had some amount of political experience the others like Chandrika Kumaratunga of Sri Lanka, and Khaleda Zia of Bangladesh lost their husbands, both politically significant members, to assassination.

Chandrika Kumaratunga is the daughter of two former Prime Ministers of Sri Lanka SWRD Bandaranaike and Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the world's first woman Prime Minister. She is also the wife of the slain actor turned politician, Wijaya Kumaratunga. Khaleda Zia on the other hand is the wife of former premier of Bangladesh Gen. Zia ur Rehman. Khaleda Zia's rival and the recently arrested former Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina was among the two survivors of the massacre that completely wiped out the family of Sheikh Mujbir Rahman – the founder of Bangladesh. Inexperienced and novices, these women were chosen not for any extraordinary skill but to keep contenders at bay and keep the political parties together.

The reason offered for choosing women among siblings to assume power is that it was treated as a 'soft option' compared to the more aggressive male relatives. This is true in the case of Benazir Bhutto and Chandrika Kumaratunga where their brothers were seen as strong contenders. Hence the choice of women was not due to any benevolence on the part of the political party in power but purely for the purpose of retaining power. Once in power these women often opposed the very people who ushered them to highest political office. Soon the allegations included those of corruption and nepotism that have greatly affected the image of female political leaders in this part of the world.

### **View from within**

Capitalizing on their positions as 'victims', the political bosses in these countries thought them pliable and more manageable than the less favourable male siblings if present.



Thus perceptions of mentors, colleagues and relatives were one of under-estimation. In this light the description of Indira Gandhi as *gungee gudiya* (literally “dumb doll”) by Ram Manohar Lohia, a veteran Congressman or Morarji Desai’s terming her the “Little Princess”<sup>11</sup> can be seen as manifestation of the expected nature of the women chosen as leaders – docile, ‘no problem’ candidates. In the case of Benazir she was portrayed as usurper of the male’s place in Islamic society<sup>12</sup>.

The South Asian women political leaders thus were the torch bearers of the legacy of some of the most prominent male political figures in their own countries. They were often portrayed as matriarchs. Soon the image became more complex and often treated as a counter to the corrupt, illegitimate male contenders. At a later stage the perception differed largely and extended even to the point of deification. In India for example, the then young opposition member, Atal Behari Vajpayee, is said to have praised Indira’s spectacular victory in the Bangladesh war of independence by saying that she was “Goddess Durga”<sup>13</sup>.

The pressure of operating in a male dominated field forced them to be more than men. Her speeches initially, in Benazir's own words "were quite aggressive"<sup>14</sup>. Interestingly most of the women negate the factor of "woman" affecting their leadership styles. Indira Gandhi was described as "the only man in the cabinet".<sup>15</sup> Also, none of the women leaders had women's rights or empowerment as a primary focus. Rather they were concerned with party feud, unstable national political climate and strife. India also fought a war with Pakistan that carved out a new state in South Asia i.e. Bangladesh. Benazir had to tackle a strong army establishment and call for “jihad” against India to placate the fundamental groups in her support base.

The performance of the women leaders is yet another indicator of the perception about them. Indira Gandhi's policies are even now criticized as having pushed the country into backwardness. Her rule saw a devaluation of the rupee, the Indian currency; the worsening food crisis and the suspension of freedom of speech and basic rights with the imposition of the state of “emergency” in 1972-1975. The imprisonment of opposition leaders and gross violation of human rights were the bitter fruits of this emergency. The invocation of the emergency is the most blatant "blemish" on her rule. Benazir Bhutto on the other hand has been twice dismissed from office on charges of corruption. The style of leadership also left much to be desired. The earlier expectation that women would offer a viable alternative was replaced by accusation of corrupt practices and high handedness and

even nepotism. The individual personalities and their abilities have been analyzed in much detail<sup>16</sup>.

Women's sudden rise to power using patriarchal identities indicates the lack of organizational base and political inexperience. In countries like Pakistan, the women in addition to this inherent weakness have to face another formidable group - the armed forces. In Bangladesh and Pakistan, the army was in power for certain periods of time and as a traditional set up, the least adapted to female leadership. Interestingly these countries also have had huge dissatisfied groups; military aid need and domestic strife and the women in power have to appease the army establishment not jeopardizing their domestic agendas.

### **Press projections**

Not only the political community but the media too has played a very important role in projecting a not so favorable perception of South Asian women political leaders. The women political leaders were received with misperception and disdain. Research already shows that women even as political leaders are stereotyped as mothers, homemakers and sex objects that are incompatible with the image of political leadership. The perpetuation of such stereotypes by the media might have even "diminished the chances of success of other women aspiring for political office".<sup>17</sup> Since most of the South Asian women leaders have assumed power by feudal, tribal, hierarchical structures, the media has presented them as extensions or mirrors of their male relatives.

Campaign coverage, speeches and general publicity of these women has been concentrating on femininity, hairstyle, dress code and at times personal relations or casting aspersions over some of the above mentioned. For example, a journalist recollecting his adolescent encounter with Indira Gandhi describes a scowl that could not be missed and hence fit to be captured on camera. He adds that "I understood why big and powerful men were scared witless by this little woman in a crisply ironed sari".<sup>18</sup> Even in countries like Sri Lanka where women in politics were accepted phenomena, the political or educational qualifications were hardly mentioned while their familial responsibilities were always emphasized. Chandrika Kumaratunga won the largest landslide victory in any democracy in history for her Presidential election against the widow of the slain leader Gamini Disenayake. But the election campaign was projected by the media more as one headline put it, "Sri Lanka Election: A Battle of Widows – and Dynasties."<sup>19</sup> It did not highlight their

individual accomplishments or professional qualifications. Election manifestoes or policies were not even talked about.

Performance of women political leaders is found to have been evaluated more harshly. While most analysis of Indira's reign revolves around the emergency debacle hardly any talk of her success at achieving self-sufficiency in food production. The 1971 Bangladesh war is seldom examined as a triumph of her leadership and diplomatic tact. Khaleda Zia restored democracy but rarely does the media comment on it, rather the rivalry with Sheikh Hasina gains more coverage. In the case of Benazir Bhutto her political distinction is reduced to the trivia that she is the only leader who delivered a baby while in office.

Deification or ascribing familial relation tags to female leaders has been prevalent in South Asian politics. Often the self-projection of the female leaders is as mother or saviour, daughter or sister of the people. In India more particularly the image of a goddess usually wrathful is used to depict the women leaders.

## **Conclusion**

While the public and private spheres are often compartmentalized on the basis of gender, the female movement from the private to the public has hardly been appreciated. Their personality has always drawn negative criticism when assertive and judged as unsuitable for leadership when docile. Also, the rise of women to political power casts aspersions on their relations with male leaders. However the personal lives of male political leaders are seldom treated as testing ground of their skill in the public realm.

The media representation of the South Asian women political leaders has been far from favourable. Highly opinionated and concentrating more upon the personality, the style of leadership rather than its essence, perceptions of the media have been exaggerated at best. Even in the case of analysis the 'report card' by journalists and media on women is harsher and more judgmental.

Within the political community too, perception of women political leaders has seldom been objective. Character assassination and mud slinging on women politicians are a favorite pastime. Thus the overall picture is bleak in that women elected to the highest political office are perceived differently and often with difficulty. The dynastic ropes to political prominence, the lack of organizational base, inexperience and leadership style tend to

indicate that in spite of many South Asian women in the upper echelons of political power, the general perception is one of figure-head rather than a point of change or progress in the political lives of the countries in the region.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> For the exact percentages see the table in Sweden: women's representation in parliament [http://www.idea.int/news/upload/sweden\\_women.pdf](http://www.idea.int/news/upload/sweden_women.pdf)
- <sup>2</sup> Shane Miller, The woven gender : Made for a woman but stronger for a man, *The Southern Communication Journal*, Spring 1997; Vol 62 No.3, p.217
- <sup>3</sup> For a detailed study of this concept refer Sandra L. Bem, *The lenses of gender: Transforming the debate on sexual inequality*, Yale University Press, 1993. pp.256
- <sup>4</sup> Romila Thapar *Illustrated weekly of India* Fall 1972
- <sup>5</sup> Mary Finsod Katzenstein, Towards equality? Cause and consequence of political prominence of Women in India, *Asian Survey*, Vol.18 no.5, may 1978. p.487
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**THE HOLOCAUST OF INDIAN PARTITION: AN INQUEST** by Madhav Godbole, Rupa & Company, New Delhi, 2006, pp.xii + 658, Price: Rs. 795.

