

SITUTATING INDEPENDENT INDIA

BA HISTORY

V SEMESTER

CORE COURSE

(2011 Admission)



UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

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STUDY MATERIAL

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SITUATING INDEPENDENT INDIA

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UNIT-I

COLONIAL REMINISCENCES

The partition of India was the partition of British India on the basis of demographics. This led to the creation of the sovereign states of the Dominion of Pakistan (that later split into the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the People's Republic of Bangladesh) and the Union of India (later Republic of India). The Indian Independence Act 1947 had decided 15 August 1947 as the appointed date for the partition. However, Pakistan came into existence a day earlier, on 14 August.

The partition of India was set forth in the Indian Independence Act 1947 and resulted in the dissolution of the British Indian Empire and the end of the British Raj. It resulted in a struggle between the newly constituted states of India and Pakistan and displaced up to 12.5 million people with estimates of loss of life varying from several hundred thousand to a million (most estimates of the numbers of people who crossed the boundaries between India and Pakistan in 1947 range between 10 and 12 million). The violent nature of the partition created an atmosphere of mutual hostility and suspicion between India and Pakistan that plagues their relationship to this day.

The partition included the geographical division of the Bengal province into East Bengal, which became part of the Dominion of Pakistan (from 1956, East Pakistan). West Bengal became part of India, and a similar partition of the Punjab province became West Punjab (later the Punjab and Islamabad Capital Territory) and East Punjab (later the Indian Punjab, as well as Haryana and Himachal Pradesh). The partition agreement also included the division of Indian government assets, including the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Army, the Royal Indian Navy, the railways and the central treasury, and other administrative services.

The two self-governing countries of India and Pakistan legally came into existence at the stroke of midnight on 14–15 August 1947. The ceremonies for the transfer of power were held a day earlier in Karachi, at the time the capital of the new state of Pakistan, so that the last British Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten of Burma, could attend both the ceremony in Karachi and the ceremony in Delhi. Thus, Pakistan's Independence Day is celebrated on 14 August and India's on 15 August.

1. Partition and its Scars

The Partition of India took place on the midnight of 14th-15th August, 1947 when undivided India which had gained independence from the British, was partitioned into two nations- Pakistan and India.

As India's national movement gained ascendancy, it became clear that the chief party the Congress was dominated by Hindus. Many Muslims felt that they would be marginalised under majority Hindu rule. The Muslim League had been

founded in Dhaka in 1906. Under its leader, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the party put forth its 'two nation theory' that Hindus and Muslims were really two nations and that the Muslim majority areas of India should be partitioned to form a separate state called Pakistan.

The immediate events leading to Partition remain mired in confusion and controversy. What remains clear is that as the British were departing, they did not really consider the horrific consequences of the act they were about to perpetuate on the sub-continent. Moreover, the Congress too was unwilling to share power with Jinnah and agreed to the partition of the country. Referendums were held in the North West Frontier Province and in Sylhet, (then in the state of Assam) both of which opted to join Pakistan. As a result of these measures, India was partitioned on two fronts- in the East; Bengal was divided to form East Pakistan, while the Muslim majority areas in the north and North West formed West Pakistan, with the state of Punjab being divided into two. Many today blame the British, especially Lord Mountbatten for the Partition of the country. This should however not detract from the divisive role played by many leaders from both communities.

The human and economic fall out of this largely political decision was catastrophic. Millions of people were uprooted and one of the largest migrations in human history took place, especially in the Punjab. There were communal riots and trainloads of refugees were often slaughtered, with both communities equally guilty of atrocities. Thousands of women were raped, murdered or abducted and hundreds of children were separated from their families. A similar but smaller exodus took place in the east preceded by the worst riots this region has ever seen- The Great Calcutta Killings of 1946 that even the apostle of peace, Mahatma Gandhi was unable to stop. The events of Partition have left scars on the psyche of people on both sides of the border that are yet to heal today.

Many today wonder the role of Gandhi in the partition of the country. However, by this time, Gandhi had been reduced to a largely symbolic figure even within the Congress party with the reins of power firmly in the hands of Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhai Patel. Gandhi was appalled by the communal riots, undertook long fasts to bring some semblance of sanity and saw Pakistan as a betrayal of the idea that independent India would be united and secular.

In 1971, the Bengalis in East Pakistan who felt that they were being discriminated by the West, gained independence under their leader Sheikh Mujibur Rehman with military help from India, to form Bangladesh. The brief Indo-Pak war of 1974 saw the Indian side 'victorious' and the creation of a new nation with its capital at Dhaka.

The Partition of India has left bitter memories on both sides, and the wounds are yet to heal. Many people who left homes, property and family behind, have been unable to return as India and Pakistan have remained hostile to each other for over 50 years. The chief cause of this hostility has been the dispute over Kashmir and it has prevented any meaningful dialogue on many outstanding

issues from the days of Partition. However, what this political conflict has often obscured is the remarkable cultural affinity of both nations, which perhaps offers the naive hope that someday citizen-to-citizen contact will bring about peace between these two nuclear neighbours.

2. Partition Experience in Culture-in Literature and Cinema

The partition of India and the associated bloody riots inspired many creative minds in India and Pakistan to create literary/cinematic depictions of this event. While some creations depicted the massacres during the refugee migration, others concentrated on the aftermath of the partition in terms of difficulties faced by the refugees in both side of the border. Even now, more than 60 years after the partition, works of fiction and films are made that relate to the events of partition.

Literature describing the human cost of independence and partition comprises Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan* (1956), several short stories such as *Toba Tek Singh* (1955) by Saadat Hassan Manto, Urdu poems such as *Subh-e-Azadi* (*Freedom's Dawn*, 1947) by Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Bisham Sahni's *Tamas* (1974), Manohar Malgonkar's *A Bend in the Ganges* (1965), and Bapsi Sidhwa's *Ice-Candy Man* (1988), among others. Salman Rushdie's novel *Midnight's Children* (1980), which won the Booker Prize and the Booker of Bookers, weaved its narrative based on the children born with magical abilities on midnight of 14 August 1947. *Freedom at Midnight* (1975) is a non-fiction work by Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre that chronicled the events surrounding the first Independence Day celebrations in 1947. There is a paucity of films related to the independence and partition. Early films relating to the circumstances of the independence, partition and the aftermath include Nemai Ghosh's *Chinnamul* (1950), *Dharmputra* (1961), Ritwik Ghatak's *Meghe Dhaka Tara* (1960), *Komal Gandhar* (1961), *Subarnarekha* (1962); later films include *Garm Hava* (1973) and *Tamas* (1987). From the late 1990s onwards, more films on this theme were made, including several mainstream films, such as *Earth* (1998), *Train to Pakistan* (1998) (based on the aforementioned book), *Hey Ram* (2000), *Gadar: Ek Prem Katha* (2001), *Pinjar* (2003), *Partition* (2007) and *Madrasapattinam* (2010), The biopics *Gandhi* (1982), *Jinnah* (1998) and *Sardar* (1993) also feature independence and partition as significant events in their screenplay.

3. Integration of Princely States -Problems

The origin of the process of the integration of Indian States could be traced back to the late 18th and early 19th centuries when the England East India Company began acquiring large tracts of land in India through the conquest of the native kingdoms and principalities on one pretext or the other. The Subsidiary Alliance System of Wellesley had reduced many Indian States into a subordinate position vis-a-vis the Company. And quite a few of them were brought under the British rule by Dalhousie through the Doctrine of Lapse. The rest, though remained independent in theory, were practically controlled by the British through their Residencies in these States. But when the Revolt of 1857 made it clear that the Indian princes were not happy with the dubious

policy of the company, the British declared through the Queen's proclamation that there would be no further annexations and no interference in the internal affairs of any Indian State except in the case of gross mismanagement and disloyalty to the British crown. In 1876 during the Vice royalty of Lord Lytton, the British queen was proclaimed as the Empress of India including the Indian States and the British paramountcy in India was formally announced. Thus, by the second half of the 19th century the Indian subcontinent came to consist of the British India, ruled directly by the Viceroy, and a large number of princely states, ruled indirectly by the British.

The Movements of the People of these Indian States played a significant role in their final integration with the Indian Union. The origins of these movements could be traced to the numerous spontaneous local peasant uprisings against oppressive taxation in several princely states like Mewar, Kashmir, Travancore, Mysore, Hyderabad, etc., from the beginning of the 20th century. But all these peasant uprisings were violently suppressed by the rulers with the active support of the British. However, urban nationalism, in the form of urban middle class "prajaparishads" with nationalistic ideas, began emerging in the 1920's in most of the princely states, when subjects' (later renamed People's) Conference began to meet annually. In order to counter this rising nationalist trend in the princely States as well as British India, the British set up the Chamber of Princes in 1921. This was in tune with their general policy of divide and rule. And in 1927 along with the appointment of the Simon Commission (meant for British India only), the British also appointed the Harcourt Butler Commission to recommend measures for the establishment of better relationships between the Indian states and Central Government of British India. In response to this Government move, nationalists among the States' people, such as Balwantraji Mehta and Manilal Kothari of Kathiwar and G.R. Abhyanka of the Deccan convened an All-India States Peoples' Conference (AISPC) in December 1927, which was attended by 700 delegates from all over India. The aim of the AISPC was to influence the rulers of the Indian States to initiate the necessary reforms in the Administration and to emphasise popular representation and self- Government in all of them. Further, AISPC stood for the establishment of constitutional relations between British India and the Indian States, and also an effective voice for the state's people in this relationship. This, in its opinion, would hasten the attainment of independence by the whole of India.

As a direct consequence of its stand that the Indian States should be treated as integral parts of the whole of India, the AISPC had requested the British Government to allow the people of states to be represented at the First Round Table Conference, which was, however, not permitted by the British. The AISPC then presented a memorandum to the Congress Party advocating an all-India federal Constitution in which all fundamental rights and privileges which the Karachi Session of the Congress (1929) had called for in British India would be accorded to the people of the states as well.

But till the late 1930s, the Congress maintained a non-intervention stand towards the affairs of the Indian States. For, it felt that political activities in each

state should be organised and controlled by the local Praja Mandal, that a movement started externally could not be successful, and that the people of the states should learn self-reliance. It was only in 1938 at its Haripura Session that the Congress included the independence of the princely states as well in its goal of Poorna Swaraj. At the same time, it insisted that for the time being it could only give its moral support and sympathy to states people's movements, which should not be conducted in the name of the Congress. However, the Tripura Session (1939) decided that the organisation should involve itself closely with the movements in the princely states. As if to emphasize the Common national aims of the political struggles in British India and in the states, Jawaharlal Nehru became the president of the AISPC in, 1939. Thus the States Peoples Movements, besides awakening national consciousness among the people of the states, also spread a new consciousness of unity all over India.

With the impending lapse of British paramountcy, the question of the future of the princely states became a vital one. The more ambitious rulers or their dewans were dreaming of an independence which would keep them as autocratic as before, and such hopes received considerable encouragement from the British Indian Government till Mountbatten followed a more realistic policy.

Meanwhile a new upsurge of the states people's movement had begun in 1946-47, demanding political rights and elective representation in the Constituent Assembly. The Congress criticized the Cabinet Mission Plan for not providing for elected members from the Indian States. Nehru presided over the Udaipur and Gwalior Sessions of the AISPC (1945 & 47) and declared at Gwalior that the states refusing to join the constituent Assembly would be treated as hostile. But verbal threats and speeches apart, the Congress leadership, or more precisely Sardar Patel tackled (he situation very cleverly, using popular movements as a lever to extort concessions from princes while simultaneously restraining them or even using force to suppress them once the princes has been brought to heel as in Hyderabad.

When the British decided to transfer power to Indians, they no doubt found it the best solution to a difficult problem to declare that the paramountcy which they exercised over the Indian states would automatically lapse. Thus, the edifice which the British themselves built up laboriously for more than 150 years was demolished over night. But there were many British conversant with the problem of the Indian states, who said at the time that the seriousness of the problem had not been appreciated at all by the British Government and that it was graver than any other that faced the country. Even in India there were very few who realised the magnitude of the threatened danger of balkanization. At the same time, there is no doubt that had paramountcy been transferred to a free India with all the obligations which had been assumed by the British Government under the various treaties, it would scarcely have been possible for us to have solved the problem of the Indian states in the way we did. By the lapse of paramountcy we were able to write on a clean state unhampered by an obligation.

The main problem was the existence of too many small states, the total number being over 550. So, our primary task was to bring the states into some form of organic relationship with the centre in order to prevent the balkanization of the country and to stop any possible inveiglement of the states by Pakistan. This we did by means of accession on three subjects (defence, external affairs, and communication) as well as a Standstill Agreement which kept alive the existing relations between the states and the Government of India.

A number of states like Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Gwalior, Indore, Baroda, Travancore, Mysore, etc. were quite large, and were economically as well as militarily viable. Travancore, for instance, had decided in June 1947 to become an independent state, and it was followed by Hyderabad. The rulers of Jammu and Kashmir and Junagadh were also thinking of similar lines. Sardar Patel, who took charge of the newly created Ministry of States in June 1947, handled the situation with skill, speed and firmness. He was ably assisted in this by Mr.P.V.Menon, who was especially selected for the post of Secretary of the New Ministry. By August 15, 1947 all states geographically contiguous to India, except Jammu and Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh, had acceded to India by signing the Instrument of Accession. The rulers of these three states created problems for the Government of India before being finally compelled to accede to India.

Junagadh in Kathiwar whose population was overwhelmingly Hindu (80%), was ruled by a Muslim ruler. In total disregard of the popular feeling, the Nawab had decided to accede to Pakistan on 15th August, 1947. This caused a spontaneous popular uprising among the people of the state, forcing the Nawab and Dewan to flee Pakistan. The Government of India acted immediately by taking "Police action" (i.e. military intervention) and Junagadh was, thus, acceded to India.

In the case of Jammu and Kashmir, the conditions were the reverse, with the ruler being a Hindu and the population, overwhelmingly Muslim (75%). But here the external factors played a far more important, role than the internal factors. Despite the serious efforts of Lord Mountbatten to persuade the Maharaja to accede either to India or to Pakistan, the latter had remained intransigent and hoped to remain independent. But the invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan instigated tribesmen and their attempt to take Srinagar by force left him with no choice but to seek Indian help. Thus, the Maharaja, overwhelmed by the developments, was compelled to sign the "Instrument of Accession" with the Government of India. The latter, though promised at that time to conduct a plebiscite for seeking people's verdict on the state's accession to India, did not fulfill the promise due to the continued hostile activities of Paksitan.

The case of Hyderabad was, however, somewhat similar to that of Junagadh. Here also, as in Junagadh, the ruler was a Muslim, but majority of the population was Hindu (85%). The Nizam, with the indirect support of Pakistan, wanted to remain independent. Pending a negotiated settlement, the Government of India concluded a Standstill Agreement with the Nizam in November, 1947. Notwithstanding this agreement, the Nizam started arming his

troops heavily in anticipation of military intervention by India. This, combined with the communal atrocities perpetuated by the Razakars (a volunteer corps belonging to Muslim Communal Organisation founded by a person called Kasim Razvi) in and around the state, led to the breakdown of negotiations between the two sides in June 1948. The situation was further worsened by the Telangana armed struggle carried on by the Communists, against the landlords in the State. When the Nizam failed to contain this lawlessness perpetuated by the Razaakars on the one hand and the Communists on the other, the Government of India got convinced of the need to take "Police action" in the State. Accordingly the Indian Army marched into the state and occupied it in September 1948. Thus, the state of Hyderabad was the last one to accede to India.

The accession of Indian States went side by side with their physical integration and reorganization, 310 states were organized into six unions while 215 were merged with their neighbouring provinces. Another 5 states were converted into Chief Commissioners' Provinces, but Hyderabad and Mysore were left untouched initially. In all 15 administrative units came into existence by the late 1940s. Responsible Governments were set up in all these units, and the former rulers were given the title of "Raj Pramukhs". Besides, they were allowed to retain their personal privileges, and tax free privy purses were granted to them. The 1956 reorganisation of states has left almost all the former states totally changed.

4. Adoption of the Constitution

India i.e. Bharat is a Union of States. It is a Sovereign Socialist Democratic Republic with a parliamentary system of government. The Republic is governed in terms of the Constitution of India which was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26th November 1949 and came into force on 26th January 1950.

The Constitution provides for a Parliamentary form of government which is federal in structure with certain unitary features. The constitutional head of the Executive of the Union is the President. As per Article 79 of the Constitution of India, the council of the Parliament of the Union consists of the President and two Houses to be known as the Council of States (Rajya Sabha) and the House of the People (Lok Sabha). Article 74(1) of the Constitution provides that there shall be a Council of Ministers with a Prime Minister as its head to aid and advice the President, who shall exercise his functions in accordance to the advice. The real executive power is thus vested in the Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister as its head.

The Council of Ministers is collectively responsible to the House of the People (Lok Sabha). Every State has a Legislative Assembly. Certain States have an upper House called State Legislative Council. Governor is the Head of a State. There shall be a Governor for each State and the executive power of the State shall be vested in him. The council of Ministers with the Chief Minister as its head advises the Governor in the discharge of the executive functions. The Council of the Ministers of a state is collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State.

The Constitution distributes legislative powers between Parliament and State legislatures as per the lists of entries in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution. The residual powers vest in the Parliament. The centrally administered territories are called Union Territories.

5. Consolidation of Linguistic Identities: Materialisation and Problems

The rise of ethnic nationalism and subsequent ethnic political movements in many developing States can be accredited to the legacy of Western colonisation and de-colonisation. In countries sharing such a history, State-building has generally preceded nation-building, thus providing ethnic movements the right atmosphere in which to operate. Colonisation periods had created multi-ethnic administrative entities. These were placed under sovereign States during the de-colonisation phase, thereby creating 'artificial' multi-ethnic States without first establishing any political desire of constituent ethnic groups. Attempts at State-building therefore occurred before the more difficult task of nation building was carried out. This would in the long run alienate hundreds of ethnic nations within borders that had by then come to define the 'State'. Ethnic plurality was by and large manageable before de-colonisation. This is because nationalist movements that existed had developed a common political agenda of achieving independence from colonial rule. This collective unity was possible due to colonial exploitation and dominance and not because of a concrete expression of common 'political will'. Consequently, different ethnic groups found little in common once the goal of independence had been achieved and the common enemy had departed.

After 1945, the United Nations used the concept of national self-determination to bring about an end to colonies. This incorporated two essential elements: the right to secession and the right to independent Statehood. However, the UN preferred that people in the colonies "exercise this right once and for all and never again, without disrupting the territorial integrity of the colonial entity." The implication was that the political and territorial map of the world would be firmly established once the process of de-colonisation ended. Hence, States in South Asia were born lacking internal cohesion and faced not just ethnic but also religious polarisation. As a result, one finds in countries like India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan a plethora of interrelated conflicts which do not just threaten societal peace, but also the fabric of the State.

Since the Cold War ended, conflict resolution has required strong management of ethnic identities for domestic and international peace as well as for democratic development. Interdependence and globalization have strengthened the cause of ethnic and religious nationalists. Increasingly, demands for extensive autonomy or even separation from the other country are becoming common. Containing such demands within national boundaries has become a matter of „life and death“ for many ethnically and religiously diverse States. Needless to say, such diversity can be problematic if it comes with economic and social imbalances. India is a country with over two thousand ethnic groups that speak more than sixteen hundred languages and dialects.

Shortly after independence, Mahatma Gandhi himself wrote that the government “should hurry up with the re-organisation of linguistic provinces.”

The idea was to consolidate cultural concerns for active political participation in the national movement. Jawaharlal Nehru, however, was not persuaded. In the aftermath of partition, Nehru felt that any further division of India could shake the country’s stability. But, his stance could not prevent movements for linguistic autonomy from gaining momentum. Nehru, who had felt the ire of Telugu protesters during his 1952 election campaigns, told parliament on May 22: “Even though the formation of linguistic provinces may be desirable in some cases, this would obviously be the wrong time.”

It was in this backdrop that on October 19, 1952, Potti Sriramulu, a devout follower of Mahatma Gandhi, began a fast-unto-death in demanding that a separate state be carved out of the province of Madras for its Telugu-speaking population. After abstaining from food for fifty-six days, Sriramulu died and his dramatic sacrifice became instrumental in the linguistic re-organisation of Indian states.

In December 1952, Nehru was forced to concede to protesters' demands as he announced the formation of a separate Andhra state. This would lead to the formation of a States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) in 1953 which was charged with „preservation....of unity and security of India . In its subsequent work, the SRC rallied against „excessive deference to narrow loyalties and recommended a division of India based on dominance and geographical concentration of ethno-linguistic communities.

FIRST REORGANISATION OF STATES

Once the principle of states based on linguistic characteristics had been accepted, the first major reorganization of Indian states occurred in 1956. The state of Andhra Pradesh was formed by merging Andhra with part of Hyderabad. Bombay was formed by merging Kutch, the Saurashtra union and part of what had formerly been Bombay. Kerala was formed by merging most of the Travancore-Cochin union and part of Madras. Madhya Pradesh was formed by merging Bhopal and the Vindhya Pradesh union. The state of Mysore was formed by merging Coorg and Mysore as well as parts of the former states of Bombay, Hyderabad and Madras. Punjab was expanded by adding Patiala and the East Punjab states to its former territory.

The States Reorganization Commission appointed by the Prime Minister in December 1953, while suggesting reorganization of states for the rest of India on the basis of linguistic homogeneity, discarded the demand for the formation of a separate Punjabi-speaking state. The Akali Dal representing the Sikhs of Punjab launched an agitation for reorganisation of the province on the basis of linguistic homogeneity into separate Punjabi- and Hindi-speaking Punjab and Haryana, respectively. Prime Minister Nehru took a tough line against the Sikh agitation for a Punjabi state and declared that he would not concede the demand even if, as a consequence, he had to face a civil war. The leaders of the agitation were imprisoned for long periods.

When a war between India and Pakistan seemed imminent in 1965, Sant Fateh Singh, the President of the Akali Dal, refusing to suspend the agitation affirmed that “the country is dear but Punjabi Suba [state] is dearer.” The new Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, came to an understanding with the Akali leaders that their demand would be approved if they let India first take care of the challenge from across the border. A new state of Punjab with an area of 50,255 sq. kilometres came into existence under the Punjab Reorganization Act No.31 of 1966 on September 18, 1966.

SECOND REORGANISATION OF STATES

Within a decade of the first reorganisation it became clear that language alone was not a suitable criterion. The second reorganisation focused on the state of Assam in northeast India which posed a diverse set of issues for Indian leaders and had been left largely untouched by the SRC. The Indian northeast is a patchwork of tribal and mixed linguistic communities. During the British Raj, neglect and seclusion had left the people of this region resentful and suspicious of all governments that had since sought to apply control from New Delhi.

Naga and Mizo tribes across India’s borders with Burma and China exemplified the close link between issues of ethnic autonomy, national security and territorial control in this area. The solution was found in the second reorganisation of Indian states in the 1970s when the northeast was split up and several new states were created following the establishment of Nagaland in 1963. Statehood was conferred upon Himachal Pradesh on January 25, 1971, and on Manipur, Meghalaya and Tripura on January 21, 1972. The Kingdom of Sikkim joined the Indian Union as a state on April 26, 1975. Over a decade later, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram became states on February 20, 1987. This was followed by Goa on May 30, 1987.

The recent growth of India’s economy coupled with its strong democracy since independence has increased the demand for regional and ethnic autonomy from certain segments of society. Demand for state division was initially motivated by the inequitable development in areas within states. Ethnic groups are most likely to begin a political movement “when they receive less than they feel they deserve.” Relative deprivation may lead to ethnic political movements through four stages. First, ethnic groups have to be aware that deprivation in society subsists. Second, they have to be aware that their miserable conditions are not experienced by other groups who may in fact be benefiting at their expense. Third, ethnic groups have to be conscious of the injustice they face due to their deficiencies. And, finally, they must realize that political action could change the state of affairs in their favour. The stage is then set for mass political activity and revolt.

THIRD REORGANISATION OF INDIAN STATES

Division due to unequal development opportunities within large states was relevant particularly to those formed by the BJP-led national government. In the year 2000, three new states were created; Chhattisgarh (November 1) was created out of eastern Madhya Pradesh; Uttaranchal (November 9) which has since been

renamed Uttarakhand, was created out of the hilly regions of northwest Uttar Pradesh; and Jharkhand (November 15) was created out of the southern districts of Bihar. Uttarakhand, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh are culturally distinct and had undergone less development compared to other parts of the larger states they belonged to. Caste and tribal elements that are generally regarded to be signs of backwardness were significant in the politics that shaped the separate states of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, while the electorate for Uttaranchal was primarily upper caste.

Even with prevalent corruption, the former two with their tribal and mineral-rich regions have done much better since breaking away from Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, respectively. Uttarakhand, the hill state which broke away from the gigantic Uttar Pradesh, is also being rapidly industrialised and growing at a compounded 9.3% rate over the past five years compared to 6.3% for UP. The separation and subsequent growth in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Uttarakhand has justified claims that they were neglected when they had been parts of large states. Needless to say, their experience may well lead to similar demands from other areas.

THE CASE OF TELANGANA

Most recent demands for state reorganisation have come from the people of Telangana. In a replay of history, K Chandrasekhara Rao, a leader of the Telangana Rashtra Samiti (TRS), used his 11-day fast to force New Delhi into announcing a separate Telangana state consisting mainly of what was earlier the state of Hyderabad. In Telangana, where socioeconomic deprivation and political exclusion were causing much frustration, this demand for a separate state had been persistently expressed for over fifty years. Language and culture are no more a crucial point of identity; it is economics which now determines the dynamics of Indian federalism.

Telangana and Andhra speak the same language but have contrasting economic interests. In fact, the latter is accused of exploiting the former's resources. There are ten districts in Telangana, nine in Andhra and four in Rayalaseema. Out of these, seven districts in Telangana, three in Andhra and one in Rayalaseema are severely backward. Telangana provides 45% of the income but consumes just 28 per cent of state funds as its share. Moreover, its cause for concern was strengthened when it did not see a single completed development project in the previous five years when several projects were completed in Andhra and Rayalaseema.

India's Union Minister of Home Affairs Mr. P. Chidambaram announced on December 9, 2009, that the government intended to start the process of forming a separate Telangana state. K Chandrasekhara Rao thus ended his 11-day fast on the hospital bed, expressing his delight that it was a "true victory of the people of Telangana". As supporters of separation celebrated the central government's decision, those from the coastal regions of Andhra and Rayalaseema regions protested. On February 3, 2010, the government announced the formation of a five-member committee which would look into the issue of bifurcation of the state.

New Delhi has decided to consult all political parties before making a decision for the division of Andhra Pradesh. The pressing reason for this delay is the concurrent opening of the proverbial Pandora's Box with the government's initial announcement that has mobilized more groups and led to multiple dissenting voices. Calls for Gorkhaland to be carved out of West Bengal, Maru Pradesh from Rajasthan, Vidarbha from Maharashtra and Harit Pradesh, Purvanchal and Bundelkhand from Uttar Pradesh are all being made as separation from the state enters into a new, more dramatic phase. It remains to be seen how the situation pans out, but suffice it to say that current demands for reorganization of Indian states comes from a complex picture involving religion, language, ethnicity and economics

UNIT-II

LOCATING INDIA IN INTERNATIONAL SCENARIO

CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT

Development implies an overall positive change in the physical quality of life. This positive change for the better encompasses economic as well as social aspects. Therefore, development not only calls for economic growth but also the equitable distribution of the gains made from economic growth. In other words, development implies growth with justice. It means an improvement in the quality of life through better health, education, housing and overall material and social welfare. The basic elements of development are the following:

- (i) Removal of inequality and poverty;
- (ii) Increase in material welfare of the people;
- (iii) Increase in social well-being (education, health, housing, etc.);
- (iv) An equitable distribution of the gains of development among different groups of people in a region or country;
- (iv) An enhancement in technology and the capacity to produce a wider range of goods and services in the economy leading to a better quality of life;
- (v) Building institutional structures which permit participation in decision-making at all levels, equalization of opportunities for development and removal of disparities.

For a long time, it was assumed that development depends primarily on economic growth and would automatically occur if economic growth took place. This view of development has, however, been criticized on the ground that it ignores the distribution of the gains from growth; and also, how the growth has been achieved and at what costs. An increase in production in a country does not automatically mean that there has been better distribution of what has been produced. For instance, though the production of food-grains has grown almost four-fold since independence, this does not imply that every Indian gets enough to eat. This has meant that the question of distributive justice has assumed greater importance. Also, the composition of the set of goods produced is important.

It is necessary to understand the difference between the concepts of economic growth and development. Economic growth means an increase in the value of all goods and services produced in an economy. The sum total of all goods and services in an economy is termed as the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Growth is, therefore, a sustained expansion in the productive capacity of

an economy leading to sustained rise in its GDP. Development, on the other hand, is sustained improvement in material welfare, particularly for those who are poor and afflicted by poverty, illiteracy and poor health conditions. Development is, therefore, a qualitative concept involving a qualitative improvement in the general standard of living in a country or economy.

CHARACTERISTICS OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT:

The characteristics of underdevelopment in developing countries are:

- (i) Mass poverty;
- (ii) Low levels of income and concentration of incomes in a few hands;
- (iii) High levels of unemployment and under-employment;
- (iv) Poor nutrition, health, housing, literacy and welfare status;
- (iv) Preponderance of primary sector and low levels of industrialization;
- (v) Lower status of women and that of a variety of social groups such as scheduled castes in India.

These characteristics of underdeveloped countries will help in generalizing some of the problems that one finds common to most of them. This will enable us to also grasp the key issues that affect the developing societies.

(i) The poverty levels are very striking in the developing countries: In India, over 26% of people are below the poverty line as per the recent official count conducted in 1999-2000. However, many experts have questioned the official figure, mainly on the ground that the methodology used to collect the relevant data in 1999-2000 was that of the earlier surveys and have argued that the incidence of poverty could be substantially higher than the official estimates. The single biggest sections affected by poverty are the landless agricultural workers in rural areas. Close to half the number of such households in India were below the poverty line. Poverty alleviation continues to be the single biggest problem facing Indian planners.

(ii) Low levels of income for large sections of the masses and high inequalities in the distribution of income are very apparent in India. Most developing countries have this problem because assets are unequally distributed. This perpetuates the problem of low incomes for the poor. The existence of mass poverty amidst glaring inequalities is among the most important symptoms of inadequate development in the low-income countries.

(iii) Low levels of productivity and backward technology are the other major problems of the developing countries. Increased productivity is an indication of greater efficiency. Improvements in technology and better management and organization are necessary for this purpose. For instance, in the agricultural sector greater use of fertilizers, improved varieties of seeds, better ploughs, etc. can lead to increase in output from the same unit of land. Generally, crop yields per hectare in the developed world are far higher than those in developing countries. The need to improve technology and the overall input package in agriculture is obvious.

(iv) High levels of unemployment and underemployment are characteristic of developing countries. Since the industrialization is low and the agricultural sector cannot absorb the entire work force, the problem of unemployment and underemployment continues to grow. As per the Report of the **S.P.Gupta Committee**, which was set up by the planning Commission, there are more than 27 million people unemployed in India currently. At present rate of labour absorption, this number is likely to increase to a whopping 70 million by 2012. Obviously, the problem is much greater if one takes into account the problem of pervasive underemployment particularly in rural areas. Rapid industrialization and modernization of the agricultural sector will obviously go a long way in creating more employment. The pressure of unemployment also perpetuates the problem of low wages as employers take advantage of surplus labour and pay low wages, workers are not able to bargain because there are thousands willing to do the same work at the prevailing rates.

(v) Poor health, nutrition, illiteracy and poor housing are also characteristic features of developing countries. The low levels of income obviously play a central role in perpetuating these problems. As earnings are low, people are not able to consume a balanced diet providing the requisite number of calories and nutrients. The most vulnerable are the children in the developing countries compared to standards prevailing in the developed countries. The problem of nutrition will have to be tackled if developing countries are to make advantage in the field of health. Similarly, there are huge gaps between the developed and developing countries in the field of education. It is particularly striking that the major problem is with respect to female illiteracy. As mentioned earlier, inadequate such deprivations. It must be stressed; however, that public policy has to play a critical role in addressing these problems. In fact the history of development experience shows without any ambiguity that in the early and middle stage of modern economic growth process there is no substitute for government intervention in areas such as health, education, etc., and that growth in itself is no answer to these problems. Moreover even in the country that are advanced in terms of standard economic growth parameters, inadequate public policy can lead to situations of serious deprivation for particular groups. For instance, in the United States, African Americans as a group have lower life expectancy than people born in the immensely poorer economies of Sri Lanka, Jamaica, Costa Rica or Kerala in India, amongst several others. Within United States, according to a recent study, African American men and women in the age groups 35 and 54 years had almost twice and thrice the mortality rates, as compared to white men and women respectively. Similarly, in India the gaps between different social groups with reference to the standard socio-economic indicators are disturbingly huge. To redress these gaps, carefully designed public interventions are of utmost importance.

(vi) Lower status of women and that of a variety of social groups such as scheduled castes in India. In underdeveloped countries, the women are much more vulnerable than their counterparts in the developed countries. On most development indicators, they rank lower than males in their own country. Their health and nutrition status is not at satisfactory levels for large numbers. Female

illiteracy is fairly widespread. They also have to put up with both covert and overt forms of discrimination and the barriers regarding their role in the society. Women are often paid lower wages even though they perform the same work, and therefore work participation rates of women in census data are shown much lower than one would expect. Improving the status of women is, therefore, an important development objective. The social pressures on women are also a major impediment to development in large parts of the third world. The crudest and the most gruesome form of discrimination against women in many parts of the world is reflected in the terrible phenomenon of what has come to be known as 'missing women' caused by practices such as female feticide, etc. resulting in excessive mortality among them. It is medically well acknowledged that if there is symmetrical care in most advanced countries. For instance, in countries such as USA and UK, the ratio of women to men exceeds as 1.05, where as in India and Pakistan it is as low as 0.93 and 0.90 respectively.

These are some of the more important characteristics of development. Using these, you should be able to roughly differentiate between developed and developing countries.

NEHRUVIAN POLICY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Nehru is considered to be the architect of modern India. Apart from his careful handling of India's tumultuous domestic situation in the years immediately after the Independence, Nehru's major contribution lies in the field of foreign policies. Socialism can be said to be one of the greatest international influences on Nehru, but Gandhi's ideals of Satyagraha also influenced him to a great degree. But he committed himself to neither point of view in framing his foreign policy. Nehru's foreign policies were characterized by two major ideological aspects. First, he wanted India to have an identity that would be independent of any form of overt commitment to either power bloc, the USA or the Soviet. Secondly, he had an unshaken faith in goodwill and honesty in matters of international affairs. The first policy led ultimately to the founding of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM). His second faith was terribly shaken by the Chinese attack of 1962, openly disobeying all the clauses of the Panchasheel or five-point agreement of 1954 between New Delhi and Peking. This breach of faith was a major psychological shock for Nehru, and was partially the reason for his death.

The Founding Principles of Nehru's Foreign Policy:

Nehru saw war and violent insurgency from very close quarters as a freedom fighter, and he believed in neither. In his foreign policies, Nehru tried to guide India in such a way, so as to steer clear from any form of violence and militarism. He rightly believed that a newly decolonized nation must invest all its economic and logistic resources towards development and not defence and armament. Just like his economic policies, which were non-committal towards any ideological position, Nehru wanted to bring in a healthy level of pragmatism in his dealings of India's foreign affairs as well. He understood that overt commitment to any of the two major power blocs to emerge in the aftermath of

World War II, would not serve India's path. He therefore wanted to tread a third path, which was not necessarily the middle path.

