

ISSN



2250-3412

RNI No. DELENG/2012/48509

THE DISCUSSANT

Journal of Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice

Volume 2

Number 3

JULY-SEPTEMBER 2014

Rs. 300



THE DISCUSSANT

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Published and Printed by: Sidharth Mishra on behalf of

Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice

B-344, Nehru Vihar, Timarpur, Delhi -110054

and Printed at Om Printers, 324, Patparganj, Industrial Area, Delhi

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THE **RNI No. DELENG/2012/48509**
DISCUSSANT
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THIS TRACK DOESN'T GO ANYWHERE

Citizen to citizen contact with Pakistan is not going to yield much

Veteran journalist Ved Prakash Vaidik could not have had it better. He grabbed the TRP ratings for channels, broke the trending records on the social media, the aisle of parliament buzzed with his name, the newspapers too grudgingly gave him some space and Subramanian Swamy threatened to drag him to the court. For a man who for the past few years has been part of several Jantar Mantar agitations and called up chief reporters of the newspapers for giving him some space, the interview with Hafeez Saeed came as acres in windfall as till the other day he was struggling to get some media space to squat.

Vaidik if nothing else is a sure repository of information. For over a decade that I have known him, I have called him up several times to check on facts and for sure his information has been bang on target. I have also interacted with him socially working together on a committee of Delhi University, where his presence was always found to be pleasing but his articulation at the meetings always directed at wriggling himself out of a situation where he would have to take a stand.

Few months back, glib talking he once again managed to create a complete inanity about his purpose of visit to Pakistan, how and why he met Hafeez Saeed, why was he pleading a case for Narendra Modi with Nawaz Sharif despite being part of a delegation which was led by Mani Shankar Aiyar, who spews only venom at Modi. In fact despite giving so much airtime and newsprint to him, none in the media managed to find a reason this visit.

In fact there cannot be a 'reasonable reason' for such visits to Pakistan and such delegations from across the border coming to India. We for long have been playing this Track II diplomacy game, which for the past two decades that I have been closely following it, has gone nowhere. It gives us an agenda or a reason to go Pakistan, hobnob there with people like us, enjoy their hospitality and invite them to come over and enjoy our hospitality. The only benefit which accrues from such visits is that the grant of the visas becomes somewhat easier. The alumni of my school - Prince of Wales' Royal (now Rashtriya) Indian Military College - still has a very influential section whose heart beats for their mates who were with them in the boarding house during the pre-partition era. In 1997, the school celebrated its Platinum Jubilee and two decades back the numbers of such 'separated kids' was much higher than what's it today. The celebration was planned as a big India-Pakistan jamboree with late chairman of Modern School, Major General Virendra Singh leading the team of hosts.

editorial

The preparations for the visit started more than a year in advance. A group of alumni led by former chief of army staff General V N Sharma went to Pakistan to invite their brethren. The delegation included several such luminaries who had remained part of the Indian military brass, some socialites, some journalists and similar other people. Needless to say the delegation was accorded red carpet all through their weeklong stay with Pakistan's then Interior Minister Nasirullah Khan Babar playing the main host.

The delegation came back with the tales of warmth and hospitality and it was decided to accord similar reception to the visiting delegation. One full year was spent on working out the details of the visit. Getting visa for such a huge group of Pakistanis was not easy but pull and push at the right quarters had the requisite effect. Every detail was worked out. They were received at Wagah border close to Amritsar and from there travelled in military escort to New Delhi.

There were a few rounds of lavish banquets and also interaction with media in the Capital once the leader of the delegation, former foreign minister Sahibzada Yakub Khan arrived. Having build-up the atmosphere of absolute brotherhood, the caravan moved to Dehradun in 10-odd luxury buses and several sedans as several members of the alumni joined from the Delhi.

There was thunderous applause as the delegation entered the sylvan campus in Doon Valley. To an ordinary reporter, I was just more than a beginner in journalism then, it looked amusing how could these people fight such bloody war and then hold each-other in such tight embrace. Next morning the official function began. As per tradition, it started by laying of wreath at the Martyr's Memorial built in the memory of old boys who met martyrdom in different battles since World War II. The Pakistani delegation failed to turn up for the early morning function as 'they were staying away from the campus.'

Discreet enquiries however revealed that Sahibzada Yakub Khan had asked that the delegation be excused to save embarrassment from laying wreath on the memorial to those who were responsible for defeat of his country in the three wars. Though the celebrations went as per the schedule, the warmth was certainly gone. Though there were several in the delegation who were not as rigid about the 'protocol' as Sahibzada was but then

Sahibzada represented the Pakistani establishment, to be more precise the military establishment.

Over the years the lesson learnt that early March morning has only been reiterated though we have continued with 'our brethren' attitude hosting another huge delegation after the Kargil war. The head of this delegation left the hosts which included Indian military brass red-faced when he said that Kargil reopened the Kashmir question. Let's face it, the relevance of the military establishment of Pakistan would wane if peace between the two nations was to prevail. Be it I or II, these tracks don't seem to be going anywhere. Exchange of such delegations is at best a case of a kitty party extending network across the borders.



Sidharth Mishra

19 SEPTEMBER 2014

secretary's desk

The past quarter has brought many a success for the members of the Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice (CRDJ). While the last issue of journal received immense appreciation, we also continued with quest for talent beyond the national Capital. We are happy to note that our endeavour to bring the research work of academicians from the hinterland has started to bear fruit.

We are happy to announce that during this period our very active member Dr Sri Prakash Singh got selected as Ambedkar Professor at the Indian Institute of Public Administration in New Delhi. Another active member Dr Gyantosh Jha was appointed as principal of ARSD College of Delhi University.

Our president continued with his lecture travels into hinterland and during the intervening period he was invited by the prestigious Rashtriya Indian Military College at Dehradun to speak on the issue - Making News. He has also been invited as visiting professor at School of Communication, GGS Indraprastha University, New Delhi.

We welcome Professor JP Sharma, Head of Commerce and formerly Dean Business and Commerce, Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi on our editorial advisory board. His presence would add to the prestige of the board.

19 SEPTEMBER 2014

Dr Sanjeev Kumar Tiwari

CAN UTTARAKHAND BOUNCE BACK FROM ITS TIPPING POINT?

R.K.BHANDARI*

THE FEAR OF LIVING ON THE EDGE

People of the Uttarakhand State in India are already in the grip of the fear of living on the edge. With the absence of the culture of safety in the State, and without either a firm resolve or a solid plan, they are lost in the maze of hoary problems which concatenate and grow unabated every passing monsoon season. There was a time when earthquakes, landslides and floods were infrequent visitors to Uttarakhand just to feed the cycle of nature and maintain its dynamic equilibrium. A little more than a century ago, with the human violence creeping in, they became unwelcome natural hazards. Today, these very natural hazards come as the messengers of Nature to demonstrate to us, over and over again, the dire consequences of the mindless human violence against Nature. Since we know that Nature will not come to plead its own case as not-guilty, in a cover-up, we find it extremely convenient to call every disaster as natural, and not man-made. History is replete with examples that whenever we assaulted our mountains, landslides appeared, slope erosion increased, and the ensuing battered landscape paved the way for bigger disasters. Whenever we blocked rivers and diverted waterways to the point of abuse, retaliation was seen in the fury of floods, and in the ensuing widespread deluge and devastation. Whenever we violently acted under the garb of development, a letter of invitation to disasters was signed. The end result in all the above cases has been self-inflicted pain and injury due to disasters which are chiefly man made and rarely natural.

To one who has not understood Uttarakhand, the problems may deceptively look individual. In reality they are very closely interconnected both in cause and effect. Hazards result from interplay of several inter-connected causative factors over a long span of time. Professionals cherry pick only such of those factors which fit well into their theoretical models to produce scholarly papers, reports and maps. We have produced not only scores of such hazard maps but a whole Atlas for Uttarakhand and yet the map users are looking for their first map which can reliably conduct them through the probable

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hazard scenarios anchored to ground realities. The causative factors often combine and act synergistically, a fact we find convenient to ignore. For example, landsliding and flooding may appear to be individual hazardous events but landslides may lead to floods and flood may then become the cause of landslides. Alaknanda tragedy can be cited as an example in which landslides created a dam at Patal Ganga. The bursting of the dam then caused flash floods, and the flash floods in turn caused landslides. Thank God, at that time earthquake did not join the fray to add to the horror show. The disasters which parade in the State annually perhaps to remind and alert us that we are close to the tipping point but not all is lost yet. Every time they strike and leave us high and dry, they also leave as parting gift a trail of signatures and message, and as the trend goes, they would continue to do so until we take time out to decode the message and act on it.

WE NEED TO MOVE ON THE RIGHT ROAD AT THE STARTING POINT

We are today standing on a criss-cross of roads going in all directions to unknown destinations. Having lost the sense of direction and currently even without a compass in the age of GPS, if we continue on whichever road we have been travelling all these years without remorse or introspection, for sure, future disasters will lead us to greater gloom and doom and nothing majestic of Uttarakhand will remain for the posterity to see, other than in the picture books of history! On the other hand, if we are ready to take the road to culture of safety for all, at all times, and forge ahead with grit, determination and missionary zeal, for sure, we will bounce back from the brink, and live happily thereafter. Frankly, we do not really have a choice because our very survival is at stake. Let us therefore tighten our belts and move forward in the right earnest. *“Take the first step in faith. You don’t have to see the whole staircase, just take the first step”¹.*

Ecological resurrection of the Himalayan paradise of Uttarakhand ought to be our goal. Half of the problems we face will be solved if we make a candid confession of the huge mistakes we have made in the past and vow never ever to repeat them. The remaining half of the problems will gradually fade and eventually disappear if we take recourse to three things. Practice non-violence as the already proven Indian way of life; demand a strong political will from the government of the day and vow to act unitedly in a spirit of cooperative, if not for ourselves, then for our children and grand children. It was Uttarakhand which inspired Swami Vivekananda to link the loftier mountains with the mighty Indian Ocean at Kanyakumari in his lectures from *Almora to Colombo*. *All Uttarakhand needs is his single thought “Arise, awake and stop not till the goal is reached”².*

Those living on the edge are by nature men in hurry but it is also true that when we are in a hurry we have to walk slowly. No doubt, the immediate concern for the affected people in the area would demand prompt short-term solutions but that should not be allowed to come in the way of strategic thinking for a more durable, long term, lasting remedy. We may only find no more than momentary relief in dealing with the location specific individual problems by taking recourse to palliative measures. It is only by thinking globally and acting locally with the long range strategy in view, that problems will slowly wither away. The repeat blunder being made in the short-term, “quick-fix” remediation when we go entirely by what is seen at the surface and put in place temporary solutions, knowing very well that the chance of a good haircut is remote after a bad haircut and there is nothing more permanent in our way of working than temporary! Short term solutions based on unreliable data and plethora of uncertainties hurt even more when we also blink at the compounding effect of the past history of major hazardous events in the area.

WHAT OUGHT TO BE OUR APPROACH?

It is an old Indian saying that “the size of your problem is nothing compared with your ability to solve them. By overestimating your problems, you underestimate yourself.” “Poor people will do almost anything to avoid problems. They see a challenge and they run...the secret to success, my friends, is not to try to avoid or get rid of or shrink from your problems; the secret is to grow yourself so that you are bigger than your problems. Indeed Uttarakhand’s greatest

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problems are: first, it does not know its strength, and second, it does not know how to use that strength especially when it is pulled apart by its own people in different directions. Here is an opportunity to change for the better.

CAN UTTARAKHAND BOUNCE BACK?

The dream of disaster-free Uttarakhand can be a ground reality, if founded on the four strong pillars which may be called (1) culture of strategic thinking (2) culture of prevention (3) culture of preparedness and (4) culture of quick response. The essential pre-condition to achieve that freedom is to labour hard towards making all the four cultures to meet at one point. By that time, we would have attained utmost respect for Nature, clarity of vision, attitudinal change, an imaginative game plan to fight the war against disasters, a new breed of disaster-educated communities, massive mobilization of people, vibrant institutions, pro-active (and not reactive) approach, a strong political will, and a grand ambition to succeed. Our combined strength, if tested to the limit, will surprise us. Our disaster managers hold many good cards in their hand but when they master the art of playing them, they will be able to feel the difference. Sharing of experiences, leveraging of capacities, pooling of resources and united action are some of the essential elements of success which we sadly lack today.

If you do not believe me in my optimism, believe Vivekananda who had the power to convince your forefathers that “We are responsible for what we are, and whatever we wish ourselves to be, we have the power to make ourselves. If what we are now has been the result of our own past actions, it certainly follows that whatever we wish to be in future can be produced by our present actions, so we have to know how to act.”

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- 1 Martin Luther King, Jr.
2. Swami Vivekananda

THAW IN INDIA-NEPAL RELATIONS: HOW REAL?

BRIGADIER C S THAPA*

INTRODUCTION:

The last couple of years ever since the Maoist signed the peace accord for Nepal have been fruitless. The country in spite of its best efforts could not promulgate constitution. India has been seen as the foreign hand and India bashing the common pastime for Nepali elite. Nepal-India relations prior to Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit were at the lowest. This was also amplified by the fact that an Indian prime Minister had not visited Nepal for seventeen years. It took Modi's visit to break this credibility jinx. From Nepal's side there were nine prime ministerial and six head of state visits during this intervening period clearly showing the one sided nature of this relationship. The people of Nepal want to be treated as equals, like any other sovereign country. The intangible while dealing with Nepal are "win the trust of the people of that country", which also applies to South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) region. The intangible in today's discerning world are not won by economic action alone, thus the intention of a nation is discerned from other actions. It is here that while addressing Nepal Constituent Assembly, Modi aptly recalled the legacy of Gorkhas by quoting Field Marshal Sam 'Bahadur' Manekshaw, probably the most adored Indian across the border who had said "that any soldier who said he was not afraid of death was either lying or he was a Gorkha". The Indian PM also presented his foster son Jeet Bahadur to fit himself into a league of different people but nations take a lot of more effort than actions which the detractors are quick to point out.

The ground work for this successful visit was set by the External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj just a week prior to the visit. Giving priority to the SAARC the Modi led government has started on a round of hectic political activity. External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj visit to Nepal laid the foundation of a good visit. She emphasized at every meeting that India's new government was determined to take the relationship with Nepal to a new level. The highlight of her visit was signing of the 26-point Understanding between India and Nepal. Did she earn enough trust in a country where the

* Expert, Defence and Strategic Affairs

perceived "Indian high-handedness" is a matter of distaste? Both Modi and Sushma were able to build positive atmosphere and enough goodwill, but they still have to walk their talk.

BACKGROUND

The Indian stock in Nepal is rather peculiar, at Kathmandu the capital there is a degree of anti- India feeling among the Nepali elite. The country side has deep feeling of goodwill for India due to the large number of soldiers who return home from the Gorkha units of Indian Army. Spending the better part of their youth taking pride in their service for India they are firmly nationalist about India, but the Indian diplomatic and political class have not been able to encash on the same. The borders again have the Madhesi people, who are of Indian origin but citizens of Nepal, whom the Nepalese distrust for being pro Indian. The two countries have deep cultural and religious ties, yet with so many similarities there is a feeling of distrust caused by Indian highhandedness. Years of neglect cannot be whisked away with the stroke of a pen or three agreements that were signed, but a good beginning has been made.

Nepal the only Hindu kingdom of the world was initially governed as a monarchy. The Maoist led an armed insurgency from 1996 to 2006. On 01 February 2005 the King of Nepal Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev suspended the constitution which led to constitutional turmoil and assumed direct authority, to tackle the Maoist problem better. A Comprehensive Peace Accord (or CPA) was signed between the Government of Nepal and the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) on November 21, 2006. The then Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala and Maoist supremo Prachanda signed the agreement, which allowed the Maoists to take part in government, and place their weapons under UN monitoring. India played an active part to use its good offices to bring about this rapprochement between the two warring sides and the Maoist joined the ballot process.

To the surprise of many poll experts though the Maoist got the bulk of the votes at the ballot but lacked a clear two third majority to draft a new constitution, which is what the first Constituent Assembly was all about. The reign of the king ended when the first Nepalese Constituent Assembly declared Nepal a republic and abolished the monarchy in 2008. The first CA headed by the Maoist failed to promulgate a constitution in the required time frame, from an initial period of two years it got extensions but failed to deliver. The process of democracy is rather noisy and full of delays; it took three attempts just to get the elections going. The first attempt was made on 7 June 2007, the second on 22 November 2007 and the final on 10 April 2008. It once took seventeen attempts during the term of the first CA to elect a PM of the country, thus governance can wait partisan interests are supreme, that is the eternal message of Nepal. Since the first CA was unable to promulgate a constitution possibly the only case internationally, the country underwent the exercise of electing a second CA. The second constituent assembly election of Nepal to choose 601 members was held on 19th November 2013. This also failed to give a clear mandate and partisan interests continue to be high. Currently Nepal's noisy democracy faces many challenges but the international community does see light at the end of a dark stormy tunnel thus continues to fund the nation.