Seasoned bureaucrat and writer Madhav Godbole's thoroughly researched book is a ringing challenge to those people, both in India and abroad, who assert that India got its freedom *too cheaply* and did not really have to sacrifice much for it. B. K. Nehru wrote, ironically in the golden jubilee year of India's independence, his *Nice Guys Finish Second* in which he said: "I can not help but contrast the comparative ease with which we got our freedom from the colonial power with the horrors which non-British European colonies had to suffer." His assertion was rubbished by historian Stanley Wolpert when, after a six-year research, he published his *Shameful Flight: The Last Years of the British Empire in India* in 2006. He recorded the savage end to the lives of about a million Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, and also plight of about ten more millions who, with no possessions, had to make the perilous journey to places they felt would be safe because of the idiocy and arrogance of those who had a duty to protect them.

Godbole does exactly the same. His book aptly describes the tragedy of India's partition as "holocaust". It speaks volumes. The partition of India was a traumatic event and what happened during the eighteen months preceding the transfer of power was no less a tragedy than the widely talked about events in French Indochina, Dutch East Indies or Portuguese Angola and Guinea or elsewhere. Godbole graphically recounts the events that led to the translation of the two-nation theory into action and all the tremendous human cost that was involved in it -loss of about a million lives and uprooting of nearly eighteen million people. This holocaust is the focus of Godbole's book.

It sheds new light on several important issues with a detailed survey of the critical eighteen-month period preceding the transfer of power which saw the widespread communal hatred and violence unprecedented in human history. Godbole establishes that the communal hatred was so deep that it should have been evident to anyone that transfer of power was not going to be peaceful. The failure, however, of all the principle actors –British, Indian and Pakistani- to see this writing on the wall is described in the book with convincing evidence thus making it a must read for any student of the recent history of the Subcontinent. The book, in its six hundred and seventy pages, vividly brings out the Indian holocaust, one of the worst man-made human tragedies in Mankind's history, makes a clinical and thorough inquest, and concludes that, with foresight and planning, its extent and severity could have been reduced substantially.

Analysis of such a colossal human tragedy inevitably brings the author face to face with the intimidating but interesting task of a critical appraisal of the roles played by the authors of the tragedy, and the actors who played a part in it –on stage, backstage and in the wings. While describing the role of Mohammad Ali Jinnah in this holocaust, Godbole tries to disprove some ‘time-honoured’ myths. He establishes with credible evidence that it is impossible to believe that neither the British government nor the top leadership of the Congress had any inkling of the seriousness of Jinnah’s illness. The author maintains that all these key actors were aware of the fact that Jinnah was a “dying man” and still, pressed for partition for their own reasons. Godbole, while arguing that both Nehru and Patel were aware of Jinnah’s illness, maintains that India, which is better off with partition, should be eternally indebted to them for their foresightedness, political courage and statesmanship. He opines that united India would have been unlivable and ungovernable. Given the developments in Pakistan, especially since Zia’s Islamisation drive in early 80s, and the rise of radical Islam in the Subcontinent in recent years, we have to accept Godbole’s assertion, though with reluctance. That is what makes this book interesting

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**Talking India: Ashis Nandy in Conversation with Ramin Jahanbegloo**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006, pp.xi+149, Rs.395.00

In a world which is slowly resembling the proverbial Tower of Babel where everybody spoke but none listened, *Talking India*, the book under review is based on a series of absorbing conversation between the two leading intellectuals from the East, has come as a refreshing hope that a sober and constructive intercultural dialogue is still possible in spite of all the obvious limitations of the times.

Ramin Jahanbegloo is a prominent Iranian intellectual who received his doctorate from Sorbonne University, Paris and post-doc at Harvard. Although Ramin tells us that he first met Nandy in 1989 when he himself was a Gandhian scholar, he could appreciate Nandy's intellectual depth on a wide range of subjects only in these conversations which took place on January 2000. In all these years Nandy definitely has established a reputation of being an erudite scholar in contentious debates that range from issues such as modern science, political cultures of India, secularism, nation-state, violence, modernity, the politics of development and knowledge and so on. Unburdened with the conventions of universities and intellectual fashions of the day, his is a voice of dissent in search of lost causes and 'defeated systems of knowledge and modes of self-expression'. In his typically polemical style, Nandy confesses, "I don't work with the winners of the world... I try to empower them (defeated systems of knowledge) when they have been supplanted by systems patronized by the powerful and the rich, backed by ideologies that are called patriotic, scientific, or progressive" (65).

What is unique in Nandy and which makes him distinguish from the rest of Indian intelligentsia is that he, being a true dissenter and a 'de-professionalized intellectual', can not be easily identified with any of the numerous political or intellectual camps. Not surprisingly, he has a long list of detractors: from nationalists and Marxists to secularists and feminists. Why this should be so soon becomes obvious when he speaks about his deep 'suspicion of ideologies' because for Nandy, "ideologues usually have a latent hatred for the objects of their ideology". This is the reason why "Marxists hate proletariat" much in the same way as many feminists "despise housewives" (14-15) because the objects of these ideologies remain oblivious to their historical role. He is sometimes accused of being soft on Hindu nationalism but his critics would do well to read his nuanced expatiations on fascism or for that matter any ideology in these conversations. He says the choicest abuses of these Hindu nationalists are not reserved for Muslims and Christian but for Hindus who are "disorganized, effeminate, fractious ... constantly quarreling amongst themselves ... In fact, there is a sneaking respect for Muslims and Christians as people whose religion has made them better equipped to handle modern nation-state and produce modern nationality"(15). It is ideas like these that hardly find him friends in any ideological camp.

The two intellectuals discuss a wide range of issues but one finds Nandy eloquently brilliant when it comes to discussing broader categories like India, Indians and Indianness. The ever present appreciation in his work of the rigid dichotomies between tradition and modernity, religion and secularism, self and collectivity, nationalism and colonialism etc has all sharpened his critique leading to some perspicacious insights on all these issues. In order to understand India, he insists on taking it as a civilizational unit rather than a nation-state because the latter was plainly "a compromise with- and a way of negotiating- European domination in nineteenth century and Western domination in the twentieth" and the post-colonial Indian state "basically modeled itself as a successor power to that imperial power and consistently retained the touch of imperiousness" (76). Moreover, looking at South Asian region through the prism of nation-state results in what Nandy says 'absurd situations' for

“we share some of the most important markers of civilization with our neighbouring countries but we have to treat them as foreign countries and they have to treat us like foreigners”. As two nation-states, India and Pakistan may have shared an intensely bitter and acrimonious history but Nandy avers that “Delhi and Agra are more important to Pakistan today than Peshawar and Multan ... in many ways Delhi and Lucknow remain the cultural capitals of Pakistan”. Sad as it may appear but “Pakistani elite can not connect to living cultures of their own people as enthusiastically as they can connect to the memories of the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire” (77). These views make sense only if India is taken as a civilizational unit.

On the question as to whether a tradition is valid if it has an awareness of the nature of evil in modern times, Nandy stresses that “India’s civilizational frame lacks adequate sensitivity to some forms of evil that have emerged in the last century” (59). The reason for this absence is the less sharp demarcation between ‘self’ and ‘not-self’ in Indian consciousness. Indian epics like Mahabharata and Ramayana bear ample testimony to this fact where “concepts of good and evil are not seen as two watertight compartments but as parts of a larger picture, where good, even the divine, may include a touch of the demonic and the demonic, in turn, is touched by the divine” (56). Not that such uncertainty is a weakness- on the contrary, it only reflects the political and philosophical maturity on part of the Indians who, as a people, have learnt to live comfortably with the idea of unknown, even if it may be unpleasant. However, this maturity has a downside in South Asian context where, with this consciousness, the leaders can be quite clueless about the nature and character of the evils of the modern times. For Nandy, this is the reason, “why policy makers can talk glibly about nuclearization- as if they were opening a new cement factory in the neighbourhood” (60).