It should be remembered that this dogged non-commitment of Nehru was not seen sympathetically by any of the super powers of either East or West at its initial stage. It was frequently termed as a kind of international opportunism and was accused of 'neutralism' - a stance reckoned to be not only dangerous but also equally immoral in the world of International politics. However, the increasing popularity of NAM among various Asian and African countries and Nehru's growing stature as a statesman situation changed their views. India too benefited from this position, as it managed to secure rebuilding grants from member countries of either bloc. After Nehru's successful mediation in the Korean War and the Congo problem, putting an end to a long and violent struggle, his status as a commendable and efficient statesman reached new heights. Jawaharlal Nehru's theory of ideological non-commitment in a world that was rendered dangerous by the Cold War was appreciated by one and all.

Nehru and the Non-Alignment Movement:

The greatest success of Jawaharlal Nehru's non-committal international politics was the formation of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM). Nehru found allies in Tito, Nasser, Soekarno, U Nu and Nkrumah at a later stage in his formation of this new alliance. An alliance of newly independent and long colonized nations was not taken seriously in the beginning, either by the Eastern or the Western bloc. However, the importance of the alliance was soon felt, and initially led to a great degree of international pressure from both parts of the globe. However, Nehru proceeded with his mission undaunted. It was great test for his courage and it was soon found out that the NAM was not merely a passive platform of neutral and inactive nations. It had clear objectives that included the gradual decolonization of the world, and a strong statement that the member countries were not party to the ever escalating tension of the Cold War. The favoured process of decolonization as adopted by the NAM member countries was one of discussion and peaceful agreement. On many occasions, NAM met with success, often under the leadership of Nehru. Whoever supported its cause were an ally and a friend. Nehru preached a policy of issue based alliance and not one based on political and economic dogmas. He was proud of being an Asian, and wanted Asian nations to be the primary determinants of their political fate, not always guided by Western forces.

Nehru's unshaken belief in the force of international brotherhood was attested with his decision to continue with India's Commonwealth status. He was made subject to much criticism back home because of the support he extended towards the Commonwealth, particularly after the complication of the independence issue by the British government in the post World War II years, leading to the unwanted partition. However Nehru, always the believer in peaceful alliances and solution of international affairs based on discussions, went on with his ideals.

Nehru and the Kashmir Problem:

Nehru's Foreign policies did not augur well when it came to deal with the neighbours. Kashmir was a perpetual problem, and he failed to reach any successful negotiation regarding Kashmir with the neighbour Pakistan. Nehru had an innate belief in honest fellow-feeling and political generosity. He tried to force a negotiation with the Pakistani government through the United Nations. But the Pakistani military rulers denied any peaceful agreement. The offer of a possible plebiscite was also taken off in 1950. After India's dogged denial of the two-nation theory, a result in favour of Kashmir in the Muslim dominated Kashmir would be a strategic disaster for India. The Kashmir problem remained unresolved, and not even Nehru's diplomatic expertise could give any positive direction to the problem. It still continues to be the one of the key international problems in South Asia.

Nehru and the China Crisis:

Nehru's foreign policies concerning China have been made subject to much criticism. However, even in this case, it was Nehru's faith in transparency in the handling of International relations that is seen to be the root of all problems. Nehru was intent on a very warm and mutually beneficial relationship between India and China. The five-point agreement or the Panchsheel between New Delhi and Peking initiated in 1954 was a result of these negotiations. However, China started patrolling certain parts of the Indian border from 1955 onwards. Delhi started negotiations to solve the problem in a peaceful way. India, under the leadership of Nehru wanted to take one issue at a time and begin the discussions. The Chinese government, under Chou En-lai wanted to treat the border issue in its entirety at one go. It was gross violation of the five-point agreement. The Chinese denial for the arbitration from the International Court of Justice complicated the problem.

Amidst such tensions, the Chinese suddenly started a full-scale invasion in 1962. It was a rude shock, not only to Nehru, but to the entire international society. The Indian military was unprepared and also unequipped. Both USA and the Soviet extended token help. Soviet was quite busy with the Cuban crisis, however soon after the problem subsided, President Khrushchev did extend some help. American help was minimum, compared to the massive military help that was extended to Pakistan in 1954. On top of that, the Sandys - Rusk team visited India to hold talks in order to make India concede certain areas of Kashmir to Pakistan, a claim that was squarely denied. Nehru stood firm with this faith in the five-point principle. The international community stood by him, as China withdrew under growing international pressure, fearing isolation and global antagonism. Nehru played his last masterstroke in international policy, as he turned the military defeat in a moral victory for India.

The Chinese invasion had far reaching effects on India's foreign policy. It forced Nehru to change his stance on international affairs. He realized that unmitigated goodwill was not necessary the way the business of foreign affairs was conducted. Nehru's dreams were more or less shattered. It was also a great eye-opener. It made India to see that it is important to strengthen one's military

strength and not overtly depend on peaceful negotiations in matters of international affairs. The Chinese invasion was a shock to Nehru, almost shaking his idealistic foundation to the very base. Domestic problems also kept escalating, putting a great degree of mental and physical stress on Nehru.

FORMATION OF REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

NAM (The Non-Aligned Movement)

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is a group of states which are not aligned formally with or against any major bloc. As of 2012; the movement has 120 members and 17 observer countries.

The organization was founded in Belgrade in 1961, and was largely conceived by Yugoslavia's president, Josip Broz Tito; Indonesia's first president, Sukarno; Egypt's second president, Gamal Abdel Nasser; Ghana's first president Kwame Nkrumah; and India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. All five leaders were prominent advocates of a middle course for states in the World between the Western and Eastern blocs in the Cold War. The phrase itself was first used to represent the doctrine by Indian diplomat and statesman V.K. Krishna Menon in 1953, at the United Nations.

In a speech given during the *Havana Declaration of 1979*, Fidel Castro said the purpose of the organization is to ensure "the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries" in their "struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony as well as against great power and bloc politics". The countries of the Non-Aligned Movement represent nearly two-thirds of the Nations' members and contain 55% of the world population. Membership is particularly concentrated in countries considered to be developing or part of the Third World.

Members have at times included the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Argentina, Namibia, Cyprus, and Malta. While many of the Non-Aligned Movement's members were actually quite closely aligned with one or another of the super powers, the movement still maintained cohesion throughout the Cold War. Some members were involved in serious conflicts with other members (e.g., India and Pakistan, Iran and Iraq). The movement fractured from its own internal contradictions when the Soviet in 1979. While the Soviet allies supported the invasion, other members of the movement (particularly predominantly Muslim states) condemned it.

Because the Non-Aligned Movement was formed as an attempt to thwart the Cold War, it has struggled to find relevance since the Cold War ended. After the breakup of Yugoslavia, a founding member, its membership was suspended in 1992 at the regular Ministerial Meeting of the Movement, held in New York during the regular yearly session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The successor states of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have expressed little interest in membership, though some have observer status. In 2004, Malta and Cyprus ceased to be members and joined the

European. Belarus remains the sole member of the Movement in Europe. Azerbaijan and Fiji are the most recent entrants, joining in 2011. The applications of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Costa Rica were rejected in 1995 and 1998, respectively.

The 16th NAM summit took place in Tehran, Iran, from 26 to 31 August 2012. According to MehrNews agency, representatives from over 150 countries were scheduled to attend. Attendance at the highest level includes 27 presidents, 2 kings and emirs, 7 prime ministers, 9 vice presidents, 2 parliament spokesmen and 5 special envoys. At the summit, Iran took over from Egypt as Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement for the period 2012 to 2015. The 17th Summit of the Non Aligned Movement is to be held in Caracas, Venezuela, in 2015.

ORIGINS

The Non-Aligned movement was never established as a formal organization, but became the name to refer to the participants of the *Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries* first held in 1961. The term "non-alignment" itself was coined by V.K. Krishna Menon in 1953 remarks at the United Nations. Menon's friend, Jawaharlal Nehru used the phrase in a 1954 speech in Colombo, Sri Lanka. In his speech, Nehru described the five pillars to be used as a guide for Sino-Indian relations, which were first put forth by Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai. Called Panchsheel (five restraints), these principles would later serve as the basis of the Non-Aligned Movement. The five principles were:

- Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
- Mutual non-aggression
- Mutual non-interference in domestic affairs
- Equality and mutual benefit
- Peaceful co-existence

A significant milestone in the development of the Non-Aligned Movement was the 1955 Bandung Conference, a conference of Asian and African states hosted by Indonesian president Sukarno, who gave a significant contribution to promote this movement. Bringing together Sukarno, Nasser, Nehru, Tito, Nkrumah and Menon with the likes of Ho Chi Minh, Zhou Enlai, and Norodom Sihanouk, as well as a young Indira Gandhi, the conference adopted a "declaration on promotion of world peace and cooperation", which included Nehru's five principles, and a collective pledge to remain neutral in the Cold War. Six years after Bandung, an initiative of Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito led to the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held in September 1961 in Belgrade. The term *non aligned movement* appears first in the fifth conference in 1976, where participating countries are denoted as *members of the movement*.

At the Lusaka Conference in September 1970, the member nations added as aims of the movement the peaceful resolution of disputes and the abstention

from the big power military alliances and pacts. Another added aim was opposition to stationing of military bases in foreign countries.

The founding fathers of the Non-aligned movement were: Sukarno of Indonesia, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. Their actions were known as 'The Initiative of Five'.

Organisational Structure and Membership

The movement stems from a desire not to be aligned within a geopolitical/military structure and therefore itself does not have a very strict organizational structure. Some organizational basics were defined at the 1996 *Cartagena Document on Methodology*. The Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned States is "the highest decision making authority". The chairmanship rotates between countries and changes at every summit of heads of state or government to the country organizing the summit.

Requirements for membership of the Non-Aligned Movement coincide with the key beliefs of the Nations. The current requirements are that the candidate country has displayed practices in accordance with the ten "Bandung principles" of 1955:

- Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
- Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
- Recognition of the movements for national independence.
- Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small.
- Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.
- Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
- Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
- Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
- Promotion of mutual interests and co-operation.
- Respect for justice and international obligations.

The movement has succeeded to create a strong front on the International level, representing countries of the third world in the International organizations on top of which the United Nations. Current Challenges facing the NAM include the necessity of protecting the principles of International law, eliminating weapons of mass destruction, combating terrorism, defending human rights, working toward making the United Nations more effective in meeting the needs of

all its member states in order to preserve International Peace, Security and Stability, as well as realizing justice in the international economic system.

On the other hand, the long-standing goals of the Movement remain to be realized. Peace, development, economic cooperation and the democratization of international relations, to mention just a few, are old goals of the non-aligned countries.

In conclusion, The Non-Aligned Movement, faced with the goals yet to be reached and the many new challenges that are arising, is called upon to maintain a prominent and leading role in the current International relations in defence of the interests and priorities of its member states and for achievement of peace and security for mankind.

COMMONWEALTH

The Commonwealth of Nations, normally referred to as the Commonwealth and formerly known as the British Commonwealth, is an intergovernmental organisation of 54 independent states. All members except Mozambique and Rwanda were part of the British Empire, out of which the Commonwealth developed.

The member states cooperate within a framework of common values and goals, as outlined in the Singapore Declaration. These include the promotion of democracy, human rights, good governance, the rule of law, individual liberty, egalitarianism, free trade, multilateralism and world peace. The Commonwealth is not a political union, but an intergovernmental organisation in which countries with diverse social, political and economic backgrounds are regarded as equal in status. Alongside shared values, Commonwealth nations share strong trade links; trade with another Commonwealth member has been shown to be a third to a half more than with a non-member.

Activities of the Commonwealth are carried out through the permanent Commonwealth Secretariat, headed by the secretary-general, and biennial meetings of Government. The symbol of their free association is the Head of the Commonwealth, currently held by Queen Elizabeth II. Elizabeth II is also monarch, separately and independently, of 16 Commonwealth members, which are known as the "Commonwealth realms".

The Commonwealth is a forum for a number of non-governmental organisations, collectively known as the Commonwealth Family, which are fostered through the intergovernmental Foundation. The Commonwealth Games, the Commonwealth's most visible activity, are a product of one of these organisations. These organisations strengthen the shared culture of the Commonwealth, which extends through common sports, literary heritage, and political and legal practices. Reflecting this, diplomatic missions between Commonwealth countries are designated as high commissions rather than embassies.

SAARC (The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation)

The SAARC is an organisation of South Asian nations, which was established on 8 December 1985 when the government of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka formally adopted its charter providing for the promotion of economic and social progress, cultural development within the South Asia region and also for friendship and cooperation with other developing countries. It is dedicated to economic, technological, social, and cultural development emphasising collective self-reliance. Its seven founding members are Sri Lanka, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Afghanistan joined the organisation in 2007. Meetings of heads of state are usually scheduled annually; meetings of foreign secretaries, twice annually. It is headquartered in Kathmandu, Nepal.

The first concrete proposal for establishing a framework for regional cooperation in South Asia was made by the late president of Bangladesh, Ziaur Rahman, on May 2, 1980. Prior to this, the idea of regional cooperation in South Asia was discussed in at least three conferences: the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi in April 1947, the Baguio Conference in the Philippines in May 1950, and the Colombo Powers Conference in April 1954. In the late 1970s, SAARC nations agreed upon the creation of a trade bloc consisting of South Asian countries. The idea of regional cooperation in South Asia was again mooted in May 1980. The foreign ministers of the seven countries met for the first time in Colombo in April 1981. The Committee of the Whole, which met in Colombo in August 1985, identified five broad areas for regional cooperation. New areas of cooperation were added in the following years.

SAARC Charter

- Desirous of promoting peace, stability, amity and progress in the region through strict adherence to the principles of the UNITED NATIONS CHARTER and NON-ALIGNMENT, particularly respect for the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, national independence, non-use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and peaceful settlement of all disputes.
- Conscious that in an increasingly interdependent world, the objectives of peace, freedom, social justice and economic prosperity is best achieved in the SOUTH ASIAN region by fostering mutual understanding, good neighbourly relations and meaningful cooperation among the Member States which are bound by ties of history and culture.
- Aware of the common problems, interests and aspirations of the peoples of SOUTH ASIA and the need for joint action and enhanced cooperation within their respective political and economic systems and cultural traditions.
- Convinced that regional cooperation among the countries of SOUTH ASIA is mutually beneficial, desirable and necessary for promoting the welfare and improving the quality of life of the peoples of the region.

- Convinced further that economic, social and technical cooperation among the countries of SOUTH ASIA would contribute significantly to national and collective self-reliance.
- Recognising that increased cooperation, contacts and exchanges among the countries of the region will contribute to the promotion of friendship and understanding among their peoples.
- Recalling the DECLARATION signed by their Foreign Ministers in NEW DELHI on August 2, 1983 and noting the progress achieved in regional cooperation.
- Reaffirming their determination to promote such cooperation within an institutional framework.

Objectives of SAARC

The objectives and the aims of the Association as defined in the Charter are:

- to promote the welfare of the people of South Asia and to improve their quality of life;
- to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region and to provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realize their full potential;
- to promote and strengthen selective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia;
- to contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems;
- to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields;
- to strengthen cooperation with other developing countries;
- to strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interest; and
- to cooperate with international and regional organisations with similar aims and purposes.
- to maintain peace in the region

Principles

The principles are as follows

- Respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, political equality and independence of all members states
- Non-interference in the internal matters is one of its objectives
- Cooperation for mutual benefit
- All decisions to be taken unanimously and need a quorum of all eight members

- All bilateral issues to be kept aside and only multilateral (involving many countries) issues to be discussed without being prejudiced by bilateral issues

Afghanistan was added to the regional grouping on April 2007, with the addition of Afghanistan, the total number of member states was raised to eight. In April 2006, the United States of America and South Korea made formal requests to be granted observer status. The European Union has also indicated interest in being given observer status, and made a formal request for the same to the SAARC Council of Ministers meeting in July 2006. On 2 August 2006 the foreign ministers of the SAARC countries agreed in principle to grant observer status to the US, South Korea and the European Union. On 4 March 2008, Iran requested observer status, followed shortly by the entrance of Mauritius. Myanmar has expressed interest in upgrading its status from an observer to a full member of SAARC, while Russia is interested in becoming an observer.

Secretariat

The SAARC Secretariat was established in Kathmandu on 16 January 1987 and was inaugurated by Late King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah of Nepal.

It is headed by the Secretary General appointed by the Council of Ministers from Member Countries in an alphabetical order for a three-year term. He is assisted by the Professional and the General Service Staff, and also an appropriate number of functional units called Divisions assigned to Directors on deputation from Member States. The Secretariat coordinates and monitors implementation of activities, prepares for and services meetings, and serves as a channel of communication between the Association and its Member States as well as other regional organisations.

The Memorandum of Understanding on the establishment of the Secretariat which was signed by Foreign Ministers of member countries on 17 November 1986 at Bangalore, India contains various clauses concerning the role, structure and administration of the SAARC Secretariat as well as the powers of the Secretary-General.

In several recent meetings the heads of state or government of member states of SAARC have taken some important decisions and bold initiatives to strengthen the organisation and to widen and deepen regional co-operation.

The SAARC Secretariat and Member States observe 8 December as the SAARC Charter Day.

Council Of Ministers

- Council of Ministers consisting of the Foreign Ministers of the Member States established with the following functions:
- Formulation of the policies of the ASSOCIATION
- Review of the progress of cooperation under the ASSOCIATION
- Decision on new areas of cooperation

- Establishment of additional mechanism under the ASSOCIATION as deemed necessary
- Decision on other matters of general interest to the ASSOCIATION.

The Council of Ministers meets twice a year. Extraordinary session of the Council may be held by agreement among the Member States.

Regional Centres

The SAARC Secretariat is supported by following Regional Centres established in Member States to promote regional cooperation. These Centres are managed by Governing Boards comprising representatives from all the Member States, SAARC Secretary-General and the Ministry of Foreign/External Affairs of the Host Government. The Director of the Centre acts as Member Secretary to the Governing Board which reports to the Programming Committee.

- SAARC Agricultural Centre (SAC), Dhaka
- SAARC Meteorological Research Centre (SMRC), Dhaka
- SAARC Tuberculosis Centre (STC), Kathmandu
- SAARC Documentation Centre (SDC), New Delhi
- SAARC Human Resources Development Centre (SHRDC), Islamabad
- SAARC Coastal Zone Management Centre (SCZMC), Maldives
- SAARC Information Centre (SIC), Nepal
- SAARC Energy Centre (SEC), Pakistan
- SAARC Disaster Management Centre (SDMC), India
- SAARC Development Fund (SDF), Bhutan
- SAARC Forestry Centre (SFC), Bhutan
- SAARC Cultural Centre (SCC), Sri Lanka

PLANNED DEVELOPMENT

When Independence came, India had a slender industrial base. Millions of her rural people suffered under the weight of a traditional agrarian structure. A long period of economic stagnation, against the background of increasing pressure of population, followed by the burdens of the Second World War, had weakened the Indian economy. There was widespread poverty and want. The partition of the country had uprooted millions of people and dislocated economic life. Productivity in agriculture and industry stood at a low level. In relation to needs the available domestic savings were altogether meagre. The promise of freedom could only be redeemed if the economic foundations were greatly strengthened. The Constitution established equal rights of citizenship, and these had now to be expressed through rising levels of living and greater opportunities for the bulk of the people. It was essential to rebuild the rural economy, to lay the foundation of industrial and scientific progress, and to expand education and other social services. These called for planning on a national scale, encompassing

all aspects of economic and social life, for efforts to mobilise resources, to determine priorities and goals and to create a widespread outlook of change and technological progress. Thus, planned development was the means for securing with the utmost speed possible, a high rate of growth, reconstructing the institutions of economic and social life and harnessing the energies of the people to the tasks of national development.

The leading features of the pattern of development envisaged in the Five Year Plans may be briefly stated. The basic objective is to provide sound foundations for sustained economic growth, for increasing opportunities for gainful employment and improving living standards and working conditions for the masses. In the scheme of development, the first priority necessarily belongs to agriculture; and agricultural production has to be increased to the highest levels feasible. The Five Year Plans provide for a comprehensive and many-sided effort to transform the peasant's outlook and environment. The growth of agriculture and the development of human resources alike hinge upon the advance made by industry. Not only does industry provide the new tools, but it begins to change the mental outlook of the peasant. There can be no doubt that vast numbers of the peasantry today in India are undergoing this change of outlook as they use new tools and experiment with new methods of agriculture. Even the coming of the bicycle in large numbers to the villages of India is not only a sign of higher standards, but is a symbol of new and changing attitudes. Agriculture and industry must be regarded as integral parts of the same process of development. Through planned development, therefore, the growth of industry has to be speeded and economic progress accelerated. In particular, heavy industries and machine-making industries have to be developed, the public sector expanded and a large and growing cooperative sector built up. The public sector is expected to provide specially for the further development of industries of basic and strategic importance or in the nature of public utility services, other industries being also taken up by Government to the extent necessary. State trading has also to be undertaken on an increasing scale according to the needs of the economy. In brief, in the scheme of development, while making full use of all available agencies, the public sector is expected to grow both absolutely and in comparison and at a faster rate than the private sector.

With the rapid expansion of the economy, wider opportunities of growth arise for both the public and the private sectors and in many ways their activities are complementary. The private sector includes not only organised industry but agriculture, small industry, trade and a great deal of activity in housing and construction and other fields. Progressively, it has to take the form of cooperative effort. Among the main objects of programmes undertaken by the Government are the expansion of facilities for the development of agriculture, specially irrigation, the building up of economic overheads such as rail and road transport, ports and power stations, and the expansion of education, health and other social services. Activities which are promoted through these facilities are in considerable part in the hands of private individuals and organisations, and increasing numbers among them are being assisted. Thus, the Five Year Plans enlarge the scope for individual initiative as well as for co-operative and corporate

effort. It is mainly within a limited area in the field of large scale industrial enterprise that the question arises whether, in the special circumstances of the country, in accordance with the Industrial Policy Resolution of April, 1956, and in view of the social goals aimed at, particular tasks should be assigned to the public sector or to the private sector. In the context of the country's planned development the private sector has a large area in which to develop and expand. It has to function, of course, within the framework of national planning and in harmony with its overall aims, and there must be continuous stress on undertakings in the private sector acting with an understanding of obligations towards the community as a whole. At the same time, it is essential to ensure that the opportunities available in the private sector do not lead to the concentration of economic power in the hands of small numbers of individuals and businesses and that disparity in income and wealth are progressively reduced.

In the pattern of development envisaged in the Five Year Plans, cooperation is expected to become progressively the principal basis of organisation in several branches of economic life, notably, in agriculture, small industry, distribution, construction and provision of essential amenities for local communities. Village and small scale industries have a crucial role in the development of the national economy, for, besides providing consumer and other goods and large-scale employment, they offer a method of ensuring a more equitable distribution of the national income and the means for the utilisation of available resources in skill and manpower. Disparities in levels of development in different regions have to be steadily reduced and the benefits of industrialisation spread evenly between different parts of the country. These aims have to be achieved, as the Industrial Policy Resolution specified, through the balanced and coordinated development of the industrial and agricultural economy of each region, and through planned urbanisation and the development of economic and social services. Frequently, in the early phases of development, there is a dilemma to be faced. Whether it is better to concentrate on developing more favourably situated areas and thus securing quicker and larger returns from the investment, or to aim at more even development of the country, through greater attention to the more backward areas. Economic considerations have necessarily to be given importance, but certain social and regional aspects cannot be ignored. Indeed, as the economy develops, it becomes possible to provide for more intensive development in the less developed areas.

The policies described above constitute the larger part of the programme for achieving rapid economic development and for realising the socialist pattern of society. In such a scheme the basic criterion in determining social policies and the lines of economic advance must necessarily be the interest of the community as a whole, and especially of its weaker sections. Through its very success and dynamism, a rapidly developing economy throws up new problems of organisation and management as well-as of social policy. The existing social and economic institutions have, therefore, to be appraised from time to time in relation to their role in the nation's development. To the extent they do not

adequately fulfil the social purpose or fail to secure the economic aims of planned development, they have to be replaced or transformed.

Development plans reflect the changes which are taking place in the country's economic and social structure as well as the directions in which this structure has to be reorganised and strengthened. In a democracy the pace of change depends to a large extent on increase in public understanding and in public response and on the growth of a scientific outlook on the part of large numbers of people. Besides the economic and social objectives, the educational aspects of planning are, therefore of great importance. These are emphasised through the wide sharing of responsibility for drawing up and carrying out Plans and through the participation in the process of planning by organisations representing all sections of opinion as well as universities and educational institutions and voluntary social service agencies. On behalf of the community as a whole the State has a large responsibility for assessing the wider long-term needs of the nation as against the claims of individual, sectional or regional interests, and in setting the goals to be achieved.

FROM MIXED ECONOMY TO LIBERALISATION

Having lost almost all its wealth to the colonial overlords, the erstwhile Golden Bird was now afraid to allow any outsider to participate in its economy. However, a certain degree of liberal-capitalism was considered essential, and thus newly independent India adopted a “mixed economy”, in which features of both the capitalist model and socialist model were prevalent. The “mixed economy”, however, was not very well mixed, and had strong socialist tendencies.

The policy-makers adopted a planned economy approach to development, and advocated state run industries with just a few areas open to the private sector. This was largely due to the influence of the tremendous success of the USSR's economy and the impact of the Great Depression of the 1930s. But given the capitalist history of the Indian economy, the government was keen to reconcile equity with the free market. The Government of India, while recognising private industries, declared that the functioning of this sector—establishments, products, capacities for production etc.—would be regulated by the government. This state run structure, though advocated by the Congress, and backed by Left-wing parties such as the Communist Party of India, was not supported by the Swatantra Party.

This structure worked well for the first fifteen years, but thereafter started to decline as a result of, inter alia, political interference at top management levels and declining accountability which came with the security of employment. State owned industries were afflicted by diseases such as under-utilisation and poor management of resources, obsolete technology, and wrong selection of products, to name a few. Such problems led to a downswing in the economy. The Licence Raj stifled India's trade relations and deprived consumers of choice with regard to products for consumption.

Towards the beginning of the eighties decade, world oil prices doubled, resulting in a huge deficit in India's current account which had so far bordered

balance. An inappropriate exchange rate led to complete stagnation of exports during the phase 1982-1985, causing persistent current account deficits. Though the economy grew rapidly through the 1980s, the growth was not sustainable due to unstable fiscal conditions. Inflation surged to an all-time high by the end of the decade.

This crisis forced India to open up its economy to the world and adopt the policy of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation. The new government that came to power in 1991 had to restructure the economy, but the greater need of the hour was to stabilise the economy—reduce inflation and reduce fiscal deficits. The fiscal deficits would have to be substituted by foreign borrowings. But the structural model of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank involved India having to open up its economy and replace public institutions and investments by market determined investment and production decisions. Thus, the early attempts of Rajiv Gandhi to loosen state control over the economy finally found completion in the measures taken by the Narasimha Rao Government and the New Economic Policy (NEP) was adopted.

Once India had embraced the free-market system, economic reforms in the country were supported by a standby credit from the IMF. In 1991-92, this credit supported fiscal retrenchment and a credit squeeze in the economy. The rupee was devalued by 19%. Import controls were instituted. The deflation and import compression helped improve the balance of payments to a large extent. The Indian economy has taken a definite upward swing since the 1991 reforms, and is now one of the fastest growing economies of the world.

However, globalisation leads to erosion in the state's capacity. The ability of the government in its position as a welfare government is getting reduced to a large extent. The world over, welfare states are giving way to more minimalist states that perform only the core functions of governance such as maintenance of law and order.

Free-market forces have become the prime determinants of economic and social priorities in the country. The appearance of multinational companies on the global economic platform has also led to a reduction in the capacity of governments to take their own decisions.

How favourably is this form of governance suited to the various political parties? This is a crucial question. Soon after assuming power in 1991, the Congress Government, headed by the then Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao, announced its decision to liberalise, privatise and globalise the Indian economy. The Opposition reacted strongly to this, describing Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh's ideas as "far too radical for what the compulsions of democratic politics would allow".

The Indian National Congress, in its present Economic Agenda, has claimed that its policies have led to a substantial increase in the growth rate of the country and has brought a major segment of people above the poverty line. The Congress also claims that it was the manner in which the reforms were carried out that made a big difference to their rate of success. However, a major

factor in the continuing success of the economic reforms, through the regimes of many different political parties, has been the “directional convergence” of all these parties towards the same economic goals. They all maintained the economy’s orientation towards the free market and encouraged globalisation.

It is also true, however, that the parties in the Opposition lived up to their role of “opposing” the government. All parties, when in Opposition, vehemently criticise the policies of the government. Nonetheless, the debates in Parliament and the manifestoes of most major national parties have always argued over the minor details of economic policies, rather than objecting to the idea of reforms as whole.

A comparison of the 2004 election manifestoes of the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Indian National Congress point out, interestingly, that both parties essentially guarantee the same things, though their promises are worded very differently. It is also interesting to note the acrimonious language in which each speaks of the other’s failures, while taking the very same steps themselves.

The BJP had opposed the Congress Government’s policies of external liberalisation in the early 1990s, but after it came to power (from 1998 to 2004), it itself promoted external liberalisation and announced measures that aimed at attracting private foreign investment on a large scale.

The Communists have passionately opposed liberalisation policies, and termed them as “abject surrender to the IMF”. However, when the United Front governments came to power from 1996 to 1998, the Left-wing parties supported them all through their policies regarding financial sector liberalisation, disinvestment, foreign investment etc.

Thus, even though the powers of the state have been reduced to a large extent because of the open economy, economic reforms are still being favoured as compared to the earlier socialist model of development.

The evident reason for this is the fact that ever since the Indian economy was liberalised, we have seen phenomenal growth rates, touching the six-point mark in the 1990s.²⁵ The inflow of better quality consumer goods satisfied the middle class of society and high foreign exchange stocks were beneficial to investors. Thus, such conditions proved satisfactory to most people. The other possible reason could be the fact that along with the collapse of the USSR, the rupee-rouble trading system collapsed as well. All over the rest of the world, the dollar was essential for carrying on trade. Thus, it was essential to have a large stock of foreign exchange, particularly in terms of dollars, in order to carry on trade relations with other countries.

The fact that all governments that have come to power post-1991 have followed and advocated the free market ideology without any hesitation also requires explanation. One possible explanation is the fact that after the Narasimha Rao Government, all other governments till date have been coalition governments supported by a number of ideologically neutral regional parties.

In a democracy it is the people who decide the rise and fall of a regime. They are the foundation on which the political superstructure is built. Also, the various policies pursued in order to affect the economic reforms, at the end of the day, have affected nobody but the common man. Even if political consensus is prevalent among various political parties, it is essential that the vote-bank of these parties also agree to the policies. "Political consensus", therefore, cannot be complete if the consensus of the common man is not taken into consideration.

The trouble is, what the people want, or even need, may not always be what the government considers before defining its policies. The external debt of the nation, while a major cause of concern for the government, is not something ordinary citizens would ever worry about. Similarly, the internal debt of the government, Budget deficit, balance-of-payments situation, financial losses of public sector enterprises, expansion of money supply etc. are economic issues which are of utmost importance to the government of a country, but themes that are very distant from the lives of the people.

However, there is indeed a connection between the economic necessities of ordinary people and the economic compulsions of the state. A person belonging to the middle class of society would need a television, a refrigerator, a car, an air-conditioner, and so on. Economic liberalisation of the country meant that the government allowed foreign investment in and freer imports of consumer goods.

But even among the people, there are differences in what different classes of people desire from the free market. The choice between better cars or better public transport system, cell phones or ploughs and pump sets, soft drinks or safe drinking water is the choice that has to be made. Now, the production and supply of a product depend to a large extent on its demand and the price it gets in the market. The rich in society have more purchasing power, and thus, it is the cars and the cell phones and the soft drinks that get produced, not the ploughs and buses. Private investment would also, therefore, be attracted towards sectors producing goods to satisfy the needs of richer consumers.

Consensus for economic reforms, therefore, seems to be coming from political parties and the middle and upper classes. The interests of the poor are hardly being taken into consideration. Such a state of affairs is sure to have backlashes, particularly for the government in terms of votes secured. An example of such an incident was that of the Chandra Babu Naidu Government. As reported in the Hindustan Times, "Though the state had made significant progress on the IT front and the reforms process had been initiated by the Chief Minister, the unrest in the interiors of Andhra Pradesh continued. Farmers were committing suicides and hunger and poverty had made life tougher for the common man."

It is but obvious that technological progress alone cannot help a country progress. Liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation may ensure availability of foreign exchange and high quality consumer goods, but it does not necessarily ensure a decent standard of living for the common man. On the other hand, it may lead to loss of livelihood, if policy implementation is not done with sufficient care and consideration.

The Deccan Herald reported on August 26, 2007 that the Central Government had approved of the iron ore mines in Bailadila, Chhattisgarh, to be opened up for steel giants Tata Steel and Essar to prospect for their steel projects.³³ The Tatas plan to set up a five million tonne steel plant at Bastar, in Chhattisgarh, and the iron ore would be used for that purpose.

Nearly four years before this article was published, The Times of India had come out with an article “Mining Plans Threaten Water Security: NGO”. The article spoke at length of a report by the non-governmental organisation, Kalpvriksh, about how mining activities are threatening some of India’s most ecologically sensitive places, including Bailadila. Such activity will also be interrupting drinking water supply to millions of people as many crucial catchments would be severely affected, including the Sankhini river at Bailadila.³⁶ Kalpvriksh called for “a rethink of development policies and introspection on the wasteful ways in which minerals are used”.

Counter Currents, an online journal which has articles on issues concerning common people, carried an article on how the mining industry is hurting not only the environment, but also human rights. “Refutation of the rights is characteristically multidimensional—one is the denial of the eligible rights of the people in mining zones, another is the flouting of law by the state machinery and third is the rights of the mineworkers,” said the article.

More importantly, the article talked of how privatisation, and subsequent mechanisation of mining, has led to the loss of livelihoods, and in cases where the workers protested, of life itself.

The mechanisation goes to such an extent that in future it may need only two or three workers to run the plant. The prophets of industrialisation talk about prosperity and creation of jobs, but what is actually happening is shocking. In the Bailadila mines, 10,000 labourers were rendered jobless at one stroke. All resistance was crushed. Ten thousand huts were burnt down, numerous women raped, and labourers fired upon. The orgy of mechanisation forced 10,000 labourers to face the desperation of hunger.

Similarly, the Government of India introduced Bt cotton to Indian farmers in March 1995. Though it initially met with some resistance, the farmers finally accepted the new variety of seeds, and took to it in a big way. And, to begin with, the effect was tremendous. The cotton acreage increased by 20%.

However, India being a monsoon dependent country, and irrigation not being up to the mark, there were soon problems with using this genetically modified plant variety. The technology was not well-suited for non-irrigated areas, and cotton is mostly grown in dry regions. Bt Cotton failed miserably for small farmers, in terms of both yield and expenses, and it also did not reduce pesticide use for them. The cost of cultivation rose to a great extent and the farmers earned no profit at all. In Vandana Shiva’s words,

The seeds aren’t tested, they aren’t adapted, the same seeds are sold across different climate zones, and they obviously don’t perform well. Instead of 1500 kilograms per acre, farmers get 200, 300, sometimes total failure; add to

this the fact that even if they have 300 kilograms of a bad cotton variety because its fibre is of a very inferior quality.