The security environment during the Maoist period changed from a pro India stance to one of equidistance between India and China, forgetting the deep cultural and religious affinity that the two countries share. Perhaps the only good thing that was done during the period of first CA was integration of the Maoist cadre into the Nepal Army. A word about the army, which is the only strong institution in Nepal today and is strongly modeled on and influenced by the Indian Army, thus India must ensure that it maintains the special relationship with the Nepalese Army. The Maoist welcomed a large number of Chinese delegations and the ISI too got stronger, because central authority was busy elsewhere. The economy went into a tail spin, power shortages were endemic, and India baiting by the Nepalese elite become a favorite pastime. In such a surcharged atmosphere where no political party trusted one another, the Chief Justice of Nepal was appointed caretaker head of the state and the second CA elections were held, with the Army too mobilized to assist in conducting the elections.

**MATTERS OF INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY AND DEFENCE:
AGENDA FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT**

The second constituent assembly (CA) elections of Nepal to choose 601 members were held on 19th November 2013 with a record of 77.5% turnout. In Nepal 240 members are directly elected First Past the Post (FPTP) while 335 are selected through proportional representation (PR), 26 seats are reserved for nominated members. In the PR system voters pick a political party. These 335 seats are to be divided among the 122 competing political parties according to the proportion of the total vote each party gets. According to Nepal EC a party has to secure a minimum of 18600 votes to earn a seat in the CA. Of the 26 seats reserved for nominated members, these normally represent ex bureaucrats, prominent citizens such as bankers, industrialists, tourism entrepreneurs, lawyers, engineers, doctors ex-army officers but a lot depends upon party posturing and are yet to be named. The message that the voter gave by reducing the Maoist from the largest party to the third largest party is that those who radicalized were punished. The voting was rather high even as 33 fringe political parties and a faction of the United Communist Party of Nepal, UCPN (Maoist) did not take part.

As per the election results declared by the election commission the total vote for FPTP system were 78.34%, and for the PR system 79.82%, while there were 4.96% invalid vote in FPTP system and 3.2% invalid vote in PR system. The total estimated cost of the elections was Rs 4.84 billion and in order to ensure that the elections were held in a free, fair and transparent manner there were three international election observing organization and 46 internal, with a total of 30,667 observers and 217,456 civil servants deputed on election duty.

INDIA'S ROLE

Giving priority to the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Region the Modi led government has started on a round of hectic political activity. External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj visited Nepal prior to Modi visit to lay a strong ground work for the successful visit. She emphasized at every meeting that India's new government was determined to take the relationship with Nepal to a new level. The minister did well to take the relationship to a new high, and laid a positive environment for the PM visit. One of her statements definitely struck a chord "India is not the big brother; it is just an elder brother." India's role becomes critical and the Indian Army must maintain its special relationship with Nepal. The arms shipment must carry on and in fact the same must be expedited so as to curtail the Chinese influence. The Nepali Congress (NC) is seen as a firmly pro India party, and India must help out Nepal with oil which passes through India. Nepal needs to find economic answers to large scale migration of its youth with more than two million youth working here in India and the Gulf sending home remittances. The history of Nepal is replete with exporting manpower as currency, these needs to change and can only happen once there are employment opportunities at home. The modest GDP must grow from 3.6% to higher levels. The NC and center left CPN (UML) need to work together to pull Nepal out of this quagmire, they have a history of working together, with 405 votes his hands are strong. The old issues need to be resolved and new answers found. India needs to play its cards carefully it has cultural and religious age old ties with Nepal. It is here that Modi's charge into SAARC comes in handy.

ACTIVATION OF NEPAL-INDIA JOINT COMMISSION.

As stated earlier that at the invitation of her Nepalese counterpart Sushma Swaraj visited Nepal to lay the ground work for the Indian P M visit and also head the Indian side in the Nepal-India Joint Commission. The commission was formed at the Foreign Ministers' level 27 years back, and is the highest mechanism overseeing bilateral relations. Its objective is to enhance cooperation in all areas of mutual interest while building on the cooperative relations between Nepal and India. The meeting was held after a gap of 23 years to discuss the whole gamut of bilateral ties. Twenty-seven senior officers each from Nepal and India participated in the commission's meeting. The Nepali delegation consisted of Officiating Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Shanker Das Bairagi and the high officials at the Ministries of Energy; Commerce and Supplies; Agriculture; Defence; Health and Population; Irrigation; Finance; Home Affairs; Physical

**MATTERS OF INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY AND DEFENCE:
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Infrastructure and Transport; Education; Urban Development; Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation; Industry; Forests and Soil Conservation; Youth and Sports and Information and Communications, and the Charge d' Affairs at the Nepalese Embassy in New Delhi, India. The Indian delegation consisted of Foreign Secretary Sujatha Singh, Development Partnership Administration Secretary Sujata Mehta, senior officials of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and the Ministries of Culture; Energy; Roads and Highways; Commerce and Industry; Water Resources; Railways; and Human Resources Development; and the Indian Ambassador to Nepal. Aptly put it was twenty-seven senior officers each from Nepal and India that participated in the meeting headed by the Foreign Ministers of both the countries. The highlight of her visit was signing of the 26-point Understanding between India and Nepal.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE VISIT

The two days Modi visit was an all-out success. A total of three pacts were signed, one on providing iodate salt, amending article 17 and 18 of the Pancheswar project, and the third on cooperation between Doordashran and Nepal television. Modi also gave a HIT formula, representing Highways, Information Technology ways, and Trans ways. He also announced a soft loan of one billion dollars. During his speech the Indian PM made it clear that he was for Nepal's constitution but staying away from the nitty gritty of Nepal's politics saying, "India has no favourites in Nepal". The two PMs also directed their respective officials to take up the implementation of the decisions taken during the Joint Commission meeting. The issues which fit into a wide range including, political cooperation, trade and transit, development cooperation, water resources, earlier treaties and agreements including the 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship, mutual security, and boundary issues. The two PMs expressed satisfaction at the state of bilateral relations and committed to work together to take relations and cooperation to a new height.

One of the biggest take away was the review of 1950 treaty. Other guide lines drawn were:

- Review, adjust and update the current treaty to reflect the current realities.
- To address Indian concerns over the use of Nepalese territory for terror activities against India.
- Ensure open borders unique to Nepal- India and ensure it is not misused by unscrupulous elements.
- Both sides agreed to finalize the text of an extradition treaty and mutual legal assistance treaty at an early date.
- To expedite signing of a memorandum of understanding on a police academy.
- To find ways and means to enhance sub-regional, cooperation, particularly, trade, transit, connectivity and hydro power.
- Formation of a boundary working group to undertake construction, restoration and repair of boundary pillars.
- To undertake repair of Raxual highway which is in poor condition
- Expedite construction of five transit points for railways.
- Three additional air entry points.

There has been talk of a pipe line for gas in two phases one up to the border and another all the way up to the capital Kathmandu. Prime Minister Narendra Modi signaled India's willingness to build the Rs 200-crore pipeline to supply fuel during his visit.

The doable which met a stumbling block was the Power Trade Agreement (PTA) between the two nations and it has been decided that there will be some forward movement within the 45 days.

Nepal is worried that India wants to exploit its hydro resources thus the PTA is being negotiated.

The energy Minister Radha Gyawali said the investment atmosphere in the power production could not be created until import of power produced in the country was guaranteed and the costing and buy back should be at a rate mutually benefitting to Nepal, thus the treaty could not be inked.

CONCLUSION

India has never exploited the goodwill that exists outside Kathmandu because policy frame work never examined the goodwill that India enjoys because of the employment of Gorkhas in Indian Army. Policy formation is with the bureaucracy who has little idea of the vast goodwill that Gorkha soldiers enjoy in the country side, but is not visible in capital Kathmandu. Back channel diplomacy employing the soldier needs to be exploited now, because the Chinese have a lot of funds and will construct roads and other assets, but the heart must be won by the man on the ground, and that is the soldier, because he occupies a unique advantage, serves together, as comrade in arms, and this must now be exploited, to curtail the Chinese influence. Changing the mindset of all, including the international community, is the biggest challenge for the Modi government. The past few years have been of inaction by the government of India. The common cultural heritage and the fact that religious sites are common give a lot of common cultural values. The two nations have exploited each other's human resources as well. There is a need to bridge the gap, and India under Modi has taken the first step. There is a need for good track two diplomacy to build up the trust factor. Track two does not work well with Pakistan because the official track negates track two, but if the primary concern is to build bridges, the second track can iron out what the officials could not do, by proximity and putting things across. There is a strong need for track two with Nepal to ensure that the political class gets a correct feedback, for too long the bureaucracy has called the shots.

INDO-PAK STRATEGIC CALCULUS: THE QUEST FOR NUCLEAR SECURITY AND STABILITY

DR. KHALID HUSSAIN SIDDIQUI*

Advent of nuclear weapons in South Asia has changed regional dynamics to a greater extent. As soon as India and Pakistan conducted their nuclear weapon tests in May 1998, the debate - predominantly outside the Indian subcontinent - over nuclear security and stability assumed significant momentum. Many critics have questioned the rationale behind India and Pakistan possessing nuclear weapons. The strategic factors, especially those related to the nuclear-deterrence concepts, are being reviewed in the context of new nuclear weapon states by many diplomats, academics and strategic planners all over the world. With the passage of time, on their part, both India and Pakistan have also been long deliberating on the security compulsions behind the development and possession of nuclear weapons at various international platforms. There have been some brief attempts on their part to cope with the international disarmament discourse dominated by the P-5 states which have refused to accord India and Pakistan *de jure* status in the elite nuclear club. At the same time, acknowledging the fact that nuclear weapons remain significant to strategic stability between the two countries, both India and Pakistan have been trying to evolve mechanisms for ensuring the long-term nuclear security of the region.

At the outset, it needs to be noted that India and Pakistan have shared a feeling of “mutual distrust” ever since the partition of India and the eventual creation of Pakistan as an independent state. This distrust was an outcome of the colonial legacy of divide and rule. The mainstay of the distrust and, therefore, the conflict between India and Pakistan has been Jammu and Kashmir, a northern state in India.¹ The two countries have denied each other’s claims on Kashmir resulting in a conflict which has gone on for more than six decades with no plausible solution in sight. What was essentially a bilateral issue and a regional conflict has assumed international significance in the past couple of decades.

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And in order to strengthen their front against the other, both India and Pakistan became involved in a race to acquire nuclear weapons. This has aided and abetted the overt nuclearisation of both the states.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN: NUCLEAR POSTURE

India's nuclear journey began as early as in the 1950s. In the initial years, India's nuclear programme was designed towards using nuclear energy for civilian and peaceful purposes only. The direction of the programme changed after India lost its territory to China in the Indo-China war of 1962. In 1964, China tested a nuclear weapon and in the same year India commissioned a reprocessing facility in Trombay. With the growing nuclear threat from China, India refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968) and continued with its nuclear ambition to strengthen its defence, especially against China. The deteriorating relations between India and Pakistan after the 1971 war and the growing threat posed by a nuclear Pakistan, renewed India's resolve to continue its nuclear programme designed to make nuclear weapons. Subsequently, India conducted its first peaceful nuclear explosion in Pokhran (Rajasthan) in 1974.

Pakistan's call for expanding its nuclear programme came in the 1960s and 1970s after its defeat in three full-fledged wars with India in 1947, 1965 and 1971. Pakistan desired to strengthen its defence against India. This resolve became even more pronounced after the 1974 Pokhran nuclear explosion by India. After the explosion, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Z.A. Bhutto, said "if India makes the bomb, we will eat grass or leaves, even go hungry, but we will get one of our own".² In addition, Pakistan had relied heavily, during the Cold War years, on the US as a security guarantee against India. But the US failed Pakistan's expectations during the 1971 Indo-Pak war. The US attitude upset Pakistan and provided Pakistan with another rationale for strengthening its defence, especially against India, through acquisition of nuclear weapons.³

Thus, throughout the 1980s and the 1990s both India and Pakistan continued with their nuclear programme for non-peaceful purposes. India conducted a series of nuclear explosions in May 1998 under "Operation Shakti." Pakistan conducted its own nuclear tests two days later in response to India's nuclear ventures. Both faced international condemnation and periodic cuts of economic as well as military aid for their pursuit of nuclear weapons. This bilateral race, to gain nuclear superiority, has had international implications in terms of fuelling the international arms race for nuclear weapons.

CHANGING REGIONAL DYNAMICS

The nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan and the subsequent nuclear threat have not remained confined to the region. The involvement of countries like Libya, Iran and North Korea in the nuclear proliferation ring has broadened the scope of the nuclear threat beyond the precincts of India and Pakistan. Moreover, the tacit acceptance by the United States of India's nuclear status in the past few years has given a dangerous dimension to the nuclear race between India and Pakistan. The eagerness of the United States to balance Beijing's power in South Asia and also its perception of India being a "responsible nuclear power" has determined US policy framework in the region. In addition, recognition of Pakistan's growing links with terrorism and also its clandestine nuclear programme has led the US to circumvent Pakistan's nuclear ambitions.⁴

The veritable outcome of US new overture was the signing of the nuclear deal between US and India in 2006. India has an underlying desire to gain nuclear superiority to maintain its regional pre-eminence and US has vouchsafed India's desire through the nuclear deal.⁵ The deal between India and the United States was concluded despite the fact that India has decided not to open most of its nuclear facilities for international inspection. The US has happily acceded to India's position. Also, the deal went through irrespective of India's non-commitment to the Nuclear Non

Proliferation Treaty and India's decision to conduct a series of non-peaceful nuclear tests in the late 1990s. No such deal was offered by the US to Pakistan.

The Indo-US nuclear partnership has increased Pakistan's paranoia and has pushed it into the arms of other estranged powers. In order to enhance its nuclear capability and be at par with India, Pakistan is now courting China. Although China had provided nuclear assistance to Pakistan in the past in developing the technology to build gas centrifuges, the Indo-US nuclear partnership has given a new impetus to Pakistan-China nuclear relations.

China did not welcome the US-India nuclear deal with much enthusiasm because the deal undermined China's own political ambitions in the region. Thus, China eagerly agreed to pacify Pakistan's fear about the changing regional nuclear balance. China's state-run China National Nuclear Corp (CNNC) got involved in building nuclear reactors for Pakistan. In February, 2011, the CNNC signed a deal to build two nuclear reactors with a capacity of 300 megawatt.⁶ The CNNC has recently proposed to build a one Gigawatt nuclear plant in Pakistan which will be much more powerful than the other four.⁷

DISCOURSE ON NUCLEAR STABILITY

From the above discussion it is obvious that the overt nuclearisation of both India and Pakistan has changed the regional dynamics to a greater extent. And here crops up the questions of nuclear security. Infact, in Indo-Pak strategic calculus, nuclear optimism finds some place and many scholars are of the view that nuclear deterrence has been functioning in South Asia since the overt nuclearisation of both the states. Kargil conflict of 1999 and the military standoff in 2002 are viewed as incidents supporting this argument where both states refrained from engaging in a full-fledged war.⁸ However, nuclear optimist' view that stable deterrence can exist, is primarily based on certain prerequisites that would contain a crisis if it takes place. According to Kenneth Waltz these requirements are- absence of preventive war while a state is developing its nuclear capability, secondly an assured and sufficient second strike capability by both states and lastly an assured reliability of command and control systems to avoid any accidental and unauthorized use.⁹ However, according to Chris Gagne, none of these prerequisites of stable deterrence has been met by India and Pakistan.¹⁰ Furthermore one cannot ignore the possibility of escalation what according to Robert Jervis can be a rational choice in some instances motivated by 'national honor' the desire to harm and weaken those who represent abhorred values and the belief that the other will retreat rather than pay the price which can be expected for victory".¹¹ There are chances that in due course a conflict may lead to such a situation where actors may lose their control over it and become hostage to its fast changing dynamics. As Robert Jervis has further pointed out:

"Although undesired escalation does not occur all the time, the danger is present. The room for misunderstanding, the pressure to act before the other side has seized the initiative, the role of unexpected defeats or unanticipated opportunities, all sufficiently great and interacting so that it is rare that decision makers can confidently predict the end point of the trajectory which an initial resort to violence starts".¹²

Such arguments refer to a greater need to develop some arrangements that would lead to a better understanding of each other's concerns and consequently pave the way for a peaceful co-existence. In this context, it is worth noting what Sukanta Acharya calls "Securitization" in which a threat gets constructed not only by its presence essentially in form of some tangible objects but also gets flared up when a society or group of people designate that object as a threat.¹³ This process involves behaviour of people towards that object and gets reinforced when society in general repeatedly keeps referring to it in negative connotations. With the passage of time that stereotypical thinking gets indulged in the psyche of general public and remains embedded in the strategic thinking of a particular society. It assumes a specific character and becomes an inseparable part of the national character. In this way one can assume that social behaviour constructs a threat and presents it as a security issue.