Similarly, the idea of being Indians also finds a unique treatment in Nandy. For him, the Indian identity is inextricably linked with the history of colonialism, however, with a difference. He refuses to define India and Indians in relation to the West. As a modern construct with a consciousness of an identity, there were hardly any Indians earlier and all we had of Indianness was an average “which very few actually represented”. Indianness was an “ideal-type” with no relation in the real world where what remained of Indianness was fragmented identities of “Bengalis, Tamilians, Maharashtrians and others” (80). Colonialism unleashed forces that produced a category of Indians who became urban, modernized and gradually far too dislocated to be identified with any specific regional culture in India. In what has come as the glaring irony of the post-independent India, the people of this class, according to Nandy, are the modern Indians. Being unable to situate themselves in any of the local cultures, they can not but construct and relate to a pan-Indian character of their identity. Little wonder then that the characteristic feature of this class is its comfortability only in English and Hindi, “which they speak with pan-Indian accent... So even if they are from a Hindi-speaking state and claim Hindi as their mother tongue, there is no touch of any region in their diction.”(80). Perhaps this adds to the array of modern paradoxes that makes India unfathomable for Nandy’s ‘Indians’ represent not more than five percent of the total population.

On the issue of globalization, Nandy has some interesting formulations. In sharp contrast to those who consider the current phase of globalization as the first attempt to integrate the world on a global level, Nandy contends that “in this part of the world, people remember colonialism as the first effort at globalization”. Needless to add that these people call this “globalization a second edition of colonialism” (125). Until recently, ‘democratic



socialism' was seemingly the dominant ideology in this region, although certainly it was not pro-poor and what has been replaced now is the new wave of globalization. Like the former, globalization too is passively accepted by the common people. Nandy asks a rhetorical question: "what kind of stake do we expect vulnerable sections of society to have in the idea of a welfare state?" and gives a simple and straight answer in negative. "You can call them short-sighted; you can call them uniformed. The fact is that globalization has not been and will not easily become an electoral issue in India. People felt cheated and humiliated earlier; they feel cheated and humiliated now" (128). On the dialectics between globalization and the question of language, Nandy, while aware that English has become a lingua franca of globalization and some 80 percent of content on internet is in English, contends that linguistic discrimination does not touch the majority of Indians because of the simple reason that "less than 0.5 percent of Indians have computers, probably around 2.5 percent of Indians speak English, and a little more than 60 percent are literate". Yet, for at least a century now, Indian elites have used English as a mark of status and language of dominance and "those who have been subject to their status game and dominance do not find the new power of the English language strange or alien" (128-129). On this question, the experiences in regions like Asia, Africa and others which were under colonial domination seem similar in terms of increasingly marginalization of vernacular languages and the people who speak them.

While for the uninitiated, *Talking India* offers an exhaustive reading on Nandy's ideas and thoughts on variety of important issues, those who are aware of his entire or substantial body of work will still find the book quite intellectually engaging and thought provoking. At a time when in the name of multiculturalism what is being passed off seems nothing more than a dialogue between West and East in which the former sets the limits of what is acceptable and what is not, it is high time that multiculturalism should indeed involve comprehensive dialogue and conversations within the category called East. We need more of *Talking India* encounters and not less of them.

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## **TIBET ISSUE – LIKELY IMPACT ON SINO-INDIAN TIES**

**D S Rajan**

In the view of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao, Tibet issue is ‘sensitive’ one in Sino-Indian relations. Authoritative Chinese scholars like Prof. Sun Shihai of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, on the contrary believe that Tibet issue will have no impact on New Delhi-Beijing ties.

The interconnectivity between the Tibet issue and the Sino-Indian relations stands well established. This is because the Chinese border claims vis-à-vis India, the core bilateral problem, are based on their perception that the British Indian regime took away a large chunk of Chinese territory under its control as per the British-Tibet border treaty signed in 1914 and that India has inherited the British legacy. This sums up the picture that the border problem is closely linked to the issue of Chinese sovereignty over Tibet.

The Chinese leaders have expressed their happiness over the way in which the Tibet protesters in India are being handled by New Delhi. India and China, however, think differently about the role of the Dalai Lama. While the exiled leader is being viewed by the Indian Government as an eminent religious leader, which it cannot ignore, Beijing considers the exiled head of the Tibetan Buddhism as a wolf in the garb of a monk, trying to split China. More importantly, New Delhi differs from China’s perception that the Dalai Lama is the instigator of the present unrest in Tibet. China may also be unhappy about the Indian willingness to discuss the Tibet issue, considered an internal matter by Beijing, with foreign leaders, as it happened when Foreign Minister Pranab Mukherjee visited Washington.

The Tibet unrest in all probability has contributed to a weakening of China’s border claims at the ongoing boundary negotiations. The Tibet situation is compelling China to increase its military strength in Tibet, which will have strategic implications for India. Also with the loyalty of the Tibetan population now coming under the serious doubt of the authorities in Tibet, China’s border defence strategy in Tibet may come under cloud. Under these circumstances, there is every chance that the border talks may turn out to be a prolonged affair. In an overall perspective, therefore, Sino-Indian relations will remain under some strain for strategic reasons, even though the economic and trade ties are gaining a fast momentum thanks to the efforts of the top leaders of the two countries.

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The New Delhi-Beijing relations may not face a crisis in the immediate sense, in the context of Tibetan unrest, as any such crisis will not be in the interest of both the nations. Both the governments are handling the fall out of the unrest with great caution; however, in long term, the two sides are aware that a full normalcy in bilateral ties, can be realized only if core issues like the boundary question, are solved completely. The Tibet unrest has only added to the complication which already exists as the border talks are continuing endlessly with no tangible progress.

## **ENTANGLED HISTORIES IN THE DISCOURSES OF 'GOOD GOVERNANCE': FROM COLONIAL NOTIONS TO GLOBALIZED ENCLOSURES IN CONTEMPORARY WORLD**

**Shri Krishan**

The nature of post-colonial state in India partially reflects the legacy inherited from its colonial past. Many features of the administrative and institutional structure of the colonial state were retained after independence. Shalini Randeria (2003) explains how the transfer of Western models of good governance, including legal ideas, institutional procedures and practices to other parts of the globe is not without historical precedents, both under colonial rule and as part of the project of development aimed at modernizing the South.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, sensitivity to the history of colonialism would be an important corrective to most analysis of globalization, with their propensity to overstate the singularity of the present and to posit a radical discontinuity between contemporary social life and that of the recent past.