The crop failure hit farmers in Vidarbha and Andhra Pradesh particularly hard, and incidents of farmer suicides rose at an alarming rate. Dr Suman Sahai, the Director of an organisation called Gene Campaign, conducted a study on the introduction of Bt Cotton in India. The results announce, in no uncertain terms, that the government's zest to introduce private investment onto the agricultural sphere has cost the nation very dear. That the government has failed the people badly is most evident through this incident. "Despite specific knowledge that BT cotton would not work in rain fed areas, the government had introduced it in Vidarbha. The result was that in an area with a history of indebtedness, the high input costs of BT cotton had increased indebtedness," says a report about the study in *The Hindu*. It also says: "The study revealed that many farmers adopted BT cotton because they believed it was a 'government seed' and did not know that it was privately produced and marketed. They also accepted it because the government was actively promoting the technology." Farmers have been committing suicide in hundreds. Their government failed them.

The government is the elected representative of the people and their policies, therefore, should be directed towards the benefit of the people. If privatisation leads to loss of livelihood, if liberalisation introduces such poor quality of industrial inputs, it is then meaningless to continue with such policies.

True, the economic reforms had their benefits —the life of a middle class consumer improved manifold, foreign exchange reserves skyrocketed, our GDP increased to levels unparalleled in the past. However, the poor just ended up being poorer. Development should be holistic, and should necessarily take all sections of society under its purview.

Politics in India stems from the people. Political consensus in our country cannot be taken to mean only the various political parties. It is true that the various political parties in our country agree that the economic reforms were essential. Most object to the stand taken by the government when they are in power, but they themselves further the same policies when in power. Thus, even if not in words, indeed there is a definite political consensus, so far as political parties go.

But as far as the people of this country are concerned, only a minuscule urban middle and upper class have benefited from the reforms. Most of India still lives in her villages, and even the cities have a large number of people living below the poverty line. How far the reforms benefit these people should be a matter of concern. They have so far not found any advantage in the New Economic Policies, and their consensus on them is definitely missing. Not just all political parties, but also all sections of society should have consensus on the reform policies before they are instituted in India. Regrettably that is not the case till date.

VINOBA BHAVE AND THE BHOODAN (LAND GIFT) MOVEMENT

The Bhoodan Movement or Land Gift Movement was a voluntary land reform movement in India started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave in 1951 started at Pochampally village now known as Bhoodan Pochampally.

The father of the Bhoodan (Land Gift) Movement, a freedom fighter and spiritual leader, Vinoba Bhave was born at Gagode in Kolaba district, Maharashtra on September 11, 1895. Named Vinayak Narahari Bhave at birth, he was an ardent advocate of nonviolence and human rights and was conferred with the title of 'Acharya' (Revered Teacher).

Born in a pious Chitpavan Brahmin family, Vinoba was highly inspired after reading the Bhagavad Gita, Mahabharat, and Ramayan at a very early age. His father, Naraharishambhuroo Bhave was a devout Hindu and his mother, Rukmini Devi who died in 1918, was a great influence on him. In his memoir, Bhave states that, "There is nothing to equal the part my mother played in shaping my mind". Specifically, her devotion and spirituality moulded his personality. His two brothers, Balkoba Bhave and Shivaji Bhave, remained bachelors devoted to social work.

At a very young age Vinoba was deeply interested in Mathematics. In 1916, on his way to Mumbai to appear for the intermediate examination, Vinoba Bhave put his school and college certificates into a fire. It is believed that Vinoba took the decision after reading a newspaper article by Mahatma Gandhi. After a series of exchange of letters between Gandhi and Bhave, on 7 June, 1916 Vinoba went to meet Gandhi. Five years later, on 8 April, 1921, Vinoba went to Wardha to take charge of a Gandhi-ashram there. During his stay at Wardha, Bhave also brought out a monthly in Marathi, named, 'Maharashtra Dharma'. The monthly consisted of his essays on the Upanishads. Over the years, the bond between Vinoba and Gandhi grew stronger and his involvement in constructive programs for the society kept on increasing.

In 1932, while participating in the Indian Independence movement activities, he was sent to jail for six months in Dhulia. There, he taught the fellow prisoners about the different subjects of 'Bhagwad Gita', in Marathi. All the lectures given by him on Gita in Dhulia jail were collected and later published as a book.

Until 1940, Vinoba Bhave was known only to the people around him. Mahatma Gandhi, on 5 October, 1940, introduced Bhave to the nation by issuing a statement. He was also chosen as the first Individual Satyagrahi (an Individual standing up for Truth instead of a collective action) by Gandhi himself.

Vinoba's religious outlook was very broad and it synthesized the truths of many religions. This can be seen in one of his hymns "Om Tat" which contains symbols of many religions. Vinoba observed the life of the average Indian living in a village and tried to find solutions for the problems he faced with a firm spiritual foundation. This formed the core of his Sarvodaya (Awakening of all potentials) Movement.

He started the Bhoodan Movement or Land Gift Movement as a voluntary land reform movement in 1951 at Pochampally village in Telangana. He was inspired to start this after talking to 40 poor Harijan families. Its mission was to persuade wealthy landowners to voluntarily give a percentage of their land to lower castes. Vinoba Bhave walked across India on foot, to persuade landowners to give up a piece of their land. He was followed by crowds nearly everywhere he went. He asked rich landlords to consider him as one of their sons and give him a one seventh of their land which he then distributed to landless poor. Non-violence and compassion being a hallmark of his philosophy, he also campaigned against the slaughtering of cows.

As an experiment in voluntary social justice, Bhoodan attracted admiration throughout the world. There is little question that it created a social atmosphere in India that presaged land reform legislation activity throughout the country. It also had a tangible effect on the lives of many people: over 5 million acres (20,000 km) were donated.

In November 1982, Vinoba Bhave fell seriously ill and decided to end his life by refusing to accept any food and medicine during his last days. He died on 15 November, 1982.

REGIONAL IMBALANCES

All the countries of the world developed in equally. Some countries are highly developed economically and some other countries are still developing and some more are under developed. Several factors are responsible for such variations among the nations besides political factors as mentioned below:

1. The availability of sufficient natural resources,
2. The quality of human resources and also its quantity,
3. Abundance of financial resources, and
4. Technological skills, efficient management skills among the people.

The U.S.A, U.K., Western European nations, Japan, Australia, etc are the best examples for economically developed nations. India, China, Srilanka are some of the examples for developing nations. African nations, Bangladesh, etc are some examples for under developed nations.

Regional imbalances in India:

India acquired under development from the Britishers who ruled the country for several years. The Britishers did not encourage industrial development in India intentionally during their regime. The Britishers utilised India as the raw material supplier for their industries. Thus India used to supply raw materials for British and used to import the finished products.

There have been demands for separate states in India since independence. For instance demands for a separate Telangana state in Andhra Pradesh, a separate Vidharbha state in Maharashtra. In the recent past a separate Chhattisgarh state was created from Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand from Bihar

and Uttaranchal from Uttar Pradesh. These demands for separate states are mainly due to lack of economic development in such regions.

The economic development of a particular region is measured based on per capita income, gross state domestic product, poverty, unemployment, etc. In India, Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh, north eastern states are comparatively backward economically when compared to the remaining states. Maharashtra, Gujarat, Tamilnadu, and Punjab are comparatively highly developed. In Andhra Pradesh state, there are three regions namely the coastal region, the rayalaseema region and the telengana region. Among these three regions, the telangana is most backward due to lack of resources, negligence by successive governments, poor quality of infrastructural facilities, etc.

One of the main consequences of regional imbalances is the migration of people to the developed areas. For instance many skilled people from India migrate to the developed nations. Similarly within India, people from rural areas or under developed regions have been migrating to highly developed cities or regions. Hence the Mumbai city has been facing the menace of population pressure on its resources. The city's civic authorities have been facing a challenging task of providing the basic civic amenities to its citizens. Violence, law and order problems are the other consequences of such migrations to the developed regions from the under developed or developing regions. Almost all the major cities in India do face the very high intensity of population. Some of such cities are New Delhi, Kolkata, Chennai, Mumbai, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Pune, Ahmadabad, etc.

Population is the mother problem. Reducing the population growth rates, imparting high quality and compulsory education at all levels, reducing the dependency of people on primary activities, developing infrastructural facilities in the backward regions on urgent basis for encouraging trade, strict measures to contain corruption among some politicians and bureaucrats. There were some press reports that the money allocated for the developmental purposes was swallowed by greedy politicians and some corrupt officials. Such an attitude among them would not yield the desired results. To exploit natural resources in the backward regions, proper technology should be used.

To check the migration levels, the government has been implementing national rural employment guarantee scheme which is responsible for reducing the migration of rural people to urban areas for work during the agricultural lean season.

UNIT-III

CHALLENGES AGAINST NATION

STRUGGLES WITHIN THE NATION-THE SECESSIONIST MOVEMENTS

1. Kashmir

The secessionist movement in the Kashmir Valley started in April 1988 on account of a combination of various factors, both external and internal, around that time. These factors are:

1. External factors

- (i) Resurgence in the activities of the Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) following the return of Amanullah Khan (Chairman, JKLF) from UK to Pakistan in early 1987 and the nexus between the JKLF and Pakistan.
- (ii) Involvement of the intelligence agencies of Pakistan (Inter Services Intelligence Directorate and Field Intelligence Unit) in giving arms training to Kashmiri youth beginning February 1988.

2. Internal factors

- (i) Return of Pakistan-trained Kashmiri youth to Kashmir Valley from around April 1988 onwards.
- (ii) Leadership provided to the secessionists in initial stages by Shabir Ahmed Shah following his release from detention in May 1988.
- (iii) Expulsion of the J&K JEI from the Muslim United Front giving a new vigour to its anti-national activities since it was no longer inhibited by electoral constraints.
- (iv) Tactical alliance of the J&K JEI with the secessionist forces, including the People's league (PL), Islamic Students' League (ISL) and Islami Jamaat-e-Tulba (IJT).
- (v) Estrangement between Dr. Farooq Abdullah and Maulvi Farooq (Chairman, Awami Action Committee) in early 1988 driving the latter to adopt a pro-militant stance.
- (vi) A political vacuum that was created following the alliance between the NC-F and the Cong (I) which was exploited by the secessionist and anti-national forces.

3. Other factors.

- (i) Support of People's Conference, Awami Action Committee and Ummat-e-Islami to the movement for the removal of the Farooq Abdullah government.

- (ii) Growing pro-Islamic content of the secessionist movement and increasing exploitation of religion by the secessionists and fundamentalists.
- (iii) Inter and intra-party dissensions among the alliance partners (NC-F and Cong-I) and inadequate political and administrative response to firmly tackle the situation.

Since April 1988, a distinct momentum was imparted to the terrorist movement, largely on account of the activities of the JKLF and the People's League. Infiltrations were still few and smuggling of sophisticated weapons was still in a nascent stage. Some amount of explosives were however, brought in, using smuggling routes with smugglers acting as conduits. It was after the release of Shabir Ahmed Shah in May 1988 that the various secessionist groups began to take an organised approach in their actions and activities. There was no coordinated leadership as yet, but JKLF elements were being guided and instigated from Pakistan. This was essentially a preparatory stage and the failure of the State administration to take action at the incipient stage was clearly an encouragement to the militant elements.

By the end of August 1988, the JKLF, the People's League and the ISL had acquired a capacity to engage in organised violence. This was well demonstrated by the violent incidents lasting for nearly 5 days, following the death of General Zia. The violence crippled activities in several parts of the Valley. The violent incidents of August were followed by a series of explosions in parts of Srinagar city during September. There was also evidence of better planning and well-directed attacks against individuals. DIG Kashmir, A.M.Watali, was one such target of an armed attack, though he escaped. There was also enough evidence to show increasing interest and directions from the Pakistani intelligence agencies to build up a coordinated movement with a single focus.

There was a qualitative change in the pattern of violence after January 1989. The use of sophisticated fire-arms and extensive use of explosives, mostly imported from Pakistan, greatly transformed the situation. Selective explosions were used to create an atmosphere of tension or panic. The number of infiltrations by Pakistan-returned Kashmiri youth also went up.

1989 saw a succession of agitations by the various secessionist groups. Some of the calls were given by individual groups but almost all were endorsed by the various militant formations. 26 January was observed as 'Black Day'. Considerable violence occurred all over the Valley on 11 February on the occasion of the death anniversary of Maqbool Butt. Serious violence erupted again in several parts of the valley in protest against Salman Rushdie's book despite the fact that the book had already been banned in India. For nearly 5 days almost all activity in the valley came to a halt. Even more serious violence occurred during April-May, the first lasting for nearly a week protesting against the arrest of Kashmiri youth by the police and the second, for 4 days in the name of the 'Quit Kashmir' movement.

Meanwhile, Kashmiri youth continued to cross over to Pakistan and Pakistan Occupied Kashmir in small groups. These youth were trained in the use

of explosives to blow up bridges and buildings and were also given training in sophisticated fire-arms. Considerable quantities of sophisticated explosives including timing devices and AK-47 rifles were also made available to these individuals. Guidance by Pakistani intelligence agencies was also forthcoming and it was suggested that the targets should be selective and intended to make the Kashmiri people rise against the Indian government and bring down the State government in Kashmir. Threatening letters were also sent to non-Kashmiris and Hindus asking them to quit the valley. Thereafter, a major campaign began for a pro-Islamic reform movement led by the JEI J&K and its front organisations like Hizb-e-Islami and Hizb-e-Mujahideen. This was accompanied by selective attacks against pro-accession political activists, police/security agencies, government establishments and members of the minority community (Hindus). With the advent of strong reformist threats, the level of subversion went up.

The nature and content of the subversive threat in the valley acquired a momentum of its own. By the last quarter of 1989, the agitations were increasingly characterised by spontaneity, and incidents of violence became extensive and affected larger areas, including rural places. In the Kashmir Valley, Srinagar remained the focus of violence followed by Baramulla, Anantnag, Pulwama, Badgam and Kupwara districts. Following the rise in the intensity of militant violence, including assassinations and intimidation of political opponents, the traditional political parties became inactive and marginalised. As a result, the poll boycott call (November 22 and 24) given by the secessionist groups was successful. Most of the electorate also refrained from exercising their franchise. In the two PCs (Baramulla and Anantnag) where elections were held, the percentage of polling was 5%.

The growing pro-Islamic content of the secessionist movement and the increasing fundamentalism of the J&K JEI provided further fillip to the secessionist movement in the valley. The militant faction of the J&K JEI led by S.A.S. Gillani (ex-MLA) steadily gained ground in 1990-91 and also maintained a rapport with the militants in the secessionist movement. The J&K JEI systematically extended its influence to the Muslim majority districts of the Jammu region, particularly Doda district. In the wake of the increasing fundamentalist thrust, Hindus and their establishments became the targets of attack in the Kashmir Valley as also in Doda district of Jammu region, particularly after the 'Shilanyas' (9 November 1989) at Ayodhya. This created panic among the Hindus in the valley.

The administrative response to growing threats of secessionism, subversion and terrorism, which was inadequate to start with, had by and large collapsed by the middle of 1989. Some initial successes during 1988 and early months of 1989 that resulted in the capture of arms and arrests of Pak-trained militants, could not be sustained. Since the successful observance of a 4-day 'Quit Kashmir Movement' (11-14 May 1989), the subversives gradually acquired full sway over the valley with both the State administration and secular parties in the retreat. With the growing failure of the State government to meet the secessionists' challenge, the pace of subversion including those in government services - police, acquired momentum and by the end of 1989, it was the secessionist elements

whose writ ran in the valley. Efforts to confront them led to large scale violence and resistance.

During January, following the promulgation of Governor's rule (January 19), attempts of the State Government to assert its authority through deployment of security forces and curfew restrictions resulted in resistance and confrontation. Secessionists, in a change of tactics, organised a large number of processions and demonstrations which submitted a memorandum to the UN office at Srinagar. This was followed by attempts to inject elements of civil disobedience affecting the functioning of government offices. Mosques and the clergy gradually became a very significant component in mobilising the support of the masses for the movement. The morale of the secessionists and the people were sustained by a propaganda blitz from across the border, holding out hope of intervention and support of the Islamic world. The feeling of alienation among the common people was further sustained on the plank of alleged excesses by security forces.

Since March 1990, militant violence which was earlier confined to Srinagar city proliferated to rural belts in all parts of the Kashmir Valley. In a bid to wipe out nationalist forces and disrupt political process in the Kashmir Valley, the militants subjected political activists and their property to continuous attacks. The militants assassinated a number of pro-accession political leaders including Abdul Sattar Ranjoor (State C.P.I leader- 23 March) Ghulam Nabi Butt (Ex-MLA, Cong I- 24 March), Anwar Khan (NOT leader- 25 March), Mir Mustafa (Ex MLA- 25 March), Sheikh Abdul Jabbar (Ex Minister- 18 April), Shiekh Mohd Mansoor (Ex MLA NC/F- 11 May), Maulvi Mohd Farooq (Chairman, Awami Action Committee- 21 May) and Maulana Masoodi (veteran NC leader- 13 Dec). The sudden spurt in political assassinations led to large scale resignations from the pro-accession parties. Thus, normal political activities gradually came to an end.

Simultaneously, the militants intensified attacks against government employees and offices to demoralise the administration. By December 1990, around 300 government employees including 131 security personnel were killed by militants. Prominent among those killed were A.K. Raina (Dy Director Supplies- 20 March), H.L. Khera (G.M. HMT Factory Zainakote- 10 April), Prof. Musheer-ul-Haq (V.C., Kashmir University), J.N. Raina (Jt. Director Sericulture, 26 June), Abdul Aziz (Addl Dy. Commissioner, Srinagar- 29 June) and Parvez Qadiri (Conservator of Forests- 20 Aug). These killings generated unprecedented fear psychosis among the government employees and paralysed the normal functioning of the administration. The militants also forced the State government employees to go on strike on one pretext or the other. The last spell of the 72-day strike (15 Sept to 25 Nov) was unprecedented.

Growing communalisation of the secessionist movement in the valley coupled with the killing of Hindus (173 till Dec) by the militants caused panic among non Muslims leading to a mass exodus. Over 40,000 Hindus and 1500 Sikh families left the valley. Most of them traversed to Jammu causing considerable strain on the communal situation in the city and its environs, besides socio-economic complications.

Proliferation of a large number of militant groups, mostly at the behest of Pakistani intelligence agencies, led to growing confusion and splintering among their ranks during 1990. Efforts to float a United Front, politically through the J&K Tehrik-e-Hurriyat (a conglomerate of 11 secessionist bodies) and on a militant plane, through the United Jihad Council, both pro-Pakistan bodies, suffered due to the JKLF (pro- Independence) remaining outside their purview. Worried over persisting intra and inter group dissensions among the major militant groups of JKLF, PL and Hizbul Mujahideen, Pakistani authorities initiated a series of discussions with Kashmiri militant leaders in Pakistan and Kathmandu after September 1990. Plans to close ranks and coalesce a United Front to sharpen the militant struggle remained major areas of consideration. The higher intensity of violence since August 1990, coinciding with up gradation in induction of sophisticated arms, was generally sustained. This was despite the large number of arrests of Kashmiri militants and increasing recovery of arms. Sustained pressure of security forces to an extent contained the situation and the trend of violence. Despite strengthening border vigil, clandestine movement of men and material continued.

2. Punjab

Khalistan movement refers to a political secessionist movement which seeks to create a separate Sikh country, called Khālistān ("The Land of the Pure") in the Punjab region of South Asia. The territorial definition of the proposed country consists of the state of the Punjab region.

Following India's independence in 1947, The Punjabi Suba Movement led by the Akali Dal aimed at creation of a Punjabi-majority state ("subah") in the Punjab region of India in the 1950s. The States Reorganization Commission did not recognize Punjabi as being grammatically very distinct from Hindi and rejected the demand for a Punjabi state and proponents are said to be deprived of the argument that their demand was solely linguistic.

On 4 July 1955 the Indian police under orders of the Congress Party assaulted peaceful protesters part of the Punjabi Suba Morcha and invaded the vicinity of the Harmandir Sahib firing teargas bombs to disperse the devotees, some of the teargas shells are reported to have fell into the Sarovar (holy water). Hundreds of Sikhs were humiliated, beaten with lathi's and rifles and arrested; this included several hundred Sikh women. For demanding Punjabi to be the official language of the Punjab a total of 12000 Sikhs were arrested for their peaceful demonstrations in 1955 including several Akali leaders including Tara Singh, Gurcharan Singh Tohra, and Jathedar of Akal Takht Achchhar Singh. The troops also went out on a flag march, first through the streets of Amritsar Sahib and then around the Harmander Sahib complex itself, where police established themselves in charge for 4 days.

Following the Indo-Pak war of 1965 Punjabi was finally recognized as the official language of Punjab in 1966 when the Punjab land was further split into the states of Himachal Pradesh, the new state Haryana and Current Day Punjab

In 1971, Khalistan proponent Jagjit Singh Chauhan, traveled to the United States. He placed an advertisement in The New York Times proclaiming the formation of Khalistan and was able to collect millions of dollars. On 12 April 1980, he held a meeting with the Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi before declaring the formation of "National Council of Khalistan", at Anandpur Sahib. He declared himself as the President of the Council and Balbir Singh Sandhu as its Secretary General. In May 1980, Jagjit Singh Chauhan travelled to London and announced the formation of Khalistan. A similar announcement was made by Balbir Singh Sandhu, in Amritsar, who released stamps and currency of Khalistan. The inaction of the authorities in Amritsar and elsewhere was decried by Akali Dal headed by the Sikh leader Harchand Singh Longowal as a political stunt by the Congress (I) party of Indira Gandhi.

The Khalistan movement reached its zenith in 1970s and 1980s, flourishing in the Indian state of Punjab, which has a Sikh-majority population and has been the traditional homeland of the Sikh religion. Various pro-Khalistan outfits have been involved in a separatist movement against the government of India ever since. There are claims of funding from Sikhs outside India to attract young people into these pro-Khalistan militant groups.

In the 1980s, some of the Khalistan proponents turned to militancy, resulting in counter-militancy operations by the Indian security forces. In one such operation, Operation Blue Star (June 1984), the Indian Army led by the Sikh General Kuldeep Singh Brar forcibly entered the Harimandir Sahib (the Golden Temple) to overpower the armed militants and the religious leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. The handling of the operation, damage to the Akal Takht (which is one of the five seats of temporal physical religious authority of the Sikhs) and loss of life on both sides, led to widespread criticism of the Indian Government. Many Sikhs strongly maintain that the attack resulted in the desecration of the holiest Sikh shrine. The Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her two Sikh bodyguards in retaliation. Following her death, thousands of Sikhs were massacred in the 1984 anti-Sikh riots, termed as genocide by the Sikh groups.

In January 1986, the Golden Temple was occupied by militants belonging to All India Sikh Students Federation and Damdami Taksal. On 26 January 1986, the gathering passed a resolution (gurmattā) favouring the creation of Khalistan. Subsequently, a number of rebel militant groups in favour of Khalistan waged a major insurgency against the government of India. Indian security forces suppressed the insurgency in the early 1990s, but Sikh political groups such as the Khalsa Raj Party and SAD (A) continued to pursue an independent Khalistan through non-violent means. Pro-Khalistan organizations such as Dal Khalsa (International) are also active outside India, supported by a section of the Sikh diaspora.

3. Assam

The Assamese Separatist Movement is a result of Assamese nationalism. The alleged neglect and economic exploitation by the Indian state are the main reasons behind the growth of this secessionist movement. Both

sides - the ULFA and the Indian state are unwilling to compromise on sovereignty and the common people of Assam have been paying the price for it.

The United Liberation Front of Assam seeks to establish a sovereign Assam via an armed struggle in the Assam conflict. The Government of India had banned the organization in 1990 and classifies it as a terrorist group, while the US State Department lists it under "Other groups of concern".

ULFA claims to have been founded at the site of Rang Ghar on April 7, 1979, a historic structure from the Ahom kingdom. Military operations against it by the Indian Army that began in 1990 continue till present. In the past two decades some 30,000 people have died in the clash between the rebels and the government.

Though Assamese nationalism is a strong and popular sentiment, it is disputed if the secessionist movement enjoys popular support any longer. On the other hand, strong Assamese nationalism can be found in Assamese literature and culture. The neglect and exploitation by the Indian state are common refrains in the Assamese-language media. There are instances when even the ULFA leaders are seen as saviours.

Internationally acclaimed Assamese novelist Indira Goswami has been trying to broker peace for several years between the rebels and the government. In a recent development Hiren Gohain, a public intellectual has stepped in to expedite the process.

4. Telengana

In recent years, the South Indian state of Andhra Pradesh has experienced a growing incidence of the violence that has been a cornerstone of the history of the region of South Asia. The continuing demand for separate statehood for the Telangana people, which began in early 1969, gained ground in 2009 with renewed political pressure and public protests. The October 2012 Telangana March is the latest in a series of violent spats between protesters and the police.

Background of the violence:

The demands for a separate Telangana state have had a long history, despite its comparatively recent conflict expansion and media prominence. After India's independence, the Indian government in 1953 prepared for the reorganisation of the princely states along linguistic lines. As a result of linguistic contiguity of the Telangana region of the erstwhile Hyderabad state, the region was merged with Seemandhra to form the modern state of Andhra Pradesh. Para 378 of the States Reorganisation Committee report noted the concern of the educationally disadvantaged people of the region that they would be "exploited by the more advanced people of the coastal areas". However, the Gentlemen's Agreement of Andhra Pradesh was signed by Telangana and Andhra leaders, agreeing upon certain safeguards for the interests of the Telangana people, and in 1956 the state was formed.

While political negotiations between Telangana parties and the government have continued since the state's formation till date, significant violence did not break out until late 2009 (excluding a brief spate of large-scale violence in 1969). Large scale violence began on the 1st of November 2009, and has continued to this day, gaining nationwide significance and garnering participation from many spheres of society. Most recently, the Telangana March of 30th September 2012, a Gandhian march intended to amass support for the formation of the Telangana state, turned violent as student and public protesters threw stones at police officers attempting to contain the march.

What is the cause for the conflict?

A large part of the conflict is rooted in the differences in economic positions of the two groups. The Telangana region, with a population of approximately 35 million people (or 41% of the state's population), is one of the most backward regions of India. It faced several problems such as illiteracy, poverty and unemployment rates far in excess of the erstwhile Seemandhra region. As a result of the proposed merger therefore, the Telangana people were afraid of the potential of non-native resettlers to exploit them. It was feared that Andhra people would secure the large part of the jobs available to Telangana, as a result of higher educational levels. In addition to education and employment, resource allocation is a large concern to the Telangana people. Despite the fact that approximately 75% of the entire state's water catchment area lies within Telangana, only 32% of the state's water has been allocated to the region.

Why is the conflict so protracted?

There are several resisting forces contributing to a protracted struggle for the region. A large degree of resistance arises from the fact that Hyderabad, the capital city of present-day Andhra Pradesh, lies in the region claimed by the Telangana people. Hyderabad, being the sixth most populous city in India, is a treasure that the Andhra Pradesh government is vehemently opposed to giving up. In addition to large national investments, the city also has garnered massive foreign investments and houses several multinational firms in the IT services sector. As a result, the Andhra people feel that the "benefits reaped from Hyderabad must be accessible to all those who have been equal stakeholders in the city's development". In addition, the Telangana region as a whole accounts for more than 50 percent of the entire state's revenue. Finally, with large investments in dams and considerable coal infrastructure in the region, it is greatly undesirable for the Andhra government to allow the separation of Telangana.

What was the purpose?

Although peaceful negotiations to settle the issue have been conducted several times over the centuries (and particularly in the 2000s), it is clear that they did little to force the government to accede to their demands. Indeed, the massive riots in December 2009, for the first time, elicited a response from the Home Minister that the government "had decided to bifurcate Andhra Pradesh", setting a precedence for the successful use of violence to achieve a political goal. Despite the fact that the decision did not come to pass, the precedence convinced

the protesters that future negotiations would only be effective with some degree of violence. The purpose of the violence hence is rather evident. Violence was therefore used as a political tool, to emphasise the extent of the Telangana people's feeling of injustice, and has been a bid to make their demand for independent statehood more credible in the eye of the central government.

While violence has been commonly used since the 2009 riots, the scale however has been considerably small in comparison to other ethnic and religious conflicts in the region. News reports from Full Hyderabad and CNN-IBN suggest that during the 30th September Telangana March, approximately twenty people were injured water cannon and tear gas shells, and a further twenty police officers by stone pelting from protesters. These injury numbers are surprisingly low considering that as many as 100,000 people took to the streets in protest.

Who were the targets?

The fact that three media vehicles were set afire and a restaurant and amusement park were also attacked seems to suggest the lack of a specific target. One might say indeed, that since the violence was in large part a display of determination and strength in numbers, it was, by its very nature, targeted at no particular group. While the sporadic violence could be attributed to the strong angers of the protesters, it becomes increasingly clear that the violence that occurred during the Telangana March was not so much externally influenced (such as through communal insecurity), as it was a planned attempt to display the solidarity of the Telangana people and the seriousness of their demands.

How was the violence organised?

The Telangana March itself, was organised by the Telangana Joint Action Committee (JAC), a collaboration of the pro-Telangana political parties. Although originally disallowed, the march was finally permitted by the government under strict assurances by the JAC leaders that the rally would be peaceful. Indeed, this appears to be evidence suggesting that the violence was unorganised and spontaneous, vindicating the JAC of any blame for stoking the passions of the pro-Telangana protesters. However, it seems likely given events later the same day, that the JAC played an organisational, or at the very least enabling, role for the violence. In addition to making speeches during the rally, JAC convenor Mr M Kodandaram, asked supporters to violate the 7pm deadline issued by the government, to carry on the protests and await an announcement from the government that their demands would be granted.

Did the violence achieve its purpose?

The state government has, to date, made no concrete statement in response to the agitation, despite being convinced of the seriousness of the pro-Telangana protesters' demands. In this regard, the history of the Telangana movement and its events shed considerable light on the government's lack of response. In the 2009 riots, the government's quick action in announcing that the state would be bifurcated resulted in a quick agitation caused by Andhraite people and the resignation of 100 Members of Legislative Assembly (MLAs),

leaving the government having to decide between two equally undesirable plans of action.

Another significant reason for the ineffectiveness of the violence in achieving its purpose is one that is endogenous instead of exogenous, and it can be understood in terms of strategy. Since 2006, pro-Telangana protests have often included a large number of strikes, with varying degrees of participation from different sections of the Telangana population. The most significant of these strikes was the February 2011 non-cooperation movement, which cost the state exchequer over eight billion rupees each day, and garnered the participation of 300,000 government employees and a significant number of MPs, MLAs, and students. Evidently, the monetary loss was staggering, and applied great pressure on the government to make a move on the resolution of the issue.

At the same time, the risks of arrest, physical harm and unemployment that strikers experience exacted great pressure on them to give up the strike. In several such cases, the commitment of the protesters was undermined by their premature abandonment of the strike. The railway strike of October 2011 was a prime example of this, when the strike was called off after 42 days, as government employees returned to their jobs to avail of a Diwali bonus offered to them by the government. In the case of the Telangana March too, despite vowing to break regulations and remain at the protest venue until an announcement was made by the government, the protesters retreated at midnight quoting the strong rains as the reason.

The primary reason for the failure of the protest, both on the day of the Telangana March, as well as thus far in general, was the poor credibility of the protesters' threats. As a result of these repeated abandonments of strikes and protests, the government is able to resist the demands by forcing protesters off the streets. Therefore in order to make the protests more effective, a strategic move to enhance the resilience of the protesters and the JAC would be required, in order that the threats are accorded more credibility.

What is the solution?

From a strategic viewpoint, in order to enhance the credibility of the threat of strike and rally, protesters would need to raise the scale of violence, by increasingly conducting targeted operations in order to force the government into acceding to their demands. This could involve covert and insurgent operations that strategically increase the pressure applied on the government more than proportionately to the increase in risks faced by the protesters.

However, the constructive solution as opposed to the strategic, would be for the government to initially begin by addressing the major concerns of the protesters of unequal treatment and discrimination, by reallocating resources to the development of the region, and to then begin by detailing legal and constitutional frameworks for the equitable division of the state, to address the long-term social and cultural concerns of the Telangana people, as well as the economic considerations of the Andhra people.

Final notes:

The movement for independent statehood for the Telangana people, though an already protracted issue, has happily escaped the consequences of transvaluation, where anger directed towards the government for the poor management of economic differences between the regions could transcend into the level of the society and spark angers between the peoples of the regions. In order to prevent what is yet a relatively peaceful separatist movement, from evolving into a bloody and protracted communal struggle (as has oft been the case in South Asia) the government needs to take action and devise a solution at the policy level that provides concrete, enforceable safeguards for the interests of the Telangana people.

PEASANT MOVEMENTS IN INDIA**THE TELENGANA MOVEMENT: PEASANT PROTESTS IN INDIA, 1946-51**

The peasant insurrection of 1946-51 in the Telengana region of the erstwhile Hyderabad state was a pivotal moment in Indian history because of its impact on the future of the communist movement in India and its highlighting of the condition of the Indian peasantry. It brought the struggles of the peasantry to the forefront and serves as a reminder of the sacrifices made by the people of this region in fighting against the autocratic rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad and the feudal regime that concentrated power and land in the hands of a few.

Social Background

Before Indian independence, Hyderabad state was a princely state within the territory of British India, comprised of three linguistic regions: the Telugu-speaking Telengana area (including the capital city, Hyderabad), the Marathi-speaking Marathwada area, and a small Kannada-speaking area. Telengana occupied 50% of the state's area. The ruling elites, including the Nizam, were Muslims, while the majority were Hindus.

The nature of land ownership in the region was extremely exploitative. Forty percent of the land was either directly owned by the Nizam or given by the Nizam to elites in the form of *jagirs* (special tenures). The remaining sixty percent was under the government's land revenue system, which relied on powerful landlords and gave no legal rights or security from eviction to the people actually cultivating the land. Other exploitative practices were widespread. The *vetti* (forced labour) system consisted of work performed by lower castes at the will of the landlord. For example, each so-called "untouchable" family was required to send one man everyday to do household labour and other jobs for the landlord. Another practice was "the prevalence of keeping girls as 'slaves' in landlords' houses... used by landlords as concubines".

The large landowners had taken over significant tracts of land, either through forced occupation or debt-sales. A small number of prominent landlords owned lands in the range of 30,000 to 100,000 acres, and 550 landlords owned land above 500 acres, amounting to about 60-70% of the cultivable land. The exaction from the peasants was immense, as "110 of them [landlords] used to

collect 100,000,000 rupees every year,” while the official revenue income of the whole Hyderabad state was no more than 80,000,000 rupees.

Political Background

In the 1920s, the suppression of languages and cultures provoked resistance, which eventually led to more wide-ranging agitations. At a Hindu Social Reform Conference held in 1922, a speaker attempting to give his address in Telugu was hooted out, leading several elders to form the *Andhra Jan Sangham* (“Andhra People’s Association”) “with the objective of securing a proper place for Telugu language and culture in Hyderabad City”. The group began to move beyond language issues, and in 1928, the *Andhra Mahasabha* (AMS) was organised. AMS, with membership limited to the urban educated elite, was largely concerned with reforms in administration, demands for more schools, concessions for the landed, and civil liberties.

Soon, though, a group of newly radicalized youth, including Ravi Narayan Reddy, joined the AMS. With their entry, a change was evident, which is reflected in the demands of the group’s 1934 conference: reduced land revenue rates, abolition of *vetti*, and the introduction of Telugu into the local courts. The advent of the Second World War saw the beginning of communist influence on the AMS, and in 1942, with the removal of the ban on the Communist Party of India (CPI); the communists began to grow in Hyderabad. By 1943, the CPI had built a strong organisation in Telengana. The AMS was evolving into a radical nationalist organisation, collaborating with the communists to organize the peasantry. In the 11th session of the AMS in 1944, under the presidentship of Ravi Narayan Reddy, a split occurred and the right wing of the organisation was ousted.