Applying this conceptual framework to South Asia, one may define the role of conventional Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) on the premise that when social behaviours construct a threat, a change in behaviours brought about by application of various CBMs may deconstruct that previously held belief, hence pave the way for de-securitization. Nuclear CBMs on the other hand work at two levels. At one hand they serve the basic purpose of avoiding a nuclear exchange that may result from misperception or miscalculation. On the other, they try to maintain strategic stability in the region through timely and accurate exchange of information via strong communication channels, practice of restraint by realizing that in any offensive adventurism, costs may outweigh the benefits.

INDIA -PAKISTAN: NUCLEAR CBMS

India and Pakistan have been mutually deliberating on various aspects of Nuclear Confidence Building Measures. In a retrospective analysis, one finds a number of attempts in form of various agreements aimed at reducing the tension between India and Pakistan. From Tashkent to Simla and then from Lahore Declaration to Islamabad Accord following historic SAARC Summit, road to peace had been very bumpy. None of these agreements could sustain the peaceful environment, but only provided an interval. The basic issue had been that all these attempts were preceded by either a conflict (wars of 1965 and 1971) or crisis (1998 nuclear tests and 2002 military standoff). Major motivation and catalyst behind these agreements was the attempt to manage that conflict. This conflict management strategy restored the peace for the time being but failed to bring any permanent solution to the prevailing problems in the region and proved ineffective in the long run. Hence the old disputes are enduring today despite many efforts towards finding a peaceful resolution.¹⁴ An overview of these agreements also highlights the dependency factor that none of these issues has been resolved bilaterally. It always attracted a foreign intervention that led to the ceasefire and subsequently maintained only a short-lived peace.¹⁵

During the peace intervals, both the states have brought forward various measures aimed at building confidence. Various conventional CBMs regarding increasing trade and establishing communication links, people to people contacts, easing travel links through bus service and trains etc. have proven helpful in bringing people closer. However they could not eliminate a threat of war and fell victim to hostilities arising from every new crisis.

After the overt nuclearisation, there was a realization of the need to take concrete steps for avoiding a nuclear exchange. Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee's visit was seen as a welcome development. The Lahore Declaration emphasized on peaceful resolution of all outstanding issues and subsequent Lahore MoU contained a comprehensive plan of engagement and had a number of nuclear related CBMs.

Lahore MoU was soon buried under the snow of Kargil. However, some of its elements were implemented later. Overall in the military and nuclear arena there are some success stories and there are certain agreements aimed at reducing the likelihood of nuclear war. Apart from these agreements, Pakistan had proposed certain other measures before its overt nuclearisation. Those were primarily aimed at neutralizing India's nuclear test of 1974. Pakistan proposed a "South Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone" in UN General Assembly in the same year. Later starting from a formal proposal by Pakistan in 1981 to initiate bilateral talks to conclude an agreement on a mutually acceptable ratio of conventional armed forces, a series of proposals were given by Pakistan over the next few years, duly termed as "peace offensive" by the then foreign minister Agha Shahi.¹⁶ That included renunciation of acquisition of nuclear weapons by both India and Pakistan (1978), comprehensive mutual inspection of each other's nuclear facilities (1979), simultaneous mutual acceptance of IAEA "Full Scope Safeguards" (1979), simultaneous accession to the NPT (1979), a bilateral South Asian Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (1987), and a mutual conference under the UN auspices on Nuclear Non- Proliferation in South Asia (1987). Pakistan had also been putting forward the idea of "Nuclear Restraint Regime" in South Asia without much development in that direction.

REASONS OF FAILURE OF CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES

A detailed analysis of the Indo-Pak nuclear diplomacy and attempts to establish Nuclear Risk Reduction Measures (NRRM) highlights that both the states do have a genuine interest in bringing stability in the region but according to their own terms. Both have initiated a number of proposals in this direction. A critical analysis of these attempts reveals that their approach had been different towards many issues and they still have not been able to find a common direction. Therefore many such attempts to establish peace have fallen victim to the strategic concerns of both the nuclear rivals that continue to fuel a trust deficit among the leadership and masses alike.

These strategic concerns stem from various geopolitical realities that exist in the region and continue to fuel the tensions. Both India and Pakistan have unique sense of insecurities that grows out from each other's so-called strategic leverage in the region. Their respective conflicting objectives in the region and against one another fuel these insecurities to a greater extent.

For India, a rise to the status of global power is uncompromised objective that in India's view is hindered and incapacitated by allegedly Pakistan sponsored terrorist infiltration into the Indian side particularly in Jammu and Kashmir. In this respect, India is even more irked with growing pressure in Kashmir where demands for freedom have increased. It poses a direct threat to Indian national identity as India is rife with separatist movements and fears that any concession to Pakistan over Kashmir will have a domino effect on other parts as well.¹⁷ Therefore India uses the issue of terrorism as a hedge against the criticism over its Kashmir policy. India further uses the issue of terrorism as a tool to pressurize Pakistan at bilateral, regional and international forums and this often becomes a stumbling block in defining the future course of action. India has linked future talks with the issue of terrorism and does not accept Pakistan's position in this regard. As stated by External Affairs Minister S.M. Krishna in the aftermath of Foreign Ministers' talks in July 2010, "We told them terrorism is the biggest problem in normalizing relations. Unless this is met, everything else will be futile".¹⁸

Growing Pak-China collaboration is a nuisance for New Delhi and their cooperative development in Gawadar is a matter of great concern for the Indians. India believes that it has the potential to impinge upon her trade routes and an increased Chinese presence in the Arabian Sea offers a tougher military as well as economic competition to deal with.¹⁹ More troubling is the Indian concern that China is trying to encircle India by forming relations with all its small neighbors.²⁰ Therefore, hostage to a bitter past and existing border dispute vis-a-vis China, India is still unable to develop a better relationship with the latter. There had been some positive overtures lately, stemming from their mutual economic interests, but Sino-Indian relations are far from being termed as friendly and India continues to perceive and label China as a source of threat and a motivation behind its growing nuclear and conventional weapons arsenal.

Nuclear weapons have changed the strategic dynamics of South Asia. Numerical conventional superiority enjoyed by India over the years has been undermined by the acquisition of nuclear weapons by Pakistan. The fact that India's attempt to gain an edge over Pakistan with its conventional superiority has been outmaneuvered by Pakistan through its nuclear capability irritates the Indian policy makers. Such irritation has given rise to the unrealistic ideas of preparing and indulging in a limited conventional war with Pakistan and has led to the enunciation and exercise of Cold Start Doctrine by the Indian military.²¹

On the other hand Pakistan also feels handicapped by a number of concerns and views them as existential threat to its very survival. Negative overtures from India since its creation ignite the security threat perception. Having fought three major wars and a number of border skirmishes, Pakistan's strategic thinking has sufficient ground to view every Indian move in negative connotation. Such fears are further aggravated by various moves of India vis-à-vis Pakistan and have led to the development of an Indo-centric strategic culture in Pakistan where a general view of India is largely negative.

India's aggressive posture along with its conventional superiority has undermined Pakistan's strategic objectives.

Pakistan also views every Indian move in the region as an attempt to encircle Pakistan.²² The sheer size of Indian forces on Pakistan's border is a continuous threat and it further gets reinforced with emergence of offensive moves and statements from India every now and then. Such situation continues to sour the relations leaving less or no space for any positive action to take place. In this connection, growing Indian presence in Afghanistan is greatly troublesome for Pakistan and threatens Pakistan's security with a nightmarish two-front war scenario.²³ Furthermore, Pakistan accuses India of fomenting unrest in Baluchistan and has raised the issue at various international fora. Other factors that reduce the functioning of CBMs emanate from growing Indo-US cooperation in defence sectors and Indian ambition to acquire Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) systems, etc.

Pakistan has huge stakes in ongoing war on terror and the fear that it may be left alone by the US once its purpose is served along with the threat that India might move in to fill the gap, continue to exacerbate Pakistan's security calculus, which is already facing huge economic and military losses in curbing domestic militancy.

Historical baggage of India-Pakistan relations offers nothing but lack of trust. This trust deficit feeds on contemporary strategic concerns and aggravates the situation, leaving less space for peace overtures. This has led to the development of countervailing tendencies and a general thinking on both sides that too much trust is dangerous.²⁴ This is further aggravated by the negative role of media most of the time that has failed to create a flexible approach among the masses. Such behavior limits the options available to the ruling elite and under the pressure of rightist parties they fear that even a small concession on any important issue would be labelled as surrender by the leaders.²⁵ The immense criticism levelled against BJP government in the backdrop of Lahore MoU and against former President Pervaiz Musharraf on his reference to the possibility of change in Pakistan's long held position over Kashmir are two such examples.²⁶ In such a scenario even a strong government cannot withstand the immense pressure from the fundamentalist parties.

Possession of nuclear weapons by India and Pakistan at one hand has worked as a stabilizer by making war too costly and undesirable option and on the other it has also increased the bargaining capacities of both the states. That makes it difficult to offer concessions for peace and states tend to follow the policy of brinkmanship and each state tries to test the nerves of the opponent to the maximum. This practice has also emboldened the rightist forces in both the states to enhance their inflexible agenda against each other.

The difficulty in the South Asian case is compounded by Pakistan's explicit linkage of deterrence to India's conventional military strength. Pakistan does not espouse a 'No First Use' policy when it comes to employing nuclear weapons and it is adamant that any talk of nuclear arms reduction and disarmament will have to be linked to the differential between Pakistani and Indian conventional capabilities. Being the weaker party, Pakistan's choice is rational in terms of making its deterrent threat credible; it can threaten to use nuclear weapons early on in a crisis, thus raising the costs of any aggressive behaviour by India.²⁷

Yet, from a disarmament perspective, this is bad news. For disarmament to become a serious option, both sides will have to agree to reverse their nuclear trends and India will also have to consider conventional arms reductions to satisfy Pakistan. This is implausible given New Delhi's global ambitions and its constant referral to China as the principal military concern in years to come. Furthermore, neither India nor Pakistan is confident about its present nuclear capabilities. In fact, both are far from a level of nuclear strength that is likely to satisfy their perceived requirements and overall ambitions. Indeed, their future plans point to a steep growth trajectory.²⁸ Both are still thinking in terms of 'numbers' of nuclear warheads, missiles, and amount of fissile material; this points to a danger that they may fall into a tit-for-tat rivalry.

CONCLUSION

Both India and Pakistan are set to pursue a sea-based deterrent as the ultimate guarantor of an assured second strike capability. India is also seeking a Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) shield in the not-so-distant future. Such high-

end purchases will force Pakistan to expand its offensive capability further; the overall impact will be increased strategic instability in South Asia. India and Pakistan's official stances on nuclear arms control and disarmament provide no hope either. Pakistan has persisted with its India-specific argument, contending that New Delhi will have to take the lead on all major global arms control and disarmament measures. India's position has simply been to deflect the onus of responsibility on the five major nuclear powers. Moreover, New Delhi maintains that its force modernization is targeted toward China, not as much toward Pakistan. The implication is that India can expand its conventional and nuclear capabilities far beyond its requirements to deter or challenge Pakistan simply by changing its object of reference. However, for Pakistan, India's capabilities matter regardless of its stated intentions, and thus it feels obliged to respond to India's upgrades by its own expansion or through more aggressive postures and doctrines.

The international community, especially the recognized nuclear weapon states, has also contributed to the intensification of India and Pakistan's nuclear rivalry. The persistence of a discriminatory global nuclear regime and the lack of sincerity toward disarmament among the major powers have allowed the two sides to deflect international pressure with ease. Moreover, 16 years have elapsed since these two countries first tested nuclear weapons but the world has yet to pay any serious attention to the need to formally integrate them into the global non-proliferation regime. They enjoy the military and diplomatic benefits of being nuclear armed states, and yet they are not constrained by non-proliferation obligations like the rest of the NPT members. Policies that have discriminated between these two countries have also proved counterproductive.

Naturally therefore, the apprehension of strategic stability being fragile in the region remains the cause of concern for many observers of South Asia across the world. To assuage international and regional concerns related to the risk of miscalculations and misperceptions, there is need for evolving mutually agreed frameworks of bilateral confidence-building. The two countries' difference of perceptions related to nuclear security is likely to continue as long as Pakistan does not shed ambiguity in doctrinal formulations.

To sum up, India and Pakistan are set to defy the 'Global Zero' drive for as long as they can. They will continue to expand their respective arsenals in the foreseeable future. For now, India, Pakistan, and the international community must focus on incremental steps to bring these two states into global non-proliferation regime while working to enhance strategic stability in the region, thereby reducing the chances of a nuclear catastrophe.

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BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION: A STUDY OF PERIOD BETWEEN 1927 AND 1937

DR SONIA AHUJA*

INTRODUCTION

The proposed topic British Policy towards the Development of Indian Constitution. (1927-1937) is to study the conflicting viewpoints in British Parliament, political parties and there complex relationships with contemporary Indian political parties regarding the issue of constitutional development in India during 1927-1937. This is a crucial period in modern Indian history laying foundation for constitution making of Independent India.

EARLY REFORMS

The Political scene in India was full of unrest since the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon in 1905. The Congress began agitation against the government for in annulment. The unrest in India was countered by repressive measures by the Government of India. It was till the partition of Bengal had been annulled in 1911 that the agitation subsided. In the meantime, Morley-Minto reforms became law as the Indian Councils Act 1909. The objective of the reforms of 1909, according to Morley, the Viceroy, was greater association of Indians with the Government. The Labour Party had little influence in the passage of the Act of 1909 during the Asquith government but did raise opposition to the clause pertaining to communalism and criticized the limited scope of the self government granted to India.

The reforms of 1909 did not live up to the expectation of the Indians. The period between 1909-1917, Indian witnessed great political upheavals. When the First World War began in 1914, the first reaction to this tremendous event in India was a spontaneous rally to England's cause. The war effort made by India came as a great surprise to both the British people and the British statesmen. India's reaction to the war brought the nationalists to the forefront of Indian politics. The Home

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Rulers demanded self-government for India while retaining the British connection. For the time, in 1916-17, the agitation spread on a nation-wide scale and a network of political committees covered much of India.

While the Home Rule movement was going on, the British Government made a historic announcement regarding the future policy in August 1917. The Secretary of state declared in the House of Commons that the policy of His Majesty's Government was the gradual development of self-governing institution, with a view to the progressive realization of progressive governing institution, with a view to the progressive realization of the responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. The declaration, which became the preamble of the reforms Act of 1919, was the response to the insistent demand of patriotic Indians for a goal and a policy. Although the Lloyd George coalition and the subsequent Conservative Party government denied that the declaration of 1917 bounded British to the granting of responsible government and Dominion Status to India in the near future, the Labour Party was convinced that the Declaration did pledge these very things, and acted accordingly. The Labour Party was highly influenced in its interpretation of the 1917 Declaration by the London chapter of the Indian National Congress, on which it relied primarily for its information on India.

MONTFORD REFORMS

The Secretary of State, Montagu visited India about three months after the August Declaration. He toured various parts of India and along with Chelmsford, the Governor-General, met various Indian leaders. They received many deputations and considered various proposals for constitutional advance. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report containing proposals for constitutional reform was published in 1918. The report recommended that a system of diarchy should be introduced in the provinces. The report proposed a legislature of two houses and disapproved of communal representation.

The object of the reforms of 1919 was to replace the system of Government, then obtaining by a system, which would ultimately be developed into responsible government. The reforms represented a turn from the Minto-Morley policy of associating Indians in Government by the British towards a policy of giving Indians responsibility for governing themselves.

The Labour Party maintained that self-government should be granted to India by stages. It means that the Indians were not fit for full self-government at that time and which was why the Labourites wanted that she should have self-government step by step. Besides, the Labour Party favored the extension of the right of self-determination to the Indian people within the framework of the Empire, which meant that the Indians would not be able to secede if they so desired. The Labour Party, of course, at a later stage withdrew this condition.

On the other hand the ruling Conservative Party at that time, with its leader Stanley Baldwin, stressed on the fact that it would pursue a policy of progressive self-government within the British Empire resisting attempts at separation. The progressive grant of constitutional liberties depended upon the loyalty and capacity of the people.