### **Good Governance in Colonial India**

The constitution of India itself was a product of British constitutional arrangements in India. The elected legislative assemblies of the provinces created on the basis of Government of India Act (1935), elected members for the Constituent Assembly. Even the colonial notion of communal electorates played an important role in the formation of Constituent Assembly. This became a sovereign constitution-drafting body after independence. Although, the Constituent Assembly adopted many of the democratic and normative forms that the nationalist leadership had been espousing during anti-imperialist struggle, the centralizing polity of colonial period was retained after some modifications. In districts also, the elite district collectors and Indian Civil Service norms continued to exist with same type of power and privileges.<sup>2</sup> Although bureaucracy's responsibility and control through the system of regular reporting to the elective, non- bureaucratic political leadership did introduce changes in its functioning and orientation, many other features of colonial period were retained. The separation from civil society, permanence of tenure, and control over public resources as well as its functional orientation were some of the elements that reminded one of its colonial legacies. The notion of establishing social control and attaching of primacy to the law and order instead of focussing on developmental initiatives reflect values and ethos of colonial

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civil service. There was a great degree of autonomy for bureaucracy and armed forces during the colonial regime, as they were used to suppress and subordinate the indigenous social groups. The process of partial transfer of power during 1920s and 1930s established procedures by which the bureaucracy could bypass the elected political leaders. These procedures created a space where bureaucrats could deal with 'public matter' outside elected institutions, thus paving the way for mediation between public and officialdom through elected representatives. This type of military-bureaucratic machinery retained its autonomy and its mediatory role between elected institutions and public. The power and status of post-colonial bureaucratic-managerial elites also grew manifold with the proliferation of non-market mechanisms in the allocation of public resources through arbitrary distribution of patronage in the forms of licenses, permits and governmental sanction. The unrepresentative administrative machinery was neither civil nor service-oriented but encouraged a new nexus between the business and state, thereby, empowering itself by appropriating power and resources. The developmental ideology of welfare was an important feature of post-colonial state in India and the Fundamental Rights enshrined in Article 12 to 35 of our constitution accord a guarantee against encroachments by the state on the civil and human rights of the individuals as well as religious minorities. The Directive Principles also provides a set of guidelines or instructions to the state to introduce certain basic socio-economic reforms so as to make fundamental rights more effective. Although, there is no legal sanction behind the enforcement of these policy measures, yet they mirror the basic welfare-oriented norms of the Indian polity. These normative features, however, only represent the declared agenda of the Indian nation state. We would attempt to show that the functional and implementation aspects are hindered by other dimensions such as the power of urban and rural rich and the resultant increasing marginalization of the poor. There is a hiatus between norms and ideals and actual existing social situations in every society. Even our contemporary democratic polity espousing the goal of 'good governance' is not an exception to this gap between political rhetoric and practical reality.

Moving back on a temporal scale, we found that The British colonial state used various means and ideological strategies to justify their rule in the eyes of Indian people. The British Empire, even though armed with an efficient bureaucracy and a huge amount of information about Indian society and people at its disposal, lacked the financial resources and sufficient military capacity to rule our vast and turbulent country by force alone. The British ideologues, therefore, projected their state as an engine of better governance and

modernization in India. They stressed on the positive virtues of colonial rule such as establishment of rule of law, a modern and scientific educational system and above all, an impersonal 'rational' bureaucracy that improved and professionalized the task of maintaining law and order.

### **British Liberal Revisionism & The 'Orient'**

The conception of 'Oriental Despotism', the idea that India was governed by unchecked and absolute power of a despotic emperor and an administrative elite dependent on the ruler, was used by the Orientalists to analyze the pre-colonial political arrangements of India. Alexander Dow (*The History of Hindustan*, 1770) and Robert Orme (*Government and People of Indostan*, 1753) used such notions to understand pre-colonial Indian polities. Subsequently other British administrators cited the tropical climate, Islamic religion and other racial factors as reasons that fostered the growth of despotism in India. The British rulers found, strangely enough, implicit rationalization for their own authoritarian rule in the subcontinent through use of such analytical categories. According to Thomas R. Metcalf, as the British endeavoured to define themselves as 'British', they had to make of the Indians whatever they chose not to make of themselves. Thus, they thought themselves as honest, laborious, masculine and rational and enlightened ones and as a natural corollary, Indians were depicted as deceitful, lazy, feminine, irrational, and superstitious.<sup>3</sup>

Under the intellectual sway of people like Adam Smith and Jermy Bentham, liberalism remoulded the British society and its institutions in the nineteenth century. The basic objective of liberal project was to secure liberties for the individuals and rights to property and life. This could be achieved only if citizens got freedom from bondage to the clergy, despotic rule and feudal aristocracy. This social transformation was to be introduced slowly through the agency of free trade, rule of law, reform of pedagogical practices and administrative organs of state and implementation of idea of representation and elective principle. This liberal project expressed itself in Britain through the Parliamentary Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, repeal of Corn Laws, welfare-oriented labour legislation, establishment of new local administrative bodies like municipal corporations in urban areas and elected county councils in the countryside, reform of civil laws and introduction of modern 'secular' education. In the colonial setting, the liberal views were reflected in James Mill's *History of British India* (1818). In this work, Mill envisaged a programme to free India from age-old 'stagnation' and 'decay' and set it on the road to 'progress'. He advocated "light taxes and good laws" to achieve this goal. The aim of liberals was to 'civilize' India through replication of

institutions and culture of Britain on Indian soil. The principal among these were private property, the rule of law, education in western scientific manner. The principle of security of private property was made sacrosanct in India. The spirit of 'rule of law' became visible in the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure proposed by Macaulay's Law Commission and enacted in 1860's. This was supposed to introduce elements of transparency and predictability in the sphere of law that had remained arbitrary and ill-defined in pre-colonial times. The legal system of colonial India, however, was an adjustment of assimilative ideal of liberalism (Codes and Procedures of Laws) and the British assertion of the difference of Indian personal laws (defined in terms of being a Hindu or Muslim). But despite the liberal attempts to recreate India in the image and likeness of England, the Empire itself was a negation and reversal of liberal ideals. The inconsistencies and contradictions in liberal designs for India resurfaced over and over again. James Mill denied the representative government to India on the ground that happiness and not liberty was the goal of government. The well-known utilitarian and son of James Mill, John Stuart Mill, while recognizing the intrinsic value of liberty *per se*, was also of the view that representative government was not appropriate for all cases. In actuality, most colonial administrators had the conviction that a tough and decisive executive action was a necessity in colonial situations to secure order and social-control. Although, the colonial state relied on securing the consent of Indian people in various ways and attempted to legitimize its rule, in practice the colonial state maintained its domination by the use and demonstration of force and coercive display of power. The brutal suppression of Kuka Uprising in Punjab (1872) was a sort of precursor to the infamous Amritsar massacre (1919). The colonial armed forces were the basic sinews of colonial apparatus. The police organization emerged as an autonomous organ of the state in 1840's. Sir Charles Napier modelled his police organization in Sind Province on the quasi-military pattern of Irish Police (1836). In his scheme, the posts of lieutenant and an adjutant in the district were to be manned by the British army officers and *thanedars* or commissioned officers of mounted police were in charge of each sub-division of a district. Easy mobility, a clear and firm hierarchy, direct and official relation with army organization and a highly centralized command were the main features of this apparatus. This reinforced the frail political authority in the countryside. This style of police organization was later suggested by the Police Commission (1860) and enshrined in Police Act of 1861. The Act was applied to all provinces except Bombay and Madras for which separate Acts were passed. The colonial state not only modelled police on military structure in its administrative and organizational form but also frequently used army to deal with the 'disturbances' caused by peasant and

tribal people. The military character of the law enforcing agency also influenced the perception of dealing with crimes, which were seen primarily in terms of 'rebellion and disorder' or as aspects of public safety and political stability rather than as matters allied to lawlessness and security of property and persons. Lack of adequate financial resources and political will constrained the police to rely on method of selective controls, i.e., classification of particular social groups as their targets. The organization of legal and judiciary machinery was further inhibited by the weight of racial ideology and its alignment with the powerful dominant propertied classes. The colonial state, neglecting the traditional indigenous local governance, institutionalized the liberal ideology in 1860s and 1870s through the creation of municipality and district boards on the basis of elective principle. Seats in these local bodies, however, were prearranged to specific social groups and religious communities. They initiated the process of establishment of communal electorates. The government wanted to increase its revenue by raising local taxes and to incorporate powerful indigenous social groups in the process of governance. The British also established a new system of civil and criminals court to administer justice. The British legal system was formally based on rule of law and the idea of equality before law. However, the racial distinctions were maintained and justice became costly and beyond the reach of illiterate peasants as a new class of professional lawyers, who were well versed in the knowledge of legal intricacies, had to be engaged and paid. The new notion of 'sanctity of contract' also favoured the indigenous propertied social groups like landlord and moneylenders. The environmental historians have also shown how the legal and institutional framework of imperial forests acts of 1865 and 1878 completely marginalized the villagers and tribal communities except for constricted and modest claims of the produce on the forest. The prohibition of grazing and shifting cultivation in forests destroyed the way of life of many pastoralists and tribal social groups. The indigenous knowledge of traditional conservation and management of forests was devalued and colonial commercial interests and priorities became the guiding principles of the new regime.<sup>4</sup>