Following the split, the AMS conducted several struggles against powerful landlords, opposing *vetti*, illegal exactions and forced eviction. The communists, along with AMS, began gaining ground in several districts, especially among the agricultural labourers, poor tenants and small landholders, and started forming *sanghams* (village-level committees).

The Spark

Tensions mounted when Visnur Ramachandra Reddy, a hereditary tax collector, attempted to forcibly take land belonging to a member of a village *sangham*. He sent a group of 100 goons and 100 servants to forcibly gather the harvest. They were resisted by the local village *sangham* leaders and volunteers. The next day, six leaders of the *sangham* were arrested at the call of the landlord. On July 4, 1946, a procession was organised by the villagers protesting the violence and terrorism of the landlord’s goons. As they approached the landlord’s house, some of the goons opened fire on the procession, leading to the death of Doddi Komarayya, the *sangham* leader. News spread to the nearby villages. People came with hay and fuel to burn down the landlord’s house. At this point, the landlord’s son arrived with 200 goons. Sixty policemen also arrived on the scene, assuring the people that strict action would be taken against the goons. The crowd dispersed, and – despite the police assurances – the goons were handed back to the landlord, and cases were filed against the *sangham* leaders.

The death of Komarayya enraged the people, sparking a massive revolt amongst the Telengana peasantry, with people from neighboring villages marching, holding meetings in front of the landlords' house, and declaring: "*Sangham* is organised here. No more *vetti*, no more illegal exactions, no evictions". By the end of July, the movement had spread to about 300-400 villages across three districts. Several landlords and officials hurriedly left the villages. Volunteer groups were organised to defend peasants from attacks; their weapons were sticks and stones.

In response, the police, with the help of landlords, conducted a series of search operations, leading villagers to arm themselves. In October 1946, the Nizam's government banned the AMS, and a spurt of arrests and military raids took place. Under these conditions of martial rule, some landlords began returning. The agitated masses, in one case, beat up a landlord who had insulted one of the women in the *sangham*, and this news spread like wildfire. The villagers also used leaflets that threatened severe action against the police if they indulged in violent activities.

During this first phase of the movement, the people were able, in several areas, to "put an end to *vetti*, illegal exactions, compulsory grain levies, and...reoccupy the lands seized earlier by the landlords" while also "resisting the landlords' armed goondas [goons]" and facing "the armed police and the military forces of the Nizam".

Razakar Terror

In August 1947, when India became independent, Hyderabad state exercised the option of remaining autonomous. The bulk of the ruling majority, including the Nizam, the nobility and the Majlis-I-Ittehad (MII), a fundamentalist Islamic organisation within Hyderabad, supported the call for *Azad* ("Free") *Hyderabad*. However, the majority of the population favoured joining the Indian union, and so the communists and AMS aligned with the Congress¹, in a broad pro-merger, anti-Nizam alliance. There were several ideological conflicts between the Congress and communists, and by January 1948, the alliance ceased to function.

At this point, the MII started growing in militancy. Its paramilitary force, the *razakars*, was sent in hordes to suppress the peasant insurrection. They "raided and plundered the troubled villages, arrested or killed suspected and potential agitators, terrorized the innocent, and also abducted women as part of the campaign of punitive measures against the turbulent villages all over Hyderabad, but particularly in Telengana". The communists formed "village republics (*gram rajyams*) which functioned as parallel government in the areas under their control. Groups of volunteers, called *dalams*, were organised to ensure fighting squads when the *razakars* and/or police made raids...By April 1948 the communists were able to organize six 'area-squads' (each with twenty fighters), and about fifty 'village squads'". This helped in the expansion of the movement, with a parallel administration established in almost 4000 villages.

In February 1948, the CPI introduced a new policy aimed at encouraging guerrilla offensives, largely influenced by the success of the Telengana insurrection. The village republics started redistributing land to landless agricultural labourers and evicted tenants, increasing the popularity of the movement. By the end of August 1948, almost 10,000 peasants, students and party workers actively involved themselves in the village squads and some 2,000 formed mobile guerilla squads.

POLICE ACTION BY THE INDIAN ARMY

On September 13, 1948, in a 'police action' aimed at countering the violence in Hyderabad, the Indian Army marched into the state. Within a week's time, the Nizam, the *razakar* squads and the police surrendered. Following the capture of the *razakars*, a military administration was set up under General J.N. Chaudhuri, and a military offensive was directed at the peasant rebels in the Telengana region. During the next three years, "in more than 2000 villages... 300,000 of people were tortured; about 50,000 were arrested and kept in (detention) camps for a few days to a few months. More than 5,000 were imprisoned for years".

The Indian Army's presence transformed the struggle, as it was no more a liberation struggle against the Nizam, but rather against the army of the newly-formed Indian Government. In an effort to co-opt peasant support, the military administration issued the Jagir Abolition Regulation (August 1949) and set up an Agrarian Enquiry Committee to recommend comprehensive land reform legislation. It was clear, though, whose side the state was on; within two weeks the landlords started returning and regaining their lost land. General J.N. Chaudhuri, the military governor made a statement from Hyderabad, calling all "communists to surrender within a week, failing which they would be exterminated".

A debate ensued within the CPI. Certain sections felt that giving up arms was essential. Other sections were skeptical, as they felt that giving up arms could lead to loss of gains and appear as a betrayal of the people. With the division in the leadership, some groups gave up arms, while others continued to hold on to them.

In the Godavari forest region, the call for disarming was not given, and the military repression was intense. Between June-December 1949, several agricultural labourer strikes occurred in the area. The armed *dalams* were now hiding in the forests, and large combing operations took place to hunt them down. The indigenous population in the forests protected the *dalams*. In one instance, the local people were forcibly evacuated to the outskirts of the forest, and the army burned down their hamlets and resorted to mass murders.

By the end of 1950, only isolated guerrilla groups existed, there was little coordination among village republics, and the severe military repression had taken its toll on the population, with a huge loss of life, and the movement weakened. By early 1951, Congress government made several conciliatory

gestures towards the CPI and, after several rounds of negotiations, the CPI formally declared the struggle withdrawn on October 21, 1951.

CONCLUSION

The Telengana movement represents the culmination of efforts by communist and socialist parties in the first few decades of the communist movement. The untiring efforts organising and mobilising the peasantry against grave injustices represented a break away from traditionally more moderate reformist movements within the peasantry. Although the exact significance and value of the Telengana movement is fiercely debated, one cannot deny the role of the movement in bringing the question of the peasantry to the fore of the communist movement; in actively organising people against caste injustices; and in radically redefining the need for strong organisational structure, which was a key factor in the growth of the movement.

NAXALBARI MOVEMENT

Naxalbari is a small village in the southern part of India's Bengal province. The Naxalite movement, now known by many other names, is supposed to have originated from here. The CPI (Leninist-Marxist) emerged when the Indian Communist Party broke up into several factions in 1967. In its initial years this faction championed the cause of local farmers and labourers and its influence was confined to West Bengal. Gradually, however, this movement spread to nearly all rural areas of central and eastern India, in particular Andhra Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Orissa, Bihar and Jharkhand which became its main hub. Now, the Indian Prime Minister himself has more than once stated that the movement is the foremost threat to India's internal security.

The Naxalite movement derives its name from a small village Naxalbari on the tri-junction of India, Nepal and what was then East Pakistan, where tribals took up arms against the oppression of the landlords in 1967. The movement spread like wildfire to different parts of the country. Some of the finest brains and the cream of India's youth in certain areas left their homes and colleges to chase the dream of a new world, a new social order. Two decades had passed since the dawn of independence and yet large segments of the Indian population – peasants, workers and tribals – continued to suffer the worst forms of exploitation. The peaceful political process, it was felt, would not be able to bring about the necessary change because vested interests controlled the levers of power, regulated the wheels of industry and had a feudal stranglehold over the predominantly agrarian economy. An armed struggle was the only way out, they thought.

GENESIS

The Santhal tribals of Naxalbari, armed with bows and arrows, forcibly occupied the land of the *kulaks* and ploughed them to establish their ownership. Demonstrations were organized against persons holding paddy in their godowns. In many cases, the entire stocks were lifted and distributed or sold locally at cheaper rates. There were violent clashes. Between March and May 1967, nearly a hundred incidents were reported to the police. The situation progressively

deteriorated. After some dithering, the West Bengal government ordered the police to take action. The movement was squashed, but “Naxalbari exploded many a myth”.

The extremists, following Mao’s dictum that “if there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party”, formed, on April 22, 1969, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). It was declared that “the first and foremost task of our Party is to rouse the peasant masses in the countryside to wage guerrilla war, unfold agrarian revolution, build rural base, use the countryside to encircle the cities and finally to capture the cities and to liberate the whole country”.

The Chinese Communist Party welcomed the formation of the CPI(ML). The Marxist-Leninist groups of other countries like UK, Albania and Sri Lanka also extended their recognition.

THE RISE

The Naxalite movement, drawing inspiration from the Maoist ideology, had a meteoric phase for about two years from the formation of the party till the end of June 1971. The ripples starting from Naxalbari spread in ever-widening circles to practically all parts of the country. The only areas which remained untouched were the north-eastern states and the Union Territories of Goa, Pondicherry and Andaman & Nicobar Islands. The dominant strand of the movement was the annihilation of class enemies. It was viewed as a “higher form of class struggle and the beginning of guerilla war”. Charu’s assessment was that “every corner of India is like a volcano” about to erupt, that “there is the possibility of a tremendous upsurge in India”, and he therefore called upon the cadres to start as many points of armed struggle as possible. “Expand anywhere and everywhere” was his message. Such expansions were particularly noticeable in Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh, Debra-Gopiballavpur in West Bengal, Mushahari in Bihar and Palia in Lakhimpur district of UP.

The Naxalite violence was at a peak from about the middle of 1970 to the middle of 1971. It is estimated that there were a total of about 4,000 incidents in the country from the middle of 1970 to the middle of 1971. The bulk of these were from West Bengal (3,500) followed by Bihar (220) and Andhra Pradesh (70).

The political parties realized the emergence of a new force. The government became conscious of a new threat not only to law and order but to the very existence of the democratic structure of the country.

THE DECLINE

The Government of India organized joint operations by the army and the police in the bordering districts of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa which were particularly affected by Naxalite depredations. The operations were undertaken from July 1 to August 15, 1971 and were code-named *Operation Steeplechase*. The broad strategy of the Security Forces was to surround as large an area as possible and seal the routes of entry and exit. The Army formed the outer cordon and the CRPF the inner ring. The local police, which was generally accompanied by a magistrate, carried out thorough search of the area.

Suspected Naxalites were arrested, illicit weapons, ammunition and explosives seized. Wherever possible, simultaneous action was taken in the neighbouring area also so that the Naxalites sneaking out were caught while attempting to escape. These operations covered Midnapur, Purulia, Burdwan and Birbhum districts of West Bengal; Singhbhum, Dhanbad and Santhal Parganas of Bihar, and Mayurbhanj of Orissa.

The operation achieved the desired results, though not to the extent anticipated by the administration. The organizational apparatus of the Naxalites in the aforesaid districts was thrown out of gear and the party activists fled from their known hideouts to other places in search of safety. Violence registered a drop. Incidents of arms-snatching fell down. Above all, it restored the confidence of the people in the strength of the administration. Charu Mazumdar was also arrested by the Calcutta Police detectives on July 16, 1972. A few days later, he died. Charu's death marked the end of a phase in the Naxalite movement. The period following his death witnessed divisions and fragmentations in the movement.

THE REVIVAL

The formation of People's War Group in Andhra Pradesh subsequently in 1980 under the leadership of Kondapalli Seetharamaiah gave a new lease of life to the movement. The PWG's program included:

- redistribution of land
- enforcing payment of minimum wages to the farm labour
- imposing taxes and penalties
- holding people's courts
- destroying government property
- kidnapping government functionaries
- attacking policemen, and
- enforcing a social code

The PWG is believed to have redistributed nearly half a million acres of land across Andhra Pradesh. Its activists also insisted on a hike in the daily minimum wages and the annual fee for *jeetagadu* (year-long labour). The poorer sections found that what the politicians had been talking about and the government promising year after year could be translated into a reality only with the intervention of Naxalites. *Gorakala doras* (Lord of the Bushes) is how the Naxalites came to be known in the interior areas. Kidnappings to secure the release of its own cadres were frequently resorted to by the PWG activists. The *cause celebre* was the kidnapping of six IAS officers including a Principal Secretary of the state government and Collector of East Godavari district on December 27, 1987 while they were returning from a tribal welfare meeting at Pulimatu in the district. The state government decided to play safe and released the eight Naxalites in Rajahmundry jail. The PWG got tremendous propaganda mileage out of the incident.

The revolutionary writers of the *Jana Natya Mandali*, the cultural front of the PWG, greatly helped in preparing the environment in which the Naxalite ideology found ready acceptance. Its moving spirit was Gummadi Vittal Rao, better known as Gaddar. He was a balladeer who fought the establishment with the power of his songs. The People's War Group gradually spread its organizational network to the coastal and Rayalaseema districts in the state. It extended its tentacles to the adjoining areas of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa and made a dent even in the bordering districts of Karnataka and certain pockets of Tamilnadu.

The Andhra Pradesh government banned the PWG and its six front organizations in 1992. At the same time, the state police, assisted by the central paramilitary forces, undertook well-organized counterinsurgency operations. As a result, 248 Naxalites were liquidated and 3,434 activists were apprehended in 1992. The arrest of Kondapally Seetharamaiah and other important leaders meant further setback to the PWG. There was demoralization among the ranks and about 8,500 Naxals surrendered before the authorities.

In Bihar, the Maoist Communist Centre, another major Naxalite formation, perpetrated acts of violence. Its organizational network extended to most of the Central Bihar districts. During the six year period from 1987 to 1992, there were eight major incidents in Gaya, Chatra and Aurangabad districts in which 42 Rajputs, 40 bhumihars, 5 Muslims, 1 BJP MP and 3 policemen among others were killed. What began as a fight for social and economic justice actually degenerated into a caste conflict with a veneer of class struggle. The MCC ran virtually a parallel judicial system in certain pockets. These were described as *Jan Adalat* or People's Court where they would even shorten an accused by six inches – behead him, in other words!

PRESENT STATE OF MOVEMENT

The present phase – we could also call it the third phase - of the movement commenced with the holding of the Ninth Congress of the People's War Group in 2001, when it was decided to militarise the armed component of the party by giving more sophisticated weapons to the People's Guerilla Army. The total numbers of incidents of violence and resultant deaths in the country during the last five years have been as follows:

<u>Total incidents</u>		<u>Deaths</u>
2001	1,208	564
2002	1,465	482
2003	1,597	515
2004	1,533	566
2005	1,594	669

Violence was thus at a peak in 2005 when 1,594 incidents took place in which 669 persons were killed, though 2003 had registered a slightly higher number of incidents.

The Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, admits the spread of Naxalite movement to 76 districts in 9 states of the Union, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. It further concedes that the People's War and the MCCI are trying to increase their influence and operations in some parts of the states of Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Kerala and also in some new areas of the states already affected.

The disturbing features of the movement are

- Spread over a large geographical area
- Increase in potential for violence
- Unification of PW and MCCI
- Plan to have a Red Corridor
- Nexus with NE insurgents and Nepalese Maoists

The Government of India have already expressed concern over the spread of the Naxalite movement over a huge geographical area. The Prime Minister has described Naxalite movement as the single biggest threat to the internal security of the country. According to the Institute for Conflict Management, the movement has actually spread over 165 districts in 14 states and that the Home Ministry's assessment in this regard is an understatement. The Naxals' potential for violence has increased substantially with their acquisition of sophisticated weapons and expertise in the use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs). They are said to be in possession of at least 6,500 regular weapons including AK 47 rifles and SLRs.

The movement got a tremendous boost when its two major components, the People's War (PW) and the Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI), decided to merge on March 21, 2004, though a formal announcement was made on October 14, 2004 only. The unified party was called the Communist Party of India (Maoist). The merger, apart from augmenting the support base of the movement, has given it the character of a pan-Indian revolutionary group. The Naxals' plan to have a Compact Revolutionary Zone stretching from Indo-Nepal border to the Dandakaranya Region is likely to get a fillip with the unification of their ranks.

The Naxalite groups' nexus with the other extremist organizations has added to the complexity of the problem. There are indications that the PWG cadres received training in the handling of weapons and IEDs from some ex-LTTE cadres. They have also some understanding with the National Socialist Council of Nagaland(I-M) for supporting each others' cause. Some batches of CPML-Party Unity also appear to have received arms training under the guidance of United Liberation Front of Assam. The Communist Party of India (Maoist) has also worked out a strategic alliance with the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

SITUATION IN STATES

ANDHRA PRADESH

Andhra Pradesh has gradually emerged as the epicenter of left-wing extremism in the country. The PWG set up a People's Guerilla Army in December 2000 "to strengthen the political power of the people and to defeat the efforts of the State and the Central Governments to check the (revolutionary) movement".

The most audacious attack by the PWG took place on October 1, 2003, when they tried to assassinate the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, N.Chandrababu Naidu, on a forest road between Tirupati and Tirumala in Chittoor district while he was proceeding to attend the Brahmotsavam celebrations. Claymore mines hit the car of the chief minister; the bulletproof armour over the car however saved him. Four others including the State's Information Technology minister, B.Gopalakrishna Reddy, sustained serious injuries. The PW claimed responsibility for the attack, saying that it was "to eliminate a person who has been perpetuating state sponsored violence".

Peace talks were held between the People's War Group and the state government of Andhra Pradesh during June-July 2002 at the initiative of 'Committee of Concerned Citizens'. Three rounds of talks were held but unfortunately there was no agreement on the substantive issues. The PWG called off the talks in July 2002 in protest against the allegedly killing of their cadres in 'fake encounters'. A second round of peace talks were held from October 15 to 18, 2004 at Hyderabad, but there were no fruitful discussions. The government took strong exception to the Naxals moving about with arms in towns and cities. The Naxalites' annihilation of Narsi Reddy, Congress MLA, and eight others in a major attack on August 15, 2005 in Mehboobnagar proved to be the proverbial last straw. The peace process ended abruptly, and government reimposed the ban on the Communist Party of India (Maoist) and its front organizations.

BIHAR & JHARKHAND

The Naxalite movement in Bihar is bogged down in caste based jealousies and rivalries. On January 5, 2005, the Naxalite killed the Superintendent of Police, Munger by blowing up his jeep. Six other policemen were also killed. Lately, the Maoist Communist Centre has shifted its focus to the Jharkhand region, which was carved out of Bihar on November 15, 2000. The Naxalites are said to be active in 15 out of the 22 districts of Jharkhand. They have been particularly targeting the police and the paramilitary personnel.

MADHYA PRADESH & CHHATTISGARH

In Madhya Pradesh, following the bifurcation of the state in November 2000, Naxalite violence is now confined to Balaghat, Mandla, Dindori, and Sidhi districts only. The Madhya Pradesh Transport Minister, Lakhiram Kavre, was annihilated on December 15, 1999 in retaliation to the killing of four top PWG leaders

In Chhattisgarh, Naxalite violence is concentrated mainly in the Bastar area and in Rajnandgaon, Jashpur and Sarguja districts. The state government has been trying to mobilize the tribals through 'Salwa Judum' (peace mission). This is being vehemently opposed by the Naxalites, and they have been recklessly killing the Judum activists. The latest carnage took place on July 16, 2006 when Maoists slaughtered 27 tribals in a relief camp in Dantewada district.

WEST BENGAL

Naxalite violence in West Bengal is at a low pitch compared to the other states. This is to be attributed to the success of *Operation Barga* under which sharecroppers were registered and given permanent and inheritable rights on cultivation of their plots covering a total area of 11 lac acres. Besides, 1.37 lac acres of ceiling surplus and *benami* lands were acquired by the state government and distributed among 25 lac landless and marginal cultivators. The land reforms have seen the emergence of a new class loosely termed 'rural rich' and weakened the social and political power enjoyed by the landlords in the countryside. There is some Naxalite activity nevertheless in Midnapur, Bankura and Purulia districts.

OTHER STATES

Orissa witnessed a qualitative increase in Naxalite violence during 2000 and 2001. The MCC has established its presence in the northern districts while the PWG has consolidated its hold over the southern districts. The formation of Andhra-Orissa Border Special Zonal Committee gave fillip to Left Wing Extremism in the State.

Uttar Pradesh has witnessed stirrings of Naxalite activities in the eastern belt in Sonbhadra, Gorakhpur, Ghaziapur, Ballia, Chandauli and Mirzapur districts. On November 20, 2004 Naxalites blew up a police jeep in the forests of Chandauli with a landmine, killing 13 PAC and 4 police personnel

In Maharashtra, Gadchiroli is particularly affected, though there are incidents in Bhandara, Chandrapur, Gondia and Nanded districts also.

In Karnataka, Naxalites have been active in the Kudremukh area following government's move to evict the tribals from the forests. On Feb. 11, 2005, Naxalites killed 6 policemen of the Karnataka State Reserve Police in Tumkur district.

PROSPECTS

The factors which gave rise to Naxalism in the country are, unfortunately, very much present today also. The extent of poverty in the country continues to be abysmal. Land reforms remain a neglected area. Unemployment figures are high. Tribals have been getting a raw deal. Governance, particularly in remote areas, is poor.

Government have prepared a comprehensive 14-Point Plan to deal with the problem. There is special emphasis on the socio-economic development of the affected areas, and the state governments have been asked to ensure speedy implementation of land reforms. Infrastructure is being developed and there are

plans to provide employment to the youth in the remote, backward areas. The National Tribal Policy seeks to protect the rights of tribals. How far these measures produce the intended results, however, remains to be seen.

PERIOD OF EMERGENCY

The Indian Emergency of 25th June 1975-21st March 1977 was a 21 month period, when President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, upon advice by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, declared a state of emergency under Article 352 of the Constitution of India, effectively bestowing on her the power to rule by decree, suspending elections and civil liberties. This was a dramatic turn in the Indian political affairs. The democracy was brought to a grinding halt and all the fundamental rights and legal remedies protected by the Constitution of The Republic of India were suspended. Indira Gandhi tried to defend the emergency on the grounds that she was trying to protect the State and the Indian people. Nevertheless, her emergency rule faced immense criticism and is undoubtedly one of the most controversial periods of the political history of Independent India.

POST-EMERGENCY PERIOD

The 21 month Emergency period was long and intensive; enough to leave permanent scars. The Janata Party was now the ruling party in India. The Janata government's response to the natural calamities (seasonal floods and their associated devastation) and old Indian Problems proved no more effective than other methods had been in the past. Thus social and political discontent was very much present in the post-emergency India. It became harder for the government with the increase in smuggling, strikes and social protests. Moreover, no satisfactory solution was produced that insured the Indian people and the democratic institutions that they will not be threatened by Emergency again. In response to this, the Shah commission was appointed by the new government on May 28th 1977. The commission inquired into the allegations of abuse of authority and the malpractices during the emergency period. The commission found that Indira Gandhi had been motivated by considerations of exigency, as there was no concrete evidence that could warrant the declaration of emergency. She never consulted the cabinet with her decisions and the citizens were denied their basic freedom.

Charges against the government during the Emergency era:

- Wanton detention of innocent people by police without charge or notification of families.
- Abuse and torture of detainees and political prisoners.
- Use of public and private media institutions, like the national television network Doordarshan, for propaganda.
- Forced vasectomy of thousands of men under the infamous family planning initiative. Indira's son, Sanjay Gandhi, was blamed for this abusive and forcible treatment of people.
- Arbitrary destruction of the slum and low-income housing in the Turkman Gate and Jama masjid area of old Delhi.

Taking these findings into consideration, the Janata government's Home Minister, Choudhary Charan Singh ordered the arrest of Indira and Sanjay Gandhi. The arrest meant that Indira was automatically expelled from Parliament. However, this strategy backfired disastrously. Her arrest and long-running trial, gained her great sympathy from many people who had feared her as a tyrant just two years earlier. Mrs. Gandhi succeeded in defying both the courts and the government over the alleged improprieties committed even before the emergency. She began giving speeches again, tacitly apologizing for "mistakes" made during the Emergency, thus proceeding with her political comeback in the backdrop of the crumbling rule of the Janata party. This set up the stage for the 1980 elections, which brought Indira Gandhi back to the office.

ENDORSEMENTS:

The Emergency was endorsed by Vinoba Bhave (who called it *Anushasan parva* or *Time for discipline*) and Mother Teresa. Pioneer industrialist J.R.D Tata and writer Khushwant Singh were among the other prominent supporters. Some have argued that India badly needed economic recovery after the Indo-Pak war had strained the exchequer. Indira's 20-point economic program increased agricultural production, manufacturing activity, exports and foreign reserves. The national economy achieved high levels of growth and investment, and as strikes were non-existent, productivity increased rapidly. Communal Hindu-Muslim riots, which had re-surfaced in the 1960s, and 70s, virtually ceased, and initially the government seemed to be working with vigor. Police in cities had sweeping powers to destroy gang and syndicate structure

History bares testimony to the fact that great nations face grave crises. In 1933, the United States was struck by the great depression, which exposed the fallacies of the market economy. A few years later the military might of Japan was crushed by the United States during the Second World War. At the start of the last decade of the millennium, the fragilities of Socialism were exposed and it led to the eventual demise of the Soviet Union.

India's strength has always been its vibrant democracy. Ours is perhaps the only country where people from contrastingly different castes, creed, religion and race live together in peace and harmony. The other hallmarks of our country are a strong judicial system and a free press. The imposition of the emergency in 1975 struck at the very core of these ideals, which constitute our democracy. It was perhaps the darkest period in the history of independent India.

THE REASONS

On 25th June 1975, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi imposed an emergency in the country. Fundamental Rights stood suspended, censorship was imposed on the press and prominent political leaders were arrested. So what prompted Mrs. Gandhi to take such a drastic step? Could the emergency have been avoided? What role did her son Sanjay and his cronies play during this crucial period? Were there any personal motives? There are just some of the questions that we will try to answer.

In many ways the foundation for the emergency was laid when the Allahabad High Court set aside Indira Gandhi's re-election to the Lok Sabha in 1971 on the grounds of electoral malpractices. This verdict, which came on 12th June, was later challenged in the Supreme Court, which on 24th June 1975, granted a conditional stay to Mrs. Gandhi, thereby allowing her to remain a member of parliament but disallowed her to take part in parliamentary proceedings. However, this was just the first step. The other, more significant reason for the imposition of emergency was the "JP movement". Many regard Jayaprakash Narayan as "the Gandhi of Independent India". In his entire political career he never contested an election. After the Allahabad High Court verdict, "JP", as he was better known, gave the call for a "Total Revolution" and also demanded the resignation of Mrs. Gandhi. In fact on June 25, 1975, he announced a plan of daily demonstrations, not merely in Delhi, but also in every State capital and district headquarters until Indira Gandhi threw in the towel. He also appealed to the Army, the police and the bureaucracy "to refuse to obey Indira" and "abide by the Constitution instead". His associate Morarji Desai went a step further. In an interview to an Italian journalist he said, "We intend to overthrow her, to force her to resign. For good...Thousands of us will surround her house and prevent her from going out...night and day." Incidentally, Desai was once Deputy Prime Minister in her government.

Many argue that the emergency was the inevitable outcome of social, economic and political crises resulting in "systematic failure" One of them is Prof. P.N. Dhar, Secretary to the Prime Minister and her chief official advisor during this period. In his book "Indira Gandhi, the emergency and Indian Democracy", he states that it was largely because of the opposition pressure that she was forced to resign. He says "Even before she could file her appeal, to which she was enticed, a delegation of opposition leaders from the Congress (O), JS, BLD, SP and Akali Dal called on the president and presented a memorandum to him saying that "a grave constitutional crisis had arisen as a result of Mrs. Gandhi continuing to occupy the office of the prime minister despite a clear and categorical judicial verdict." Apart from Dhar, there were others who supported the Emergency. One of them was prominent writer Khushwant Singh, who at the time was the editor of "The Illustrated Weekly of India". He says "By May 1975 public protests against Mrs. Gandhi's government had assumed nationwide dimensions and often turned violent. With my own eyes I saw slogan-chanting processions go down Bombay thoroughfares smashing cars parked on the roadsides and breaking shop-windows as they went along. Leaders of opposition parties watched the country sliding into chaos as bemused spectators hoping that the mounting chaos would force Mrs. Gandhi to resign."

From the above arguments it is clear that Mrs. Gandhi was a power-hungry woman who imposed the emergency to safeguard her own political and personal interests. And the only beneficiary of this unfortunate period was her son Sanjay Gandhi.

THE IMPACT

In addition to the common man, the judiciary and the media bore the maximum brunt of the excesses of the emergency. The Constitution, which is the most sacred document of any functioning democracy, was subverted in the most ruthless manner possible. Indira Gandhi ensured that all proclamations and ordinances were not subjected to judicial review. She amended the Representation of the People Act and two other laws in such a retrospective manner to ensure that the Supreme Court had no other option but to overturn the Allahabad High Court verdict. As senior advocate Arun Jaitley laments “The judiciary which had already been made pliable by the super sessions in 1973 was the main victim. The Supreme Court by a majority of four to one held that a person could be arrested or detained without legitimate grounds and there was no remedy in the law courts since all Fundamental Rights were suspended. The attorney-general of India argued for the government that a citizen could be killed illegally and no remedy was available since there were no Fundamental Rights of the citizen anymore.” She misused Article 356 to dismiss the opposition governments in Gujarat and Tamil Nadu.

The fourth estate of democracy i.e. the media was also not spared. Censorship was imposed on newspapers and barring a few, like The Indian Express, no other newspaper had the courage to defy the censorship orders. When the Delhi edition appeared on June 28, The Indian Express carried a blank first editorial and the Financial Express reproduced in large type Rabindranth Tagore’s poem “Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high” concluding with the prayer “Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.”

In fact, Ramnath Goenka, the daring proprietor of the newspaper, explains the ordeal in his own words. “The government, acting under the personal directions of Indira Gandhi, abused its authority and subverted lawful processes to liquidate me and my group of companies economically and make me an object of public ridicule and shame. One of the prime minister’s first acts on 26th June 1975 was to remove her mild-mannered and democratically inclined Information minister I. K. Gujral and replace him with Vidya Charan Shukla, who she thought would better serve her Goebbelsian design.”

This censorship also had its lighter sides. Vinod Mehta, who edited the sleazy girlie magazine Debonair from Bombay, was asked to have his articles and pictures cleared before they were sent to the printer. The censor looked over the pages. “Porn? Theek hai! Politics no.” Most of it was soft porn. It was quickly cleared!!

For the press, the emergency was a cruel reminder that the State can snatch its freedom arbitrarily. Hence, soon after the emergency ended, the Press Council of India was formed whose main aim was to safeguard the freedom of the press and to maintain and improve the standards of newspapers and news agencies in the country.

The emergency was a 19-month ordeal, which finally came to an end on January 23rd 1977; Indira Gandhi called for fresh elections and the release of all political prisoners. It was a courageous decision, considering the fact that she was under no visible compulsion to do so. It was a decision that would start a period of darkness for herself, her son Sanjay Gandhi and his coterie. However, this period would be short-lived as she staged a spectacular comeback in 1980.

THE AFTERMATH AND THE COMEBACK

Soon after the withdrawal of the emergency, general elections were declared in the country. The Congress was reduced to just 153 seats in the Lok Sabha and the Janata Party led by Morarji Desai came to power. It was the first time a non-Congress government that assumed leadership of the country. Both Indira Gandhi and her son Sanjay lost their seats. Thus began the darkest period in Indira Gandhi's political career.

The government constituted the Shah Commission to probe into the excesses committed during the emergency. It recorded that highhanded and arbitrary actions had been carried out with impunity during the Emergency. In its report the commission recorded "without the awareness of what is right and a desire to act according to what is right, there may be no realisation of what is wrong". Indira Gandhi herself was arrested on a number of charges including misuse of her official and another case related to deriving illegal benefits in connection with procurement of jeeps for election purposes. The arrest of Indira Gandhi was a dramatic affair to say the least. The officer in-charge at that time, Mr. N.K. Singh in his memoirs "The Plain truth", records that he and his team had to take her to Badhkal, a tourist resort on the outskirts of Delhi, fearing that there might be a backlash in Delhi. However, this phase in her life would come to an end soon as the courts acquitted her. And in 1978, she re-started her political journey by contesting a by-election from Chikmanglur in Karnataka. Meanwhile, the weaknesses of the Morarji-Desai government were being slowly exposed. The basis of the formation of the Janata Party was only one: to remove Indira Gandhi from power, whatever the cost. It was this very factor that led to its break-up and their subsequent ouster from power.

COMMUNALISM

THEORY OF COMMUNALISM

The words "community", "communal", and "communalism" do not carry negative connotations. These have positive meanings according to any Standard English dictionary. But in India, i.e. the Republic of India (not the Indian subcontinent), they have been made contemptible by historians, scholars, and politicians. Why? There are many reasons. Let me tell you an important one from the historical point of view.

In the year 1947 two important events took place which was linked with each other. One was the "Independence of India" and the other was the "Partition of India". Historians made use of two different phenomena to explain these events. Independence was defined as the result of "nationalism" and Partition

was made the consequence of "communalism". It was a master stroke of deception to understand the history of modern India.

We cannot deny the fact that the demand for Partition/Pakistan was exclusively put forward by the Muslim League who had the support of the Muslim masses. The Muslim League under Muhammad Ali Jinnah was successful in getting what they demanded. The Indian National Congress did not want Partition/Pakistan but it was powerless in front of the bloodbath unleashed by the Muslims on Hindus and Sikhs, mainly in the Punjab and Bengal. Here one good thing was that the Hindus fought back and showed no mercy in avenging the jihadi attacks against their coreligionists.

The creation of Pakistan was in favour of Indian Muslims and the British and American interests in the region. But it proved to be a disaster for the Hindus living in West Punjab, East Bengal, and Sind.

Anyway, the political and intellectual "exigency" of the post-1947 India was to put the blame or cause of the Partition equally on the shoulders of Muslims and Hindus. Here the "**theory of communalism**" was created. Its essence is simple. It is made up of concepts like communal interests, conflicts, and divisions. Some historians like Bipan Chandra had gone so far as to theorize on the stages of communalism in the pre-1947 India. Though the communalism theory is generic in nature (as there could be many types of communalisms such as Hindu communalism, Muslim communalism, Christian communalism, Sikh communalism, Jaina communalism, Buddhist communalism, etc.) it chiefly focuses on Hindu communalism. May be because Hindus are in majority in the Republic of India, hence, Hindu communalism would be the most "dangerous" one.

For the critics of communalism, the very people who created it, it is not only a theory; it is also a label which can be applied to anybody anytime. Generally, it is applied to the organizations of the Sangh Parivar. The Hindu nationalists have developed a fear psychosis for the word and they keep telling the world that they are not communal whenever they get an opportunity. They have internalized the definition of communalism given by the critics of communalism. Today, the Hindu nationalists or the Hindutvavadis leave no stone unturned to show that they are the real "secularists" and their opponents are "pseudo-secularists".

1. Babri Masjid

The Ayodhya conflict is a dispute over sacred space between the two largest religious communities in South Asia: Hindus and Muslims. It is, moreover, tightly bound to colonial thinking and colonial politics in 19th-century British India, and thus nowadays an inseparable part of what has been named the 'post-colonial predicament'. Taking both together, the Ayodhya conflict is the paradigmatic embodiment of a phenomenon known as 'communalism': an ideology that perceives society entirely as divided into distinct religious communities which have nothing in common. In India, this ideology found its

most pithy expression in the so-called 'Two Nations Theory' by Muhammad Iqbal in 1930.