REFORMS & REPRESSION

Political reforms in India were accompanied by coercion. The repressive Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwala massacre poisoned the Indian political atmosphere. Mahatma Gandhi then started the non-cooperation movement. After the Chauri Chaura incident in 1922 in which twenty-two Indian policemen were burnt to death by an angry mob, Gandhi suspended the movement. Although the Labour Party condemned the Rowlatt Act and the JallianwalaBagh massacre, it did not offer support to the non-cooperation movement. The Labour Members while criticizing the non-cooperation movement of Gandhi held the view that the Indian should confine their agitation for freedom within the constitutional limits. It is surprising that the Labour Party, which claimed to be the torchbearer of anti imperialism condemned the principle of non-cooperation to obtain self-rule by legitimate means. But the radicals of Labour Party supported the non-cooperation movement.

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In England, the government of Baldwin was turned out of office in January 1924, and James Ramsay MacDonald, the leader of the Labour Party formed the first Labour Government. The Labour Party came to office with the support of the Liberals and it remained in office as a minority government for a period of only nine months. The main objective of the Labour Government's policy was to achieve Indians cooperation.

After the termination of the non-cooperation movement a branch of the Congress Party formed the Swaraj Party. The objective of this party was to resort to a policy of a uniform and consistent obstruction in the Assembly and make government impossible until the right of Indian people to control the machinery and system of government was conceded. The Labour Prime Minister, MacDonald took for granted that the Indians would cooperate with his government. Accordingly, he appealed to the nationalists for cooperation in finding a solution to the constitutional problem. When the Congress Party did not respond favourably, the Government was at loss. The Labour Government was severely criticized by both the house of the British Parliament for its indecision in formulating an Indian policy. The only step that the Government took was to direct the Government of India to examine the working of 1919 Act, for making recommendation for amendments. Since the Labour Party was out of office when the reports were completed, the Conservative Government ignored the recommendation.

It is to be noted that during the Labour administration Gandhi was released from jail after serious illness, having served two years of a six-years sentence. But, MacDonald's government gave a blow to Indians by sanctioning the infamous Bengal Ordinance. MacDonald's liberal professions, particularly of the doctrine of self-determination, won for him admirers among the Indian nationalist leaders. They looked up to MacDonald's advent to office as the beginning of the era when the principle of self-determination would be put into practice in India. But MacDonald's Government did nothing to prove their sincerity of purpose. The nationalists asked the labour Government for a round table conference to discuss their position, which was denied to them. The repressive Bengal Ordinance was not expected from the Labour Party. So it is clear that their existed a gulf between the prophecy and practice of the Labour party.

The nationalists leaders lost faith in MacDonald. Although he wrote much about India but he never ardently advocated self-determination for India. The message that MacDonald sent to India upon his accession to office is well known. In his message he declared that no British party was to be cowed down by threats of force or by policies designed to bring government to a standstill. Any other Prime Minister might have attached his name to such a communication. It was wondered, why he sent such an excessive discouraging message. There was sufficient reason. It was to counteract the effects of some of the statements on India made by Colonel Wedgwood, an outspoken member of the Labour Party, and who was sympathetic to the Indian cause. Wedgwood said that the Labour Party hoped to overcome the difficulties by accelerating the conversion of India into a self-governing dominion.

This was too much for the British bourgeoisie. That could not allow a party with such ideas to be at the helm of the country. When MacDonald looked hungrily at the votes of the Liberal minority, he was reminded of those indiscreet pronouncements of his colleague. MacDonald had to inform his Indian admirers that self-determination was all right when it did not concern the Empire too closely, but when the safety of the British Empire was involved he would not tolerate any monkey tricks.

STATUTORY COMMISSION' 1927

Early in 1924, the Indian leaders drafted the Commonwealth of India Bill. This bill would have granted India responsible self-government. But before it was presented to the Labour Party, the labour Government was out of office. The bill appealed to the labour left and became the basis for the principle of policy that all future constitutional changes for India had to have the agreement of the Indians. It received a cool reception in the House of Commons although the Labour Party made an unsuccessful appeal for a second reading.

**BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION:
A STUDY OF PERIOD BETWEEN 1927 AND 1937**

The Conservative Government under Stanley Baldwin, for obvious reasons advanced the date of the Commission of enquiry and announced the constitution of the Statutory Commission in November 1927. It was to inquire into the working of the Indian constitution and to consider the desirability of establishing, extending, modifying or restricting their degree of responsible government at the end of decennial period. The commission included seven members of British parliament. The Indians resented it because they were not included in the commission. The Indians were all the more shocked because the Labour Party nominated two members in that all-white commission. The radical Labourites, however advocated a mixed commission in Parliament. India's faith in Labour had been shattered by its action in connection with the Simon Commission. Here again, we see a wide gulf between Labour Party's word and deed. This commission did not enjoy the confidence of the Indian people. On the contrary, it was greeted with fierce hostility by every section of Indian nationalist opinion.

The political leader in India at an all party conference formed a committee in 1928, headed by Motilal Nehru to consider and determine the principles of constitution for India. The committee prepared a report, known as Nehru Report, in which it was stated that the primary objective of the constitution was that India should be granted full Dominion Status forthwith. One of the positive contributions of the report was the recognition of the necessity of widening the franchise, thereby accepting universal suffrage and the principle of majority rule in the implementation of any future scheme of constitutional reforms. The contents of the Nehru plan were well known to the Labourites, but the Labour Party that came into office for the second time in 1929 could not proclaim a policy for India until the report of the Indian statutory commission had been published.

The Statutory Commission submitted its report in May-June 1930. Full provincial autonomy subject to certain restrictions was suggested and the main conclusion reached by commission was that the Indian constitution must ultimately be federal and be attained by continuous evolution. The commission failed to give definite lead on important question and the recommendation failed to satisfy Indian opinion. However, the report was noteworthy for two of its conclusions. It concluded that the provinces were ripe for full responsible self-government including law and order and that British India alone was unsuited for any permanent system of self-government. In the Commission's opinion, an all-India federation was the only ultimate solution of the problem and it was to this that all the marshalling of their facts and arguments irresistibly pointed.

The proposal of the report was of a conservative character and such innovations as they contained had already been discounted by moderate opinion both in England and India. The recommendations did not satisfy the Labour opinion.

The second Labour Government remained in office till August 1931. During its tenure of office the Viceroy Irwin, with his famous statement of October 1929, promised India responsible government and Dominion Status. The effect of the statement was excellent in India; in England the use of the ritual phrase 'Dominion Status' became the shibboleth that divided Churchill from Baldwin, and the diehard from the main body of the Conservative party. Prime Minister MacDonald remarked in the Commons the Irwin's declaration was necessary to establish confidence in India pending the publication of the Statutory Commission Report. Now that the goal was declared to be Dominion Status for India, the Labour Party decided that it would issue a statement of policy as to how that should be obtained. Later, the Labour Government announced that a Round Table Conference would be held between the Indians and the British to discuss the future constitution of India.

LABOUR BETRAYAL

The years 1930-1931 were marked by events like civil disobedience movement in India and the first two sessions of the Round Table Conference were held in England. The political leaders in India issued the Delhi Manifesto after the announcement by the government that the Round Table Conference would be held. In the Manifesto, Irwin's declaration was interpreted to mean that the conference would discuss the forming of a Dominion constitution for India. When the

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Labour Government denied the condition on which the Congress Party wanted to attend the conference, Gandhi began the civil disobedience movement for the achievement of complete independence. Repressive ordinances were introduced to check the movement and the government defended its policy by saying that they were trying to maintain law and order.

The first session of the Round Table was held in 1930. The Congress Party boycotted it. This session of the Conference could bring no tangible results, except the willingness shown by the Princes to join in an all India federation. Gandhi, on behalf of the Congress could not offer his cooperation to the first Round Table Conference because the Congress had already voted for independence, and, therefore it was not possible to persuade the Party to agree to any proposal which in its preamble did not concede, without question the substance of independence into definite shape; to show for instance, what adjustment must be brought about during the transition period of transference of power from British hands into Indians. This the Labour Government could not guarantee. There would have been little practical difficulty about the Congress view if Labour could command courage to stick to its principles and professions. But it was not prepared to risk its life on the Indian issue. It was perhaps more anxious to carry the British Liberals and Tories with them than the Indian nationalists. The Congress rightly felt that such a promiscuous conference could hardly be expected to yield any tangible results even remotely foreshadowing the fruition of Labour aspirations.

The plea of the Labour Party was that it was sincere in its solicitude for Indian emancipation, but that its actual course of action was determined by conditions of political reality, which required a cautious slow movement along the line of least resistance. It is to be noted that the labour handling of the Indian situation was in two respects a departure from the Tory treatment of it. First, it admitted the fundamental blunder of the Simon Commission plan and substituted for it the round table method. Secondly, it ventured negotiations with the Congress Party while the latter was carrying on civil disobedience movement. The Gandhi-Irwin pact was in no sense an agreement between the victor and vanquished—a circumstance, which made it galling and bitter to the Indian bureaucratic throat that was to swallow it. The Congress Party participated in the next session of the Conference on the distinct understanding that all reservations and safeguards period would be demonstrably in the interest of India.

The second Labour Government had made two initial mistakes, which it would not or could not rectify. It had made a pact with the Tories and Liberals, and the collaboration with these parties in the Round Table Conference and in the Parliament necessarily meant that the measure of responsibility to be conceded in the Indian constitution would be the least possible, and that of the reservations and safeguards largest possible. By the agreement the Labour Party consented to move with perpetual Tory halter round its neck. The second mistake was due to its failure to make the Indian representation in the Conference, truly representative in character. Moreover the inconclusive session of the conference broke up in an atmosphere of vagueness and mutual distrust. In reality there was nothing left for the great constitutional question itself but to wait for the report of the committees.

The Conservative Party came up with an overwhelming victory in October 1931. The second Round Table Conference also met with failure, despite of the presence of Gandhi as a sole representative of the Congress. Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, who had promised to continue Labour Government's policy inspired hopes that in amicable solution, could be negotiated. But the emptiness of Hoare's promises together with the mutual distrust between Gandhi and the Conservatives rendered a meeting of minds impossible. Gandhi was as uncompromising on the communal problem as were the minorities that claimed communal rights, and the British Conservatives usually supported the minorities against the Hindu majority, if for no other reason than to preserve the Empire against the threat of Indian nationalism.

The Labour Party condemned the National Government for the India policy both outside and inside parliament. It criticized the repression in India introduced by the Government and the imprisoning Gandhi soon after his return to India from the round table conference. The Labour Party requested the National Government to cooperate with the Congress Party in order to a settlement of the Indian problem.

WHITE PAPER

After the third and final session of Round Table Conference, which was not attended by both the Labour Party and Indian National Congress, the government drafted a white paper in the light of the conclusions of the Round Table Conference and the Statutory Commission Report. It provided for an all-India federation, provincial autonomy, responsibility and safeguards. In the debates in the House of Commons on the appointment of the Joint Select Committee, the Labour Party complained that the idea of Dominion Status had disappeared even as the ultimate goal, and that there was no provision in the White Paper for the progressive advancement to full responsible government. Although the Labour Party criticized the White Paper proposal, it did nominate its representatives to the Joint Select Committee. The committee, in general, approved the White Paper proposals. It may be noted that a draft report was prepared by Labour leader Clement Attlee for the Committee known as Attlee Draft. The conclusions made in the Draft put forward the same arguments as those made by the Labour party members in the debates in the House of Commons at the time of the proposal for the establishment of the Joint Select Committee. But the draft proposals were voted down in the Committee. It was expected that Attlee Draft would come into line with the Labour Party policy. Instead the Draft advocated the same principle of veto as mentioned by the majority report of the Joint Select Committee. It did not criticize the principle of veto, and the only real improvement that it did make upon the majority report was try to set up provisions for adult suffrage in India. Later, when the Committee's Report came up for discussion in parliament as the Government of India Bill, in December 1934, the Labour Party brought forward some amendments to liberalize the Bill, without achievement. The reason for their failure to liberalize the Bill was that the party was a minority in Parliament. The Labour Party pointed out the Bill did not contain the means for the realization of Dominion Status and imposed undue restriction on the exercise of self-government. The leader of the Labour Party George Lansbury, advocated that the Indians themselves should determine the type of constitution that they wanted. The Bill when passed in August 1935, became known as the Government of India Act 1935.

CONCLUSION

After the Act was passed, the provincial elections took place in 1937 in which the Congress Party had a notable victory in five provinces. But after the elections there appeared a constitutional deadlock on the question of the acceptance of office by the Congress. It wanted an assurance from the Governors that they would not interfere with the activities of the ministers. The matter was later settled and the Congress formed the ministries.

Thus, throughout the decade (1927-1937) various British governments attempted to deal effectively with the constitutional problem of India but none came with tangible results. The two Labour Governments were expected to live up to the Indian expectations but failed. The performance of the Conservative Government was also expectedly disappointing for the Indians.

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INDEGENITY AND DEBATES ON MIGRANTS IN ASSAM

SANGIT KUMAR RAGI*

INTRODUCTION

The unabated violence which continued for over a month and half starting from its first outbreak on July 20, 2012 in the Kokrajhar district of Assam was indicative of the fact that the state was sitting on the mouth of volcano for long and was just waiting for a small prick to blow out in full strength. It spread like a wild fire and soon it engulfed several districts of Assam such as Kokrajhar, Chirang, Baksa and Dubari etc, causing a massive damage to public and private properties, inflicting over seventy three deaths and displacing over 400000 populations on both sides of warring communities,¹ Muslims on the one hand and Bodos on the other.² Nearly five hundred villages gutted in flames of fire in two weeks and homeless people had no option but to seek refuge in 275 temporary camps.

Though the conflict originated with the murder of four Bodo militants who were dragged out from a police van by the migrants and beaten to death on 19th July 2012, but its stage was being readied for quite long. The violence that erupted on 19th July was a reaction against series of violence against the migrants allegedly by the Bodos, particularly killing of two members of All Bodol and Minority Students Union (ABMSU) on July 6 and subsequent murderous attempts on the former president of the ABMSU, Mohibul Islam and his colleague on 18th July 2012. Migrants who had assembled on 19th July not only murdered the Bodos but also targeted the Bodo's shrine at Onthabari, near Gossaigaon. This infuriated the Bodos in general and they retaliated with arms. Several Bodo militants who had left militancy but did not surrender the arms are reported to have participated in the violence. A chain of violence, loot and arson followed in subsequent weeks in the Bodol and its adjoining areas. The Muslim migrants also unleashed the reign of terror in the areas where they were numerically dominant whereas, the Bodos did the same to the Muslims wherever they were in position to dominate. Of course, the Muslims met the major casualties in the conflict.³

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NATIONAL IMPACT

The impact of the violence was felt across the nation. It not just created a social-religious divide within the state of Assam but also triggered a massive socio-religious polarization across the country. Muslim organizations held massive demonstrations in several cities of the country such as Mumbai, Pune, Lucknow etc to mark their protests. In many of these protests the assembled crowd not just used highly communal and inflammatory languages against other communities arousing passion but also went uncontrolled and violent. Rightwing social, religious and political organizations also held rallies and accused government of patronizing the migrants for the sake of votes.

New social media in meanwhile displayed how and to what extent it could be destructive in times of crisis like this, if they are not controlled and regulated through some sets of reasonable laws. It created havoc with the flash of a series of SMS which warned the people of the North- East of severe consequences after the end of the month of Ramzan. This resulted into mass exodus of the people of North East from different parts of the country, especially from the cities of southern and western India such as Bangalore, Chennai, Hyderabad, Pune, and Mumbai etc. Bangalore which hosts nearly 2,40,000 people from the North East found exodus of nearly 30,000 in three days in light of the threat message. Government had to work hard to convince the people not to leave the cities in fear. News channels and print media from Delhi for which North East seldom becomes the news items to hog the front page or occupy prime time slot went into an overdrive, extensively carried the stories of agony and strife.

Interestingly, both the Muslims and Bodos communities presented themselves as victims in the conflicts and have charged both the centre and the state of ignoring their interests. While the Muslim leaders equated the loss inflicted on the community members even larger than what happened a decade back in Gujarat in post-Godhara riots, especially in terms of displacement and some of them even sought to draw a parallel with the Nellie massacres of 1983 in which 2000 Bangladeshi Muslims were brutally massacred in the night by the unidentified people, allegedly by the Bodos. Bodos too alleged the destruction of their villages and loss of lives of their community members and their desertion from the areas where Muslims numerically dominate⁴. Further, while the Bodos have alleged that the violence is a result of aggressive posturing of the migrants with their coreligionists settled in the areas, Muslims have alleged that such premise is a part of larger conspiratorial design on part of Bodos to drive out the Muslims from the Bodol and areas where they have been settled from centuries, in order to create a homogenous population for the Bodos who constitute not more than one third of the total population of the Bodol and.