Some scholars depict colonialism simply as the 'documentation project of the colonial state'. However, it was more of a combined project of colonial rulers and its powerful supporting allies to control and subjugate the nomadic and pastoral tribal 'dangerous and volatile communities'. Forests were seen as the abode of robbers and criminal elements the tribal social groups were represented as unstable construction of power on the fringes of settled agriculture. The British government discontinued with the pre-colonial practice of not



assessing forest and cultivable waste lands and tries to settle and discipline nomadic tribal groups. From the very beginning, the colonial state used surveillance and legal tools of social control to define certain groups as beyond the bound the civility. The colonial brand of anthropology and anthropometry created categories of the civilized and the barbaric. A number of communities and tribes were stigmatized as 'the criminal tribes'. The legal language of the colonial rulers was used against a wide variety of marginal groups who did not confirm to the pattern of settled agriculture and wages labour, especially nomadic, pastoral community and the forest dwelling tribes. The Criminal tribes Act (1871) provided the institutional basis for registration of any or all members of such tribes who were notified as such. The registered members had to report themselves to the local police authority at fixed intervals and notify their residence or any intended change of place of residence. Any contravention of these legal provisions invited severe punitive measures. More than 150 tribes were listed under the Act and most of these belonged to marginalized social groups outside settled domesticity. The colonial state defined these groups as criminals by simple reference to their caste or tribal identity and this legal characterization rendered them defenceless to any claims for protection or impartiality before law. Their criminality was represented as an in-born trait or as a profession that they inherited from their ancestors. Such assumptions and legal enactments were also in congruence with the values of indigenous landed magnates and their notion of an appropriate social order. The authorities at district level administration especially Magistrates in Punjab and North West Province maintained that Provisions of Indian Penal code and Codes of Criminal procedure were inadequate to suppress their criminal activities. Therefore, they stressed the use of special surveillance measures to deal with the criminality of such groups. They were to be treated like wild animals to be watched, tamed and hunted up.<sup>5</sup>

### **Good Governance and Social Mosaic in Post-Colonial India**

Good governance is a contemporary notion which depends on other ideas like equality of opportunity, protection of human rights, gender equality and equitable sharing of resources. It does not make sense to trace the obligations and stipulation about such mode of governance in a colonial setting.

In order to realize the goal of 'good governance', what we need is social empowerment of marginalized social groups. In the contemporary social setting in India, caste and class based social inequalities<sup>6</sup> are so deeply entrenched that they are bound to affect the developmental processes and participation of deprived sections of society in our democratic

polity. We may add here that the rise and growth of Indian social classes in modern times was organically linked to the structure of colonialism and it still continues to bear the imprints of that association. The dominant proprietary class in the urban areas is marked by its plurality and heterogeneity in composition. A clear-cut demarcation along the lines of merchant, industrial and finance capital is not possible in case of India. The Indian business classes exhibit a complex intertwining of functions. Initially, under the colonial rule, the Indian businessmen were relegated to small private trade, money lending or acted as agents of foreign British capital. The British capitalists and merchants controlled the upper layers of Indian economy represented by the big joint stock companies, capital markets, managing agency houses, banking and insurance and major export-import firms. In spite of various constraints and obstacles, the Indian capitalist class grew slowly but steadily and breached the white men's 'collective monopoly'. Certain groups of indigenous merchants like the Parsis, the Marwaris, The Khojas, the Bhatias and Gujarati traders from the security of private property and sanctity of contract guaranteed by the colonial regime and grew in collaboration with the British firms. The indigenous capitalist class not only grew but also diversified and acquired important position by 1940s.<sup>7</sup> This class thrived in independent India under the government's policy of Import-substitution and quantitative controls. The 'Public Sector' units provided the infrastructure and the intermediate and capital goods to this protected class while public lending institutions provided it with chief source of finance. The assets of the biggest industrial houses increased from Rs.500 crores in 1951 to Rs.23, 200 crores in 1986. The subsequent Liberalization drive has increased the wealth of this class manifold since then. On the other hand, almost 70% of Indian people live on merely subsistence level. Besides very high unemployment levels, there is a vast army of pavement vendors, domestic servants, porters and street hawkers working in unorganized informal sector and dwelling in sprawling slums in our mega-cities. Similarly a class of rich landlords and rich farmers also enjoy disproportionate access to rural assets. The other pole of rural structure is the world of poor agricultural wage workers who have little or no control over productive resources.<sup>8</sup> In the urban areas, Bureaucratic-managerial elite also constitutes a significant class of India as the relatively weak capitalist class at the time of India's independence was not in a position to completely subordinate the highly developed administrative apparatus. The growth of non-market mechanisms and planning in the allocation of resources and economic patronages also resulted in the expansion of this bureaucratic-cum- managerial elite. So despite the egalitarian ideal of post-colonial Indian state, there are still disproportionate access to resources, power and entitlements between different social classes and castes. The establishment a formal

democracy and adoption of norms of 'good governance' are no guarantee that all citizens will enjoy equal participation in the political processes. Political privileges have been retained and remain ingrained in many non-elective institutions, especially the bureaucracy and the police.<sup>9</sup> The marginalized social groups are not yet sufficiently empowered to shape and mould the state's social and economic policies. The powerful landed magnates of upper castes in the countryside and the industrial and business classes of urban rich and various kind of mafia make use of authoritarian streak inherent in the non-elective institutions to deny genuine democratization of polity. The question is how does this fit into globalization process?

### **'Good Governance' in Globalizing World**

There has been a plethora of scholarly engagements in the processes of globalization since early 1980s, which can be defined as "the connectivity of individuals and institutions across the globe, or at least; over most of it."<sup>10</sup> Globalization is a systematic free flow of goods; capital, services, information and labour etc. across national frontiers. There are many channels of this process of globalization but the Internet has emerged as the quintessential vehicle of contemporary interpersonal and inter-corporate communication. Will this globalization create conditions conducive for genuine democratization of our polity? The global capitalism was seen and continues to be perceived as the most efficient economic system for the creation of wealth. Markets, governments, supra-national agencies and civil society were all important constituent elements of this 'morally neutral' concept of globalization. But as the seamy downsides of impact of global capitalism were more and more brought to light by many critics in 1990s, the success and failure of global capitalism was linked to "the moral ecology of the institutions underpinning and shaping it" and it came to be recognized that without "a firm and socially inclusive moral foundation", the institutions will not be motivated or conduct themselves in a way which was both "democratically acceptable and sustainable over time." Dunning (2003) categorize this global economic architecture which is efficient, morally acceptable, geographically inclusive and sustainable over time as a means of providing a richer, healthier and more meaningful life-style for individuals and their families as the 'responsible global capitalism' and emphasize the need to reconfigure and strengthen the organizational structure and managerial strategies of each of its participatory institutions such as markets, government, civil society and supra-national entities like multinational corporations.<sup>11</sup> The notions of governance and good governance are, therefore, increasingly being used in development literature.<sup>12</sup> Governance is

the process of decision-making and the procedures by which decisions are implemented or certain decisions are not implemented. In any hierarchically arranged social-order, the apparatus of state wields the power to conduct public affairs and manage or mismanage public resources. It is believed that good governance accomplishes these tasks in a fashion that is free of abuse and corruption and keeping in view the rule of law. Again, it is argued that state institutions must work to achieve the ideal of good governance, or they should follow a set of normative procedures that ensures transparency and accountability. Recently international financial institutions like IMF and World Bank are also increasingly linking their assistance and loans to the condition that borrowers must ensure steps in their home countries encouraging good governance.<sup>13</sup> It is, therefore, emphasized by the policy-makers that good governance is essential for achieving progress of any society. A central part governance programme of UNDP is the redefinition of role of state, the private sector and the civil society. All these actors are urged to cooperate in human development. In order to promote competition, the state, for instance, is required to redefine its role in socio-economic development from acting as an entrepreneur to becoming a market facilitator, including steps to decrease its power in the national economy. Despite this reversal, however, state is expected to play a crucial role in defending individual civic rights, protecting the natural environment and assisting the disadvantaged social groups in both participating in economic growth and benefiting from it. Moreover, the private corporations are there to improve human conditions by providing employment while the various societal groups and NGO's are assigned the task of protecting popular interests.<sup>14</sup>