After the tragic events that accompanied the partition of India in 1947, and the creation of Pakistan as the state of Indian Muslims, the vision of the first prime minister of the Indian Union and leader of the National Congress Party, Jawaharlal Nehru, that India shall become a secular democracy, seems from the very beginning to have fallen prey to communalist tendencies within Indian society. Hindu communalism became a major tendency in post-independence India, taking up this assumption and arguing that the Indian Union was to politically safeguard the interests of the Hindu religious majority. Thus the idea of a unified, strong and self-confident Hindu 'nation' came into being, and turned communalism into Hindu 'nationalism'.

The bundling of the various Hindu nationalist forces was achieved by the Sangh Parivar, an umbrella organization, under which outfits like the Rashtriya Svayamsevak Sangh (RSS), the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) or the Shiv Sena, could coordinate their activities and work out strategies to reach different layers of society. Out of one such strategy today's ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) emerged in 1980. The rhetoric of this new political association included, besides a national political economy and the topos of 'justice versus corruption', more and more religious symbols as core strategies of political mobilization within the process of communalization of the political sphere. Major symbols are sacred law and sacred space; the first became manifest in the debate on Uniform Civil Code versus Muslim Personal Law which reached its peak so far in the so-called Shah Bano case in 1985, the second, sparked off by the mosque-temple dispute, found its climax with the destruction of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya on 6 December 1992 by militant Hindu nationalist outfits.

On December 6, 1992, Hindu Karsevaks destroyed the 16th-century Babri mosque in Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh, India, in an attempt to reclaim the land known as Ram Janmabhoomi. The demolition occurred after a religious ceremony turned violent and resulted in several months of intercommunal rioting between India's Hindu and Muslim communities, causing the death of at least 2,000 people most of whom were Muslims.

BACKGROUND

The city of Ayodhya is regarded by Hindus to be the birthplace of the God-king Rama and is regarded as one of India's most sacred and religious sites. In 1528, after the Mughal invasion, a mosque was built by Mughal general Mir Banki, who reportedly destroyed a pre-existing temple of Rama at the site, and named it after Emperor Babur. For several years, the site was used for religious purposes by both Hindus and Muslims. After independence, several title suits were filed by opposing religious groups claiming possession of the site. In September 1990, BJP leader L. K. Advani started *Rath Yatra*, a tour of the country to educate the masses about the Ayodhya struggle.

DEMOLITION

On 6 December 1992, the BJP and other supporting organizations organized a religious ceremony to symbolically start the building of a temple at the sacred site. About 150,000 karsevaks had assembled to witness the ceremonies, including speeches by BJP leaders L. K. Advani and Murli Manohar Joshi.

On that Sunday morning, LK Advani and others met at Vinay Katiyar's residence. They then proceeded to the disputed structure, the report says. Advani, Murli Manohar Joshi and Katiyar reached the puja platform where symbolic Kar Seva was to be performed, and Advani and Joshi checked arrangements for the next 20 minutes. The two senior leaders then moved 200 metre away to the Ram Katha Kunj. This was a building facing the disputed structure where a dais had been erected for senior leaders.

The report notes that at this time Advani, Joshi and Vijay Raje Scindia made "feeble requests to the Kar Sevaks to come down... either in earnest or for the media's benefit". No appeal was made to the Kar Sevaks not to enter the sanctum sanctorum or not to demolish the structure. The report notes: "This selected act of the leaders itself speaks of the hidden intentions of one and all being to accomplish demolition of the disputed structure." The report holds that the "icons of the movement present at the Ram Katha Kunj... could just as easily have... prevented the demolition."

Photographs and video of the event show that an angry crowd soon stormed the site and attacked the structure. At noon, youths were seen at the top of one of the domes, attaching a flag and beating on the structure with a stick, signaling the breaking of the outer cordon. Using only hand implements, the crowd reduced the substantial structure to rubble.

DEMOLITION PLANNED IN ADVANCE

In a 2005 book former Intelligence Bureau (IB) Joint Director Maloy Krishna Dhar claimed that Babri mosque demolition was planned 10 months in advance by top leaders of RSS, BJP and VHP and raised questions over the way the then Prime Minister P V Narasimha Rao, had handled the issue. Dhar claimed that he was directed to arrange the coverage of a key meeting of the BJP/Sangh Parivar and that the meeting "proved beyond doubt that they (RSS, BJP, VHP) had drawn up the blueprint of the Hindutva assault in the coming months and choreographed the 'pralaya nritya' (dance of destruction) at Ayodhya in December 1992. The RSS, BJP, VHP and the Bajrang Dal leaders present in the meeting amply agreed to work in a well-orchestrated manner." Claiming that the tapes of the meeting were personally handed over by him to his boss, he asserts that he has no doubts that his boss had shared the contents with the Prime Minister (Rao) and the Home Minister (S B Chavan). The author claimed that there was silent agreement that Ayodhya offered "a unique opportunity to take the Hindutva wave to the peak for deriving political benefit."

AFTERMATH

COMMUNAL RIOTS AND TERRORISM

The destruction of the Mosque sparked Muslim outrage around the country, provoking several months of intercommunal rioting in which Hindus and Muslims attacked one another, burning and looting homes, shops and places of worship. The ensuing riots which spread to cities like Bombay, Surat, Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Delhi and several others, eventually resulted in 1,500 deaths. The Mumbai Riots alone, which occurred in December 1992 and January 1993, caused the death of around 900 people, and estimated property damage of around ₹ 9,000 crore (\$3.6 billion). The demolition and the ensuing riots were among the major factors behind the 1993 Mumbai bombings and many successive riots in the coming decade. Banned jihadi outfits like Indian Mujahideencited demolition of the Babri Mosque as an excuse for terrorist attacks.

INVESTIGATION

On 16 December 1992, the Union home ministry set up the Liberhan Commission to investigate the destruction of the Mosque, headed by retired High Court Judge M S Liberhan. Totalling 399 sittings over the span of sixteen years, the Commission finally submitted it's the 1,029-page report to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on June 30, 2009. According to the report, the events of December 6, 1992, in Ayodhya were "neither spontaneous nor unplanned".

INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

The international reaction in neighbouring Muslim countries criticised the Government of India for failing to stop the demolition and subsequent communal violence, but also included widespread retaliatory attacks on Hindus by Muslims in Pakistan and Bangladesh.

PAKISTAN

In Pakistan, the government closed offices and schools on 7 December to protest the demolition of the Babari mosque. The Pakistani Foreign Ministry summoned the Indian ambassador to formally complain, and promised to appeal to the United Nations and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference to pressure India to protect the rights of Muslims. Strikes were held across the country while Muslim mobs attacked and destroyed as many as 30 temples in one day by means of fire and bulldozers, and stormed the office of Air India, India's national airline in Lahore. The retaliatory attacks included rhetoric from mobs calling for the destruction of India and of Hinduism. Students from the Quaid-i-Azam University in Islamabad burned an effigy of the then-Prime Minister of India, P.V. Narasimha Rao and called for "holy war" against Hindus. In subsequent years, thousands of Pakistani Hindus visiting India sought longer visas and citizenship of India, citing increased harassment and discrimination in the aftermath of the Babri mosque demolition.

BANGLADESH

In December 1992, Muslim mobs attacked and burnt down Hindu temples, shops and houses across the country. An India-Bangladesh cricket match was disrupted when a mob of an estimated 5,000 men tried to storm into the Bangabandhu National Stadium in the national capital of Dhaka. The Dhaka office of Air India was stormed and destroyed. 10 people were reportedly killed, with many more Hindu women being raped and hundreds of Hindu temples and homes destroyed. The aftermath of the violence forced the Bangladeshi Hindu community to curtail the celebrations of Durga Puja in 1993 while calling for the destroyed temples to be repaired and investigations be held on the atrocities against Hindus in Bangladesh. Bangladesh cited exemplary manifestation of keeping communal harmony because of its sufi Islamic values.

IRAN

The Supreme Leader of Iran Ayatollah Ali Khomeini condemned the demolition but in milder terms compared to the reactions in Pakistan and Bangladesh. He called upon India to do more to protect Muslims.

IN POPULAR CULTURE

In fiction, *Lajja*, a controversial 1993 novel in Bengali by Bangladeshi writer Taslima Nasrin, has a story based in the days after the demolition. After its release, the author received death threats in her home country and has been living in exile ever since.

The events that transpired in aftermath of the demolition and the riots are an important part of the plot of the many films notably, *Bombay* (1995) set in the Mumbai riots, while *Daivanamathil*(2005) explores the repercussions of the demolition on Kerala Muslims, both the films won the Nargis Dutt Award for Best Feature Film on National Integration at the respective National Film Awards; *Naseem* (1995), *Striker* (2010), and also mentioned in *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008). A metaphor of this incident was framed in the movie *Delhi 6* (2009) directed by Rakeysh Omprakash Mehra.

2. Gujarat

Communal riots are an indicator of socio-cultural schism existing between the communities. Every communal riot not only deepens this schism and hardens the socio-cultural divide, new found factors and reasons get added to the divide. The recent communal riots in Gujarat and the horrendous carnage perpetrated during these riots have shocked all sensible persons and have reemphasized the need for bridging this gap and evolving an integrated and harmonious human society which is an essential component of a nation. It is necessary to analyze the causes behind the communal riots and widespread violence in Gujarat as well as their dangerous implications.

NEW FEATURES

It could be observed that riots are no more instantaneous incidents caused by some mischief-mongers, and riots themselves being thinly spread and/or of short duration. They have become a form of collective violence - something like a

continuous battle between two communities. Over the years they have become more organized, planned and devastating. Despite the efforts of well intentioned and sober people from both the side, the suspicion and hatred have steadily penetrated the masses and spilled over into rural areas as well. The influence and impact of people advocating tolerance, amity and harmony have dwindled to such an extent that now they find themselves not only impotent, helpless and ineffective but often ridiculed or attacked for their views. This regression of liberal ethos and assertion of fascist psyche by fundamentalist groups and leaders amongst the masses are portents of the horrible future ahead.

We must understand that the communal violence in Gujarat was triggered by the Godhara carnage, where more than fifty people were burnt to death in the coach of a train, attacked by a big Muslim mob, armed with weapons and inflammable material. The resultant shock and repercussions were widespread. However, the economic, political, social, psychological and cultural climate prevailing in Gujarat was responsible for its widespread, intense and unremitting nature. The identification and evaluation of these causes and finding its remedy is necessary if we want to stop its recurrence and reverse the process of communalization of our society.

WHY IN GUJARAT?

It is surprising - and many people are surprised - how and why the tolerant, mild mannered, amicable and peace-loving people of Gujarat have, since 1942 have come to acquire such a violent communal personality since the inception of the state. Many find it ironical that Gandhi's Gujarat can behave in such a fashion. It may sound rhetorical but let me add that it is also the Gujarat of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Chundrigar, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Advani, K. K. Shastri (VHP president), and Pravin Togadia (VHP secretary)! This is just to point out that Gujarat's socio-cultural milieu has diverse strains and its simplification as one homogenous entity could be misleading.

Geographically Gujarat is a border state; its northern border touches Pakistan. After partition hoards of Gujaratis and Sindhis came to Gujarat as 'NIRVASIT'. Their traumatic experience of the partition added to the psyche of Gujarat - along with the historical story of the demolition of the Somanath temple. To these, the riots of forties, fifties sixties and seventies - largely initiated by Muslims, have contributed to the popular perception of a Muslim as aggressive and communal person.

The violent clashes between the two communities during these riots led to the segregation of Hindu and Muslim localities. This segregation affected the younger generation as they had no live social contacts with each other, they studied in different schools and the link of friendship or communication or understanding each other's feelings, became very tenuous. As the frequency of riots increased (nearly more than a score in six decades), socio-cultural bonds between the communities started fading. Lack of neighbourly relations and communication provided the fertile ground for the fundamentalist propagandists to cause misunderstanding, suspicion and hatred between the two communities. Further, amongst the Muslims, Madrasas became the recruiting grounds for the

fundamentalists. In this atmosphere even the farfetched rumours like poisoning of the water supply or milk-distribution system acquire credence.

Events of last decades, like upsurge of Muslim fundamentalism, conflict in middle-east and Kashmir, disintegration of USSR and formation of the Muslim republics, increasing terrorist attacks and hijackings, cases of Salman Rushdie and Taslima Nasrin, along with the climate created by the issues of Ramjanmabhumi controversy and individual cases like Shahbanu case (reiterating separate Muslim personal law) at home have reinforced the perception of categorizing Muslim personality as aggressive, amongst the Hindus. Rise of Taliban, attacks on Hindus in Kashmir, on World Trade center, Jammu-Kashmir legislature, Indian parliament etc have reinforced this perception and has got extended even to the educated middle-class Hindu.

The issue is not whether the inference on the part of the Hindus in context of these problems was right or wrong. What a matter is the perception that has developed in Hindu psyche and which has hardened their attitude towards Muslims as a whole. This perception was a contributory factor in the widespread and immediate flaring up of riots in large part of Gujarat in the wake of the shocking carnage at Godhara.

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

There is a causal link between violence and deprivation. Any form of deprivation leads to frustration which in turn produces anger responsible for aggression or an act of violence. Sense of deprivation is a personal perception. When a gap between expectation and achievement develops due to change in economic, social and political situations or psychological reasons, deprivation sets in at individual and/or group levels.

The economic situation is particularly related with Ahmadabad. Besides, Ahmadabad being the main city of Gujarat, whatever happens here has, sooner or later, repercussions or contagious impact on other parts of Gujarat as well. During last three decades a large number of textile mills in Ahmadabad have closed down. This has adversely affected the economic life of many, especially the economically disadvantaged sections of both the communities. A large number of mill-workers became unemployed. Most of them belonging to Muslim and backward class communities and even middle class Hindus were forced to search for alternative means of livelihood. They felt deprived and frustrated. The persistence of this situation over the years has provided a mass of people readily available for any aggressive act. Another incidental, yet significant aspect of this closure of mills is related with an agency which could defuse communal tension and maintain communal harmony. A major union of the textile workers known as Majoor Mahajan (inspired by Gandhiji and run by Gandhian leaders) was reduced to irrelevance. It lost the capacity to influence the working class communities and defuse or minimize or stop the communal violence. It is interesting to note that where such labor unions are strong (e.g. Ahmadabad Electricity Company – started by Humanists) they can pre-empt or contain the effects of the riots. It seems that in absence of such an agency appeals for peace or ‘Shanti Yatra’ have no tangible impact.

After closure of the textile mills, unemployed mass of the mill-workers was in search of jobs. Some were absorbed in the power loom industry. But many of them were enticed by the illegal activity like smuggling and bootlegging. As Gujarat is a border state Pakistan-Gujarat border became a route for smuggling and Pakistani agent provocateurs. Extensive sea coast has attracted smuggling from the Middle Eastern Muslim countries. Naturally many Muslims got recruited in this activity. With the passage of times they became transformed into organized gangs and acquired arms and some position in their community as they provided patronage. Another group of organized crime was connected with bootlegging. The prohibition policy of Gujarat has also promoted similar types of gangs in both the communities, dealing in alcoholic drinks. Similarly, though on small scale, a flourishing tribe of the foot-path vendors have come into existence. They are also protected (on payment of 'haptas') by some gangs. Thus a core of well organized gangs is operating in different spheres and localities indulging in systematic arson, killing, looting, or intensification of violence in the process.

Power politics oriented election strategies is a significant political factor that has contributed to deepening the communal divide. The sizable Muslim community votes can be a key-factor in capturing power in Gujarat. To create a solid vote-bank the Congress strategists evolved the popularly known KHAM (Kshatriya, Harijan, Adiwasi, Muslim) model. To compete against the Congress and break its politics of vote-bank BJP resorted to Hindutva-card, isolating Muslims and winning a large number of Hindu community votes.

The prevailing situation in Ahmedabad is significant since whatever happens in Ahmedabad may have a contagious effect in other parts of Gujarat. The contagious effect is not only due to economic factors, socio-cultural factors have added a new dimension to the situation and intensified the contagion. It is worth noting that since last decade a virulent campaign of Hindutva is carried out and VHP, with its subsidiaries like Bajarangdal, Durgavahini etc. has taken hold on Gujarat's public life. Under the patronizing eyes of BJP and the Sangh-Parivar, they have almost turned fascist threatening and attacking even secularist and rationalists, in the name of preserving 'Hindu-Culture (!)'. During last riot it was seen that they were well informed about minority community as to who lived where and who owned a particular shop or business premises, and attack them accordingly. This shows that they are organized, their actions are planned and they are prepared and supported by the party in power so that they could terrorize the people. Godhara incident was just an excuse to launch their assault. It is true that the Karsevaks travelling by that train had behaved badly and were harassing other passengers, particularly Muslims. On Godhara station also their behavior was the same. However, burning the whole coach (it is said that the plan was to burn the whole train) and more than fifty of its occupants (including ladies and children) spread instant horror, anger and hatred throughout Gujarat. A 'Bandh' (voluntary curfew) was called and observed on the next day. Overnight the VHP and its subsidiary groups became active and well organized and planned attacks on Muslims and their business premises were carried out. Hundreds of people of both the communities (more than 800) have lost their lives, unbelievable mayhem and atrocities have been directed against

men, women and children, thousands of business premises and houses have been ransacked and burned, more than fifty thousand people are living in relief camps or with relatives and/or friends.

The assaults on the Muslim community were not carried out by a few people or small groups but the mobs of thousands of people. Actually not mobs, because they were planned attacks by organized and armed groups marching like a battalion. Against these odds it was impossible for few well meaning people to protect the people of the other community residing amongst them. Some Muslims, who had acquired guns, responded to these attacks by private firing which infuriated the mob further.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

What was the response and role of the governmental machinery to this situation? It seems that BJP ruled government simply closed its eye in the initial period. Some ministers were accused of leading attacking groups, hindering or directing the police in a specific way. The news of the Godhara carnage spread like a fire and massive onslaught was mounted against Muslims in urban and even rural areas. The whole Gujarat (except Saurashtra region) was engulfed in violence. Members of minority communities residing in many villages either fled or were killed and their houses and shops demolished. Organized and disciplined groups planned their attacks and went from one place to another. Instead of taking stern action to protect the innocent people (who had nothing to do with the Godhara carnage) BJP and VHP officials went on recounting the horror of Godhara carnage and Muslim involvement in it only. It is surprising that the Modi-government claims to have controlled the situation. The mayhem has lasted for forty five days and yet there is no sign of its abatement. Most parts, including the central business area, are under constant curfew and every day there are reports from different areas about clashes, stabbing, police firing, etc.

It is reported that police were rather supporting or looked the other way when these attacks were going on. Perhaps the majority of Hindus in police forces were sympathetic to the Hindu sentiment which was further reinforced by the Godhara incident and directions from some ministers; as a result they failed in their duty to maintain law and order impartially.

Armed forces were called belatedly to control the situation and curfew was clamped in many areas. Even after a month and a half many areas are under curfew and civic life is paralyzed, people earning their bread by daily work are in pitiable condition. But, it seems that certain organized groups are moving from one area to another and keeping the fires of violence burning, government seems to take no steps against such groups or their leaders who are openly propagating communal hatred and advocating violence. On the contrary it seems to be endorsing the violence by saying that it is the reaction or retaliation (on innocent people! Because they belonged to the Muslim community some of whose members were responsible for the Godhara episode?) of the majority due to the Godhara carnage.

STATE AND CIVIC SOCIETY: COMMUNALISM VERSES SECULAR DEMOCRACY

Assessment of the action or inaction of the government machinery and the near apathy of the civic society during the riot has highlighted the problem of their role in the society and their relationship with each other. Historically speaking, in a multi-cultured Indian society, to build an integrated nation-state it was wise to opt for a secular democratic state and society which would support it. However, in reality we have failed to build institutions and inculcate the civic-culture as prerequisites for its realization. Primarily it is necessary to correctly define the concept of a secular society or state. Our interpretation of secular as SARVADHARMA-SAMABHAV, protecting every religion and their diverse mode of belief structure, their separate social and civil code, varied customs, mores and faiths, and even education system is not conducive in building an integrated national society or human identity. Our identity is basically communal and has proved to be an obstruction in building a nation-state. It is clear that in interpreting the meaning of the word secular we have disregarded the spirit of the enlightenment and renaissance which was instrumental in building a modern state and the civic society in the west. It seems that we have to interpret the correct meaning of the word secular in our law enforcement. The connotation of the word secular should mean negation of all religions (SARVADHARMA-ABHAV).

The moot question is, if a ruling party is biased towards a particular community how it can create a nation in a multi-cultural society? It can never favor a democratic system or culture. That is to say, when the state itself becomes a protector and promoter of a specific culture which is basically exclusionary in its political practice and draws its sustenance by constantly constructing 'the hated other', the logical implications are most frightening in terms of the preservation of secular democracy and a state that recognizes the rights of all its citizens including minorities.

In this situation the functioning of any form of government is bound to be vitiated. Even a democratic government would succumb to fissiparous movements and civic disharmony. The Indian constitution provides for a democratic form of government. But without proper institutions to support it and the civic culture which could safeguard it, our democracy has remained notional or nominal. In this situation it could be easily subverted by the communal movements and fascist forces. Our political system has fallen prey to the manoeuvring of the power politics. There are no effective civic organizations to watch over and guide the democratic process. Further our civic culture lacks the spirit of the democratic way of life. In absence of democratic culture and values necessary for the healthy functioning of the democratic system, we have been reduced to mobocracy, representatives elected by mobs, driven by faith and feelings. To remedy the situation and evolve a democratic culture and organizations from the grass root level the movement for empowerment of the people is a must. The movement should seek to generate co-operative politics, consensus regarding norms of democratic behaviour and provide an organizational foundation for the functioning of the democracy. Of course, in the prevailing ethos it would be necessary to have commissions or citizens councils

to monitor their functioning and see that they do not become capricious or arbitrary and destroy human rights.

REMEDY

It may be argued that removing the Modi-government, giving effective powers to the military may bring the situation under control. Also, it is necessary that political parties and leaders and police officers who have failed in their duty be punished. To assess the role of various groups, parties, administration and police a commission of impartial citizens should be appointed and their findings considered as an indictment and criminal actions should be taken against those responsible for the perpetration of violence. Their findings considered as an indictment and criminal actions should be taken against those responsible for the violence and But these are short term measures. They must be buttressed by the planned action to reverse the process of communalization of political and socio-cultural life of the Gujarat. Peace marches and 'Dharna' to awaken common sense may have symbolic value but we must strive to remove the basic causes responsible for the communal disharmony. Our action must be directed to evolve a policy of de-communalization of the prevailing ethos, disband the fascist forces, build the bridges of communication and bring about socio-cultural harmony between the communities. It is high time that the sensible and enlightened people from both the communities were brought together and build institutions which would further their effectiveness. Political action to dislodge the BJP government and its allies should be supplemented by building citizens' councils and youth forums (something like EKATADAL) which would fight the fascist forces. They could also fill the vacuum left by the erosion of the labour unions and the Mahajan-system (guilds of the professional classes) in Gujarat.

For the creation of the positive climate it is necessary to take certain actions like common civil code, making religion a personal affair and banning all religious demonstrations and processions etc., prohibiting any type of special benefits on religious or communal grounds e.g. land for place of worship, help for Hajj, special schools, charity, etc., to religious organizations. Desegregation of schools and residential areas would be ideal but in the initial stages starting communication between the youth, joint clubs and cultural activity groups may be initiated.

An ideological campaign to counter the communalist propaganda of the VHP and Muslim fundamentalists, etc. should be on our agenda. This campaign should emphasize the secular, rational and scientific outlook and inculcate humanist values and a common sense of citizenship in the people.

THE FUTURE SCENARIO

Looking at the factors and forces responsible for the riots and every riot becoming more organized, widespread, and use of more and more lethal weapons it can be assumed that soon it would take the shape of pitched battles, like a civil war. If this scenario continues we would be having a situation similar to Palestine or Bosnia where communal strife has led to civil war. If we want to save our

nation from such a fate a concerted economic, political and socio-cultural program should be initiated and followed vigorously.

HISTORY OF COMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN GUJARAT

“There are many religions as there are individuals; but those who are conscious of the spirit of nationality do not interfere with one another's religion. If Hindus believe that India should be peopled only by Hindus, they are living in a dreamland. The Hindus, the Mahomedans, the Parsees and the Christians who have made their country are fellow countrymen and they will have to live in unity if only for their own interest. In no part of the world are one nationality and one religion synonymous terms; nor has it ever been so in India.”

To no state of the country could these warning words apply better than to Gujarat, the birthplace of the Mahatma, where the misuse of religion for political ends resulted in the worst carnage against a religious minority post-Independence. Between 1961 and 71 sixteen districts in Gujarat were rocked by communal violence, recording some 685 incidents in urban and 114 in rural areas. Of the 685 incidents in urban Gujarat recorded for the decade, 578 occurred in 1969 alone, during the worst riots in that ten year period. Starting with Ahmadabad, the worst affected city, violence spread to several other places including Vadodara. The description of one instance of rioting in Ahmadabad, as re- counted before the Tribunal by a prominent human rights activist from Gujarat who was an eyewitness at the time, epitomises the malaise of inter-community relationships in the region:

“A gruesome episode in the afternoon (September 20, 1969) brings out the depth of animosity against the Muslims. A young Muslim, enraged by the destruction of his property said he would take revenge. Upon this the crowd seized him, showered blows on him, and tried to force him to shout 'Jai Jagannath'. Staying firm, the youth refused even if that meant death. To this, someone in the crowd responded that he might indeed be done away with. Wood from broken shops was collected, a pyre prepared in the middle of the road, petrol sprinkled on the pyre as well as on the youth, and he was set alight with ruthless efficiency. What is remarkable is that there was no resistance from any Hindu. The wails of the Muslim inhabitants of the area were drowned in the celebration of the incident by the Hindus.”

This was Gujarat's first major bout of communal violence involving massacre, arson and looting on a large-scale. The violence took over 1,100 lives and property worth several crore rupees was destroyed. (Vengeful slogans on the streets shouted by Jansanghis – the BJP in its former incarnation — basically called the violence a reprisal or revenge for 1946. (Before Partition and Independence, the Muslim League had a significant presence in the Ahmadabad Municipal Corporation). Planned riots took place for the first time in Vadodara in 1969. Shops of Muslims, marked out in advance for easy identification were systematically destroyed, suggesting pre-planning and organisation.

In the period, 1974-1980, other issues preoccupied Gujarati society. The 1981 anti- reservation agitation, a reaction to the KHAM policy adopted by the

ruling Congress at the time, was re-channelized into a major communal conflagration, in a shrewd bid to check the sharp polarisation taking place among Hindus along caste lines. Conceived as a vote bloc of some OBCs, Dalits, Adivasis and Muslims, KHAM, (K as in Kshatriya – not to be confused with the upper caste Kshatriyas —, H as in Harijan, A as in Adivasis and M as in Muslims), the logic of numbers rendered KHAM unmatched in terms of electoral arithmetic.

This fetched the Congress huge electoral dividends; defying the anti-incumbency factor, the party swept the polls in the 1985 polls, winning many more seats in the Assembly than it had in 1980. But apart from the upper castes, KHAM outraged Patels, the intermediate caste with real economic muscle and immense political clout. As the Patidars (Patels) took upon themselves the task of dismantling KHAM, the Congress leadership, which had discovered the magic electoral formula was either unwilling or unable to evolve a political programme to sustain the onslaught. And Muslims, the last link in the chain, proved to be the weakest link.

The issue of reservation quotas for backward castes and communities became the focal point for the hostile political mobilisation of the upper castes, which turned violent. Communal riots between Hindus and Muslims now began to follow on the heels of caste violence as the former served the cynical purpose of diverting attention away from the growing cleavage within caste-Hindu society. Fortuitously for the caste-Hindus, the caste struggle in Gujarat coincided with the establishment of the VHP and soon thereafter, the Bajrang Dal in the state. These RSS outfits were conceived with a specific agenda – wooing of the 'lower' castes with a programme of 'Hindu unity'.

People in affected areas of Ahmadabad (which led the way for Vadodara and other cities) firmly denied any build up of hostilities prior to the riots. More telling was the way in which the burning of shops was balanced out, arithmetically as it were, between the Hindus and Muslims in the initial stages. It took some time before rioting gathered momentum on its own. Retaliation and counter-retaliation sent waves of violence across cities, its virulence manifest in the fact that for the first time stones and crowbars were giving way to guns, petrol bombs, and other explosives. This was 'progress' of a nasty kind. The caste war had dovetailed into a communal conflagration.

A striking new feature of the 1985 anti-reservation stir was the mobilisation of upper caste women in support of their men folk. They stood like a buffer between the agitating mob and the police. Facing insults and brickbats, the police was effectively prevented by these women from taking any strong action against the mob. In April 1985, the police revolted and participated in the violence. They burnt down the office of Gujarat Samachar in Ahmadabad. In the course of the communal riot engineered to quell the caste war, it was under police supervision that 400 Muslim houses were set ablaze and reduced to ashes all over the state.

To bring the difficult situation under control the army had to be called in. It soon found itself in the midst of extremely trying circumstances. The VHP,

hardly a force so far, launched a vicious campaign charging the army with pro-Muslim bias. The reason: its commanding officer happened to be a Muslim. The Muslims, on the other hand, complained of a pro-Hindu bias. In order to win civic confidence the army even had to undertake a poster campaign.

Unlike 1981-82, by 1985 the lower castes were better organised, often with aggression. The last phase of the agitation saw an Adivasi backlash. Huge rallies were organised in tribal areas sending warning signals to the upper castes. In Bhiloda, a tribal pocket in Sabarkantha district, armed young tribals went on the rampage. Patels living in the neighbouring village of Takatunka were attacked and robbed. Within a few minutes, 26 shops were devastated.

The nexus between anti-social elements (of both communities) and politicians, which was started in 1969, when Hitendra Desai was chief minister, and encouraged under Chimantbhai Patel's rule from 1969-1970, got a further boost in the '80s when Madhavsingh Solanki was chief minister. The patronising of liquor mafia dons belonging to rival communities, Hindu and Muslim, by different factions of the Congress in Ahmadabad and Vadodara led to the criminal-politician nexus behind communal violence surfacing with a vengeance.

In 1982, in Vadodara, there were riots around a Ganesh Chaturthi procession. In 1983, there was the first political mobilisation by the Sangh Parivar around the 'Ganga Jal' ('Holy water from the Ganges') and the 'Bharat Ekta Yatra' symbols. In 1985, it started with anti-reservation riots again, the issue being a hike in quota for OBCs by the Congress government. Communal riots were then engineered by the party in power to defuse the explosive caste conflict.

Between 1987 and 1991, 106 communal incidents took place in Gujarat. Political rivalry and conflicts during elections were responsible for triggering around 40 per- cent of these riots. Tensions related to 'religious processions' were responsible for another 22% of these clashes.

It was from Gujarat, in September 1990, that LK Advani launched his Somnath to Ayodhya rath yatra leaving a nationwide trail of violence in its wake. In 1990 itself, there was major violence in Gujarat because of Advani's rath yatra. Starting from Somnath, the yatra traversed through the heart of Gujarat. The chief architect of that yatra was Narendra Modi. During the years of communal violence in 1986, 1987, 1989 and 1990, Modi was general secretary of the BJP. That is when the Ramjanmabhoomi campaign became a central issue in Gujarat. Men, women and youngsters from Gujarat, constituting possibly the largest contingent from anywhere in the country, participated in the demolition of the Babri Masjid on December 6, 1992. Surat, a town with an unblemished record of communal harmony, joined other centres in Gujarat which had a more fractured history of inter-community relations. Violence spread to rural areas that had hitherto been largely unaffected.

In September 1990, on the occasion of Ganesh Visarjan, Vadodara saw the worst- ever riots in the walled city. Shops belonging to Muslims in the walled city and Raopura were broken open with the aid of gas cutters, looted and burnt.

During the Ganesh Visarjan procession, the destruction took place in broad daylight, in the presence of the police. Elected leaders of the BJP directed well-planned attacks on the property of Muslims on the main road. The Jumma Masjid near Mandvi was also attacked. It was soon after this riot in Vadodara that Advani's rath yatra began. Stray incidents of violence continued for months after this incident.

Sustained and systematic efforts were made by organisations like the BJP and its Sangh Parivar affiliates to communalise Gujarati society, through large-scale distribution of hate literature and other means. Hinduism was given more and more aggressive interpretations with a conscious design to promote a feeling among Hindus that they, the majority community, were being treated unjustly through 'appeasement' of Muslims by various 'vested interests'. The view that Muslims were fundamentalist, anti-national, and pro-Pakistan was systematically promoted. In some cases, Hindus were even exhorted to take up arms to defend their interests.

After 1992, there was a relative lull punctuated by stray incidents of violence against Muslims. From 1997 to 1999, especially in south Gujarat, a new trend was visible. The Sangh Parivar managed to create a divide, turning Hindu tribals against Christian tribals. In '98 and '99, Christian institutions – churches, schools, and hospitals were systematically targeted particularly in Dang, Surat and Valsad districts. This divided the tribal community into two camps — Hindu and Christian.

The BJP first came to power in Gujarat in the mid-nineties. But since 1998, with the coming of the Keshubhai Patel government and more so with Narendra Modi taking over as CM in September 2001, public space and atmosphere has been completely vitiated within the state. In recent years, the unending barrage of hate literature helped create a state of mind, even as persistent communal tension contributed to the perpetuation of violence as a way of life. Steady state support was extended to the activities of organisations such as the RSS, VHP, Bajrang Dal and the organisations it spawned. Anti-Christian propaganda and violence were initiated. Posts within the bureaucracy at various levels, police and Home Guards and educational institutions have been steadily filled with persons wedded to a communal worldview.

Sustained efforts have been made to penetrate the tribal belt, where the influence of the BJP was earlier limited. Trishuls, swords and other weapons have been distributed during ceremonial and religious functions. Training campaigns were organised to spread hate-ideology. Contrived 'aggressions' by the Muslim community ('abduction' and 'forced marriage' with Hindu girls), and Christians ('forced conversions') have been used to whip up local sentiments to a fever pitch. The utter failure of the law and order machinery and other wings of the state to check such blatantly unconstitutional behaviour are truly worrying for the future of secularism and democracy.

In the past four years alone, an atmosphere of threat and intimidation has deeply affected the social fabric of Gujarati society. In 1999, during the Kargil war, violence erupted in Ahmadabad city when Gujarat's Muslims were subtly

and not-so subtly projected as being pro-Pakistan and anti-India. In 2000, Muslim property running into crores of rupees was looted or destroyed all over the state in 'retaliation' to the killing of Amaranth yattris by terrorists in the Kashmir valley. The activities of organisations like the VHP, RSS and BD have become more and more brazen as they defy the law, confident that with 'our government' (BJP) in power, they need have no fear of any censure or penal action.

It is under this political dispensation that the ground for the present carnage was carefully laid and at any appropriate moment, ruthlessly implemented. If the letter and spirit of the Indian Constitution are to be redeemed and reaffirmed, that exercise must begin with Gujarat -the land of the Mahatma. Let every man or woman guilty of base crimes, however highly placed they be and irrespective of the short-term political consequences, be tried speedily and punished. India and its Constitution are crying out for redresses. As are the souls of the victims massacred in gruesome fashion and the complaints of the traumatised survivors of the Gujarat carnage.

JUDICIAL COMMISSIONS ON COMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN GUJARAT

The Jagmohan Reddy and Nusserwanji Vakil Commission of Inquiry were instituted in 1969 in the wake of the violence that claimed 1,100 lives. Unfortunately, irrespective of their political affiliation, successive governments in power have shown no interest in punishing the guilty, or in initiating the systemic changes recommended to check the recurrence of unbridled violence.