The conflict between the Bodos and the Muslim migrants in this region is not new. There have been numerous such occasions in the past when both the communities went aggressive and violent towards each other. In 2006 also, there was a major clash between the two communities in which several lost their lives besides destruction of their properties. Minor skirmishes between the two communities are very frequent and have been on rise than decline. Secondly, it is not now limited to the Bodol and areas alone but has spread out to other parts of the state in which migrant Muslims are on the one hand and the other ethnic communities together are on the other hand. What makes Assam vulnerable to such conflicts is the ethnic composition of the society, apart from other important factors like underdevelopment, illiteracy etc. But what has worsened the most in last four decades is the migration of people from Bangladesh who have settled in different parts of the state causing not only demographic imbalance but also of far reaching consequences in social, cultural, economic and political domains. Over the last four decades migration from Bangladesh has acquired communal overtones leading to communal polarization and giving rise to several conflicts in the state.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF ASSAM

The People of India Project identified 115 ethnic communities in Assam. There are 23 notified Scheduled Tribes (STs) in the state. STs constitute nearly 13 percent of the total population. STs are settled both along hills and plains. Nearly

41% of the STs are the Bodos. Others are Miri, Karbi, Rabha, Kachari, Lalung, Barman in Cachar, Borokachar, Deori, Hajai, Mech, Dimasa, Hajong, Singhphho, Khampati and Garo, Biata, Khasi, Jaintia, Synteng, Pnar, War, Bhoi, Lyngngam, and Kuki, Chakma, Hmar etc. 90.7% of these tribes, as per the 2001 Census, are Hindus, 8.8% Christians and rest include Muslims, Budhists and the Animists whose number range from 5000 to 10000 at best. No tribe is completely a homogenous group today. There is layered ethnic divide within the community or group. For example, though majority of Bodos are Hindus but a substantial percentage of them also have converted to Christianity. While the Christians Bodos push for Roman Script for the community, Hindu Bodos prefer Bengali-Ahomi Script. As a result, on occasions there are conflicts between two groups within the Bodo community.

Further, all the tribes have their own spoken language even though they do not have separate script. There are nearly 25 such linguistic communities in Assam. At least five of them are widely spoken of, such as Assamese (49.44%), Bangla (27.91%), Hindi (5.97%), Bodo (4.9%), etc. Other includes like Dimsa, Taie, Santhali, especially in the tea garden areas, Bishnupriya Manipuri (Spoken by a small minority in the Barak Valley), Missing, Rabha and Karbi etc. Some of these linguistic communities have been agitated over the language question and demand for a separate state to be carved out from present Assam. For instance, Bodos have been asking for separate statehood and calmed down only after the Bodo Territorial Council was constituted in 2005 with a power and autonomy to govern the territory and enjoying some privileged rights of ownership on land and settlements.

The linguistic divide is so sharp that though Assamese has been designated as official language of the state and is by and large identified with the distinct culture and identity of the state but in reality, it is the predominant language only in Brahmaputra Valley which has been the citadel of the Assamese culture today and was the power center of Ahom Kings in the past who greatly shaped it. In the Barak Valley and in the Bodol and areas, Bangla and Bodo have been designated official language respectively. It needs to be mentioned that in 60s there were many violent riots between the Assamese and Bangla speaking people. The native Assamese have been harboring the grudges that the Bangla speaking elites who came in with the British administration in the state are over proportionately represented in the administration and bureaucracy and have adulterated the Assamia culture. And in these conflicts the Bangla speaking Hindus and Muslims were on the same page against the Assamese speaking Hindus and Muslims.

From the mid 70s however the nature of conflicts in Assam changed. The presence of the migrants on large scale in the state and their names on the state's electoral roll triggered a major movement from 1979 to 1985 led by the young university students who formed All Assam Students Union (AASU) and took the battle to every parts of the state and forced the government of India to sign Assam Accord in 1985. The slogan 'Videshi Bhagao' (Oust the outsiders/foreigners) became the driving force. Assam accord accepted to develop the mechanism to detect the migrants and deport them to Bangladesh. But the accord failed to solve the problem of migrants. AASU (All Assam Student Union) which had led the movement against the foreigners and after coming into power (AASU had converted into Asom Gan Parishad, a political party) failed to work on the issue. The personal political ambitions of its leaders and fight among themselves not just weakened the party but also the cause for which they fought before coming into power.

The tribunals which were constituted as per the Illegal Migrants Deportation by Tribunal (IMDT) Act passed by the Indian Parliament in 1983, to identify the infiltrated migrants and to deport them turned out to be rather savior of the infiltrators. As per the provision of this act, the onus of proving that the person was illegal migrant was left to the police and the state. This was in contravention to the existing Foreigners Act under which it is the responsibility of the individual, on being challenged, to prove that he or she is an Indian citizen. The result was that Assam could deport only 1,481 illegal migrants upto April 2000⁵, though the enquiries were initiated in 3,10,759 cases. No wonder, Justice Mathur who wrote the judgment for the 3 Judge Bench which declared the IMDT Act unconstitutional wrote that the act and rules created innumerable and insurmountable difficulties 'in identification and deportation of illegal migrants'⁶. The IMDT Act, the court

observed, is coming to the advantage of the migrants as it enables them 'to have a document having official sanctity to the effect that they are not illegal migrants'. The court termed the infiltration as amounting to 'aggression' and asked the government to take necessary steps to identify the migrants and deport them.

But nothing has happened or changed since then in any significant way. Congress government which had brought the legislation to save its en-block vote bank tried its level best to undo the judgment of the Supreme Court. It virtually made the judgment redundant and irrelevant by way of inaction on the courts' rulings. Despite the fact that even a conservative estimate suggested of over 10 million Bangladeshis illegally staying in India the number of tribunals were very small. They were not at all capable to deal with the migrants. Over 3.10 lakhs cases are pending in different tribunals dealing with suspected illegal migrants. Even in cases where the tribunal has already identified and declared the migrants as illegally staying in India the state government has failed to act upon. For example, the tribunal found as many as 5652 illegal immigrants between 2010 and 2012 but the government could deport only 134 of them. Rests are placed in the list of missing category⁷. The worst of it is that even in those cases where there is a record that the citizens of Bangladesh have entered on valid VISA the government is clue less of thousand missing. For example, the government of India is not aware of what happened to those 58932 immigrants who came on valid VISA to India between 2009 and 2011 but did not go back to their country⁸. The immigration figures during this period show that out of 82,585 who visited on the valid VISA, only 23, 653 did return.

The matter of fact is that the allegation by the opposition that IMDT was enacted deliberately to save the migrants who had turned out to be a major vote bank of the Congress party is not far from truth. The Congress government at the centre signed the Assam Accord to deflect the national outrage over the infiltration but at the same time it also did not want to lose out the major electoral support base which kept it in power for decades since independence. Muslim leaders already had started blaming that in name of identification of the Bangladeshis, genuine Muslims citizens were being targeted, harassed and subjected to forced deportation. The Congress had already lost the General election in 1977 when Muslims in general switched over their loyalty to the newly formed Janata Party. It did not want to lose a major support base. It did not want any such provisions in the IMDT Act which could invite the wrath of the Muslim electorate. In fact, whenever and whichever government made any concrete initiatives it raised the bogey of secularism and joined the Muslim leadership to declare such acts as anti-minority. The congress and the communist parties' inability to act against the migrants made them to discover the 'no infiltration theory'. This is despite the knowledge of massive infiltration as a fact accepted by the government agencies and their own parties in their internal notes. The generation of debates has enabled the migrants to legitimize almost three generations in which millions have dispersed and settled in different cities and mingled with the local coreligionists. This has made the task of detecting the migrants very difficult and the entire issue vulnerable to communal polarization.

DEBATES AND POLITICS OVER MIGRATION FROM BANGLADESH

In fact, whenever the conflict with migrants take place and the issue of infiltration comes in debate there is a polarization on part of intellectuals and political parties in which while the right wing political parties and ethnic and native Assamese find it the root cause behind the tension in the state, political parties and intellectuals primarily from the left and the Muslims community allege that the whole issue has been a creation of rightwing parties like the BJP, RSS at the national level and "middle class Hindus at the state level who have fanatical dislikes for the Muslims" whom they want to drive out for their own electoral gains. Banajit Hussain thus holds that attributing violence to the illegal migrants from Bangladesh as the root cause of the violence is too simplistic to understand the complex phenomenon and it carries communal overtones⁹. He further held that most of the Muslims settled in Assam are the descendants of the Muslims who settled in Assam in the 20th Century¹⁰. And it is the vested interests that have been working to suggest that these settlers

are illegal immigrants from Bangladesh.

He argues that the statistics also do not support the so called 'massive migration theory' from Bangladesh in recent decades but the increase in the population has been a result of internal migration of Muslims from one part of Assam to another part after they had come from East Bengal prior to partition and settled in border areas of today's Assam. He holds that the total population of Assam which was 33 lakhs in 1901 should have been 56.69 lakhs in 1941, if the all India growth rate was computed upon whereas the total population rose to 67 lakhs suggesting that a massive migration of population took place from East Pakistan. And the majority of the Muslims who settled here were settled in Golpara district which includes Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Chirang and Dhubri of present Assam. And they remained settled over there till 1980s and migrated to lower Assam only in 90s. Hussain wants to demonstrate that the migration of Muslims in other parts of central and lower Assam has been from already Muslims majority areas and they were the native Muslims.

Hussain's arguments, however, seems to be extrapolated on presumptive grounds. For, he does not explain why the Muslims would spread out to other parts of Assam in the 90s when the violence and protests movements were at its peak during this period against the migrants from Bangladesh. Any minority would like to stay put in secured place rather than migrating to insecure destination. Hence this premise of internal migration does not seem to be plausible premise at all. Secondly, he does not take into account the Muslim population which chose to leave Assam due to partition of the country. The statistics which he produces thus does not seem to have sound footings.

There are several who concede that there has been migration but the demographic transition is not as alarming as it is played out to be. They hold that migration from Bangladesh alone is not responsible for the higher growth rate of the Muslim population in last 50 years. It is also because of higher birth rate due to illiteracy. This premise however, is a typical narrative of disclaiming the growth theory. And therefore it raises question that why the same does not apply to the tribes who are more illiterate and more exposed to poor health facilities due to their locational disadvantages.

Nalim Dutta, writing in Kafila, an online Journal known for left leanings and carrying the representative voice of the left scholarship, holds that the premise that there has been unchecked migration from Bangladesh is not tenable. He uses the census data and draws from the decadal growth that the population growth rate in Assam has lowered since 1971. It has been lower than even the growth rate of Indian population. This goes to show that there has been no infiltration from Bangladesh at all. He further argues that the growth rate of the Muslim dominated districts over the last two decades have been on decline. Third, that the population growth of two districts of Assam, Dhemaji and Karbi Anglong had twice the population growth rate compared to the Muslim dominated districts but the Muslim population in these districts remained miniscule whereas Hindu Population increased. He goes to say that the Muslim population did not travel out after infiltration to other parts of Assam. Hence, the theory of continuous infiltration does not hold ground. Fourth, the ethnic-linguistic identity of Assam is not on decline even in the Muslim dominated districts like Dhubri where Muslims are 74.29 percent, 70.07 percent of the population have declared their language as Assamese. Fifth, the premise that the migrants are protected by the Muslim co-religionists is a falsehood propagated as the native Muslims have been engaged in conflicts and litigation with the migrants in large number¹¹. Sixth, the whole hysteria has been a handiwork of the middle class Assamese for the political, administrative and economic control. Assam movements were their design for the same purpose. This class, first, turned towards the Bengalis in general in 60s, irrespective of religion, and now they have turned towards the Muslims on communal lines in the garb of infiltration. Thus, the premise that the Bangladeshis are going to overrun the political and demographic space of the state in time to come is a conjured up and concocted theory which carries no factual ammunition at all. It is just a rabid propaganda of blind chauvinism.

Interestingly, he admits that there has been migration but all the migrations are not illegal. Secondly, by admitting that there have been numerous conflicts over the land and trades between the migrants and the local Muslims, he contradicts his own premise that there has been no infiltration. No one argues that all the Muslims have encouraged the infiltrators.

It is primarily the political class and clerics which do it for the political purposes. Nalim Dutta further goes for selective data to prove that there has been a decline in decadal growth rate of Muslim population. He does not mention the period, specially the 70s when the Muslim migrants' population in several districts registered a quantum jump. Further, the premise that even in Dhubri where the Muslims do constitute a sizable proportion Assamese is mother tongue for 70.06 percent of the population does not suggest the theory of 'no infiltration'. Many argue that it is precisely because the migrants deliberately do it in order to avoid government's wrath. This is thus a tactical move done knowingly to conceal the identity. After all the census officers just ask which language he or she speaks in, and do not conduct the test to ascertain the truth about language. So getting themselves registered as Assamia, Bangladeshis ensure that they do not meet harassment.

The study of Bhupen Kumar Nath of the Jorhat Medical College and statician Dilip Chandra Nath contests all these premises. Their study goes to suggest that while the Hindu population has been on continuous decline from 72.1 percent in 1951 to 64.9 percent in 2001 the Muslim population has been on rise from 24.9 percent in 1951 to 30.9 percent in 2001¹². In other words, while the Hindu population declined by 7.2 percent, the Muslim population increased by 6 percent thereby effective growth of nearly 13.2 percent in numerical and in electoral terms. Further, while the Bengali speaking population has increased by 6 percent, Assamese speaking population has declined by 9 percent¹³. The religious data of 2011 census has not come out and it is alleged that the government has deliberately concealed it as the Muslim population has made a big leap. There has been a decline of Hindu population in almost all the districts. Whereas, all the Muslim dominated districts have higher growth rates such as in Dhubri, Goalpara, Barpeta, Morigaon, Nagaon and Hailakandi¹⁴. The high growth of the Muslim population is largely due to Muslim migration from Bangladesh, though high birth rate is also one of the factors.

Out of 23 districts the Muslim population has occupied a dominant position in 6 districts such as Dhubri (74.3), Barpeta (59.4), Goalpara (53.7), Nagoan (51.0), Karimganj (52.3) and Hailakandi (57.6). These were not the Muslim majority areas. For example, Nagoan had 40.5 percent Muslim population in 1951. It increased to 50.1 percent, almost a 10 percent jump. Similarly, Goalpara had 42.9 percent population in 1951 which increased to 51.3 percent in 2001. Besides there are several other districts where the Muslim population has increased significantly and inching closer towards majority. For example, Cachar had 38.5 percent Muslim population in 1951 which increased to 45.5 percent in 2001. Kamrup which had 29.3 percent population in 1951 increased to 34.9 percent. In Darang their population increased from 17.2 percent in 1951 to 25.2. Nath and Nath have argued that if the trend continues Hindus in Assam which constitute to be the dominant religion will be reduced to a minority population by 2040¹⁵. Government reports, which include internal reports prepared by the home ministry of government of India and governors' reports to the centre, prepared from time to time on the issue, confirm the massive infiltration and illegal settling of Bangladeshi citizens in Assam. However, a pattern of acceptance and refusal at the same time has been seen in government's stand in public on the issue.

GOVERNMENT ON THE BANGLADESHI INFILTRATION

It is true that there has been no comprehensive survey of the Bangladeshi migrants illegally sneaking into India and settling in different parts of the country but estimates have been made and the government has been articulating the same on several occasions. For example, way back on July15, 2004, Sri Prakash Jaiswal, Union Minister of State for home held that as on Dec 31, 2001, there were 12053950 illegal Bangladeshi migrants residing in 17 different states and Union territories of India¹⁶. Interestingly, when he was asked the same question in 2009 he declined to give a exact number because his previous responses had created a lot of political noise in the state of Assam as well as in different parts of the country. He had to make the U turn and issue clarification that the data he shared with the parliament was 'unreliable' and based on 'hearsay'¹⁷. Similarly, Hiteshwar Saikia, the chief minister of Assam acknowledged on the floor of the

legislative assembly of the state on 10 April 1992 that there were three millions Bangladeshi immigrants in Assam alone. This was widely reported in the newspapers on which sharp reactions came from the Muslim MLAs who threatened to topple the government in next 24 hours. Next morning, the tone and tenor of the Chief Minister was changed and different altogether. Not only he withdrew his statement but also declared that there were no migrants in Assam at all. A similar kind of confession and thereafter negation can be seen in case of Jyoti Basu and Budhadev Bhattacharya the successive chief ministers of West Bengal. It was difficult for them to accept it given the known public stand of the party which holds even till today that there has been no infiltration in India from Bangladesh. Budhadev had to tone down his voice on the issue when was confronted by the fundamentalist elements. But he was just articulating the true fact. The internal report of the home ministry also reveals that the chief minister of west Bengal was aware of the fact.