The idea of good governance emerged in the corporate management especially after the financial crisis of 1997 in South East Asian economies in a big way. It was felt that crony capitalism and corruption linked to its financial structures ought to be rooted out. Hence, there was talk of moral-ethical framework, which alone, it was thought, would ensure transparency in the operations of corporate world. It was seen as an essential step towards realization of accountability and effective productive use of resources without any waste in any sector. In other words, the business organizations were advised by the management gurus to take into account moral dimensions in taking and implementing decisions. Such corporate governance, it was advocated, could only give real value to the investors in terms of creation of wealth, reasonable returns and a good market capitalization.

Starting with the corporate world, the issue of good governance became central in the political discourse also even to the extent that it eclipsed the earlier favourite term of civil

society. The notion of civil society had depicted a kind of homogenized, harmonious society free of class-conflicts. The notion of good governance is also a ploy to justify and seek legitimacy for the ongoing restructuring of welfare schemes of modern state in the name of liberalization and as response to the globalizing environment. This change in the political landscape has led to dismantling of schools, health programmes and other infrastructural facilities for the subordinate social groups and the 'good governance' by neo-business elites and technocrats promotes economic liberalization and creates disorder for the lives of socially marginalized.<sup>15</sup> In the words of Mammo Mucie and Li Xing: "Globalization has been reconfiguring institutional arrangements, forcing the markets to intrude and take over the public sphere, privatizing the public authority, converting public goods into private goods, creating new hybrid ties of private within the public in the provision of services in education and health - in short, creating market enclosures on all the commons."<sup>16</sup> After World War II, USA emerged as the industrial super power, producing so many consumer goods and stood for opening of global markets and promotion of free market systems and values associated with it. The collapse of Soviet bloc led to emergence of idea of Washington Consensus, a term coined in 1990 by John Williamson of The Institute of International Economics, a Washington based conservative think-tank. The basic features of this programme were massive governmental deregulation of trade, investment and finance. Under this doctrine, capital, goods and services were to flow freely across national borders around the world. But its implications were quite serious. In the global economy, universal rules were set by trans-national corporations and financial markets so much so that now "everything is up for sale, even areas of life once considered sacred, such as health and education, culture and heritage, genetic codes and seeds, and natural resources including air and water."<sup>17</sup> These essential elements of life and nature were considered as a shared inheritance or common property resources but gradually big corporations like Vivendi, Suez, Nestle and Unilever are taking over access to water resources all over the globe.<sup>18</sup> This agenda of 'good governance' provides a general ideological license to extend private enclosures and commoditization everywhere, affecting even life and existence.

### **Globalization, SEZ and Socio-Political Exclusion**

Recently, there has been an emergence of so called Special Economic Zones (SEZ) as pockets of excellence blessed with high quality infrastructure, a liberal fiscal and administrative milieu to attract foreign capital, boost exports and increase employment and economic activity. In India, the SEZ Act, 2005 and SEZ Rules, 2006 are legal instruments

that would create a hassle-free environment for entrepreneurs by giving huge amounts of fiscal benefits and concessions and promote global business environment with their state-of-the-art infrastructure.<sup>19</sup> Up to March, 2007, there were 63 SEZ in operations in India although formal approvals had been granted to 237 SEZ units which would require about 33808 hectares of land which according to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry's estimate amounts to only 350 sq. km. of the total agricultural area of 1534166 sq. km. This is a strange logic and we are tempted to compare these figures and statistics to the area of five treaty ports that were opened after the first Opium War (1839-41) and the implications of the notion of the right of extra-territoriality or the loss of sovereign legal rights of Chinese state. It is also claimed that they will generate a substantial employment (with a high proportion of women labourers) as many of the SEZ are supposed to be in labour intensive areas such as textile, automobile components, leather goods and engineering. The hassle-free ambience of SEZ means that ordinary legal rights of the labour will not be honoured in these enclaves and high proportion of women labourers will make it easier to deal capital-labour conflicts. These enclaves are expected to attract about Rupees 100,000 crores of total investment and about 5-6 billion dollars of foreign direct investment. In short, it is claimed that the income and employment generation through multiplier effects will far outweigh the losses and social costs involved in the process.<sup>20</sup> This is another case of a shift in policy from 'farmer first' to 'corporation first'. As shown by Vandana Shiva, the scientist-turned environmentalist, globalization and trade liberalization has resulted in an intense agrarian crisis at three stages in India: (1) a shift from 'food first' to 'trade first' and 'farmer first' to 'corporation first' policies, (2) a shift from farm diversity and multi-functionality of agriculture to monocultures and standardization, chemical and capital intensification of production, and price deregulation of input sector; and (3) deregulation of produce market and withdrawal of state from effective price regulation, leading to a collapse in prices of farm commodities.<sup>21</sup> While many small farmers have lost lives due to these policies and ordinary citizens are burdened with heavy indirect taxes, the corporations and big business are offered countless exemptions and concessions. Some of which are as follows: duty-free import/ domestic procurement of goods for development, operation and maintenance of SEZ units, 100% Income tax exemption on export income for SEZ units under section 10 AA of the Income Tax Act for first 5 years, 50% for next 5 years and 50% of the ploughed back export profit for next 5 years; exemptions from central and state sales taxes and service tax and many other levies.<sup>22</sup> Even RBI has taken steps to support institutional arrangements for export promotion especially policy initiatives to provide a liberalized environment for the operation of SEZ

units. These measures include: exemption from interest rate surcharge on import finance, release of foreign exchange to Domestic Tariff Area units for buying goods from SEZ units, permitting 100% retention of foreign exchange in exchange earners' Foreign Currency Accounts, etc.<sup>23</sup> It has to be remembered that these enterprises in SEZ units are neither designed to serve public interest nor are they going to conserve resources for a sustainable development, rather profitability is their sole criterion of operation. Assessing the impact of a big Maha Mumbai SEZ, A. Shaban and R.N. Sharma of Tata Institute of Social Sciences have shown that this project is likely to displace the agricultural community of Agris and indigenous tribal communities like Katkaris and Kolis, the landless people dependent on fishing and gathering of forest produce. The latter are likely to suffer more as they will not get compensation for any land. The demographic profile of the people of Pen and Uran taluka of Raigarh where the project is to be established, shows that although most of the youths had secondary education yet due to lack of technical skills, they are unlikely to be employed in the project.<sup>24</sup> As the SEZ are set to change landscape of Indian countryside despite resistance from people affected by creation of large scale contemporary enclosures, the question often raised is the quantum of compensation to be paid to the families of displaced persons. There are certain immeasurable entities like, security land offered to the lives of peasant families, their culture, memories, and life style or identities linked to that landscape. Then there are landless families whose survival is dependent on agriculture but who will not get a single penny as compensation for their loss of livelihood. More recently, with rising protests, Government has capped the area under SEZ at 5000 hectares and increased the area under processing and production to 50%, thus leaving out rest of the 50% for social and business infrastructure including residential buildings, entertainment centres and shopping malls and so on. This has been disliked in the big business circles and it might affect the opportunity of a few SEZ but overall policy framework or the legitimacy of large scale expropriation has not been questioned at all.