In 1986, the Dave Commission was appointed, but the Congress (I) government under Chimanbhai Patel found its recommendations politically inexpedient. Hence, it simply did not accept the findings that were made. In between, the Kotwal commis- sion also investigated bouts of communal violence in Ahmedabad city. Again the report was not implemented.

The Chauhan Commission was set up after the brutal violence in Surat in 1992, in the course of which, too, women were gang raped. This commission had completed its report and needed barely a 15-day extension for finalisation of the document, when the Congress-supported Vaghela government disbanded it. As a result, the findings of this commission could not even be made public, let alone the issue of its recommendations being acted upon.

SOCIAL ISSUES-QUESTION FOR GENDER JUSTICE

The status of women in British India and the princely States was worse and the various practices like sati, widowhood, child marriage, female infanticide were all seen as reflective of the backwardness of Indian society and were therefore targeted for change. The role of women in the National Movement and the rise of the women's movement during the pre - independence days ensured that the Constitution of India and Independent India would see a change for the better in the status of women. India attained Independence on 15th August 1947 but it was not till the Constitution came into force on 26th January 1950 that the picture became clear regarding the structure of government and the rights of the citizens of India.. The very fact that a parliamentary democracy in a republic

is prescribed guarantees protection of the rights and status of the citizens of India irrespective of their social status.. The makers of the Indian Constitution were very realistic in their expectations and that explains the various safeguards that they built into the Constitution to protect the rights of the marginalized and vulnerable groups in society. The national movement had been characterized by the demand for equality irrespective of birth and status. Questions regarding untouchability, rights of the religious and linguistic minorities and women had gripped the minds of the freedom fighters. They realized that one cannot demand freedom from colonial rule without ending the exploitative practices and unequal treatment of various sections of the society in the name of culture, history and tradition. This explains the protection that they have guaranteed these groups in the Constitution. The Fundamental Rights enumerated in Part III of the Constitution are the bed rock on which the democratic and Republican character of the Indian State and society are based. In this paper attempt will be made to examine the rights guaranteed to women as citizens of India and the protection extended to them in the Constitution, the basic law of India. Effort will also be made to examine the protection extended to women since Independence through the various changes made in the laws relating to crime, marriage and divorce laws and also laws relating to property. This will enable us to appreciate the extent to which the Constitutional Mandate regarding equality, irrespective of the gender of the individual, has been achieved. The Constitution The objective of the Constitution as spelt out in the preamble is to ensure that justice, equality and liberty are achieved. How this is to be achieved has been spelt out in Part III dealing with Fundamental Rights and also in Part IV dealing with the Directive Principles of State Policy. While the Fundamental Rights are justifiable, i.e., enforceable through the judicial system the Directive Principles are non-justifiable.

However, their importance lies in the fact that they are directory in nature and their sanction is political. There are six groups of fundamental rights which are available to every citizen of India irrespective of caste, class, race, religion and gender. Here we are concerned only with the question of gender. Articles 14-18 deal with the Right to Equality Article 14 expressly states that there shall be equal protection of the law and equality before the law. That is to say that whenever a woman approaches a law enforcement officer or the judicial court then she should receive the same protection as any man. None of the laws make a distinction between who commits a crime and against whom. If a stranger beats up a woman or her husband beats her up neither the Constitution nor the law make a distinction. Under the Indian Penal Code it is still a crime when the husband of a woman beats her up, injures or harms her in any way. When the Constitution guarantees equal protection of the law it simply means that when she approaches a police station to register her complaint the officer on duty has to record it as he would if a wealthy man from the upper caste were to come of the police station to register a first information report (FIR) against a stranger who had caused him physical harm or injury. This is what is meant by equal protection of the law and equality before the law. There cannot be a different

standard of justice or even denial of justice on the basis of the gender of the complainant.

This right to equality is the touchstone against which all the laws and practices in India have to test. Any law or practice which is not in consonance with this provision of the Constitution can be challenged in a court of law as it would be unconstitutional and violative of a Fundamental Right guaranteed by the Constitution of India. Article 15 guarantees the right against discrimination. Reading the Right to Equality with this right will necessitate the striking down of any law or practice that is discriminatory in character. This is the context in which the Vishaka and Others v. the State of Rajasthan and others (1987) case are noteworthy. The Supreme Court declared the offence of sexual harassment at the workplace as violative of the Right to Equality and Right against Discrimination. However, notwithstanding the right to equality and the right against discrimination the members of the constituent assembly thought it necessary to provide for special protection for women in Article 15(3) of the Constitution. They realized that a mere formal equality and right against discrimination guaranteed in the Constitution would not safeguard the women from being exploited and treated unequally. The members were sagacious enough to realize that thousands of years of discrimination and subordination of women will not be ended by the mere guaranteeing of equality in the Constitution and therefore they inserted this article so that the State would be given the space to make laws, policies and programmes for the enhancement of the status of women and enable them to access their rights under the Constitution. It is in this context that the 74th amendment which provided for reservation for women in the panchayats was made possible. Such a special provision takes into consideration the practical reality of the inability of women to participate in the electoral process on an equal footing with the men. The prejudices and biases against women and their abilities hinder the election of women to the local bodies or the state and central legislatures. This means that though women are guaranteed equality under the Constitution they are unable to access this right by virtue of their actual position in society. By such a protection it enables women who desire to stand for elections and participate in the decision making processes to do so.

This was made possible by a Constitutional provision itself. The Right for equality of opportunity in matters of public employment is guaranteed in Article 16 of the Constitution. The second category of Fundamental Rights deals with Right to Freedom i.e., from Articles 19-22. Article 19 guarantees the freedom of speech and expression, to assemble peaceably and without arms, to form associations and unions, to move freely throughout the territory of India, to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India and to practice any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business. This civil right is essential for functioning as a human being in a democratic society. It has been considered as one of the most essential rights along with the Right to Equality. In the context of domestic violence and sexual harassment at the workplace this Fundamental Right of women is most often than not violated. Women are forced to change their jobs or seek transfers on account of Sexual Harassment. Married

women subjected to domestic violence find that while the Constitution guarantees them the right to freely move throughout the territory of India their husbands and families don't recognize this right. Article 21 guarantees the Right to Life. The Supreme Court has in its interpretation widened the scope of this right by stating that the Right to Life means the right to live with dignity in the *Bandhua Mukti Morcha v. Union of India* (1984) case. The Right against Exploitation is guaranteed in Article 23. This expressly prohibits the trafficking of human beings. The other categories of rights deal with more specific issues like religious freedom and cultural and educational rights. However, the most important of all the Fundamental Rights is the Right to Constitutional Remedies in Article 32. This right guarantees the enforcement of the Rights enumerated in Part III of the Constitution as Fundamental Rights by providing for the right to move the Supreme Court or the High Court through a Writ Petition for enforcement of any one of the Fundamental Rights. The Supreme Court has further strengthened this right through the *Bandhu Mukti Morcha v. Union of India* case by stating that the Court can allow any member of the public acting bona fide to espouse the cause of persons who on account of their poverty or disability are unable to do so.

Thus it is not only that the Constitution has guaranteed various rights to women as citizens of India so as to protect their interests as human beings and individuals but the Judiciary in the course of its functioning as another wing of our Government has interpreted the Constitutional provisions so as to enable the implementation of the rights and also to facilitate the access to these rights in various cases that have come before it in the form of writ petitions filed by individuals or groups. In addition to the Fundamental Rights various other provisions of the Constitution in Part IV that deals with the Directive Principles provide directions to the State in formulating policies and programmes in the interest of women. Some of these would be useful to consider here. Article 38 requires the State to secure a social order in which justice - social, economic and political - for the promotion of welfare of the people. It requires the State to strive to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities. Clearly the intention of the makers of the Constitution was to ensure that equality would not be only of opportunity but in reality. Article 39 puts down the principles of policy to be followed by the State which include that the State should direct its policy toward securing the right to an adequate means of livelihood, that there is equal pay for equal work, that the health and strength of workers men and women, are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength. Article 42 requires the State to make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief. Article 46 requires the State to promote with special care the education and economic interests of the weaker sections of the citizens. Clearly then the objective is to strive towards a gender just society. The various special programmes and policies that have been formulated by the State since independence have had this objective. The fact that we are still very far from achieving this objective is not due to the lack of vision for an equal society as much as due to the absence of political will due to the failure to change society

and the values that are deeply entrenched and which cannot be altered without changes in the processes of socialization which includes education, family and the media. In addition to these responsibilities that have been put on the State to safeguard the interests of the citizens, through an amendment made in 1976 Part IVA was included in the Constitution which deals with Fundamental Duties and article 51A(e) very specifically requires that the citizens of India renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women. Thus even a cursory glance of Parts III, IV and IVA of the Indian Constitution will make it abundantly clear that the makers of our Constitution, the Legislature and the Judiciary have provided a fundamental law that takes into consideration the fact there can be no distinction made on the basis of the sex of a citizen which ensures that women will be treated equally under the law and are entitled to every single right as citizens of India. In addition taking into consideration the historical situation which reveals the discrimination that has been practiced on the basis of sex which has resulted in the subordinate status given to women in society special provision has been made to ensure that women will be able to access these rights.

The Constitution makers took into consideration the special needs of women as well thus requiring the State to protect the maternity of women as well even while providing them the right to pursue any employment or profession on par with a man. However, it must be remembered that guaranteeing a right in law does not ensure the ability to access the right in reality. The fact that the historical subjection of women has not been ended is constantly before us in the form of the reducing number of women in each census. It is falling at an alarming rate which is a matter of concern. Similarly crimes against women have been on the increase. Incidents of rape, sexual assault, sexual harassment, domestic violence, cheating etc have been growing not only in numbers but also in intensity and brutality. The statistics provided by the Crime Bureau of India brings this before us every year. These statistics only reveal the numbers of reported cases. One can easily imagine how much bigger the numbers would be if one were to take into accounting the numerous unreported cases. In addition, in the context of an expanding market economy, there has been the increasing objectification of women in the advertisements and the media. Parliament has from time to time either made amendments to the existing law or enacted new laws to address these various concerns. Women have huge responsibilities in relation to their families as the carers and nurturers but have low negotiating power at the same time. This results in neglect of their health and nutrition and access to health care is also restricted as women are most often unable to go to the primary health centres and hospitals leaving their responsibilities at home. It is, however, very important to realize that gender justice cannot be secured merely through laws and the legal system. Enacting gender just laws will not mean an end to the exploitation of and discrimination against women. Using law and the legal system can only be one of the many remedies to be used to change the unequal status of women. Law is one of the means of empowerment of women but it is very essential that we realize the limitations of law and not just hope that since we have a Constitution that guarantees equality and various laws

to address the different kinds of atrocities against women that women now are enjoying equality. Society has to be changed; attitudes of people in society have to be altered before equality can become real for women. Central Legislations dealing with matters relating to women's interests. Various legislations have been enacted right from the 1950s. We will make just a quick survey of these various laws and then reflect on the reasons why these together with the Constitution have not succeeded in ensuring that gender justice is meted out.

To deal with the problems arising from the practice of giving and receiving dowry the Dowry Prohibition Act was passed in 1961 and amendments were made to it subsequently in 1983. Further amendments were made to the Indian Penal Code in 1986 by incorporating Section 304 B by which a new offence of dowry death was created. Anyone who commits dowry death would now be punished with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than seven years but which may extend to imprisonment for life. Changes were also made in the Indian Evidence Act in 1983 and 1986 by which the rules relating to evidence in the context of death of a married woman within a period of seven years of her marriage were formulated through sections 113 A and 113 B. Essentially the sections refer to the presumption of cruelty or harassment before the death of a woman or in connection with any demand for dowry the Court shall presume that such person has abetted her suicide (S. 113 A) or caused the dowry death (S. 113 B). Further in 1983 Chapter XX A was added by an amendment which includes Section 498 A which basically deals with the crime of cruelty by husband or relatives of husband. The word cruelty has been defined. Two explanations are given one which defines cruelty in general and another cruelty in the context of unlawful demand for any property or valuable security. This is the first time that law has taken into consideration the problem of domestic violence. While till now the provisions of the Indian Penal Code that deal with injury, harm, wrongful confinement could have been used to address the problem the law enforcement officials, lawyers and judiciary could not reconcile themselves to the fact that a husband who commits any of these offences on his wife is committing a crime and therefore punishable. The prejudice in society against a wife seeking such remedy was clearly reflected in the attitudes of these law enforcement officers and as a consequence it became imperative to specifically address the issue of domestic violence which is so widely prevalent in society in order to secure to women justice and equality. The women's movement in India during the 1970s and 1980s forced the Government to take cognizance of these problems and to provide a remedy in law.

That is precisely what was attempted through these amendments. However, in reality there has been little change in the attitude of the law enforcement officials as there has hardly been any perceivable change in the status of women in society. Thus women continue to face the problem of domestic violence. One perceptible change is the recognition that domestic violence cannot be brushed aside as a problem between a husband and wife. If only the Government would use the media more effectively in driving home the message that wives are not the property of husbands to do what they please with them and that women are valued members of the nation we might see a

reduction in the crime of domestic violence. There are enactments like the Indecent Representation of Women (prohibition) Act 1986 and provisions in the Indian Penal Code to deal with obscenity like Sections 294 and 509. These try to address the question of objectification of women and sexual harassment of women. Then there is the Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act of 1987, the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act of 1986 etc which have tried to end some of the traditional practices which have resulted from the subordinate status of women in society and which are exploitative in character. To specifically address the question of female foeticide the Parliament enacted the Pre-natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention) Act in 1994. This Act basically criminalizes the use of techniques like ultrasound to determine the sex of the foetus. This Act used together with the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act 1971 effectively could lead to the ending of the practice of killing female fetuses. However, due to the negligent attitude of society and government towards the female in India there has hardly been any arrest even under this act leaves alone any conviction. To protect working women the Maternity Benefit Act was passed in 1961. This is to enable women who are employed to be able to safeguard the health of the foetus and their own before and after childbirth. This is to ensure that employed women will not face any disadvantages in comparison with their male colleagues of the need for hospitalization and post natal care in the context of pregnancy while also ensuring that the new born baby will also not miss out on maternal care during this period. The Equal Remuneration Act of 1976 aims to provide for the payment of equal wages to men and women workers and for the prevention of discrimination against women when the work is the same or of a similar nature The Factories Act of 1948 provides through Sections 19 and 42 for proper toilet facilities for women employees while Section 48 provides for crèches so that women may be able to look after their young children. Section 66 provides that no woman is to work between 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. unless the State Government specifically makes rules otherwise in certain specific contexts. The last section has not always worked to the advantage of women when it comes to the question of perks, increment and promotions as men are able to put in that extra work especially in certain industries like the Information Technology industry. That is the context in which the State Government of Karnataka wanted to exempt women in the IT industry from this provision of the Factories Act. With reference to inheritance, succession, laws relating to marriage and divorce, guardianship, custody, adoption etc since independence the State has been endeavouring to make the laws gender just. However, since the laws relating to these subject matters are considered to be derived from the religious beliefs and practices it has not been possible to completely ensure equality in these areas.

The Hindu Succession Act of 1956 gives male and female heirs equal rights of inheritance in acquired property while with reference to ancestral property daughters have no share except in a few states in Southern India like Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh wherein through amendment the State has guaranteed in law share for the female heirs even in the co-parcenary or inherited property. Under the Indian Succession Act which governs Christian's sons and daughters

get equal share in the property of their father after giving the wife one-third of the property. In Muslim law women generally inherit half of what their male counterparts do whether it is ancestral or acquired property. Muslim men and women can bequeath through a will only one-third of their property. The father is considered to be the natural guardian of the child and only if the father has no objection during his lifetime can the mother act as the natural guardian. This too was provided through the interpretation of the Supreme Court in the Githa Hariharan case. Through amendments to the personal laws efforts have been made to ensure equal rights in marriage and divorce for men and women. However there are still a few provisions which continue to deal unequally with men and women.

CONCLUSION

The legislative framework provided in the Constitution provides for equality in society between men and women. In order to fulfil this constitutional mandate the Parliament and the Judiciary have from time to time made laws and interpreted the existing ones that would guarantee gender justice. However since law, the legal system and society are closely interlinked it is not possible to enforce the rights provided in law without changes in social institutions, values and attitudes. Social change cannot be brought about through law. It is only through the process of sensitizing various branches of the government and more importantly the members of society to the rights and concerns of women can gender justice become a reality. Law is only one method by which the various problems of women can be resolved. While law can empower women at one level it is not possible to completely the subordination of women or the discriminatory practices merely through the legal system. If it had been otherwise we should not have to worry about the falling numbers of women in the year 2004. After all we have the Constitution that guarantees various rights to women and enactments since then which have attempted to address various crimes against women. We have to recognize the limitation of law in bringing about change in society and in ending oppression of women.

DALIT LITERATURE

Dalit Literature, literature about the Dalits, the oppressed class under Indian caste system forms an important and distinct part of Indian literature. Though Dalit narratives have been a part of the Indian social narratives since 11th century onwards, with works like Sekkizhar's Periya Puranam portraying Dalit women like half-naked and sexually exploitable and praising the killing of thousands of Dalits on "Kazhumaram" in the hands of Gnanasambandan, Dalit literature emerged into prominence and as a collective voice after 1960, starting with Marathi, and soon appeared in Hindi, Kannada, Telugu and Tamil languages, through self-narratives, like poems, short stories and most importantly autobiographies known for their realism, and for its contribution to Dalit politics. It denounced as petty and false the then prevailing romanticism with the bourgeois Sadashiv pethi literature treated the whole Dalit issue, ignoring the social reality of appalling poverty and oppression of caste Hindus which was the result of the bourgeois character of

this culture. It is often compared with the African-American literature especially in its depiction of issues of racial segregation and injustice, as seen in Slave narratives.

AMBEDKARI SAHITYA (LITERATURE)

In 1993, Ambedkari Sahitya Parishad, Wardha organized first "Akhil Bhartiya (All India) Ambedkari Sahitya Sammelan" in Wardha, Maharashtra to reconceptualize and transform "Dalit Sahitya (literature) into "Ambedkari Sahitya" after the name of its modern age hero and inspiration Dr.B.R. Ambedkar. Ambedkari Sahitya Parishad then successfully organized Third Akhil Bhartiya Ambedkari Sahitya Sammelan in 1996 and became a strong advocacy force of this transformation. Since then ten similar sahitya sammelans were held in various places. Ambedkari Sahitya Parishad was formed in 1992 with the goal to connect people with common ideals and aspirations, to provide a platform to those who are inspired by Dr B R Ambedkar's thoughts and philosophy to express their anguish through their literature against the oppression and bigotry, and to make their presence felt in the world.

One of the first Dalit writers was Madara Chennaiah, an 11th-century cobbler-saint who lived in the reign of Western Chalukyas and who is also regarded by some scholars as the "father of Vachana poetry". Another poet who finds mention is Dohara Kakkaiah, a Dalit by birth, six of whose confessional poems survive.

In the 20th century, the term "Dalit literature" came into use in 1958, when the first conference of *Maharashtra Dalit Sahitya Sangha* (Maharashtra Dalit Literature Society) was held at Mumbai, a movement driven by thinkers like Jyotiba Phule and Bhimrao Ambedkar.

Baburao Bagul (1930–2008) was pioneer of Dalit writings in Marathi. His first collection of stories, *Jevha Mi Jat Chorali* (When I had Concealed My Caste), published in 1963, created a stir in Marathi literature with its passionate depiction of a crude society and thus brought in new momentum to Dalit literature in Marathi; today it is seen by many critics as the epic of the Dalits, and was later made into a film by actor-director Vinay Apte. Gradually with other writers like, Namdeo Dhasal (who founded Dalit Panther), these Dalit writings paved way from strengthening of Dalit politics.

PROBLEM OF POLITICAL AND LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

DEFINING MINORITIES OF INDIA'S NORTHEAST

The concept of minority connotes something that is lesser in numbers and in status. Minority may be asserted as a part of a population differing from others in some characteristics and often subjected to differential treatment based on those characteristics. It is a numerically lesser group, differentiated by one or more a secretive qualities such as race, ethnic, religion, language and caste. In almost every state, there are majorities sharing a common history and cultural backgrounds and, there are minority groups characterized by their own ethnic, linguistic or religious identity that differs from that of the majority population.

There is hardly any country in the world where everyone speaks the same language professes and practices the same religion, belongs to the same racial stock, or whose cultural and ethnic identities are the same. Each society in the modern state contains sub-sections or sub-systems more or less distinct from the rest of its population. Over the years, it is being claimed that democracy has been imperilled by the ethnic assertions and conflicts. But these assertions may be treated as political under currents that question as well as strengthen the believed democratic ethos of modern state. These may also be taken as the assertions triggered by demands for justice from the disadvantaged (or minority) groups who often respond to the logic of competitive politics.

Despite innumerable references of minorities found in the international legal instruments, there is no generally accepted definition of the term “minority.” Overall, minority is thought of as the opposite of the majority. As such, minority come to refer chiefly to a particular kind of group that differs from the dominant group within a state. In democratic societies, it is often considered to be based on the numerical ratio to the population as a whole in a particular place. In fact, numerical strength of a group is not the only decisive factors in determining one’s minority position. This holds true when certain other criteria like caste, ethnicity, language, religion, etc. act as a boundary marker and identification. In Europe, the term “minority” is much more associated with “a group of people living on soil which they have occupied from time immemorial, but who, through change of boundaries, have become politically subordinate.” Such groups are only very slightly assimilationist; they tend to be strongly pluralistic and often secessionist. It is with such groups in mind that the United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention and Protection of Minorities uses this definition: “... those non-dominant groups in a population which possess and wish to preserve stable ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions or characteristics markedly different from those of the rest of the population.” In the words of Schermerhorn “Minorities are sub-group within a culture which are distinguished from the dominant group by reason of differences in physiognomy, or cultural patterns (including any combination these factors). Such sub-group are regarded as inherently different and “not belonging” to the dominant group, for this reason they are consciously or unconsciously excluded from full participation in the life of the culture.” Further, Louis Wirth define minority as “a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore, regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination.” This indicates that the existence of a minority group in a society implies the existence of a corresponding dominant group with a higher status and greater privileges. According to Claine Palley minority is “any racial, tribal, linguistic, religious, caste or nationality group within a nation-state and which is not in control of the political machinery of that state.” Furthermore, Francis Caporti, a special reporter to the United Nation Sub-commission on minorities define minority as “A group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members-being nationals of the state – possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population, and

show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religions or language.” Canada’s Jules Deschenes, another special reporter to the Sub-commission in 1985, submitted a revised version of this definition. Accordingly, he defined minority as “a group of citizens of a state, constituting a numerical minority and in a non-dominant position in that state, endowed with ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics which differ from those of the majority of the population, having a sense of solidarity with one another, motivated, if only implicitly, by a collective will to survive and whose aim is to achieve equality with the majority in fact and in law.” Thus, it is observed that the term “minority” is most frequently used to apply to communities with certain characteristics such as ethnic, linguistic, cultural or religious, etc., and always in an organized community. The members of such community feel that they constitute a national group or sub-group that is different from the majority group. Over all, minority is considered to be a comparatively smaller group of people differentiated from others in the same society by race, nationality, ethnic, language or religion.

In India, the term “minority” is not defined in the Constitution. Although minority forms a part of popular political discourse in India; still, there has not developed a precise and acceptable connotation of the term “minority.” The Indian discourse on minorities was overshadowed by the historical experience of partition of the country. Consequently, it defined and confined minorities within the parameters of the discourses of framed communalism versus secularism and nationalism versus separatism. The term “minority” is often used to denote those non-Hindu religious communities whose members are for one reason or another inclined to assert their distinctiveness in relation to Hindus. Thus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsees and Jews are commonly described as minorities in India. The Indian Constitution recognizes only two types of minorities based on religion and/or language. It does not recognize minorities based on culture, ethnicity, race or nationality. However, the emergence of lower caste movements, communal identities and ethno-nationalism have resulted to the phenomenon of identity politics in India on the one hand and deepening majority-minority syndrome on the other. No doubt, religion has long been both a prominent majority and minority identity and is originally used to refer to a broad description of faith. In common parlance, “religion” tends to be limited to the easily identified faiths like Christianity, Hinduism, Judaism, Islam and Buddhism. Here, belief is the fundamental element. However, religion is not the only criteria of determining one’s minority identity. In fact, inequality also persists between people professing the same faith. As a minority identity, and similar to religion in this aspect, language has been considered equally important facet of minority identity. Yet in contrast we find that some sections in India tend to be more privileged and dominant both in social and political domains because of their affiliation to such consortium. Minority in India is confined to religious connotations. Hindus are regarded to be the majority while Muslims, Sikhs, Parsees, Anglo-Indians and Christians are identified as religious minorities. Religion as the primary basis of grouping people and differentiating between the majority and the minority has persisted even though it is by no means a

comprehensive identity in the Indian context. The Hindu society is further vertically and horizontally differentiated along caste lines. Indeed caste differences hinder Hindu population to act or behave as a cohesive majority. What exist, as a consequence, are a number of caste groups, more in the shape of diverse minorities rather than a single majority. Despite these misgivings, religious identity continues to be employed to aggregate Hindu as a majority. Although numerical strength of a group determines their position in society, yet it is considered the minimum necessary condition for the identification of minority in India. Since numbers could be counted and weighed/compared only in a determinate territorial context, it is thought necessary to identify the whole within which a majority and minority could be identified. Consequently, only those communities that constitute a minority at the national level are considered for safeguards at the central and provincial levels. As such, Hindus are not given any special consideration; being categorized as the majority. Although this was the general understanding and viewpoint, nonetheless, there are certain instances when groups emerged a majority and minorities within a particular province and region. However, this conception of minority did not eventually prevail and the nation remained the reference point of all categorization of majority and minority. Thereby, although Muslim population in India marks the second largest next to Hindus yet they are designated as minority due to the fact that they are comparatively non-dominant and numerically insignificant. Contextually this becomes an acceptable aggregation of minority as the only point reference rests with the whole nation not with the provinces. Even if the application of the word “minorities” to the religious communities carries the connotation that they are in some ways socially disadvantaged, arbitrarily restricting its application to religious minorities alone ignores the fundamental nature of Indian society. There is, therefore, a need to see the concept of minorities in a broader perspective. Whether a group is distinctive on the ground of ethnic, religious, race, language, etc. ought to be characterized a minority depends, among other things, on the area that is the point of reference. Marked by diverse population, it may be argued that India is a “confederation of minorities” and a conglomeration of different communities and sub-communities. In brief, minority is contextual.

Although religion and language are the primary bases of determining minority identity in India, religious affiliation and linguistic similarities do not hold precedence in most part of India. In Northeast India, the formations of collective identity due to intense “ethnic mobilization” and “ethnic nepotism” detracts religious affiliation considered imperative to outline majority-minority framework. Nonetheless, certain

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

The rapid growing population and economic development is leading to a number of environmental issues in India because of the uncontrolled growth of urbanization and industrialization, expansion and massive intensification of agriculture, and the destruction of forests.

A lot is still needed to be done to understand and find ways to reduce and mitigate the effects of harmful substances and hazardous waste on human health and the environment.

A proper study needs to be undertaken to identify the negative impacts of these chemicals that contaminate land, water and air. This hazardous waste is being produced by various countries and poses serious risks to not just the people and the environment but, it also has the potential to contaminate other non-hazardous waste and substances if it is not adequately controlled.

THE CHIPKO MOVEMENT

The Chipko movement or Chipko Andolan is a movement that practiced the Gandhian methods of satyagraha and non-violent resistance, through the act of hugging trees to protect them from being felled. The modern Chipko movement started in the early 1970s in the Garhwal Himalayas of Uttarakhand, then in Uttar Pradesh with growing awareness towards rapid deforestation. The landmark event in this struggle took place on March 26, 1974, when a group of peasant women in Reni village, Hemwalghati, in Chamoli district, Uttarakhand, India, acted to prevent the cutting of trees and reclaim their traditional forest rights that were threatened by the contractor system of the state Forest Department. Their actions inspired hundreds of such actions at the grassroots level throughout the region. By the 1980s the movement had spread throughout India and led to formulation of people-sensitive forest policies, which put a stop to the open felling of trees in regions as far reaching as Vindhya and the Western Ghats. Today, it is seen as an inspiration and a precursor for Chipko movement of Garhwal.

The Chipko movement though primarily a livelihood protection movement rather than a forest conservation movement went on to become a rallying point for many future environmentalists, environmental protests and movements all over the world and created a precedent for non-violent protest. It occurred at a time when there was hardly any environmental movement in the developing world, and its success meant that the world immediately took notice of this non-violent movement, which was to inspire in time many such eco-groups by helping to slow down the rapid deforestation, expose vested interests, increase ecological awareness, and demonstrate the viability of people power. Above all, it stirred up the existing civil society in India, which began to address the issues of tribal and marginalized people. So much so that, a quarter of a century later, India Today mentioned the people behind the "forest satyagraha" of the Chipko movement as amongst "100 people who shaped India". Today, beyond the eco-socialism hue, it is being seen increasingly as an eco feminism movement. Although many of its leaders were men, women were not only its backbone, but also its mainstay, because they were the ones most affected by the rampant deforestation, which led to a lack of firewood and fodder as well as water for drinking and irrigation. Over the years they also became primary stakeholders in a majority of the afforestation work that happened under the Chipko movement. In 1987 the Chipko Movement was awarded the Right Livelihood Award

Soon, the forest cover started deteriorating at an alarming rate, resulting in hardships for those involved in labour-intensive fodder and firewood collection. This also led to deterioration in the soil conditions, and soil erosion in the area as the water sources dried up in the hills. Water shortages became widespread. Subsequently, communities gave up raising livestock, which added to the problems of malnutrition in the region. This crisis was heightened by the fact that forest conservation policies, like the Indian Forest Act, 1927, traditionally restricted the access of local communities to the forests, resulting in scarce farmlands in an over-populated and extremely poor area, despite all of its natural wealth. Thus the sharp decline in the local agrarian economy led to a migration of people into the plains in search of jobs, leaving behind several depopulated villages in the 1960s.

Gradually a rising awareness of the ecological crisis, which came from an immediate loss of livelihood caused by it, resulted in the growth of political activism in the region. The year 1964 saw the establishment of *Dasholi Gram Swarajya Sangh* (DGSS) ("Dasholi Society for Village Self-Rule"), set up by Gandhian social worker, Chandi Prasad Bhatt in Gopeshwar, and inspired by Jayaprakash Narayan and the Sarvodaya movement, with an aim to set up small industries using the resources of the forest. Their first project was a small workshop making farm tools for local use. Its name was later changed to Dasholi Gram Swarajya Sangh (DGSS) from the original Dasholi Gram Swarajya Mandal (DGSM) in the 1980s. Here they had to face restrictive forest policies, a hangover of colonial era still prevalent, as well as the "contractor system", in which these pieces of forest land were commodified and auctioned to big contractors, usually from the plains, who brought along their own skilled and semi-skilled laborers, leaving only the menial jobs like hauling rocks for the hill people, and paying them next to nothing. On the other hand, the hill regions saw an influx of more people from the outside, which only added to the already strained ecological balance.

Hastened by increasing hardships, the Garhwal Himalayas soon became the centre for a rising ecological awareness of how reckless deforestation had denuded much of the forest cover, resulting in the devastating Alaknanda River floods of July 1970, when a major landslide blocked the river and affected an area starting from Hanumanchatti, near Badrinath to 350 km downstream till Haridwar, further numerous villages, bridges and roads were washed away. Thereafter, incidences of landslides and land subsidence became common in an area which was experiencing a rapid increase in civil engineering projects.

Soon villagers, especially women, started organizing themselves under several smaller groups, taking up local causes with the authorities, and standing up against commercial logging operations that threatened their livelihoods. In October 1971, the Sangh workers held a demonstration in Gopeshwar to protest against the policies of the Forest Department. More rallies and marches were held in late 1972, but to little effect, until a decision to take direct action was taken. The first such occasion occurred when the Forest Department turned down the Sangh's annual request for ten ash trees for its farm tools workshop, and instead awarded a contract for 300 trees to Simon Company, a sporting

goods manufacturer in distant Allahabad, to make tennis rackets. In March, 1973, the lumbermen arrived at Gopeshwar, and after a couple of weeks, they were confronted at village Mandal on April 24, 1973, where about hundred villagers and DGSS workers were beating drums and shouting slogans, thus forcing the contractors and their lumbermen to retreat. This was the first confrontation of the movement; the contract was eventually cancelled and awarded to the Sangh instead. By now, the issue had grown beyond the mere procurement of an annual quota of three ash trees, and encompassed a growing concern over commercial logging and the government's forest policy, which the villagers saw as unfavourable towards them. The Sangh also decided to resort to tree-hugging, or Chipko, as a means of non-violent protest.

But the struggle was far from over, as the same company was awarded more ash trees, in the Phata forest, 80 km away from Gopeshwar. Here again, due to local opposition, starting on June 20, 1973, the contractors retreated after a stand-off that lasted a few days. Thereafter, the villagers of Phata and Tarsali formed a vigil group and watched over the trees till December, when they had another successful stand-off, when the activists reached the site in time. The lumbermen retreated leaving behind the five ash trees felled.

The final flash point began a few months later, when the government announced an auction scheduled in January, 1974, for 2,500 trees near Reni village, overlooking the Alaknanda River. Bhatt set out for the villages in the Reni area, and incited the villagers, who decided to protest against the actions of the government by hugging the trees. Over the next few weeks, rallies and meetings continued in the Reni area.

On March 26, 1974, the day the lumbermen were to cut the trees, the men of the Reni village and DGSS workers were in Chamoli, diverted by state government and contractors to a fictional compensation payment site, while back home labourers arrived by the truckload to start logging operations.^[4] A local girl, on seeing them, rushed to inform Gaura Devi, the head of the village *Mahila Mangal Dal*, at Reni village (Laata was her ancestral home and Reni adopted home). Gaura Devi led 27 of the village women to the site and confronted the loggers. When all talking failed, and instead the loggers started to shout and abuse the women, threatening them with guns, the women resorted to hugging the trees to stop them from being felled. This went on into late hours. The women kept an all-night vigil guarding their trees from the cutters till a few of them relented and left the village. The next day, when the men and leaders returned, the news of the movement spread to the neighbouring Laata and others villages including Henwalghati, and more people joined in. Eventually only after a four-day stand-off, the contractors left.

AFTERMATH

The news soon reached the state capital where then state Chief Minister, Hemwati Nandan Bahuguna, set up a committee to look into the matter, which eventually ruled in favour of the villagers. This became a turning point in the history of eco-development struggles in the region and around the world.

The struggle soon spread across many parts of the region, and such spontaneous stand-offs between the local community and timber merchants occurred at several locations, with hill women demonstrating their new-found power as non-violent activists. As the movement gathered shape under its leaders, the name Chipko Movement was attached to their activities. According to Chipko historians, the term originally used by Bhatt was the word "angalwaltha" in the Garhwali language for "embrace", which later was adapted to the Hindi word, *Chipko*, which means to stick.

Subsequently, over the next five years the movement spread to many districts in the region, and within a decade throughout the Uttarakhand Himalayas. Larger issues of ecological and economic exploitation of the region were raised. The villagers demanded that no forest-exploiting contracts should be given to outsiders and local communities should have effective control over natural resources like land, water, and forests. They wanted the government to provide low-cost materials to small industries and ensure development of the region without disturbing the ecological balance. The movement took up economic issues of landless forest workers and asked for guarantees of minimum wage. Globally Chipko demonstrated how environment causes, up until then considered an activity of the rich, were a matter of life and death for the poor, who were all too often the first ones to be devastated by an environmental tragedy. Several scholarly studies were made in the aftermath of the movement. In 1977, in another area, women tied sacred threads, Raksha Bandhan, around trees earmarked for felling in a Hindu tradition which signifies a bond between brother and sisters.