The internal note of the home ministry prepared way back in 1992 on the issue of infiltration reveals that both the central government and the state government has been less than honest in sharing truth with the public. The said report is a comprehensive document which enlists how infiltration happens, who are the people inside the border as well as outside who support and encourage it and what it means for future security of India. The report comes out with details of comparative growth rates of border districts between 1971-81 and 1981-91 and concludes that a massive infiltration from Bangladesh continues to flourish¹⁸.

The note in its opening statement holds thus: "The illegal immigration from Bangladesh into the eastern and north-eastern states and several other states in the country has become a serious problem". The problem has "assumed serious dimensions as large scale infiltration has changed the demographic landscape of the borders, and affected Delhi, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra etc"¹⁹. The same note holds that according to the "figures available in 1987 with the West Bengal" government "the total number of Bangladeshi infiltrants in that state was around 4.4 million. It should be near about 5 million today"²⁰. In regards to Assam the note said "In Assam, the estimated figure of infiltrants today is about 2.3 million". And further that apart from Tripura and Bihar they are "spreading to newer areas like Manipur and Nagaland". In Annexure A and B it gives a detail account of district wise number of migrants in Bihar and Bengal. And also notes that in metropolitan cities like Bombay and Delhi nearly 5 lakhs Bangladeshis have infiltrated and settled. Congress own documents quoting a Bangladeshi Journalists records that "there are about 1.5 lakh Bangladeshi Muslims in Delhi"²¹. This is the statistics that appeared in 1992, almost twenty one year back. One can imagine their strength in these cities in light of the population growth rates among Muslims. The report on the basis of interview with the migrants in Delhi noted that how the migrants who entered Assam initially have dispersed up to Delhi and other cities of India²². Recently, Delhi found nearly one million Bangladeshis on the electoral roll.

Governors reports sent to the President of India from time to time endorse the internal notes of the Home Ministry. Governor Lt General S K Sinha who sent a comprehensive report to the government of India on 8 November 1998 made it clear that there is a continuous influx of population from Bangladesh. He held that the situation has gone so alarming that entire Assam except for the lower Brahmaputra Valley looks like Bangladesh²³. Governor Lt Gen Ajay Singh in his report held that nearly 6000 Bangladeshis enter Assam every day.

These reports are not very different from the reports of the Congress Party's own assessment of the situation in Assam. A report of the general secretaries of the Congress to the Seventh general Conference of the North-Eastern Co-ordination Committee held on 3rd July 1992 in Guwahati is a case to the point. It goes to say what it possesses of facts and does not reveal is different from what it says in public for the public consumption. The report again published verbatim in the book authored by Arun Shourie's secular Agenda as Appendix II running into eleven pages deconstructs the dilemma of the party. The document acknowledges the fact that there has been migration of minorities like Hindus and Budhists from Bangladesh due to atrocities in the country which has gone theocratic by declaring Islam as the state religion. Secondly, it admits that there has been huge number of migration of Muslims which outnumber the Hindus from

Bangladesh. The number the documents notes are 'much larger than that of Non-Muslims'²⁴. Further that 'there is a direct correlation between the 'rise of fundamentalism and increase in influx'²⁵.

Home Ministry's internal notes on Bangladeshis or the Governor's reports and the Congress Party's own assessment of the situation all suggest that the state governments are fully aware of the facts of infiltration. The way Assam Governors have been sending reports on the infiltration similarly Bengal Governor T V Rajeswar also sent a comprehensive report on the state of infiltration from Bangladesh in West Bengal and adjacent districts of Bihar. T V Rajeswar, immediately after becoming the governor of West Bengal had visited the border areas and studied the phenomenon. And he held that the situation was far more dangerous than he had thought of earlier. In his May 1989 report he mentioned of his visits to several districts of North Bengal such as Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling and West Dinaipur. He also apprised of his assessment of the Chief Minister and suggested him to issue identity cards to those residing in the border areas. He subsequently went public by writing articles in the Hindustan Times, one of the leading newspapers published from New Delhi in which he warned that the infiltrators have already changed the demography of the state and in time to come they would be able to decide the political fate of the state. They will have role in making and unmaking of government. The CPM governments however have been reluctant to take any concrete actions against the migrants. They publicly have been refusing the whole phenomenon itself. And it was embarrassing situation when CPI parliamentarian Mr Indrajit Gupta as the home minister of India informed the Indian parliament on May 6, 1997 that nearly 10 million illegal migrants have entered and staying in India of which 3 millions are in Assam alone.

Inaction on part of both the CPM governments in Bengal and Congress governments in Assam has been driven by the political calculations. Migrants for both the parties acted as the vote bank which they used for winning consecutive elections. They went for immediate electoral gains without considering the broader consequences in time to come. Dev Kant Barua, a senior congress leader, who became and known for his infamous slogan India is Indara and Indira is India admitted it openly that the Congress Party wins the election because of Alis and Coolies that is Muslims and migrants labourers. Dev Kant Barua alongwith Moin Ul Haq Chowdhary and B P Chaliah are the three politicians who are viewed as the ones who have shaped the Congress policy towards the migrants in Assam. And none other than B K Nehru who himself was associated with the Congress ruling family noted that these politicians sacrificed the national interests for the party interests.

ELECTORAL POLITICS AND THE MIGRANTS IN THE STATE

In fact, migrants have been a great source of strength for the congress. Though Assam unit of All India Muslim League was greatly in favour of Pakistan but a great portion of the Muslim population stayed back in India. In post-independent India the Muslim population in the state got reduced to 27 percent which further came down to 25 percent after 1950 riots. But the same Muslim population which voted against the Congress to choose All India Muslim League became the votary of the Congress. Many of the units of the AIML merged into the Congress which enabled the party to rule the state without any challenge from any other political party. Muslim settlements increased manifold during late 60s when liberarian struggle started in East Pakistan. Millions came to India and got settled over here. When the anti-infiltration movement started in 1979, Muslims found the Congress as better option, because all other major political formations such as, Asam GaN Parishad and Bharatiya Janata Party were highly opposed to the migrants. The en-block voting of the Muslims in favour of the Congress sealed the fate of the Asom Gan Parisad which had come to power in 1985 but failed to repeat the same success in succeeding assembly or parliamentary elections.

But the Muslim politics have changed in the last two elections, especially after the advent of Badruddin Ajmal, a Nagaon born businessman dealing in perfumes who founded AIUDF (All India United Democratic Front) on 2 Oct, 2005. Ajmal, alumni of Darul Uloom Deoband, is connected with several Islamic organizations. This front was a non-entity till

few years ago. But in the last two elections it has come out as a powerful political force in the state. He himself won the Dhubri Lok Sabha by a record margin in 2009. He won both the South Salmara and Jamunamukh assembly constituencies in 2011 elections and his party as the second largest party in the assembly election winning of total 18 seats. Migrants support to the Congress dropped significantly from 36 percent in 2006 to 28 percent in 2011. And the Congress had to rely on the support of the Bodos. There is a striking similarity between the voting pattern of the migrants both in Assam and West Bengal. In both these states, they remained loyal to the then ruling establishment and switched the side in 2006 onward. In Bengal, migrants happened to be the vote bank of the CPM. Both the Congress and CPM if not encouraged, allowed and patronized the migrants for electoral gains. But once the migrants settled and equipped themselves with the necessary valid documents which ensured their citizenship they started asserting themselves. In West Bengal in 2011 elections they switched their loyalty to the Trinamool Congress (TMC) which offered a better communal package to them which included religion based reservation in the government offices. This changed the whole political dynamics brought the CPM rule to end which was in power for the last 37 years. Similarly, in Assam, migrants now have switched their loyalties towards the newly formed AIUDF.

The increase in the relative strength of Muslim population in Assam as a whole is a reality. And so is the fact that this demographic change has altered not just the socio-cultural fabric and economic aspects of the state but it has also impacted and changed the political dynamics of state. That includes even the Bodol and. Certainly the migrants are not just the Muslims but also the Buddhists and Hindus. But the number of latter is not very large because their migration has been more to the state of West Bengal and Tripura. Further, the legacy of partition haunts the mind of the middle class Assamese Hindu. They know it well that it was migration from East Bengal in the preparation days during 1931-41 and massive Muslim settlements encouraged under the patronage of Sadaull that had altered the demographic composition of the state. Sadaull had encouraged such migration in name of giving boost to cultivation but it was intended to increase Muslim population. Lord Wavell records this in his Viceroy journal on the basis of his discussion with the Muslim leaders. No wonder, Jinnah in the visits to Gauhati in 1946 exhorted that if Pakistan becomes a reality Assam would become part of it. It was not without basis. The cabinet Mission of 1946 too placed Assam in the category of C states along with Bengal. Gopinath Bardoli however, convinced Gandhi against this proposal and rest of Assam minus Sylhet remained part of India.

This works in the mind of the Assamese natives who keep it alive that it was just the migration of one and half decades which enabled the partition of Assam and had put it on the verge of going to Pakistan. Unlike Bengal where Muslim rulers ruled the state for longer period Assam never remained under the Muslim rulers for long periods. Though the initial Muslim settlements in Assam date back to 13th century but it was too small to be a dominant force. It was also because Assam though had some Muslim rulers but they could never control the state for a longer period of time. Even the mighty Mughals could not have direct control over the state. In the 17th century Mughals made several attempts and succeeded also under the leadership of Mir Jumlah but the rule ended with the capture of Gauhati by Ahom King Gadadhar Singh in 1682. Prior to that Muslim rulers from Bengal had made several unsuccessful attempts to raid Koch Kingdom which comprised Western part of Brahmaputra valley and northern part of Bengal. They succeeded only for a brief when in 1498 Hussain Shah defeated the Koch king and occupied Kamatpur. This rule however came to an end with the conflict with the Ahom King. Thus, its fate was different from Bengal which remained under Muslim rulers for a longer period of time. The massive Muslim settlements in Assam on large scale are 19th and 20th century phenomenon and it resulted from exodus of Muslim population from Bengal, both in the pre-partition as well as post-partition era.

Since the numerical strength of the population played a crucial role in partition a mindset works against the increasing strength of Muslims in the state. Increased terrorists activities in the country and growing assertion of the migrants accentuate this feeling and perception. The talking of lebensraum by the foreign establishments and similar intents expressed by politicians ranging from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Sheikh Muzibur Rehman have given a security angle to the

whole migrant issue and has found that echo in the articulations of responsible position in the armed forces. Take for example, Lt. Gen. Jameel Mahmood, the Eastern Army Commander advised way back in 90s to both the chief Ministers of Assam and West Bengal, Hiteswar Saikia and Jyoti Basu to take stern actions against Bangladeshis, else it would prove disastrous for the country. He warned of appearing of situations like Kashmir in Dhubri. General Jameel did not suggest that in time to come the boundary will be redrawn between the two countries through military adventurism but certainly Pakistan-Bangladesh axis may come up in future and together they can foment situation like Kashmir in Assam. It is well known today that many Pakistani terrorists' outfits find it easier to operate from Bangladesh.

CONCLUSION

Assam is one of the important states of India. Its boundaries meet the international boundaries of Bangladesh and Bhutan and the Chinese border is also not very far off from its last outpost. Presence of migrants to the tune of over 4 million, which is a conservative estimate, is sure to have wider security implications. And this cannot be overlooked for long. The attitude of putting the issue under the carpet for the moment and deliberately short-circuiting any discussion on the issue by putting the whole question of dealing with migrants in the secular-communal binary politics has neither solved the question of infiltration nor has it arrested the inter-community conflicts. Bodos have resolved not to allow the migrants to return to their respective villages from the exiting camps unless their bonafieds are proved that they really are the Indian citizens. National Democratic Front of Bodol and (NDFB), an outlawed group of the Bodo militants, has threatened to resort to violence if the migrants without testimonials are allowed to come back from temporary camps²⁶. Certainly the issue was an issue between the natives and the migrants. But it is no more the same. It has completely polarized the society and has turned out to be a battle between the native Assamese on the one hand and the Muslim migrants and Assamese Muslims on the other hand. It is worth to note that Bodos succeeded in roping in several tribes such as Dimasa, Tiwa, Deuri, Karbi, Garo, Rabha, Sonowalkachari etc for a common front to battle against the migrants. They held a meeting in this context on September 15, 2012 and resolved to fight out the migrants. The faction of United Liberation Front of Assam which supports the dialogue with the government also came out in support of the Bodos. Of course the militant group of ULFA has a base in Bangladesh and it is alleged that the organization has links now with Maoists from Nepal and ISI but the moderate section's leaders such as Arabinda Rajkhowa, its chairman and Mrinal Hazarika openly extended the support to the Bodos in their fight against the migrants.

It is important to note that the violence witnessed a complete polarization of society on religious lines. And an issue which was primarily an issue of native vs foreigners has turned out to be an issue between Hindus and other tribes on the one hand and the Muslim migrants and their native co-religionists on the other. Bodos and other tribes, irrespective of their language and cultural identity have turned towards a new solidarity which emerges from insecurity perceptions that the migrants would outnumber them in time to come and submerge the identities of native communities. The sense of threat to get politically marginalized and socially and culturally overwhelmed in future has made these tribal communities highly aggressive towards the migrants. The problem has got complicated because these migrants are here in the state for quite long, almost from four decades. They have already mingled and merged with the local population making it difficult to identify them and their children from rest of the population. This has serious constrain on land and other economic activities in the area leading to a sense of bitterness and hostility preparing a fertile ground for inter-religious and inter-ethnic conflict in the state.

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ROLE OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE IN CONTROLLING CORRUPTION, 2009-2013

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Abstract: PAC is one of those financial committees that ensure the executive accountable for its acts. The committee performs an important role to curb the corruption. This article has discussed and analysed the role of committee to curb the corruption. To understand the role of PAC this paper has analysed the recent years (2009-2013) five major cases of corruption mentioned in the C&AG reports. The cases are; Coalgate Scam (Rupee 1.86 lakh crores), 2G spectrum scam (Rupee 1.76 lakh crores), Public - Private Partnership at Indira Gandhi International Airport, Delhi (Rupee 1.63 lakh crores), 2010 CWG (Rupee 70 thousand crores) and Antrix-Devas Deal (Rupee 2 lakh crores).

INTRODUCTION

In a democratic system there is always checks and balance over the every individual organization. As such the PAC is one of the committee that ensures the executive accountable for its acts. The committee performs an important role to examine cases involving under-assessments, tax-evasion, non-levy of duties, misclassifications etc., identifies the loopholes in the taxation laws and procedures and makes recommendations in order to check leakage of revenue. The committee examines the accounts of the Union Government as complied with the accounting authorities and the report of the Comptroller and Auditor General (C&AG)¹. Its chief function is to examine the audit report of C&AG after it is laid in the Parliament. This paper analyzes the role and function of PAC to raise the issue of corruption and governance by the executive.

PARLIAMENT AND PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE

The Indian Parliament has established an effective control over the government and its all activities. Indian parliamentary democracy has established a framework to ensure the accountability of the executive. Administrative accountability to the

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legislature through the Committees such as Public Accounts Committee and other committees are the hallmark of Indian political system.

The Public Accounts Committee (PAC)² is one of the committee that plays a critical role to check the role and functioning of the executive. The committee does not simply focus on financial irregularity but also the efficiency and effectiveness of programs in achieving the objectives for which they had been established. Most of the time, PAC takes the help of the C&AG audit report to investigate the current activities of the executive and exposes irregularities and malpractices within it. On the basis of C&AG report PAC prepares Action Taken Report (ATR) and that table into the both houses of the parliament. Thus, the committee performs a significant role to control the corruption and improve the governance of the Executive.

In this context, it is important to notice the role of PAC in the recent waves of corruption and governance from Taj Corridor Scam, XIX 2010 Commonwealth Games, 2G Spectrum Allocations, Coalgate Block allocation-2012, Delhi Airport deal, Antrix Devas Deal etc. On these issues C&AG has submitted report to the government. Here, it is important to evaluate and analyse the role played by the PAC³ on the different CAG report to overcome from the issue of corruption and governance. These scams and corruption have been witnessed at large level to lower level i.e. every individual day to day life.