### **Economics of 'Good Governance' in Globalizing World**

Apart from this, a set of strategies have been advocated by international lending agencies. It is claimed that reform of institutions of state could lift underdeveloped countries out of stagnation, backwardness and absolute poverty because these conditions of underdevelopment are product of bureaucratic delays, inefficiency, corruption, poor quality of public services, leakage of public funds and an archaic judicial and legal system. Recently, John Gledhill (2004) has shown in his study of corruption in Latin America, that although

global anti-corruption campaign sponsored by multi-lateral agencies such as World Bank see corruption as the pathology of 'underdevelopment' that need to be tackled by the international community by assisting local efforts to strengthen 'civil society' and these agencies argue that sources of corruption are embedded in Latin American culture and history that can be eliminated only by embarrassing the opportunities offered by economic globalization and neo-liberal reforms; the reality is that capital is central to the dynamics of corruption in the contemporary world.<sup>25</sup> It is maintained that no country or nation can afford to be less efficient in the age of globalization and good governance is a pre-condition for attracting capital, which is considered to be the sole vending machine churning out development and economic growth. In fact, economics and politics are not separate or compartmentalized entities. The state still plays a major role in acquiring lands and handing it over to corporations and while global corporations in some cases enjoy up to 100% equity participation, government deals with the displaced people and law and order problems created by such dispossessions and creation of contemporary enclosures. This is like practising an 'environmental apartheid'<sup>26</sup> or a kind of exclusion of common people so far as the entitlements to resources are concerned. The package of reforms which is being presented as the prerequisite for good governance is part and parcel of a larger agenda of economic reform and 'structural adjustment'. The proponents of 'good governance' often blame domestic institutions and policies for their inability to implement pro-market reforms and overlook structural causes of poverty. It is the political project of the multi-national corporations roaming the world in search of profit-making opportunities and of World Bank group of financial institutions trying to establish their hegemony and gain control of productive resources. Although neo-liberalism has become the hegemonic signifier for the 'best practice' governance, yet in the absence of scrutiny of macro-economic policies and international power dynamics, it exonerate the powers that be and, at the end of the day, abide by the conservative *cliché* that poor are to blame for their fate. In the words of one critic it seem to address a parallel world in which "there are no major powers such as trans-national corporations, Banks, western governments, international trade barriers and institutions that produce and reinforce inequality. Detailing micro-economics while ignoring macro-economics, probing micro-politics while skipping macro-politics; they are profoundly apolitical texts."<sup>27</sup> The euphoric and abstract discourse on globalization depicts a kind of picture where automatic working of 'free markets' will be a panacea for all the ills of underdeveloped economies. The assumption is that globalization unfolds in a kind of vacuum. The reality is that there are illegitimate concentrations of power and persistence of asymmetrical relations of power that were maintained after the Breton



Woods even though the formal institutions of colonial rule were abandoned. The "self appointed guardians of New world Order" preach us "how to inject moral values into what we do?"<sup>28</sup>, but the real motive is to gain control over the productive resources, the lands, forests, water, oil and other areas of a country's bio-diversity through the processes of privatization and denationalization.

The neo-reforms envisage withdrawal and retreat of state from undertaking social welfare programmes. So, instead of political management of economy from 'above', the state is supposed to provide adequate infrastructure to attract capital which would ensure economic growth. As corporate world has acquired an image of sleekness, efficiency and rationality; to streamline public administration, 'reformers' advocate similar set of values and techniques that corporate management utilizes — the profitability criteria, cost- benefit analysis and economic rationality. This could mean changing the nature of social goods provided by the state. Applying the principle of economic rationality to basic social services like health and education would mean re-defining targets in terms of providing a supply of skilled manpower in accordance with the needs of market forces.<sup>29</sup> Even the assumption of economic growth under the neo-liberal driven policies has been questioned by Petras and Veltmeyer (2005) on a global scale. They have demonstrated that despite all the surge in direct foreign investments and deregulation of cross-border flows of capital, technology and services, flow of capital, goods and labour during late-19th century to First World War was of higher order than during the last half of the 20th century; and despite all the euphoria of technological and communication revolution, productivity impact of earlier industrial transformation was far greater and compared to earlier phase the capitalist economy on the whole has been stagnating. According to them, only computer manufacture shows increase in productivity but it has not impacted other sectors favourably.<sup>30</sup>

## **Conclusion**

However, it needs to be understood that government is only one actor in the process of modern-day administration. Other actors involved in governance may depend on the level of administration we are discussing. In rural areas, for instance, these other actors might be influential powerful landed magnates, peasant associations, cooperatives, NGO's, religious and community leaders, caste-hierarchies, and financial institutions( both formal and informal) etc. The situation at national level and in urban areas is far more complex. Here, powerful corporate houses and other business interests, organized and well-articulated urban elites, trans-national companies, media, well-entrenched crime, landed and drug mafia and

syndicates may play important role in decision-making. As pointed out by Parthasarthy (2005), emphasis on formal procedures and techniques in models of 'good governance' has led to a consequent neglect of the unseen and invisible aspects of the participation and social exclusion deriving from the operation of social structure and the distribution of power, status and assets. The result is a major stress on formal institutions. The developmental initiatives are implemented through bureaucracy or the non-accountable NGO's. Even the national states found themselves less accountable to their citizens because of formal agreements, contracts and treaties with international agencies.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, the NGO's politics is also submerged in the larger national and global entities. They have trans-national linkages as they are embedded in supra-local sources of finance, motivation and activities.

But what kind of conditions does contemporary globalization create? It leads to displacement of children from schools to streets. Urbanization is usually linked to rapid socio-economic change but in many underdeveloped and developing societies overstrains the resources and capabilities of local and national governments to provide even the basic facilities like water, electricity and housing. There are regions in which urbanization has occurred independent of economic development and growth and where it has been largely residential rather than production based. The lack of adequate and affordable housing and the scale of urban homelessness in underdeveloped urban mega-cities and large urban agglomerations, when compared to the developed world, are enormous. The number of homeless around the world is estimated from 100 million to one billion. The lower bound 100 million counts only those who have no shelter at all while the upper bound one billion includes those who are dwelling in sub-standard, insecure or temporary structures without provisions for the most basic services such as safe water, sanitation and drainage. The homelessness is a global problem and for many urban poor, displaced from their rural homes by the processes of development and globalization of economy and resultant agrarian crisis superimposed on agriculture of small cultivators, sleeping in public buildings, parks or other public spaces has become a part of their daily existence. In India, for instance, the homeless can be seen everywhere on pavements, in parks and even in unused water pipes or under bridges. Salemo (2003) shows how globalization compels many displaced persons to abandon their children as they are unable to take care of them.<sup>32</sup> There are an estimated 18 million street children who live or work on the streets of urban India, earning their "livelihood" as porters at bus or railway terminus, as mechanics in informal auto-repair shops, as vendors of food, tea or other home-made items or simply picking through garbage and selling usable

articles to local buyers. Many a times, their proximity to place of crime make them easy target of law-enforcing agencies. In the perception of society and police they are often seen as vagrant and criminals. This sort of exclusion and invisibility of the urban poor and street children is not unique to any one less developed country. Whether it is Sao Paulo in Brazil or Mumbai in India, despite economic growth, the underdeveloped mega-cities have been able to absorb only a tiny fraction of labour so that unemployment and underemployment remain persistent problems. A sizable chunk of labour including those of street children find employed in informal sector. Globalization, however, has had a very uneven impact on the various regions and social groups around the world. It is associated with growing economic inequality and social polarization. In many places income inequality has multiplied dramatically, thus, increasing economic and spatial segmentation. The signs of economic absolute poverty and deprivations are quite pronounced in cities of South Asia. For instance, despite many slum improvements schemes over years in Mumbai, almost half of its population lives either in slums or on streets.<sup>33</sup>

## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> See Shalini Randeria, " Domesticating Neo-Liberal Discipline: Transnationalization of Law, Fractured States and Legal Plurality in the South", pp. 146-182 in Wolf Lepenies, (ed.) *Entangled Histories and Negotiated Universals: Centers and Peripheries in a Changing World*, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt and New York, 2003.
  - <sup>2</sup> Recently D. Bandopadhyay has questioned the functional validity of retention of non-elective bureaucratic head of district magistrate at apex level even after introduction of panchayati raj institutions for local governance in the new scheme of administration introduced with the passing of 73 rd Amendment to our constitution (1992). He argues that the post was created in the mid-19th century by the colonial rulers to manage their affairs of administration and revenue-collection and it creates only a dichotomy between district administration and various self-government institutions at the village and district level. See D. Bandopadhyay, " Is the Institution of District Magistrate Still Necessary", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 25 November, 2006, pp. 4847-4849.
  - <sup>3</sup> See Thomas R. Metcalf, *The New Cambridge History of India: The Ideologies of Raj*, Vol.III.4, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 1995 for an analysis of British ideologies and their impact on administrative policy in India.
  - <sup>4</sup> For the Nature of Colonial Forest Policies see D. Arnold and R. Guha (eds.), *Nature, Culture, Imperialism: Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1995
  - <sup>5</sup> See the following writings on the branding of indigenous communities: Y.C. Simhadri, *The Ex-Criminal Tribes of India*, New Delhi, 1979; Dilip D'Souja, *Branded by Law: Looking at India's De-notified Tribes*, New Delhi, 2001; Meena Radhakrishna, *Dishonoured By History : 'Criminal Tribes' and British Colonial policy*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2001 and Sanjay Nigam, "Disciplining and Policing 'the Criminal' by Birth" *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 27, No. 2, 1990.
  - <sup>6</sup> For nature of social inequalities in India, see Andre Beteille, "Poverty and Inequality", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 18-24 Oct, 2003 and his other writings such as *Caste, Class and Power*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996: *Equality and Inequality*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1983 and *The Idea of Natural Inequality and Other Essays*, OUP, Delhi, 1987.

- <sup>7</sup> Claude Markovits, *Indian Business and Nationalist Politics, 1931-1939: The Indigenous Capitalist Class and the Rise of Congress Party*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987, traces the growth of Indian capitalist class.
- <sup>8</sup> See Parnab Bardhan, *Political Economy of Development in India*, OUP, Delhi, 1999 and also see Priyatosh Maitra's *The Globalization of Capitalism in the Third World Countries*, Praeger Publishers, Westport, 1996 for the economic development of post-Independence India.
- <sup>9</sup> Paul Brass makes this point in his famous work *The Politics of India since Independence*, New Delhi, 1990.
- <sup>10</sup> John H. Dunning (ed.), *Making Globalization Good: The Moral Challenge of Global Capitalism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, p. 12.
- <sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 11-40.
- <sup>12</sup> For ideas and concepts of governance and good governance see Sam Agere, *Promoting Good Governance: Principles, Practices and Perspectives*, Commonwealth Secretariat, 2000; Commonwealth Secretariat, *Citizen's Governance Kit tool: Creating Change by Making people's Voices Heard*, 2005; Pani Niranjana, Santap S. Mishra and Bijaya S. Sahu, *Modern Systems of Governance: Good governance vs E-Governance*, Anmol Publishers, 2004
- <sup>13</sup> Foucault has shown how the form of 'governmentality' that emerged in Europe since 18th century has been characterized by norms and apparatuses which rely on political economy as the principal form of knowledge, and have their target, a population, primarily conceived of as living beings.
- <sup>14</sup> See UNDP, *Reconceptualizing Governance*, UNDP, New York, 1997 and World Bank, *Governance: The World Bank Experience*, Washington DC, 1994 for this paradigmatic shift.
- <sup>15</sup> See Mike Mason, *Development and Disorder: A History of the Third world since 1945*, University Press of New England, 1997, p. 459.
- <sup>16</sup> See the Introduction of Mammo Muchie and Li Xing, (eds.) *Globalization, Inequality and Commodification of Life and Well-being*, Adonis and Abbey Publishing Ltd, London, 2006, p. 34.
- <sup>17</sup> Maude Barlow and Tony Clarke, *Blue Gold: The Battle Against Corporate Theft of World's Water*, James and James and Earthscan, London, 2003, pp. 81-87
- <sup>18</sup> Vandana Shiva, in her recent work *Water Wars: Privatization, Pollution, and Profit*, South End Press, Cambridge, 2002 also makes similar point
- <sup>19</sup> S. Gayathri, "An Opportunity to SE(i) Z(e)" in Roderick Miller, ed., *Doing Business with India*, GBM Publishing Ltd., London and Philadelphia, 2006, pp. 37-39. and also the Report of Confederation of Indian Industry, Northern Region, *Special Economic Zones: Engines for Growth*, Chandigarh, 2006
- <sup>20</sup> This information on SEZ in India is from the official website of Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Govt. of India
- <sup>21</sup> See Vandana Shiva, "Stolen Harvest: The Hijacking of the Global Food Supply" in Meredith P. Fort, Mary Anne Mercer and Oscar Gish, eds., *Sickness or Wealth: The Corporate Assault on Health*, South End Press, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 107-118.
- <sup>22</sup> Ministry of Commerce and Industry, *op. cit.*
- <sup>23</sup> Quoted from Currency and Finance Report, RBI, 2002-03 in UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, *Trade, Finance, and Infrastructure Development : Handbook For Economies in Transition*, Bangkok, 2005, p. 72.
- <sup>24</sup> A. Shaban and R.N. Sharma, *Social Impact Assessment of Maha Mumbai Special Economic Zone*, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, 2005, pp. 8-12.
- <sup>25</sup> See John Gledhill, "Corruption as the Mirror of State in Latin America" pp.155-180 in Italo Pardo, ed., *Between Morality and The Law: Corruption, Anthropology and Comparative Society*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Aldershot, Hampshire, 2004.
- <sup>26</sup> This is characterization of John Boli and Frank J. Lechner in their work, *The Globalization Reader*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2003, p.424.
- <sup>27</sup> Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Globalization or Empire*, Routledge Publishing, London, 2004, p. 74.

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- <sup>28</sup> See Noam Chomsky characterization in "Reflections on Power and Globalization" in James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer, (ed.) *Globalization and Anti-Globalization: Dynamics of the New World Order*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Aldershot, Hampshire, 2005, p. 140
- <sup>29</sup> For a critique of World Bank type notions of governance see D. Parthasarthy, "From White Men's Burden to Good governance: Economic Liberalization and Commodification of Law and Ethics" in Bernd Hamm and Russel Charles Smadyeh, ed., *Cultural Imperialism: essays on the Political Economy of Cultural Domination*, Broadview Press, 2005, pp. 191-210 and Mortimer Sellers, *The New World Order: Sovereignty, Human Rights, and the Self-Determination of Peoples*, Berg Publishers, 1996, pp. 318-326.
- <sup>30</sup> See James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer, (ed.) *op. cit.*, pp.11-24.
- <sup>31</sup> D. Parthasarthy, "From White man's Burden", *op. cit.*, p. 202.
- <sup>32</sup> See Roger A. Salemo, *Landscapes of Abandonment: Capitalism, Modernity and Estrangement*, Suny Press, New York, 2003.
- <sup>33</sup> For the changes in the demographic profile of populations and the impact of globalization on the world economies at the peripheries see the following works: Dorothy Stein, *People Who Count: Population and Politics, Women and Children*, Earth Scan Publications, London, 1995; UN Centre for Human Settlements, *Cities in a globalizing World*, Earth Scan Publications, London, 2001; Barney Cohen, "Urban Growth in Developing Countries: A review of Current Trends and a caution regarding existing forecasts", *World development*, Vol.32, No.11, 2004, pp.23-51; and P. Panwalkar, "Upgradation of Slums: A World Bank Programme" in S. Patel and A. Thorner, eds., *"Bombay: Metaphor for Modern India"*, OUP, Bombay, 1996, pp.121-142 and also see T.P.R. Calderia, *City of Walls: Crime, segregation and Citizenship in Sao Paulo*, University of California, Berkeley, 2000 for the impact of globalization on the life of urban poor in a Latin American city, a life-experience which can be generalized to other displaced and dislocated people

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