Women's participation in the Chipko agitation was a very novel aspect of the movement. The forest contractors of the region usually doubled up as suppliers of alcohol to men. Women held sustained agitations against the habit of alcoholism and broadened the agenda of the movement to cover other social issues. The movement achieved a victory when the government issued a ban on felling of trees in the Himalayan regions for fifteen years in 1980 by then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, until the green cover was fully restored. One of the prominent Chipko leaders, Gandhian Sunderlal Bahuguna, took a 5,000-kilometre trans-Himalaya foot march in 1981–83, spreading the Chipko message to a far greater area. Gradually, women set up cooperatives to guard local forests, and also organized fodder production at rates conducive to local environment. Next, they joined in land rotation schemes for fodder collection, helped replant degraded land, and established and ran nurseries stocked with species they selected.

PARTICIPANTS

One of Chipko's most salient features was the mass participation of female villagers. As the backbone of Uttarakhand's Agrarian economy, women were most directly affected by environmental degradation and deforestation, and thus related to the issues most easily. How much this participation impacted or derived from the ideology of Chipko has been fiercely debated in academic circles.

Despite this, both female and male activists did play pivotal roles in the movement including Gaura Devi, Sudesha Devi, Bachni Devi, Chandi Prasad Bhatt, Sundarlal Bahuguna, Govind Singh Rawat, Dhoom Singh Negi, Shamsher Singh Bisht and Ghanasyam Raturi, the Chipko poet, whose songs echo throughout the Himalayas. Out of which, Chandi Prasad Bhatt was awarded the Ramon Magsaysay Award in 1982, and Sundarlal Bahuguna was awarded the Padma Vibhushan in 2009.

LEGACY

In Tehri district, Chipko activists would go on to protest limestone mining in the Doon Valley (Dehra Dun) in the 1980s, as the movement spread through the Dehradun district, which had earlier seen deforestation of its forest cover leading to heavy loss of flora and fauna. Finally quarrying was banned after years of agitation by Chipko activists, followed by a vast public drive for afforestation, which turned around the valley, just in time. Also in the 1980s, activists like Bahuguna protested against construction of the Tehri dam on the Bhagirathi River, which went on for the next two decades, before founding the *Beej Bachao Andolan*, the Save the Seeds movement that continues to the present day.

Over time, as a United Nations Environment Programme report mentioned, Chipko activists started "working a socio-economic revolution by winning control of their forest resources from the hands of a distant bureaucracy which is only concerned with the selling of forestland for making urban-oriented products." The Chipko movement became a benchmark for socio-ecological movements in other forest areas of Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar; in September 1983, Chipko inspired a similar, Appiko movement in Karnataka state of India, where tree felling in the Western Ghats and Vindhyas was stopped. In Kumaon region, Chipko took on a more radical tone, combining with the general movement for a separate Uttarakhand state, which was eventually achieved in 2000.

In recent years, the movement not only inspired numerous people to work on practical programmes of water management, energy conservation, afforestation, and recycling, but also encouraged scholars to start studying issues of environmental degradation and methods of conservation in the Himalayas and throughout India.

On March 26, 2004, Reni, Laata, and other villages of the Niti Valley celebrated the 30th anniversary of the Chipko Movement, where all the surviving original participants united. The celebrations started at Laata, the ancestral home of Gaura Devi, where Pushpa Devi, wife of late Chipko Leader Govind Singh Rawat, Dhoom Singh Negi, Chipko leader of Henwalghati, Tehri Garhwal, and others were celebrated. From here a procession went to Reni, the neighbouring village, where the actual Chipko action took place on March 26, 1974. This marked the beginning of worldwide methods to improve the present situation.

THE APPIKO MOVEMENT

The Appiko (to embrace) movement, started on September 8, 1983 by fiery activist Pandurang Hegde who was inspired by Sunderlal Bahugana's Chipko movement in U.P., used the same method of villagers hugging the trees to

save them from being felled by the State, which had no laws then against felling of timber inside protected areas.

Appiko saved thousands of trees in the Sirsi belt and through protective action from 1983 to 1990 in various Western Ghat forests from Kodagu to Uttar Kannada districts saved trees from being felled and was responsible for the setting up of laws prohibiting timber felling in reserve forests in Karnataka.

SILENT VALLEY MOVEMENT

Save Silent Valley was a social movement aimed at the protection of Silent valley, an evergreen tropical forest in the Palakkad district of Kerala, India. It was started in 1973 to save the Silent Valley Reserve Forest in from being flooded by a hydroelectric project. The valley was declared as Silent Valley National Park in 1985.

The Kuntipuzha is a major river that flows 15 km southwest from Silent Valley. It takes its origin in the lush green forests of Silent valley. In 1928 the location at Sairandhri on the Kunthipuzha River was identified as an ideal site for electricity generation. A study and survey was conducted in 1958 of the area about the possibility of a hydroelectric project of 120 MV and one costing Rs. 17 Crore was later proposed by the Kerala State Electricity Board.

After the announcement of imminent dam construction the valley became the focal point of "Save Silent Valley", India's fiercest environmental debate of the decade. Because of concern about the endangered lion-tailed macaque, the issue was brought to public attention. Romulus Whitaker, founder of the Madras Snake Park and the Madras Crocodile Bank, was probably the first person to draw public attention to the small and remote area. In 1977 the Kerala carried out an Ecological Impact study of the Silent Valley area and proposed that the area be declared a Biosphere Reserve.

In 1978 Smt. Indira Gandhi, the Honorable Prime Minister of India, approved the project, with the condition that the State Government enact Legislation ensuring the necessary safeguards. Also that year the IUCN (Ashkhabad, USSR, 1978) passed a resolution recommending protection of Lion-tailed Macaques in Silent Valley and Kalakkad and the controversy heated up. In 1979 the Government of Kerala passed Legislation regarding the Silent Valley Protection Area (Protection of Ecological balance Act of 1979) and issued a notification declaring the exclusion of the Hydroelectric Project Area from the proposed National Park.

Kerala Sasthra Sahithya Parishad (KSSP) effectively aroused public opinion on the requirement to save Silent Valley. They also published a Techno-economic and Socio-Political assessment report on the Silent Valley Hydroelectric project. The poet activist Sugathakumari played an important role in the silent valley protest and her poem "Marathinu Stuthi" (Ode to a Tree) became a symbol for the protest from the intellectual community and was the opening song/prayer of most of the "save the Silent Valley" campaign meetings. Dr. Salim Ali, eminent ornithologist of the Bombay Natural History Society, visited the Valley and appealed for cancellation of the Hydroelectric Project. A petition of writ was filed

before the High Court of Kerala, against the clear cutting of forests in the Hydroelectric Project area and the court ordered a stop to the clear cutting.

Dr. M.S. Swaminathan, the renowned Agricultural Scientist, and then Secretary to the Department of Agriculture, called at the Silent Valley region and his suggestion was 389.52 km² including the Silent Valley (89.52 km²), New Amarambalam (80 km²), Attappadi (120 km²) in Kerala and Kunda in Tamil Nadu (100 km²) reserve forests, should be made into a National Rainforest Biosphere Reserve, with the aim of "preventing erosion of valuable genes *from the area*".

In January 1980 the Hon. High Court of Kerala lifted the ban on clear cutting, but then the Hon. Prime Minister of India requested the Government of Kerala to stop further works in the project area until all aspects were fully discussed. In December, the Government of Kerala declared the Silent Valley area, excluding the Hydroelectric Project area, as a National Park.

In 1982 a multidisciplinary committee with Prof. M. G. K. Menon as chairman, was created to decide if the Hydroelectric Project was feasible without any significant ecological damage. Early in 1983, Prof. Menon's Committee submitted its report. After a careful study of the Menon report, the Hon. Prime Minister of India decided to abandon the Project. On October 31, 1984 Indira Gandhi was assassinated and on November 15 the Silent Valley forests were declared as a National Park, though the boundaries of the Silent Valley Park were limited and no buffer zone was created, despite recommendations by expert committees and scientists.

Ten months later, on September 7, 1985 the Silent Valley National Park was formally inaugurated and a memorial at Sairandhri to Indira Gandhi was unveiled by Shri. Rajiv Gandhi, the new Hon. Prime Minister of India. On September 1, 1986 Silent Valley National Park was designated as the core area of the Nilgiri Biosphere Reserve. Since then, a long-term conservation effort has been undertaken to preserve the Silent Valley ecosystem.

NARMADA BACHAO ANDOLAN

Narmada Bachao Andolan is the most powerful mass movement, started in 1985, against the construction of huge dam on the Narmada river. Narmada is the India's largest west flowing river, which supports a large variety of people with distinguished culture and tradition ranging from the indigenous (tribal) people inhabited in the jungles here to the large number of rural population. The proposed Sardar Sarovar Dam and Narmada Sagar will displace more than 250,000 people. The big fight is over the resettlement or the rehabilitation of these people. The two proposals are already under construction, supported by US\$550 million loan by the World Bank. There are plans to build over 3000 big and small dams along the river.

It is a multi crore project that will generate big revenue for the government. The Narmada Valley Development plan is the the most promised and most challenging plan in the history of India. The proponents are of the view that it will produce 1450 MW of electricity and pure drinking water to 40 million people

covering thousand of villages and towns. Some of the dams have been already been completed such as Tawa and Bargi Dams. But the opponents say that this hydro project will devastate human lives and bio diversity by destroying thousands of acres of forests and agricultural land. On the other hand it will overall deprive thousands of people of their livelihood. They believe that the water and energy could be provided to the people through alternative technological means that would be ecologically beneficial.

Led by one of the prominent leader Medha Patkar, it has now been turned into the International protest, gaining support from NGO'S all around the globe. Protestors are agitating the issue through the mass media, hunger strikes, massive marches, rallies and the through the on screen of several documentary films. Although they have been protesting peacefully, but they been harassed, arrested and beaten up by the police several times. The Narmada Bachao Andolan has been pressurizing the World Bank to withdraw its loan from the project through media.

The strong protests throughout the country not only made impact on the local people but has also influenced the several famous celebrities like film star Aamir Khan, who has made open efforts to support Narmada Bachao Andolan. He said he only want that those who have been rendered homeless should be given a roof. He pleaded to the common people to take part in the moment and come up with the best possible solutions.

CHALLENGES FROM OUTSIDE

THE SINO-INDIAN WAR

The Sino-Indian War also known as the Sino-Indian Border Conflict was a war between China and India that occurred in 1962. A disputed Himalayan border was the main pretext for war, but other issues played a role. There had been a series of violent border incidents after the 1959 Tibetan uprising, when India had granted asylum to the Dalai Lama. India initiated a Policy in which it placed outposts along the border, including several north of the McMahon Line, the eastern portion of a Control proclaimed by Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai in 1959.

Unable to reach political accommodation on disputed territory along the 3,225-kilometer-long Himalayan border, the Chinese launched simultaneous offensives in Ladakh and across the McMahon Line on 20 October 1962, coinciding with the Cuban Missile Crisis. Chinese troops advanced over Indian forces in both theatres, capturing Rezang la in Chushul in the western theatre, as well as Tawang in the eastern theatre. The war ended when the Chinese declared a ceasefire on 20 November 1962, and simultaneously announced its withdrawal from the disputed area.

The Sino-Indian War is notable for the harsh conditions under which much of the fighting took place, entailing large-scale combat at altitudes of over 4,250 metres (14,000 feet). The Sino-Indian War was also noted for the non-deployment of the navy or air force by either the Chinese or Indian side.

INDIA –PAKISTAN WARS

Since the partition of British India in 1947 and creation of India and Pakistan, the two South Asian countries have been involved in four wars, including one undeclared war, as well as many border skirmishes and military stand-offs. Additionally, India has accused Pakistan of engaging in proxy wars by providing military and financial assistance to violent non-state actors.

The dispute for Kashmir has been the cause, whether direct or indirect of all major conflicts between the two countries with the exception of the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971, where conflict originated due to turmoil in erstwhile East Pakistan (now Bangladesh).

BACKGROUND

The Partition of India came about in the aftermath of World War II, when both Great Britain and British India were dealing with the economic stresses caused by the war and its demobilisation. It was the intention of those who wished for a Muslim state to come from British India to have a clean partition between independent and equal "Pakistan" and "Hindustan" once independence came.

The partition itself, according to leading politicians such as Mohammed Ali Jinnah, leader of the All India Muslim League, and Jawaharlal Nehru, leader of the Indian National Congress, should have resulted in peaceful relations. However, the partition of British India into India and Pakistan in 1947 did not divide the nations cleanly along religious lines. Nearly one third of the Muslim population of British India remained in India. Inter-communal violence between Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims resulted in between 500,000 to 1 million casualties.

Princely-ruled territories, such as Kashmir and Hyderabad, were also involved in Partition. Rulers of these territories had the choice of joining India or Pakistan. Both India and Pakistan laid claim on Kashmir and thus it became the main point of conflict. The ruler of Kashmir, which had a Muslim majority population, joined India by signing the Instrument of Accession.

INDO-PAKISTANI WAR OF 1947

This is also called the *First Kashmir War*. The war started in October 1947 when it was feared by the Pakistan that Maharajah of the princely state of Kashmir might accede to India as choice was given to him on the matter to accede to any of the newly independent nations. Tribal forces from Pakistan attacked and occupied the princely state, resulting in Maharajah signing the Agreement to the accession of the princely state to India. The United Nations was invited by India to mediate the quarrel resulting in the UN Security Council passing Resolution 47 on 21 April 1948. The war ended in December 1948 with the Line of Control dividing Kashmir into territories administered by Pakistan (northern and western areas) and India (southern, central and north-eastern areas).

INDO-PAKISTANI WAR OF 1965

This war started following Pakistan's Operation Gibraltar, which was designed to infiltrate forces into Jammu and Kashmir to precipitate an insurgency against rule by India. India retaliated by launching an attack on Pakistan. The five-week war caused thousands of casualties on both sides and was witness to the largest tank battle in military history since World War II. The outcome of this war was a strategic stalemate with some small tactical victories for both sides but India suffered more loss. The war concluded after diplomatic intervention by the Soviet Union and USA and the subsequent issuance of the Tashkent Declaration.

INDO-PAKISTANI WAR OF 1971

The war was unique in that it did not involve the issue of Kashmir, but was rather precipitated by the crisis created by the political battle between Sheikh Mujib, Leader of East Pakistan and Yahya-Bhutto, leaders of West Pakistan brewing in erstwhile East Pakistan culminating to the declaration of Independence of Bangladesh from the state system of Pakistan. Following Operation Searchlight and the 1971 Bangladesh atrocities, about 10 million Bengalis in East Pakistan took refuge in neighbouring India. India intervened in the ongoing Bangladesh liberation movement. After a large scale pre-emptive strike by Pakistan, full-scale hostilities between the two countries commenced. Within two weeks of intense fighting, Pakistani forces in East surrendered to the joint command of India and Bangladesh forces following which the People's Republic of Bangladesh was created. This war saw the highest number of casualties in any of the India-Pakistan conflicts, as well as the largest number of prisoners of war since the Second World War after the surrender of more than 90,000 Pakistani military and civilians.

INDO-PAKISTANI WAR OF 1999

Commonly known as Kargil War, this conflict between the two countries was mostly limited. Pakistani troops along with Kashmiri insurgents infiltrated across the Line of Control (LoC) and occupied Indian Territory mostly in the Kargil district. The Pakistani government believed that its weapons would deter a full-scale escalation in conflict but India asked UN to stop this before happening, so Pakistani PM Nawaz Sharif ordered Pakistani army chief Pervez Musharraf to return from India. Due to increasing foreign diplomatic pressure, Pakistan was forced to withdraw its forces back across the LoC.

UNIT-IV

INDIA IN THE UNIPOLAR WORLD

Immediately after Independence, India was too much engrossed with numerous domestic problems to be particularly concerned about the outside world. Soon, however, her size, large population, resource base, geographical location and cultural background enabled her to gain prominence among the developing countries. Mahatma Gandhi's model of non-violent political struggle had served as a general model for many Afro-Asian countries to gain Independence.

Her policy to keep equal distance from two super powers was also liked by these developing countries of the Third World. As the number of countries joining the non-aligned group swelled, India's popularity also increased amongst the developing countries. Its endeavour for economic development, reconstruction and self sufficiency became beacon light for many Afro-Asian Countries.

The two super powers did not like the growing strength of the non-aligned movement calling for international peace and human dignity across the world. India's prestige got a big jolt in 1962 owing to her humiliating defeat by the Chinese invasion. But it recovered the shock during the regime of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

The growing Pakistan-China nexus and US inclination towards Islamabad forced India to soften its attitude towards Soviet Union (Russia) which proved to be more reliable friend for India during the time of crisis and dire necessity. This tilt was also due to geographical proximity and regional geopolitics. With the end of the Cold War and collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States has become the supreme power of the world. Consequently, non-aligned movement has almost lost its relevance. In addition to the United States as the super power regional powers are emerging to dominate the regional geopolitics.

Thus India has emerged as the regional power in South Asia. But its geographical location also gives her decisive advantage to keep watch over the geopolitical activities of the Middle East, South-East Asia, East Asia, Central Asia and East Africa. Here India has to face a challenge from China which is trying hard to fill up the vacuum created by the Soviet Union and emerge as the most powerful political-military entity next to the United States.

China is also trying to beat India in the race for leadership of the underdeveloped Afro-Asian world. Unmindful of the Chinese design the United States is propping up Pakistan against India by promoting an anti-India Islamabad-Beijing axis. There was secret support of the United States in the nuclearization of Pakistan.

More recently growing fundamentalism and terrorism in the Islamic world have opened the eyes of the United States and China. There is apparent shift in US policy towards India after Pokhran II blast and the United States is gradually realising the importance of India in the Afro-Asian world. On the one hand it is trying to block the cherished Russian plan to develop a combined Moscow-Beijing-New Delhi strategic triangle to challenge US hegemony in the Afro-Asian world; on the other hand it looks for India as only potential country to stand in face to face with China.

Currently India is striving hard to occupy an honourable position amongst the community of nations. It is trying to occupy a permanent seat in the UN Security Council and thus play an important role in global geopolitics and maintaining world peace. India is a major contributor to the UN peace keeping force.

It is also trying to break the Western hegemony in economic and political fields so as to help in the development of a world order free from exploitation and tyranny. It is organising the divided community of developing countries to fight against neo-colonialism, economic dominance, and political interference in the affairs of the weaker countries. It is also trying for a nuclear free world, curb terrorism and promote world peace.

GATT

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) provided global trade rules as well as a framework for trade disputes from 1948 to 1994. It was one of three Bretton Woods organizations developed after World War II. (The others were the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank). The goal of GATT founders was to liberalize world trade, specifically by reducing protective tariffs.

The first round of negotiations impacted one fifth of world trade; there were 23 founding members. The eighth and last round -- the Uruguay Round of 1986-94 -- led to the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and a new set of trade agreements.

Corporations often argue for more open trade in order to have access to new markets. Labour often argues for trade restrictions in order to protect domestic jobs. Because trade agreements must be approved by governments, this tension sets up political conflict.

WTO (The World Trade Organization)

The World Trade Organization is an organization that intends to supervise and liberalize international trade. The organization officially commenced on 1 January 1995 under the Marrakech Agreement, replacing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which commenced in 1948. The organization deals with regulation of trade between participating countries; it provides a framework for negotiating and formalizing trade agreements, and a dispute resolution process aimed at enforcing participants' adherence to WTO agreements, which are signed by representatives of member governments and ratified by their

parliaments. Most of the issues that the WTO focuses on derive from previous trade negotiations, especially from the Uruguay Round (1986–1994).

The organization is attempting to complete negotiations on the Doha Development Round, which was launched in 2001 with an explicit focus on addressing the needs of developing countries. As of June 2012, the future of the Doha Round remains uncertain: the work programme lists 21 subjects in which the original deadline of 1 January 2005 was missed, and the round is still incomplete. The conflict between free trade on industrial goods and services but retention of protectionism on farm subsidies to domestic agricultural sector (requested by developed countries) and the substantiation of the international liberalization of fair trade on agricultural products (requested by developing countries) remain the major obstacles. These points of contention have hindered any progress to launch new WTO negotiations beyond the Doha Development Round. As a result of this impasse, there have been an increasing number of bilateral free trade agreements signed. As of July 2012, there are various negotiation groups in the WTO system for the current agricultural trade negotiation which is in the condition of stalemate. WTO's current Director-General is Pascal Lamy, who leads a staff of over 600 people in Geneva, Switzerland.

PRO-AMERICANISM

Since the Nineties, Indian elites have been increasingly described as “pro-American.” While attending a mini-conference of a segment of India’s foreign policy and security elite in New Delhi last week, we kept noting how widespread the “pro-American” sentiment seemed to be. In fact, we heard one of the intellectuals argue that India’s rise would naturally be assisted by other secular, pluralistic, constitutional democracies and resisted by states which adhered to the principle of harmony. Such a statement would have been unthinkable in the recent past (although it may still be terribly naive). And yet this general warmth toward the US and the West does not seem to have translated into a significant shift in the commitment of India’s military resources.

So the real issue is what does it mean when Indian elites say that they are pro-American? We would argue that being pro-American in the Indian context means primarily a lack of hostility toward the foreign policies and economic influence of the United States in the developing world and South Asia in particular. What it does not necessarily mean is open or overt support for the American agenda in the region or in international for an except where American and Indian interests directly converge. In other words, Indians have no plans to displace the British lapdog (or the ever-purring Israeli lap-kitten).

Indian elites increasingly take what they describe as a “business-like” attitude toward the US. It is well understood that America will look out for its own interests and India does not expect the US to protect Indian interests. Indians know that they must engage actors and issues on their own to safeguard their national interests, but there is no longer an assumption that the US is hostile to the rise of India (although some strong suspicions remain that the US is trying to use India in a soft containment policy targeted at China). Similarly, India does not necessarily view the presence of great powers in its backyard with

fear or anger as it once did. There is no longer a strong desire to proclaim a “Monroe Doctrine” for South Asia, from what I have seen. Naturally, there is concern that resources contributed to America’s partners in the war on terror or militants mobilized against the US may be directed against India once the US withdraws, but it is also acknowledged that in a globalized world terrorism will not be so easily confined to one region through a “forward policy.” So the US is not seen as a stabilizing force in the region, but few question the need for the US to fight the war on terror — although many question the way it is fighting that war and the partners the US chooses to work with.

Pro-Americanism does not imply significant responsibility for India, at least in the mind of Indian elites. In other words, Indians do not feel much pressure to help support US foreign policies through troop deployments. In most cases, overt Indian military involvement (e.g. in Afghanistan) would not be welcome by third party actors anyway. Moreover, any external troop deployment would have to confront a strong domestic bias against deploying troops abroad outside of the UN umbrella, not to mention a complex legacy from the disastrous Indian mission in Sri Lanka which culminated in the assassination of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Retired military officials with whom I spoke stated that India has the capability to project power into countries like Afghanistan, but other policy experts were skeptical of that claim. India is willing to give financially (for example it is the largest regional donor to Afghanistan and one of the top five internationally), but this is relatively painless compared to sending troops.

Pro-Americanism also does not imply any serious constraints on Indian policies. For example, Indians will continue to work with Iran on most issues regardless of US pressure. While India can be convinced that a nuclear armed Iran might be against its interests, a general policy of isolating and demonizing Iran will be quietly rejected.

Thus, when an Indian says they are “pro-American” what this really means is that they are not reflexively hostile to American policies and influence. There is a sense of affinity based on the similarities between the regime types and common threats, but India is not likely to simply band wagon with the hegemony.

INDIA - PALESTINE RELATIONS

India’s solidarity with the Palestinian people and its attitude to the Palestinian question was given voice through our freedom struggle by Mahatma Gandhi. India’s empathy with the Palestinian cause and its friendship with the people of Palestine have become an integral part of its time-tested foreign policy. In 1947, India voted against the partition of Palestine at the United Nations General Assembly. India was the first Non-Arab State to recognize PLO as sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in 1974. India was one of the first countries to recognize the State of Palestine in 1988. In 1996, India opened its Representative Office to the Palestine Authority in Gaza, which later was shifted to Ramallah in 2003.

India always played a proactive role in garnering support for the Palestinian cause in multilateral form. India co-sponsored the draft resolution on “the right of Palestinians to self-determination” during the 53rd session of the UN General Assembly and voted in favour of it. India also voted in favour of UN General Assembly Resolution in October 2003 against construction of the security wall by Israel and supported subsequent resolutions of the UNGA in this regard. India voted in favour of accepting Palestine as a full member of UNESCO. At the United Nations General Assembly on November 29, 2012 the status of Palestine was upgraded to a non-member state. India co-sponsored this resolution and voted in favour of it.

There have been regular bilateral visits between India and Palestine. Late President Yasser Arafat visited India several times. President Mahmoud Abbas has visited India in 2005, 2008, 2010 and 2012. The visits of President Mahmoud Abbas in 2008 and 2010 were State visits.

From the Indian side too, there have been several visits to Palestine, prominent among them being of Shri L.K. Advani, Union Home Minister in 2000, Shri Jaswant Singh, and External Affairs Minister in 2000, and Shri E. Ahamed, Minister of State for External Affairs in 2004, 2007 and 2011, Shri S.M. Krishna, External Affairs Minister in Jan. 2012.

Apart from the strong political support to the Palestinian cause at international and bilateral levels, India has been contributing, since long time, material and technical assistance to the Palestinian people. With the Government of India's aid, two projects were completed in the field of higher education i.e. Jawaharlal Nehru Library at the Al Azhar University in Gaza city and the Mahatma Gandhi Library-cum-Student Activity Centre at the Palestine Technical College at Deir Al Balah in the Gaza Strip. Under India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) Forum's assistance, an Indoor Multi-purpose Sports Complex has been constructed in Ramallah. Al Quds hospital in Gaza is in the process of reconstruction and the process of building a rehabilitation centre in Nablus has started.

In 1997, an MoU between India and Palestine was signed, which provides for promoting scientific, technical and industrial cooperation including provision of training facilities in specialized areas and undertaking of mutually agreed projects. During President Abbas's State Visit to India in Oct 2008, a Memorandum of Understanding regarding construction and equipping of the Jawaharlal Nehru High School at Abu Dees, Palestine was signed. In February 2010 during the visit of Dr. Hasan Abu Libdeh, Minister of National Economy, PNA a Memorandum of Understanding for cooperation was signed between the Federation of Palestinian Chamber of Commerce, Industry & Agriculture (FPCCIA) and Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI). During the visit of President Abbas to India in 2012 three MoUs were signed in the field of setting up a Centre of Excellence in IT, Building of two schools in Palestine and providing equipments and training to Vocational Training Centres in Palestine.

During the visit of President Mahmoud Abbas to India in 2005, a commitment for assistance of US \$15 million was made by the Government of India. In pursuance to the commitment, several projects were undertaken; prominent among them is the construction of Palestinian Embassy in Delhi which has been completed. Further, in the Paris Donors' Conference in December 2007, India announced a fresh commitment of US \$ 5 million. During President Abbas's State visit to India in Oct 2008, Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh announced a grant of \$10 million as budgetary support to the Palestine National Authority as well as an additional \$10 million in project assistance for Palestinian development programmes. The budgetary support of US \$10 million was paid by Government of India to PNA in March 2009. During President Mahmoud Abbas' visit to India in February 2010, Prime Minister announced a grant of US \$10 million as budget support to Palestinian National Authority; the amount was transferred to PNA in March 2010. During the visit of President Mahmoud Abbas in 2012, Prime Minister announced a grant of US \$ 10 million as budget support to Palestine.

India offers eight scholarships under the General Cultural Scholarship Scheme (GCSC) of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) to Palestinian students for higher studies in India. Over the years, several hundreds of Palestinian students have studied in Indian universities and institutions on their own. Foreign Service Institute (FSI), MEA organised a 'Special Course for Palestine Diplomats' (SCPD) at the FSI from 22nd November to 17th December 2004. India has been offering 40 slots for training courses under the ITEC programme. During the New Asia-Africa Strategic Partnership Ministerial Conference on Capacity Building for Palestine at Jakarta in July 2008 India committed to provide 60 slots for training courses under ITEC programme. Later, the slots were increased to 100 slots per annum since 2009-10.

Trade between India and Palestine has shown steady improvement. Products imported from India include fabrics, yarns, readymade garments, household appliances, stationery products, leather products, industrial tools and accessories, basmati rice, spices, vaccines and pharmaceutical products, sanitary wares, marble and granites.

Several cultural activities were held in the Palestine by the Representative Office of India. On the occasion of celebrations of India's independence, dance programmes, film shows, photo exhibitions in various Palestinian cities as well as a joint painting exhibition of Indian and Palestinian artists have been held. A commemorative cover with a special stamp honouring Mother Teresa was released by the Palestinian Authority. Indian Film Festivals also have been organized in various cities.

INDIA –SRI LANKA RELATIONS

Bilateral relations between the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and the Republic of India have been generally friendly, but were controversially affected by the Sri Lankan civil war and by the failure of Indian intervention during the war. India is the only neighbour of Sri Lanka, separated

by the Palk Strait; both nations occupy a strategic position in South Asia and have sought to build a common security umbrella in the Indian.

INDIAN INTERVENTION IN THE SRI LANKAN CIVIL WAR

In the 1970s-1980s, private entities and elements in the state government of Tamil Nadu were believed to be encouraging the funding and training for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, a separatist insurgent force. In 1987, faced with growing anger amongst its own Tamils, and a flood of refugees, India intervened directly in the conflict for the first time after the Sri Lankan government attempted to regain control of the northern Jaffna region by means of an economic blockade and military assaults; India supplied food and medicine by air and sea. After subsequent negotiations, India and Sri Lanka entered into an agreement. The peace accord assigned a certain degree of regional autonomy in the Tamil areas with Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) controlling the regional council and called for the Tamil militant groups to lay down their arms. Further India was to send a peacekeeping force, named the IPKF to Sri Lanka to enforce the disarmament and to watch over the regional council.

Even though the accord was signed between the governments of Sri Lanka and India, with the Tamil Tigers and other Tamil militant groups not having a role in the signing of the accord, most Tamil militant groups accepted this agreement, the LTTE rejected the accord because they opposed the candidate, who belonged to another militant group named Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), for chief administrative officer of the merged Northern and Eastern provinces. Instead the LTTE named three other candidates for the position. The candidates proposed by the LTTE were rejected by India. The LTTE subsequently refused to hand over their weapons to the IPKF.

The result was that the LTTE now found itself engaged in military conflict with the Indian Army, and launched their first attack on an Indian army rations truck on October 8, killing five Indian para-commandos who were on board by strapping burning tires around their necks. The government of India then decided that the IPKF should disarm the LTTE by force, and the Indian Army launched number of assaults on the LTTE, including a month-long campaign dubbed Operation Pawan to win control of the Jaffna peninsula from the LTTE. When the IPKF engaged the LTTE, the then president of Sri Lanka, Ranasinghe Premadasa, began supporting LTTE and funded LTTE with arms. During the warfare with the LTTE, IPKF was also alleged to have made human rights violation against the civilians. Notably, IPKF was alleged to have perpetrated Jaffna teaching hospital massacre which was the killing of over 70 civilians including patients, doctors and nurses. The ruthlessness of this campaign, and the Indian army's subsequent anti-LTTE operations made it extremely unpopular amongst many Tamils in Sri Lanka. The conflict between the LTTE and the Indian Army left over 1,000 Indian soldiers' dead.

The Indo-Sri Lankan Accord, which had been unpopular amongst Sri Lankans for giving India a major influence now, became a source of nationalist anger and resentment as the IPKF was drawn fully into the conflict. Sri Lankans

protested the presence of the IPKF, and the newly-elected Sri Lankan president Ranasinghe Premadasa demanded its withdrawal, which was completed by March 1990. On May 21, 1991, Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated and the LTTE was alleged to be the perpetrator. As a result India declared the LTTE to be a terrorist outfit in 1992. Bilateral relations improved in the 1990s and India supported the peace process but has resisted calls to get involved again.[15] India has also been wary of and criticised the extensive military involvement of Pakistan in the conflict, accusing the latter of supplying lethal weaponry and encouraging Sri Lanka to pursue military action rather than peaceful negotiations to end the civil war.

COMMERCIAL TIES

India and Sri Lanka are member nations of several regional and multilateral organisations such as the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), South Asia Co-operative Environment Programme, South Asian Economic Union and BIMSTEC, working to enhance cultural and commercial ties. Since a bilateral free trade agreement was signed and came into effect in 2000, Indo-Sri Lankan trade rose 128% by 2004 and quadrupled by 2006, reaching USD 2.6 billion. Between 2000 and 2004, India's exports to Sri Lanka in the last four years increased by 113%, from USD 618 million to \$1,319 million while Sri Lankan exports to India increased by 342%, from \$44 million to USD \$194 million. Indian exports account for 14% of Sri Lanka's global imports. India is also the fifth largest export destination for Sri Lankan goods, accounting for 3.6% of its exports. Both nations are also signatories of the South Asia Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA). Negotiations are also underway to expand the free trade agreement to forge stronger commercial relations and increase corporate investment and ventures in various industries. The year 2010 is predicted to be the best year for bilateral trade on record, with Sri Lanka's exports to India increasing by 45% over the first seven months of the year.

India's National Thermal Power Corp (NTPC) is also scheduled to build a 500 MW thermal power plant in Sampoor (Sampur). The NTPC claims that this plan will take the Indo-Sri Lankan relationship to new level.

FISHERMEN ISSUE

There have been several alleged incidents of firing on Indian fishermen fishing in Palk Bay. Indian Government has always taken up the issue of safety of Indian fishermen on a priority basis with the Government of Sri Lanka. Presently there is no bonafide Indian fisherman in the Sri Lankan custody. A Joint Working Group (JWG) has been constituted to deal with the issues related to Indian fishermen straying in Sri Lankan territorial waters, work out modalities for prevention of use of force against them and the early release of confiscated boats and explore possibilities of working towards bilateral arrangements for licensed fishing. The JWG last met in Jan 2006. India officially protested against Sri Lanka Navy for its alleged involvement in attacks on Indian fishermen on January 12, 2011. Even after the official protest, another fisherman was killed in a brutal manner on Jan 22; 2011. Over 530 fishermen have been killed in the last 30 years. The apathetic attitude of the Indian government and the national media

towards the alleged killing of Tamil Nadu fishermen by the Sri Lankan Navy is being strongly condemned. There has been a campaign on Social Network sites such as Twitter, Facebook etc. to stop these alleged incidents. Several Tamil Nadu politicians like Vaiko and Jayalalitha have condemned the federal government for not doing enough to stop the killing of Indian Tamil fishermen.

DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

India is active in a number of areas of development activity in Sri Lanka. About one-sixth of the total development credit granted by GOI is made available to Sri Lanka. Lines of credit: In the recent past three lines of credit were extended to Sri Lanka: US\$ 100 million for capital goods, consumer durables, consultancy services and food items, US\$ 31 million for supply of 300,000 MT of wheat and US\$ 150 million for purchase of petroleum products. All of these lines of credit have been fully utilized. Another line of credit of US\$ 100 million is now being made available for rehabilitation of the Colombo-Matara railway.

A number of development projects are implemented under 'Aid to Sri Lanka' funds. In 2006-07, the budget for 'Aid to Sri Lanka' was Rs 28.2 Crs.

Small Development Projects: A MoU on Cooperation in Small Development Projects has been signed. Projects for providing fishing equipment to the fishermen in the East of Sri Lanka and solar energy aided computer education in 25 rural schools in Eastern Sri Lanka are under consideration.