Before reviewing the role of the PAC on major scams and corruption cases in India, it is important here to analyse and study the role and work of committee. During the period (2009-13) UPA-II government the C&AG have tabled total 145 reports were as PAC has tabled 91 ATR. In this period 2009-2013 PAC has made total 169 sittings⁴. But it can be noted that the PAC has made sittings only 46 reports tabled by CAG in 2009-2013.⁵

Table 1: C&AG reports versus PAC Reports (2009-2013)

Financial Years	CAG report per year	PAC Sittings	PAC ATR per year	PAC statement per year
2009-10	27	21	10	0
2010-11	38	42	24	3
2011-12	33	34	21	3
2012-13	23	35	24	8
2013-14	24	37	12	0
Total	145	169	91	14

Source: Compiled and calculated by the Author from C&AG reports and Public Accounts Committee website.

PAC AND MAJOR SCAMS

The major function the committee is to examine the appropriation accounts, annual financial accounts of the central government, and accounts. It also examines the government policies, the way they have been put into effect and assess whether that represents value for money for passed in the budget for different programmes, policies and schemes implemented at grassroot level. The role of PAC to curb the corruption and good governance can be understood through major scams like Coal block allocation, 2G Spectrum allocation, XIX Commonwealth Games 2010, Public Private Partnership Delhi Airport, Antrix Devas Deal.

1. Allocation of Coal blocks: C&AG have prepared a report on titled 'Performance Audit of Allocation of Coal Blocks and Augmentation of Coal Production' submitted to the parliament in March 2012. In this report, it has majorly highlighted that due 'lack of competitive bidding the private companies have gained 1.86 Lakh crore (based on the average cost of production and average sale price of open-cast mines of CIL in the year 2010-11).' It has also mentioned about the lack of transparency in the allotment of coal blocks. On this issue the Committee had made total only 4 sittings to discuss the issue. Apart from the sitting till now it has not come with the action taken report. Here, it is important to notice that on this issue reached to the Supreme Court and CBI is also investigating this issue but PAC has not come with the report.

2. 2G Spectrum Allocation: On 31st March 2010 C&AG has tabled the report on 'Issue of Licences and Allocation of 2G Spectrum.' In this report C&AG has raised the major issues in the allocation of 2G spectrum about the loss of revenue by the government. According to the report the government has lost rupee 1, 76,000 crores. The report has mentioned that 'The entire process of allocation of UAS licences lacked transparency and was undertaken in an arbitrary, unfair, and inequitable manner. It has also mentioned that 85 out of 122 UAS licences to ineligible applicants, these companies, created barely months ago, deliberately suppressed facts, disclosed incomplete information, submitted fictitious documents and used fraudulent means for getting UAS licences.' PAC spoke to Tata Sons chairman Ratan Tata and corporate lobbyist Niira Radia in connection with the 2G spectrum scandal⁸. However, on such bizarre issue the PAC had made total 21 sittings and discussion and spent hours on it. But till now it has not come with any action taken report on this issue. It can be noticed that on this issue Supreme has also made judgment to the accused person but PAC has not come with ATR.

3. XIX Commonwealth Games 2010: The XIX Commonwealth Games were held in Delhi, India, from 3 to 14 October 2010. While organising games the C&AG has mentioned and found in its report 'XIX Commonwealth Games 2010' about the misuse of money. In report it has found numerous instances of delays in grant of budgetary and financial approvals by the GoI. These delays also contributed to the cascading of time at the execution stage. It has also mentioned in the report there were also major irregularities in the procurement of accessories/ special items⁹. In this game it was also alleged that 7,000 crore (\$1.5 billion) have been misappropriated during the Commonwealth Games¹⁰. On this issue PAC has made total 9 sittings and till now it has not come with any action taken report.

4. Public Private Partnership Project of Delhi Airports: The C&AG had submitted a report on 'Implementation of Public - Private Partnership at Indira Gandhi International Airport, Delhi' to the executive. In this report it has mentioned the issue of 'Undue favors to GMR-led DIAL (Delhi International Airport Limited)' due to this the government has lost around 1.63 Lakh crore rupees. The Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) hinted in its report on the Delhi airport modernisation project that the government had given out prime land that will fetch Rs. 1.63 lakh crore to its private sector partner¹¹. In its report CAG has mentioned that the company had got 4,799.09 acres of land on a Rs. 100 annual lease rent for 60 years for an equity contribution of only Rs. 1,813 crore¹². It is needed to be noticed that the on such important issues the PAC had made only 2 sittings. Apart from this it has not come with an action taken report in the parliament.

5. Antrix Devas deal: In a another report titled 'Union Government (Department of Space) Hybrid Satellite Digital Multimedia Broadcasting Service Agreement with Devas' of CAG has tabled it in the parliament in March 2012. In this report it has raised the issue of involvement of ISRO leasing the S-band transponders on two satellites (GSAT6 and GSAT6A) to Devas for broadcasting purposes. The alleged that the benefit unbridled use of 70 Mhz of the scarce S-Band spectrum over a 20 year at a scandalously low price of just over Rs 1000 crore to a private company, Devas Multimedia Private Limited. According to C&AG it has made a preliminary estimate of a loss of Rs. 2, 00,000 crore to

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the exchequer¹³. In this scam it can be also noticed that the PAC neither had made any sittings nor action taken report.

The problem here lies in the ensuring executive accountability by the PAC. It can be broadly categorized into two - problems at the initiative level and problems at the implementation level. Problems at the initiation level can be further grouped into two - problems accruing from the limitations of the office of the CAG and problems of the PAC itself. As above it has found that the PAC has not prepared an action taken report on many important issues of corruption and governance. On the other hand on issues like 2G Spectrum allocation it has made total 21 sittings but finally not came with the Action Taken Report.

Top Scams in India and role of PAC (2009-2013)

Scandal	Year reported	Loss INR	Issues	Action from C&AG	Sittings by PAC	ATR by PAC
Coalgate Scam	2012	1.86 Lakhs	coal blocks allotted, not auctioned, leading to estimated losses as per the Comptroller and Auditor General of India	Report submitted in March 2012 titled 'Performance Audit of Allocation of Coal Blocks and Augmentation of Coal Production'	It has discussed 4 times in sittings but till now no report has been produced	Neither tabled in the parliament
2G spectrum scam	2010	1.76 Lakh crores	communication bandwidth auctioned for lower than market value	Report titled 'Issue of Licences and Allocation of 2G Spectrum by the Department of Telecommunications' submitted to the parliament.	It has discussed 21 times in the sitting but till now it has not published any report on it	Nor report prepared Neither tabled in the parliament
PPP Delhi Airport	2012	1.63 Lakh Crores	Undue favors to GMR-led DIAL (Delhi International Airport Limited).	Report titled 'Implementation of Public - Private Partnership at Indira Gandhi International Airport, Delhi' tabled on 17 August 2012	It has discussed 2 times in sittings but till now no report has been produced	Nor report prepared Neither tabled in the parliament
2010 CWG	2011	70,000 crores	Kalmadi handed out Rs 141 crores contracts to Swiss Timing for its timing equipment; the deal was inflated by Rs 95 crores.	Report prepared and submitted in end of March 2011 titled 'Performance Audit of XIX Commonwealth Games 2010'	It has discussed 9 times in the sitting but till now it has not published any report on it	Nor report prepared Neither tabled in the parliament
Antrix-Devas Deal	2011	2 Lakh crores	Involved ISRO leasing the S-band transponders on two satellites (GSAT6 and GSAT6A) to Devas for broadcasting purposes.	Report titled 'Union Government (Department of Space) Hybrid Satellite Digital Multimedia Broadcasting Service Agreement with Devas' submitted in march 2011.	It has not been discussed in the sittings neither any report has been produced	Nor report prepared Neither tabled in the parliament Nor report prepared

PAC INACTION CONTINUES

The examination of the accounting and recommendations made by PAC plays an important role to enforce the accountability of the executive to the legislature. Through this PAC also perform major tasks to check the corruption and governance by the executive. Most importantly, the leader of the opposition is chairman of the committee¹⁴. Here it is important to notice that the chairman i.e. Dr Murli Manohar Joshi has attended 100 sittings out of 148 i.e. around 67 percent sittings of the committee. Hence for being a member of opposition party he/she can raise the major issues in the parliament through the ATR. But due to the large number of ruling party members it takes a long time to 6 to 7 years to prepare the report. In many cases PAC is also lagging behind 5-7 years and it increase the issue of backlogging. PAC Chairman Buta Singh told the Indian Express (May 8, 2003): "It is true for the last 7 to 8 years, the PAC has been lagging behind in taking up CAG's reports and sometimes dealing with reports that 5 to 7 years old. The PAC has become laid back and no serious debate on these reports takes place in parliaments."

However, in recent years (2004-2013) the role of PAC can be understood through above five major cases mentioned in the C&AG reports. On the basis of the above mentioned cases it can be noticed that these five corruption cases India has lost 7.95 Lakh crores rupees but then till now the committee has not tabled any ATR in the parliament¹⁵. Moreover in some cases like Antrix-Devas Deal the committee has not made any sitting. Apart from this some issues like 2G Spectrum allocation issue it has made total 21 sittings but finally not tabled Action Taken Report in the parliament. Interestingly it can be noticed that on above mentioned cases the Supreme Court has cancelled the license, persons convicted but the PAC has not made Report.

Furthermore, during 2009-23 period the role of committee can be noticed with three things. Firstly, the less number of participation by the committee members in sittings and the number of sittings is very less. Secondly, the committee is not discussing the number of reports tabled by C&AG on different critical issues. Sometime PAC has taken several years (between five and seven years commonly) to finish off a contentious issue without any concrete result. These things raise major issues regarding the role of PAC.

A WAY FORWARD

On the basis of above study two major things come out, the first is the Committee's work majorly depends upon the audit reports of the Comptroller and Auditor General (C&AG). To study and understand the issue mentioned in the C&AG audit report needs to have a basic understanding of audit and accounts. But the problem lies in the PAC members' understanding of audit and accounts especially the C&AG report. Hence it can be recommended that the members appointed in the PAC should have a basic understanding of audit and accounts so that they can understand the issues and recommendation made by C&AG. Due to this reason the dissemination of action taken report takes 6-7 year like former chairman Buta Singh has mentioned. The committee needs to have more sitting as much as possible and come with the ATR with in a year. It is also important the some important issues like Antrix-devas deal can't be left with out discussion.

Secondly, the issue of conflict of interest should be solved. As it has been seen members are appointed on the basis of proportional representation of members and the chairman is appointed from the opposition party. It generates conflict between less members and the chairman and they cannot be able to take any action. For example Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi has circulated the draft report of PAC on the 2G scam. He was attacked by the PAC members belonging to UPA who alleged that the report was prepared with "malafide intention" to defame and destabilise the Government¹⁶. In another incident during the PAC meeting, Congress Party members Sanjay Nirupam and Sandeep Dikshit had made allegation that the CAG report on 2G spectrum allocation is politically motivated¹⁷. The chairman of the committee Dr Joshi stepped against Congress members, he indicated that they could take steps to impeach CAG but they cannot make allegations against a constitutional authority.¹⁸ Hence here it is important to short out the issue of conflict of interest between the ruling party

and the opposition party. Due to conflict of interest the PAC takes long time to prepare ATR and some time not capable to come with any report in the five cases.

Third, the Parliament should hold an annual debate on the work of the PAC and to review its annual work. Fourth, the members appointed in the PAC should have a basic understanding of audit and accounts so that they can review and understand the recommendations. There should be specially structured training provided to PAC members. Fourth, the internet should be used to disseminate information about the PAC, its work and reports. Fifth and final, there is need for undertaking the research into the functioning of PAC kind institutions in other democratic countries.

END NOTE

1. Malhotra, G.C. (2000), 'Public Accounts Committee- Its Role in Ensuring Executive Accountability', Indian Journal of federal Studies, 1(2):73-102. P-74
2. Public Accounts Committee consists 22 members, in which 15 members elected by Lok Sabha every year from amongst its members according to the principle of proportional representation by means of single transferable vote and 7 members from Rajya Sabha elected by that House in like manner.
3. PAC publishes report on the issues of audit, transparency, corruption, efficiency, policy gaps etc to the executive i.e. government departments and other bodies have used their resources. In this regard it is important to highlight the role of PAC and the action taken by executive on their report.
4. It also includes the sitting twice in a day and the sitting made by sub committees on same day.
5. Compiled from the website of CAG and Lok Sabha.
6. Financial year counts from April to March every year.
7. This data is till January 2014.
8. Indian Express, 5th April 2011, 'Tata was candid, Radia evasive on 2G, says PAC chief Joshi', Accessed from <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/tata-was-candid-radia-evasive-on-2g-says-pac-chief-joshi/771674/> on 12 October 2013
9. Mentioned in C&AG report 'XIX Commonwealth Games 2010', accessed from http://saiindia.gov.in/english/home/Our_Products/Audit_report/Government_Wise/union_audit/recent_reports/union_performance/2011_2012/Civil_%20Performance_Audits/Report_No_6_CWG/CWG%20English%20-%20Part-1.pdf on 12 March 2014.
10. The Hindu, 3 December 2010, 'Challenges before rising Asia', Accessed from <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-opinion/challenges-before-rising-asia/article928412.ece> on 15 October 2013.
11. Hindustan Times, 23 May 2012, 'CAG smells Rs. 1.63-lakh cr scam in Delhi airport deal', accessed from <http://www.hindustantimes.com/India-news/NewDelhi/CAG-smells-Rs-1-63-lakh-cr-scram-in-Delhi-airport-deal/Article1-859905.aspx> on 12 October 2013.
12. Mentioned in C&AG report 'Implementation of Public - Private Partnership at Indira Gandhi International Airport, Delhi', accessed from <http://leagueofindia.com/sites/default/files/103124921-GMR.pdf> on 2nd January 2014.
13. The Hindu 28 September 2011, Behind the S-band spectrum scandal, Accessed from <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/editorial/article1200374.ece> on 15 October 2013.
14. The Chairman is appointed by the Speaker of Lok Sabha selected from the opposition.
15. Directly enquired to Lok Sabha Deputy Secretary (PAC) Smt. A. Jyothirmayi, on 14th October 2013 and replied in an email about this.
16. The Times of India, 1 May 2011, 'M M Joshi reappointed PAC chairperson', accessed from http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-05-01/india/29492965_1_parliament-s-public-accounts-committee-pac-chairperson-spectrum-scam on 15 October 2013

17. CAG on the estimated loss in the 2G spectrum allocation, whether it was not Rs 1.76 lakh crore but Rs 2,645 crore according to RP Singh, the former director general post and telegraph.
18. Business Standard 23 November 2011, 'Cong members should apologise to CAG: PAC', Accessed from http://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/cong-members-should-apologise-to-cag-pac-111112300040_1.html on 14 October 2013.

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2. Malhotra, G.C. (2000), 'Public Accounts Committee- Its Role in Ensuring Executive Accountability', *Indian Journal of federal Studies*, 1(2):73-102. P-74.
3. Rahman, Taiabur (2008), *Parliamentary Control and Government Accountability in South Asia: A comparative analysis of Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka*, Routledge Publication: New Delhi.
4. The Times of India (2011, 1 May) 'M M Joshi reappointed PAC chairperson', accessed at http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-05-01/india/29492965_1_parliament-s-public-accounts-committee-pac-chairperson-spectrum-scam on 15 October 2013.
5. Hindustan Times, 23 May 2012, 'CAG smells Rs. 1.63-lakh cr scam in Delhi airport deal', accessed from <http://www.hindustantimes.com/India-news/NewDelhi/CAG-smells-Rs-1-63-lakh-cr-scam-in-Delhi-airport-deal/Article1-859905.aspx> on 12 October 2013.
6. Indian Express, 5th April 2011, 'Tata was candid, Radia evasive on 2G, says PAC chief Joshi', Accessed from <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/tata-was-candid-radia-evasive-on-2g-says-pac-chief-joshi/771674/> on 12 October 2013.
7. The Hindu, 3 December 2010, 'Challenges before rising Asia', Accessed from <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-opinion/challenges-before-rising-asia/article928412.ece> on 15 October 2013.
8. The Hindu 28 September 2011, Behind the S-band spectrum scandal, Accessed from <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/editorial/article1200374.ece> on 15 October 2013.
9. Accessed data and information from CAG website (<http://cag.gov.in/>).
10. Accessed data and information from Lok Sabha Website from Lok Sabha website http://164.100.47.134/committee/committee_informations.aspx

THE WASTE LAND AND HINDU CLASSICS A STUDY IN SOURCES AND MEANING

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*'The greatest debts are not always the most evident: at least there are different kinds of debt.'*¹ T.S. Eliot

Eliot calls the Bhagavad Gita "the next greatest philosophical poem to the Divine Comedy within my experience."² It is an important statement to bear in mind when one comes to read Eliot's most allusive poem, *The Waste Land*. Whereas the pervasive presence of Dante in almost all of Eliot's poetry is often recognized and discussed by critics, the influence of the Gita remains unnoticed unless it is extremely explicit as in *The Dry Salvages*. To a reader familiar with Indian classics, the presence of Hindu thought and mythology is equally explicit in *The Waste Land* where the message of the poet is given in three key words epitomizing the ethics of the Upanishads. Eliot's two notes on the Sanskrit words in the poem deserve close attention:

402. 'Datter, dayadhvonn, damyatas'-(Give, sympathize, control). The fable of the meaning of the Thunder is found in the Brihadaranyaka-Upanishad, 5,1. A translation is found in Deussen's *Sechzig Upanishads Des Veda*, p. 489.
434. Shantih, Repeated as here, a formal ending to an Upanishad. 'The Peace which passeth understanding' is our equivalent to this word.