Health Projects: India have supplied medical equipment to hospitals at Hambantota and Point Pedro, supplied 4 state of the art ambulances to the Central Province, implemented a cataract eye surgery programme for 1500 people in the Central Province and implemented a project of renovation of OT at Dickoya hospital and supplying equipment to it.

The projects under consideration are: Construction of a 150-bed hospital at Dickoya, upgradation of the hospital at Trincomalee and a US\$ 7.5 million grant for setting up a Cancer Hospital in Colombo.

Education Projects: Upgradation of the educational infrastructure of the schools in the Central province including teachers' training, setting up of 10 computer labs, setting up of 20 e-libraries (Nenasalas), Mahatma Gandhi scholarship scheme for +2 students and setting up of a vocational training centre in Puttalam. India also contributes to the Ceylon Workers Education Trust that gives scholarships to the children of estate workers.

Training: A training programme for 465 Sri Lankan Police officers has been commenced in Dec 2005. Another 400 Sri Lankan Police personnel are being trained for the course of 'Maintenance of Public Order'.

MIDDLE EAST

Israel is today one of India's major partners in defence research and arms supplies. Moreover, it is no secret that the two countries are close partners in the war against global terrorism. India is amongst the few countries in Asia where Israeli tourists and people are welcomed, while trade and business relations are booming. The relationship attains greater importance for Israel when the

ostensibly secular Turkey is becoming increasingly Islamist in the conduct of its foreign policy, despite remaining a member of NATO and seeking membership of the EU. This is a remarkable change from the times when India, as a leading light of the nonaligned movement, often seemed more radical on the Palestinian issue than Arab countries like Egypt and Jordan. It is also a reflection of changing times, as India recognizes the irrelevance of slogans of yesteryear such as 'Arab Unity' and 'Islamic Solidarity', which were standard clichés in the days of the Cold War. Yet support for the legitimate rights of the dispossessed Palestinians remains strong in India.

There is growing recognition in India that while the country has a coherent 'Look East' policy to boost its economic and security ties with its economically dynamic Asia-Pacific neighbourhood, it lacks a similar policy framework for ties with its Islamic neighbours in the Persian Gulf, where over 4 million Indians reside and work and from where India gets over 70 per cent of its crucial oil imports. Moreover, with its trade deficit growing rapidly, India's balance of payments is crucially dependent on the growing remittances it receives from overseas Indians, estimated at \$50 billion in 2010.

India's Persian Gulf neighbourhood contains two thirds of the world's proven petroleum reserves and 35 per cent of the world's gas reserves. India's major suppliers of oil from the Gulf are Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait the UAE and Yemen. Iran provides 17 per cent of Indian oil imports. Moreover, Iran remains a crucial transit point for trade with Central Asia and, through the Caspian, with Russia. With Pakistan denying it transit to Afghanistan, India has cooperated with Iran for reducing Afghanistan's dependence on Pakistan, by developing the infrastructure for the Chahbahar Port. Unlike their Arab neighbours, however, the Iranians have been unreliable in fulfilling signed contractual commitments with India on supplies of LNG.

Though Iran and Saudi Arabia may make common cause in Islamic forums on issues like Palestine, Chechnya and Kashmir, India realizes that civilizational and ethnic rivalries and animosities run deep in the Persian Gulf. The depth of these animosities was evident when the Saudi Monarch reportedly told the Americans 'to cut off the head of the snake (Iran)'. Riyadh has even reportedly offered over-flight facilities to Israeli warplanes, to support an Israeli attack on Iran's nuclear facilities. Even before Iran's Air Force unsuccessfully attacked the Osirak nuclear reactor in September 1980 during the Iran-Iraq conflict, the Director of Israeli Military Intelligence, Yehoshua Saguy, publicly urged the Iranians to do so. Less than a year later, on July 7, 1981, Israeli F 15s bombed and destroyed the Osirak reactor after overflying Saudi territory. More than the Americans, the Israelis have astutely played on Arab-Persian rivalries to ensure they remain the sole nuclear power in the Middle East.

The sectarian dimensions of rivalries in the Persian Gulf also cannot be ignored. Iran has consistently stirred up Shia minorities in Yemen and Kuwait and the Shia majority in Sunni-dominated Bahrain. This rivalry is also being played out in Iraq, where the Shia majority has accused its Sunni Arab neighbours of backing extremist Sunni groups. Paradoxically, after endeavouring to follow a policy of 'dual containment' of both Iran and Iraq for over a decade,

the Americans are now finding that their ill advised invasion of Iraq has only brought Iran and Iraq closer together, with a number of Iraqi political and religious figures beholden to Tehran for the support they have received.

While Arab regimes may be dependent on American support, the mood in Arab streets is distinctly anti-American — a phenomenon the Iranians are cleverly exploiting. India's relations with Arab Gulf States have shown a distinct improvement after the visits of Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah in January 2006 and Dr. Manmohan Singh to Riyadh in February-March 2010. India has received Saudi assurances of meeting its growing requirements for oil. Moreover, India's relations with Oman, the UAE and Qatar have expanded significantly, with Qatar emerging as an important supplier of LNG. Following President Obama's visit to India, there will be closer cooperation and consultations between India and the United States on developments in the Persian Gulf.

With the second largest population of Shias in the world, domestic political considerations cannot be ignored in India's relations with Persian Gulf States. India, however, recognizes that a nuclear armed Iran will have a profoundly destabilizing impact on the Persian Gulf. New Delhi does, however, have to carefully balance the interests it shares with Iran in opposing Taliban extremism in Afghanistan on the one hand, and its support for international efforts to ensure that Iran abides by its commitments under the NPT on the other. The Israelis and Americans now appear satisfied that Iran will be unable to acquire a nuclear arsenal at least till 2015. Realists in India, however, believe that Iran will retain its nuclear option, but exercise it only when the time is ripe. In short, realism and real politics are replacing rhetoric and romanticism in India's approach to the Middle East.

INDIA AND GLOBAL TERRORISM

THE NATURE AND RANGE OF TERRORISM

Terrorism is fundamentally an attack on the state. It may be described as an act of violence, committed against innocent people to create fear, with an underlying political motive. This fear is an intended effect and not merely a by-product of terrorism. Terrorists are therefore criminals and not so-called freedom fighters. International Terrorism has international or trans-national consequences in which terrorists strike targets outside and beyond their country of origin such as the 11th September World Trade Centre attack or the strikes by Pakistan-based outfits in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). International Terrorism also implies that such terrorist groups, e.g. JEI, Al Qaida, etc. have an organisation/ network/ linkage in a number of countries. For instance, we have identified terrorists who are nationals from 16 countries, currently operating in J&K. The question is that if collateral damage and casualties from terrorism are inevitable, should the Government have any qualms about swift and ruthless retaliation?

We need to understand that terrorism is different from insurgency or revolutionary/guerrilla warfare, as it is an overwhelmingly criminal act rather than merely a political offence. Even if it is argued that terrorism is employed by

revolutionaries as a 'tactic', such means cannot justify the end. In the ongoing war in J&K we have already lost 28,000 lives. Finally, the 'right to life' is more fundamental than any other right. This is something that needs to be clearly propagated to everyone, including human rights-wallahs.

International terrorism is not a new phenomenon to the world or to India in particular. The 11th September incident has only demonstrated another facet of international terrorism – the tremendous potency of technology and innovation – besides the globalisation of economies, which have come to transcend national boundaries. Multi-national corporations and non-state players now have a worldwide reach. These have compromised the authority of the state. Non-state players and black money as well as narcotics trade have acquired power, making some of the terrorist groups (JEI, LTTE & PLO) financially viable and independent. The revolution in information technology (IT) and communication also enables instant transmission of ideas and information at a global level, by the terrorist outfits who can now exploit 'cyber' terrorism as well as the deadly and sophisticated Precision-Guided Missiles (PGMs), and other weapons of mass destruction.

The rise of religious fundamentalism has introduced a new ideology which sanctifies 'Jihad' (holy war) and 'Fidayeen' (suicide) attacks. This exploits the situation of 'backwardness' and economic disparity of the frustrated youth of society.

Terrorism today, therefore, has been transformed into a trans-national, high-tech, lethal and global phenomenon. The response to terrorism needs to be structured accordingly and the decision making process also needs to be modernised.

GEO-POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT AND THREAT ASSESSMENT

It is necessary to examine the environment, both internal and external that exists, before we discuss the long-term strategy and concerns that confront India. The prevailing internal environment has a direct bearing on the growth of terrorism in the country, and should be examined first. The realities in our context are:

The fact that our consolidation as a secular, federal and democratic state is still evolving; and that the diversity of our multi-ethnic / multi religious society is often exploited by fundamentalist forces.

The absence of sufficient employment and unequal development, the resultant poverty and the accompanying frustration, which has encouraged unemployed youth to take up criminal acts and narcotics. The inducement of money – for instance, Rs 3 to 4 lakhs per year in J&K – is a specific inducement to take to militancy.

Ineffective Anti-Terrorism legislation/ legal frame-work and misplaced judicial-activism.

"Structural" inadequacies in the state apparatus, namely:

— Weaknesses in the intelligence structure – human as well as technical.

- Inadequate modernisation of Police, PMF and Armed Forces.
- Unimaginative media management and coverage.
- Reactive response and slow governmental decision-making, lack of clear strategy and policy on Internal Security.

Amongst the existing external environment, the regional / sub continental realities that merit consideration are:

Our situation between the 'Golden Crescent' and the 'Golden Triangle' leading to a heavy influx of drugs and arms. Thus, 21,000 weapons have been captured in J&K alone.

A hostile nuclear Pakistan with a land border of 3,400 km, who sponsors 'state-terrorism' and fundamentalist forces.

The unresolved border with China (5,800 km), a country that has active military and nuclear co-operation with Pakistan.

A long sea border (7,700 km), prone to pirating and smuggling.

A contiguous and porous border with unequal smaller SAARC nations such as Nepal, Bangladesh, Myanmar and Sri Lanka, with accompanying problems such as illegal migration, trade and smuggling in the border belt and the resultant social tensions. Because of its size and capabilities, India is perceived as a big brother whose active cooperation is denounced as so-called 'intervention' and lack of it, as 'indifference'.

On the larger international scene, the factors that impact on terrorism are the following:

Globalisation has made geographic borders transparent to the flow of ideas, people and also turmoil.

Technology has extended the reach and capabilities of the terrorists at the global level.

Economic interests of national and multi-national corporations (MNCs) pre-dominate all other interests. Therefore, unfriendly acts by some of our neighbours are not questioned.

The lack of international cooperation to undertake anti-terrorist action till the 11 September incident. Today, there is better realisation and the Security Council Resolution SCR 1373 is a good step. However, unless implemented and enforced, it is of little use. This, therefore, needs to be converted into an international convention and adopted by all nations.

LONG TERM STRATEGY

Following from the above understanding of the nature of international terrorism that faces us today, it is clear that a long-term strategy is required to counter terrorism. It has to be comprehensively addressed on all fronts, political, economic, social and military. This strategy needs to be evolved from our national aims and objectives to protect 'core values'. These core values are:

Consolidate as a secular, federal democratic state with freedom of speech, equality and justice.

Protect sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Promote socio-economic growth and development.

We must learn from the experience of other nations. However, at the same time, we need to realise clearly that our situation is particular to us and there are no direct lessons to learn except a re-evaluation of our own experience. Our strategy must be realistic and cannot be similar to the US model of worldwide capability or the Israeli strategy of reliance on massive and immediate retaliation, as the respective environment and capabilities are different. While, we can take some useful lessons from the British dealings with the IRA or even the Egyptian policy on eliminating the Jihadists, one principle is clear – that whatever responses we adopt, they must not be ‘knee-jerk’ reactions or evolved in an ad-hoc manner.

POLITICAL/DIPLOMATIC STRATEGY

International terrorism cannot effectively be fought alone, as has been our experience so far. All nations must join hands to combat it, as is being done for Osama bin Laden and Al Qaida. SCR 1373 must not remain on paper, must be applied and the defaulting nations punished.

Pakistan sponsored ‘proxy’ war must be exposed and international pressure applied. We must highlight more aggressively, the justness of our cause and the support to terrorism by Pakistan, both through state and non-state players, as well as strive to isolate Pakistan in the international community.

A strong message needs to be conveyed to Pakistan, that we mean business, demonstrated by deeds/actions. All steps to convey this must be implemented such as diplomacy, trade, sports and military.

We also need to take all ‘covert measures’ to pay back Pakistan in its own coin, by encouraging internal inadequacies in NWPF, Sind, and along the Durand Line.

INTERNAL STRATEGY

Our policy of meeting political / economic aspirations has succeeded in many cases through the creation of new states and autonomous councils with limited military containment. However, it has not succeeded where ‘internal support’ has been potent. We, therefore, need to move from a policy of appeasement and accommodation to firm action, before the problem spreads:

Adopt proactive policies to confront the terrorists militarily, and at the roots of terrorist ideology – fundamentalists, social evils and sources of terrorism e.g. narcotics / drug trade.

Enact effective anti-terrorist laws and legal framework.

Modernise and enlarge intelligence networks.

Modernise state Police and Para Military Forces in training, equipment and ethos.

ECONOMIC DIMENSION

Spread the fruits of development more evenly throughout the country. Locate some of the Public Sector Units in the remote areas even if they are non-profit making. Put in a greater developmental effort in the remote, weaker sections of society – which, though a stated policy is not visible at present.

Reduce demographic displacement resulting in social / ethnic tension such as in Assam and Tripura, through the joint development of sensitive border belts along Nepal, Bangladesh and Myanmar.

Enhance our economic and military capabilities so as to widen the gap between India and Pakistan sufficiently, and act as an economic and military deterrence for Pakistan, which would then realise the futility of trying to catch up.

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Promote moderate and secular polity by media, intelligentsia and religious institutions. The path of developing a composite culture as already developed in the Armed Forces may serve as a useful role model.

Address the outdated education system of Madrassas by quality modernisation and laying down guidelines for uniform syllabi. We cannot continue to recognise religious education such as those in the Madrassas as an entrance-system for universities. Suitable alternatives have to be created.

Upgrade our communication systems so that television and telecommunication spreads to our remote and border areas, which are currently under constant, reach of Pakistan propaganda.

There should be realistic psychological and information warfare so that the will of the anti-national elements is suffocated and the hearts of the populace are won.

MILITARY STRATEGY

We need to clearly spell out our counter terrorism strategy / doctrine. This should tackle the causes and not just the symptoms. I must stress here that J&K is only a symptom of terrorism and NOT the cause. The direction of military strategies should be as under:

The aim of military operations should be to create a secure and suitable environment, so that social, economic and political issues can be addressed effectively. Seeking political solutions to accommodate the aspirations without fully eliminating the terrorists, their structure and support bases only results in a 'fire fighting' situation and actually prolongs terrorism. This results in enormous costs, militarily and economically.

- The first step should be to build-up the military forces and their capabilities (which are not adequate currently), and thereafter consolidation of these capabilities and finally destruction of the militants.
- A reactive response is not the answer. A reorientation of armed response is required so as to launch proactive and specific surgical military operations.
- An important element of a proactive effort is to increase the costs of proxy war to Pakistan, by undertaking 'Hot Pursuit Strikes' across the LoC and into Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir (POK).

The evolution of a superior Intelligence System is imperative. This should encompass human, technical, electronic intelligence, as also modernisation of data processing and dissemination – both external and internal.

Effective surveillance and management of the borders to check infiltration (International Border/ Line of Control), is also necessary. This should be achieved through technical means of surveillance, backed by highly mobile, specialised forces as 'Reaction capability' rather than the present system, which is manpower intensive.

Foreign-based terrorists have to be hit at their bases, training camps and sanctuaries to end the surrogate terrorism or the proxy war by Pakistan. We have to create the means and the will to do this. Special Forces both overt and covert need to be employed for this task.

Imaginative security of our vital installations, nuclear assets and airports. Static posts or piquets are not the answer. Electronic sensors and effective intelligence is the need.

Preventive measures against nuclear, biological and chemical (NBC) and cyber-terrorism.

The Army is the ultimate weapon of the state and its over-employment affects its operational role. The Police and the Para-military should normally handle the internal security. However, they are incapable of fighting a proxy war such as in J&K unless their capabilities are upgraded.

CONCLUSION

At present, there is a lack of a consistent and comprehensive policy at the national level. The core of the issue is that we need to respond efficiently and rationally to the emerging challenges. 'Collective Action' to fight by international cooperation is a must, as the economic costs of combating terrorism by a single nation are colossal. Such collective action had not come about till the American-led coalition forces in Afghanistan operated against the Taliban. Collective action is not confined to active combat alone. Simultaneously, foreign sponsors of international terrorism have to be identified and tamed.

Collective Action is also applicable at the national level. We cannot continue with the present situation where the Armed Forces bear all the responsibility of dealing with anti-national elements, while other members of

society, from the safety of their homes, advocate what they deem to be politically correct measures. A democratic polity and a diverse society such as India do not support stringent measures and anti-terrorist legislation, even when necessary. Thus, at present, the security forces have to function in an environment of lack of total physical and legal support. Therefore, legal reforms and stringent anti-terrorist legislation have to be enacted. As an example, the media that has a great reach today should be used as a 'Force Multiplier' to shape public opinion and to counter false propaganda. The media must be taken along as a 'weapon' of the state and not of the terrorists.

Fundamentalist forces have to be addressed by both 'strong arm tactics' like the Egyptians did under Hosni Mubarak to chase the terrorists out of the city mosques as well as by the promotion of secular polity by containing / neutralising radical religious groups of all religions.

Technology enhancement, NBC, cyber-terrorism have given the terrorists unlimited powers and to counter these, we must not lose any time to modernise our security apparatus. For this, very heavy investment and effort is required and we must be prepared to follow this effort through. There is also a necessity to have institutional security, through an overall improvement in intelligence interception and police efficiency as the list of political targets continues to grow in the urban and industrial field. The citizens of the country also have to be energised to feel responsible for the well-being of the nation and state apparatus alone will not suffice. Simultaneously, we have to deploy Special Forces for specific tasks and they have to be trained accordingly. There is also a need to evolve a policy framework on internal security by the Home Ministry.

Ultimately, the roots of terrorism have to be removed through good governance. Political corruption and lack of good governance is a basic contributor to frustration setting in into a society, which is then exploited by unfriendly nations. Needless to say, this has to be addressed immediately by striving to achieve economic well-being, social justice and political aspirations of the populace. In a country of our size and population, this will take considerable time. Therefore, we have to put in a sustained effort to initiate, plan for and implement such efforts seriously, and take them out from merely the realm of election speeches.

INDIAN RESPONSE TO GLOBAL TERRORISM

Terrorism has been identified as the greatest menace facing the mankind in the 21st century. India has officially identified terrorism as one of the most critical challenges that faces it in the post Iraq war world. The driving force in the global politics since 2/11 is also nothing but terrorism. For some years, post 2/11 tackling of terrorism has become a prime agenda of governance and the political and governance sphere has been devising techniques to tackle terrorist menace. However, instead of legal methods, most countries have been resorting to extra legal methods, citing the reason "extra ordinary circumstances call for extra ordinary measures to tackle them. These measures include Guantanamo Bay type detention, rendition and similar methods which are facing vehement criticism from human rights advocates. However, the Indian stand against

terrorism stands out from this dangerous wrangle that other affected countries are in.

India has reposed faith in the judicial system and has gone forward with legal methods, which coupled with strong administrative mechanism, and a sound foreign policy could be an alternative for the so called extra ordinary measures followed by countries like USA. The recent trial of the Pakistani terrorist Ajmal Amir Kasab, has also brought in much attention to the Indian Judicial response in tackling terrorist menace. In order to properly understand the legal response to terrorism, it is imperative to first identify what amounts to terrorism.

DEFINITION OF TERRORISM:

Terrorism is a word that is often used, but which cannot have any internationally agreed definition. One reason for the lack of a commonly agreed definition is that at terrorist sometimes tend to identify themselves with freedom fighters and no democratic nation can easily disown the various tactics that are used in their own freedom struggle. Political overtones in the terrorist movements and the high ideals and sublime causes the terrorist organization use as a façade to their activities create confusion amongst the sympathizers of the cause, creating deep political rift when a definition that can include these terrorist groups are attempted. The difficulty in defining terrorism also lies in the fact that defining the term requires taking a political stand rather than a legal stand. For example, Osama Bin Laden and Taliban were called freedom fighters when they were fighting the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and CIA supported them. Post 9/11, they are seen as terrorists. More closely, the United Nations views Palestinians as freedom fighters, struggling against the unlawful occupation of their land by Israel, and engaged in a long-established legitimate resistance, yet Israel regards them as terrorists. Thus defining the term terrorism and laying down its characteristics is a highly subjective exercise, amounting to shifting the position of goal post in the midst of a football match.

Carsten Bockstette of George C. Marshall Centre for European Security Studies has attempted to define terrorism as follows:

“Terrorism is defined as political violence in an asymmetrical conflict that is designed to induce terror and psychic fear (sometimes indiscriminate) through the violent victimization and destruction of non-combatant targets (sometimes iconic symbols). Such acts are meant to send a message from an illicit clandestine organization. The purpose of terrorism is to exploit the media in order to achieve maximum attainable publicity as an amplifying force multiplier in order to influence the targeted audience(s) in order to reach short- and midterm political goals and/or desired long-term end states”

Some of the commonly agreed characteristics of a terrorist movement are:

- . Violence
- . Psychological impact and fear
- . Perpetrated for a political goal

- . Deliberate targeting of non combatants
- . Unlawfulness or legitimacy.

The Hon'ble Supreme Court of India has observed in Mohd Khalid v. State of West Bengal it is observed as follows:

“Terrorism is one of the manifestations of increased lawlessness and cult of violence. Violence and crime constitute a threat to an established order and are a revolt against a civilised society. "Terrorism" has not been defined under TADA nor is it possible to give a precise definition of "terrorism" or lay down what constitutes "terrorism". It may be possible to describe it as use of violence when it's most important result is not merely the physical and mental damage of the victim but the prolonged psychological effect it produces or has the potential of producing on the society as a whole. There may be death, injury, or destruction of property or even deprivation of individual liberty in the process but the extent and reach of the intended terrorist activity travels beyond the effect of an ordinary crime capable of being punished under the ordinary penal law of the land and its main objective is to overawe the Government or disturb the harmony of the society or "terrorise" people and the society and not only those directly assaulted, with a view to disturb the even tempo, peace and tranquillity of the society and create a sense of fear and insecurity.”

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM:

Like terrorism, International terrorism is also a term which escapes a comprehensive definition. Ben Saul points out that, while flexibility in implementation is warranted due to variations in domestic legal systems, this effectively means that each state unilaterally defines terrorism, without any outer boundaries set by international community. Since 1994, the UN General Assembly (politically) described terrorism as ‘criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes’. Security Council resolution 1566 (2004) shares this basic approach, but adds that terrorism also includes criminal acts (endangering life or property) designed to ‘intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act’. It also limits terrorism to acts of this nature which are already offences under counter-terrorism treaties.

The UN Secretary-General's report, In larger freedom,(March 2005) proposed yet another definition of terrorism, “as any act ‘intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants, when the purpose of such an act... is to intimidate a population, or to compel a Government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.’” The draft treaty proposed by the UN Sixth (Legal) Committee of the General Assembly since 2000 currently defines terrorism as intentionally causing death or serious injury, or serious damage to public or private property, ‘to intimidate a population, or to compel a Government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act’.

After iterating these international efforts, Ben Saul succinctly remarks that: “Terrorism’ currently lacks the precision, objectivity and certainty demanded by legal discourse. Criminal law strives to avoid emotive terms to prevent prejudice to an accused, and shuns ambiguous or subjective terms as incompatible with the principle of non-retroactivity. If the law is to admit the term, advance definition is essential on grounds of fairness, and it is not sufficient to leave definition to the unilateral interpretations of States. Legal definition could plausibly retrieve terrorism from the ideological quagmire, by severing an agreed legal meaning from the remainder of the elastic, political concept. Ultimately it must do so without criminalizing legitimate violent resistance to oppressive regimes – and becoming complicit in that oppression”

INDIA AND INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM:

India had been facing the menace of terrorism from its very early days. While for some time, in the bipolar world, the Indian situation was considered by powers-to-be as an isolated problem related to regional issues, post 9/11 there has been an awakening that Indian situation is also linked to the menace of terrorism. The Indian response to terrorism has also been updated post 26/11 as is evident from the following excerpt from the speech of Her Excellency President of India: “Terrorism is a perverse global phenomenon and the struggle against it must be carried to the world stage. In the modern world, distance and time do not provide insulation from the reach of terrorism. Terrorism easily transcends borders and thus becomes a transnational crime. Being a crime against humanity, it ought to be recognized as a common enemy of all nations. A terror threat against one is a threat against all. The global counter-terrorism efforts may be an arduous and lengthy campaign, but must persistently target the entire global network. Countries must individually own up responsibilities, as must the international community, in collectively defeating terrorism and not deflect responsibility on to non-state actors. The responsibility to deal with them lies with the State from which they operate as it is the sanctuary, support and finances that they receive, which sustains their heinous and perverse acts.”

LEGAL RESPONSE TO TERRORISM:

Traditionally Indian laws had been reluctant to directly address the problem of terrorism. Perhaps one of the reasons for the reluctance was that the struggle for independence might have taught the leaders of independent India that it is easy for the administration to brandish any person a terrorist. However they were very much sensitive to the threat of terrorism and have tried to curb the same by giving arbitrary power to the uniformed forces. The main pillars in India’s legal fight against terrorism were:

- . Preventive detention
- . Special provisions in statutes like Indian Penal Code
- . Special statutes like TADA, POTA, and Armed Forces (Special Power’s) Act etc.

The first anti terrorist statute in India was TADA. In 1995, TADA was allowed to lapse. A few years later, the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance, 2001,

was promulgated on 24.10.2001, followed by Prevention of Terrorism (Second) Ordinance promulgated on 30-12-2001. In 2002, the Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2002, ('POTA' for short) was enacted replacing the Prevention of Terrorism (Second) Ordinance, 2001. POTA was amended by the Prevention of Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance, 2003, promulgated on 27.10.2003. The said Ordinance was replaced by the Prevention of Terrorism (Amendment) Act 2003 (Act 4 of 2004). In view of adverse reports about the misuse of the provisions of POTA in some States, the Parliament repealed POTA, by the Prevention of Terrorism (Repeal) Ordinance, 2004 promulgated on 21.9.2004, later replaced by Prevention of Terrorism (Repeal) Act, 2004 ('Repealing Act' for short).

While special legislations have often drawn flak from human rights activists for their aggressive positions on national security matters, the uniformed forces have been silently utilising the various provisions of the general statutes innovatively to tackle terrorist threat. Many a times, the courts have taken a strong stand against such innovative tactics, but as a whole the entire justice administration system in the country has been functioning with full knowledge of such innovative tactics, but without taking any effective stand against it for fear that such strong stand would only help anti national forces.

JUDICIAL RESPONSE TO TERRORISM IN INDIA:

Ever since independence, India has been a target of terrorist forces. However, terrorism was recognised as a threat and a specific legislation was enacted to cope with terrorism related activities only when Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1987 was passed. This statute was later replaced by Prevention of Terrorism Activities Act, 2002 which was later repealed in 2004. Now apart from Indian Penal Code there is no special law governing terrorism related activities, though several special powers are conferred on Armed Forces of the Country under Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act to deal with terrorism related activities.

Judiciary on the other hand was equally preparing itself to cope with the terrorism related cases. The Hon'ble Supreme Court¹¹ has defined terrorism as follows:

"Terrorism is one of the manifestations of increased lawlessness and cult of violence. Violence and crime constitute a threat to an established order and are a revolt against a civilised society. 'Terrorism' has not been defined under TADA nor is it possible to give a precise definition of 'terrorism' or lay down what constitutes 'terrorism'. It may be possible to describe it as use of violence when its most important result is not merely the physical and mental damage of the victim but the prolonged psychological effect it produces or has the potential of producing on the society as a whole. There may be death, injury, or destruction of property or even deprivation of individual liberty in the process but the extent and reach of the intended terrorist activity travels beyond the effect of an ordinary crime capable of being punished under the ordinary penal law of the land and its main objective is to overawe the Government or disturb the harmony of the society or 'terrorise' people and the society and not only those directly assaulted, with a view to disturb the even tempo, peace and tranquillity of the

society and create a sense of fear and insecurity. Whether the criminal act was committed with an intention to strike terror in the people or a section of the people would depend upon the facts of each case. For finding out the intention of the accused, there would hardly be a few cases where there would be direct evidence. It has to be mainly inferred from the circumstances of each case.”

A simpler definition was attempted by the Hon’ble Supreme Court in *Hitendra Vishnu Thakur v State of Maharashtra*¹² where in it was held:“”.A 'terrorist' activity does not merely arise by causing disturbance of law and order or of public order. The fall out of the intended activity must be such that it travels beyond the capacity of the ordinary law enforcement agencies to tackle it 11 *Mohammad Kalid v. State of West Bengal*, 2002 (7) SCC 334 12 1995 Cri L J517 under the ordinary penal law. Experience has shown us that 'terrorism' is generally an attempt to acquire or maintain power or control by intimidation and causing fear and helplessness in the minds of the people at large or any section thereof and is a totally abnormal phenomenon. What distinguishes 'terrorism' from other forms of violence, therefore, appears to be the deliberate and systematic use of coercive intimidation.”Defining the concept thus, the courts also tried to find a formula for application of the definition to various scenarios. The outline of the test was laid down by the apex court in *Girdhari Parmanand Vadhava v. State Of Maharashtra* as follows:

“...It is the impact of the crime and its fallout on the society and the potentiality of such crime in producing fear in the minds of the people or a section of the people which makes a crime, a terrorist activity” However in *Jaywant Dattatray Surya Rao v State of Maharashtra* the court has iterated the need for application of judicial mind before branding any activity as terrorist activity in the following words:

“It is not possible to define 'terrorism' by precise words. Whether the act was committed with intent to strike terror in the people or a section of the people would depend upon facts of each case. Further, for finding out intention of the accused, there would hardly be a few cases where there could be direct evidence. Mainly it is to be inferred from the circumstances of each case. In appropriate cases, from the nature of violent act, inference can be called out. There can also be no doubt that fall out of violent act varying from person to person and society to society but is well understood by a prudent person and by those who are affected.”

When the legislature enacted the anti terrorism legislation, TADA and POTA, the Courts also rose to the occasion and took a stand that the minor errors in procedure is not fatal to the prosecution since the crime alleged, i.e. terrorism is much graver. In *Lal Singh vs.State of Gujarat* and another the apex court held that “Custodial interrogation in such cases is permissible under the law to meet grave situation arising out of terrorism unleashed by terrorist activities by person residing within or outside the country”When the Constitutional validity of TADA was challenged in *Kartar Singh v State of Punjab*, the court took a very cautious stand and even while upholding the constitutionality of the statute, the court observed that it was necessary to

ensure that the provisions of the Act were not misused by the security agencies/Police. Certain guidelines were set out to ensure that confessions obtained in pre-indictment interrogation by the police will be in conformity with principles of fundamental fairness. This Court also indicated that the Central Government should take note of those guidelines by incorporating them in TADA and the rules framed there under by appropriate amendments. This Court also held that in order to prevent the misuse of the provisions of TADA, there must be some Screening or Review Committees.

CONCLUSION:

While dealing with the terrorist activities, the Indian judiciary has been sensitive to the debate regarding the definition of terrorist activity. Hence instead of going deep into the debate of what is the exact definition of terrorism, the court took a pragmatic approach and tried to ascertain the elements of terrorism from the act allegedly committed by the accused. Taking a realistic approach towards the freedom of citizens under preventive detention, realizing that the existing laws on preventive detention was wide enough to cover any rebel voice; the courts took a narrow approach and tried to pry open the cases using procedural flaws. However in the case of implementation of special provisions of the general statutes, the courts turned a Nelsons eye to many innovative tactics by the uniformed forces, intervening only when acts of gross injustice were done. On the contrary in the case of specialized statutes for tackling terrorism, even while the public opinion was strongly against the strong provisions of these statutes, the courts continuously upheld its constitutional validity, suggesting only some checks and balances. The judicial system of the country on the whole have been sensitive to the fact that a strict technical approach or a relaxed human rights approach will not do good for the national integrity and what is needed was a case to case approach which on the one hand need to take care of the human rights of the individual and on the other, work on a realistic platform realising the threat faced by the country from terrorist activities. On the whole it can be summed up that Indian judiciary was an active partner in the country's war against terrorism and has at all occasions risen above political and academic concerns to address the real issue of terrorism.

SYLLABUS

HY5B10 SITUATING INDEPENDENT INDIA

No. of Credits: 4

No. of Contact Hours per week: 5

Aim of the Course: To make the students aware of the issues of post independent era and conditions in contemporary India.

UNIT I - Colonial Reminiscences

- Partition and its scars
- Partition experience in culture - in literature and cinema.
- Integration of states - problems
- Adoption of the constitution.
- Consolidation of linguistic identities: materialisation and problems.

UNIT II - Locating India in International Scenario

- Concept of Development
- Nehruvian policy of International relations.
- Formation of regional associations - NAM - Common Wealth - SAARC.
- Planned development - from Mixed economy to Liberalization – Regional in Imbalances.

UNIT III - Challenges against Nation

- Struggles within the nation - Secessionist movements: Kashmir, Punjab, Assam, Telengana.
- Land question – Industrialization – Struggles of working class and Peasants.
- Naxal Bari Movement.
- Period of Emergency
- Communalism - Babari Masjid and Gujarath.
- Social issues – question of Gender justice – untouchables – problem of Political and linguistic minorities – environmental issues.
- Challenges from outside – Chinese war – Pakistani Wars

UNIT IV - India in the Unipolar World

- GATT and WTO
- Pro-Americanism
- Indian Attitude towards Palestine, Sri Lankan Tamil issue and the Middle East.
- Indian response to Global Terrorism.

Readings:

- Ahammed Aijaz, *Communalism and Globalisation*
- Bipan Chandra, *A History of India since Independence*
- Bipan Chandra, *Essays on Contemporary India*
- Brass Paul R, *Politics of India since Independence*
- Byres Terence J (ed), *The Indian Economy Major debates since Independence*
- Graham Bruce, *Rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party*
- Hassan Mushirul, *Legacy of a Divided Nation*
- Karlekar Hiranmai (ed), *Fifty years of India Independence*
- Panikkar. K.N., *Communalism and Secular Agenda*
- Santanam. M.K (ed), *Fifty Years of Indian Republic*
- Satyamoorthy T.V. (ed), *Region, Religion Caste and Gender since Independence*
- Satyamoorthy. T.V (ed), *Industry and Agriculture since Independence*

Further Readings:

- Brass Paul, *The problem of India since Independence was Cambridge of India History since of 1990.*
- Chatterjee Partha (ed), *A Possible India*
- Chatterjee Partha (ed), *Wages of Freedom*
- Desai.S.S.M., *An Economic History of India*
- Frankel Francine, *Indian Political Economy 1947-1977*, Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Gopal. S. (ed), *Anatomy of a Confrontation: The Baberi Masjid Rama Janma Bhumi*, New Delhi, Viking, 1991
- Gopal. S., *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography*
- Kotari Rajani , *Caste in Indian Politics*
- Mankekar, *Screening Culture: An Ethnography of Television Womanhood and Nation*, Durham, Duke University Press, 1999.
- Menon V.P., *Story of the Integration of the State*
- Pandey Gyanendra, *Remembering Partition*, Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Puri Belraj, *The Issue of Kashmir*
- Romila Thahar (ed), *India: The Next Millennium*
- Sen Amartya and Pranab Bardwan, *The Political Economy of Development in India*, OUP, 1988.