Both these notes mention the Upanishads and not the Gita as such. In this connection a reader has simply to be told that by its official assignment, the Gita too is called an Upanishad, since it derives its main inspiration from that remarkable group

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of scriptures. The colophon at the end of each chapter of the Gita identifies it as an Upanishad. There is no doubt, therefore, that through in his notes Eliot invites the readers to approach his poem with the knowledge both of the Upanishads and of Gita along with that of the larger epic, the Mahabharata of which the Gita forms an important episode. In the ensuing pages an attempt will be made to cite relevant Indian myths and classics as sources for and as elucidatory comments on *The Waste Land*.

I.

Last it should be considered too far-fetched to bring Hindu myth and scripture to a reading of *The Waste Land*, we must briefly remind ourselves of the objective proofs of Eliot's knowledge of and interest in Sanskrit language and literature. When Eliot was a student³ at Harvard, there was a widespread interest in oriental thought. Two of his teachers were great Oriental scholars. In September 1911 Eliot enrolled in Charles Rockwell Lanman's Indic Philology course and for two years he studied Sanskrit in Lanman's library. During the second year he read Indian philosophy under the direction of James Houghton Woods, a versatile man who had taught history, philosophy, anthropology, and comparative religion, who had traveled in India and who was at work, while Eliot was his pupil, on *Yoga System of Patanjali*, to be published in 1914. Eliot carefully studied Patanjali's philosophy of Yoga (one subject discussed in detail in the Gita in all its aspects), he says, left him in a state of enlightened mystification. In fact Eliot was so much caught up in the Oriental Philosophy at Harvard that, he tells us, he was stopped from going further into it by a fear of losing his sense of participation in the Western Tradition.⁴ As to the Indian influence on his poetry, here is his own testimony:

Long ago I studied the Indian languages and while I was chiefly interested at that time in Philosophy, I read a little poetry too; and I know that my own poetry shows the influence of Indian thought and sensibility.⁵ (Emphasis added).

To look for the echoes of the Indian epic the Mahabharata, the Gita and of the Upanishads in *The Waste Land*, remains not only a valid but also to a degree an imperative approach to the poem.⁶

II.

'Eliot's source material for *The Waste Land*- Jessie L. Weston's *From Ritual to Romance* and Frazer's *The Golden Bough* made it obligatory on his part to include the Indian myths. Since the myth behind *The Waste Land* -that of the Grail legend-forms the plan of the poem, its origins in the fertility cults and vegetation rites of the ancient Aryans had to form a part of the meaning and symbolism of the poem. Miss Weston's thesis states that the whole complex of the Grail legend and romance has its root origin "in the Vegetation Ritual, treated from the esoteric point of view as a Life-Cult, and in that alone. Christian Legend and traditional Folk-tale, have undoubtedly contributed to the perfected romantic corpus, but they are in truth subsidiary and secondary features."⁷ As evidence for her thesis she goes back to the Rig-Veda hymns in order to establish "a tradition common to the Aryan race in general."⁸ With reference to *The Waste Land* in particular, we should consider Miss Weston's presentation of the Indian myths on the following three major aspects of the *Waste Land* Myth:

1. Freeing of Waters
2. The Nature and Task of the Hero

3. The Fisher King and the significance of fish as a fertility symbol.

1. Freeing of Waters, Thunder or Indra and Arjuna: Too often the meaning of the last section of *The Waste Land* is confined to the context of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad alone, and the voice of the Thunder is taken to be that of Prajapati, the Lord of Creation, giving instruction to the three orders of created beings. The meaning of this section, as of the whole myth in the poem, definitely extends 'beyond this. The Thunder is the god Indra who is celebrated as the restorer of rivers to their channels. Miss Weston⁹ cites the tradition whereby Indra is said to have slain the evil giant, Vritra, who had imprisoned the seven great rivers of India. In the Rig Veda, Indra's feat of releasing the streams is celebrated in numerous hymns:-

"Indra set free the waters"

"Thou, Indra, has slain Vritra by thy vigour, thou has set free the waters."

"Indra has filled the rivers, he has inundated the dry land."¹⁰

Out of the personages that are merged in the figure of the protagonist of *The Waste Land*, Indra certainly is one of the most important, since a whole section is named after him. (It may also be mentioned that Prajapati of the Brihadaranyaka is one of the names of Indra too). Miss Weston remarks that "the task of the Grail hero is in this special respect no mere literary invention, but a heritage from the achievements of the prehistoric heroes of the Aryan race."¹¹ Indra, therefore, must be included among the protagonists of *The Waste Land*. Since he is frequently represented as destroying the "sone-built cities" of the Asuras or atmospheric demons, lines like the following:-

"What the Thunder said"

vibrate with added significance:

What is the city over the mountains

Cracks and reforms and bursts in the violet air

Falling towers. (11, 372-374).

Indra's presence in the myth and thereby in the poem has still greater significance when we remember that Arjuna, the hero of the Mahabharata and the Gita, is said to be the son of Indra. Since the role of Arjuna is to be discussed later in connection with these two books it is sufficient to mention the fact here.

2. The Nature and Task of the Hero: The hero of the Grail story is supposed to be a knight who is required to restore fertility to the Waste Land. In Weston's book this hero is traced back to a story in the Mahabharata. No reader of *The Waste Land* and *From Bitual to Romance* can fail to see the great importance of this story as a basis for the genesis of Eliot's poem. As given by Weston¹² the story can be briefly re-told: The Mahabharata records the story of Rich-yachringa, a young Brahmin brought up by his father, Vibhandaka, in a lonely forest hermitage absolutely ignorant of the outside world and even of the very existence of beings other than his father and himself. He has never seen a woman and does not know that such a creature exists. A drought falls upon a neighboring kingdom and the inhabitants are reduced to great straits for lack of food. The King, seeking to know by what means the sufferings of his people may be relieved, learns that so long as Richyachringa continues chaste so long will the drought endure. An old woman, who has a fair daughter, undertakes the seduction of the hero. (In some versions the King's daughter played the role of the temptress). The King has a ship or raft fitted out with all possible luxury and an apparent Hermit's cell erected upon it. The old woman, her daughter and companions, embark; and the river carries them to a point not far from the young Brahmin's hermitage.

Taking advantage of the absence of his father, the girl visits Rishyachringa in his forest cell, giving him to understand that she is a Hermit, like himself, which the boy, in his innocence believes. He is so fascinated by her appearance and caresses her. On her leaving him, he, deep in thought about the lovely visitor, forgets, for the first time, his religious duties. On his father's return, he innocently relates what has happened and the father warns him that fiend in this fair disguise strive to tempt hermits to their undoing. The next time the father is absent the temptress, watching her opportunity, returns and persuades the boy to accompany her to her "Hermitage." So as soon as Rishyachringa is safely on board, the ship sails, the lad is carried to the capital of the rainless land, the King gives him his daughter as wife, and as soon as the marriage is consummated the spell is broken, rain falls in abundance.

The relevance of this story to *The Waste Land* is two fold. First, it celebrates a ceremonial "marriage" as a fertility ritual and serves to explain the most important theme of the poem, that is, perversion of sex into meaningless, disgusting lust in *The Waste Land*. The theme of sexuality occupies the largest number of lines of the poem: The rapes of Philomel, the typist, Lil and of the three daughters of Thames (11, 292-305) all emphasize the degenerate sexuality. This theme is present in the offer of homosexual orgy by Mr. Eugenides and in the Elizabeth and Leicester episode, as well as in numerous other lines and images. Why is the protagonist so much preoccupied with this theme? The answer lies in the fact that the drought in the *Waste Land* which could have been ended by chaste love, is now being perpetuated by lust. The ceremonial marriage of Rishyachringa could restore fertility because he was chaste. In Miss Weston's words "the efficacy of the rite appears to be enhanced by the previous strict observance of the rule of chastity by the officiant. 13 The protagonist's mind in *The Waste Land* is haunted by the perversion of the only remedy chaste love, (for the drought). Hence it is that the Buddha and St. Augustine, "two representatives of eastern and western asceticism" are "collocated" at the end of "The Fire Sermon."

Chastity and "control" of desires being an essential requisite of the hero's power to free waters, the third command of the Thunder can be adequately read only through the story of Rishyachringa:

Damryata: The boat responded
Gaily, to the hand expert with said and oar
The sea was calm, your heart would have responded
Gaily, when invited, beating obedient
To controlling hands. (11, 419-423)

When Eliot said that his poem was not melancholic, implying the hope of restoration of fertility to the *Waste Land*, he probably had these lines in mind. They seem to describe the coming of Rishyachringa to the "boat" of his future wife. His heart is able to "respond" and he has been "invited" by his fair temptress. The knight of the legend has set sail for the blasted land and he will reach it safely to free the waters. The Fisher King's immediate response is

"I sat upon the shore
Fishing, with the arid plain behind me
Shall I at least set my lands in order?" (11, 424-426)

In preparation for the arrival of Rishyachringa, the King could at least "set his lands in order." There is every hope of the consummation of the hero's marriage that will lift the curse from his land. The poem certainly does not lack progression as alleged by some critics.¹⁴

The second point of interest in the for Eliot's poem is in its being a remote source for *The Tempest*.¹⁵ In *The Tempest* the sexes are reversed in that the heroine, not the hero, is brought up "ignorant of the outside world" but this should not surprise us since in *The Waste Land* as Eliot says "all the women are one woman, and the two sexes meet in Tiresias."

The story of Ferdinand and Miranda is unmistakably the story of Rishyachringa presented by Eliot in terms of the western tradition. Just as the one-eyed merchant, the Phoenician Sailor and Ferdinand Prince of Naples melt into Tiresias, so does Rishyachringa; and this story from the Mahabharata when aroused from the reader's memory by the relevant lines can lead to a still better appreciation of the poem.

3. The Fisher King and Fish Symbolism: Western readers of Eliot's poem have to keep in mind that the legend of the Fisher King and the fish as a symbol of life are not connected with the Grail legend alone for, as Weston says, "Christianity did no more than take over and adapt for its own use, symbolism already endowed with a deeply rooted prestige and importance."¹⁶ Fish is a life symbol of immemorial antiquity and the title of Fisher has from the earliest ages, been associated with deities who were held to be specially connected with the origin and preservation of life. In Hindu mythology especially, fish figure prominently. The Mahabharata (Book III) contains the story of Manu who is the equivalent of Noah in Christian mythology. Manu was engaged in devotion by the side of a river and a small fish craved his protection. It received his protection, asserting that when grown to full size it would save Manu from the universal deluge. This is Jhasa, the greatest of all fish. This savior of Manu is the first Avatar of Vishnu the Protector. At the great feast in honour of this god, held on the twelfth day of the first month (March/April) of the Indian year, Vishnu is represented under the form of golden fish. In Buddhist religion, too, the symbols of the fish and fisher are freely employed. In the Tantric ritual, fish was one of the five essential elements. The use (therefore) of fish as a fertility symbol and the figure of the Fisher King connects The Waste Land with the earliest rituals-texts of the Aryan race.

It may incidentally be mentioned that Madam Sosostris is a gypsy woman, a wandering tribe originally belonging to India. The Tarot pack so essential to The Waste Land (since through it the fortune of the protagonist is foretold thus providing the major organizational principle of the poem) is also ultimately traceable to its Indian origin. The names given to the figures on the Tarot cards by the Gypsies are of Sanskrit or Indian origin. Through this fortune-telling by one wandering Aryan tribe, The Waste Land united the eastern and western branches of the tradition of the race from its antiquity to the present.

(It may not perhaps be too wild a speculation to read in The Waste Land Eliot's concern with the decay of the original home of the Aryans. Lithuaniaie-"stamm' auslitauen," 1. 12-and eastern Europe-the theme of lines 367-77 are agreed upon by a majority of the scholars as the home of the Indo-European tribes whose descendants represent the highest achievement of mankind in thought and culture. For a poet like Eliot, so conscious of the traditions of his race, it is but natural to Lament the "decay" of the home of his remotest ancestors. His going back to the land of his British ancestors and celebration of the village of East Coker in his poetry support such a reading of The Waste Land).

III.

Eliot's favourite Indian poem, the Gita, is of as much importance for a background to The Waste Land as the Divine Comedy. A very obvious link is established by the voice of the Thunder who is Indra, the father of Arjuna, the hero of the Gita and the epic Mahabharata. As the son of the "freer of waters" Arjuna, the protagonist of Eliot's poem, is required to act. But as earlier in the battlefield of Kuruksetra he is unable to act. He is a victim of the disease prevalent among the Waste Landers:-

What shall I do now? What shall I do?

The Waste Land re-enacts the predicament of Arjuna and attempts to resolve it as did Lord Krishna in the Song Celestial. Though all its philosophical complexities are not relevant to Eliot's poem, in its major concerns and in the situation of the

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characters involved, the Gita suggested to Eliot a close parallel with the situation of the Waste Landers. Eliot's vision of Europe at the end of the First World War naturally reminds him of the "Great War" of his ancestors sung in the longest epic of the Aryans. (This racial memory need not be called even "unconscious). In the battle of the Mahabharata, Arjuna succumbs to weakness and refuses to do his "dharma" or duty as required by his being the ruling prince. His inability to set his lands in order is much like that of the Fisher King. What are the weaknesses that inflict Arjuna's mind? They are, Krishna points out, evil passions which have led Arjuna's intellect astray. The hero's mind is overcast by ignorance:

He whose mind is untroubled in the midst of sorrows and is free from eager desire amid pleasures, he from whom passion, fear and rage have passed away, he is called a sage of settled intelligence. (II. 56).

Having brought all (the senses) under control, he should remain firm in yoga intent on Me; for he, whose senses are under control, intelligence is firmly set. (II. 61).

When the mind runs after the roving senses, it carries away the understanding, even as a wind carries away a ship on the waters.¹⁷ (II. 67)

The Waste Landers are bereft of their intelligence and ability to do their proper duties because they are beset by the evil desires of lust, violence and egotism, Philomela is "rudely forced," Lil and the typist must provides "good time" to the assaulting carbuncular young men, and Phlebas can forget the "profit and loss" only after his death. Fear haunts the hyacinth girl:

he took me out on a sled,
And I was frightened. He said, Marie
Marie, hold on tight. And down we went.' (11, 14-16).

In Krishna's words "passion, fear, and range" and the like passions have unsettled the "intelligence" of the protagonist so that he could not set and "knew nothing".

Speak, and my eyes failed, I could not I was neither
Living nor dead, and I knew nothing. (11.38-40).

Overcome by mental weakness and instability, Arjuna wanted to choose the path of least ambition. He even rationalizes it as noble renunciation:

I do not long for victory,
O Krishna, nor kingdom nor pleasures,
Of what use is kingdom to us, O Krishna,
Or enjoyment or even life? (I, 32).

Very much like Arjuna, and in the beginning of the poem too like the Gita Eliot's protagonist resents the call to activity brought by April. He felt "warm" in winter since it covered the

Earth in forgetful snow, feeding
A little life with dried tubers

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Content with only “a little life,” careful to keep the vegetation-god buried in the garden, the protagonist, defends his philosophy of inaction by equating the reader with himself:

“Your hypocrite lecteur-monsemblable, - monfrere!”

Arjuna had cited equally powerful arguments of his “brotherly” love for his enemies when trying to quit the path of righteous duties:

Teachers, fathers, sons and also grandfathers; uncles and fathers-in-law, grand sons
and brothers-in-law and other kinsmen.
These I would not consent to kill, though killed myself, O Karishna, even for the
Kingdom of the three worlds; how much less for the sake of the earth? (I. 34-35)

With their intelligence unbalanced by desires and beclouded by ignorance, Arjuna and the present day Waste landers, can be roused to action only through the true knowledge of the nature of Reality. Here in addition to the Gita we may also draw upon the fundamental concepts of the Upanishads as given by Paul Deussen¹⁸ whom Eliot read carefully (It concerned the subject of his Ph.D. dissertation) and referred to in the Notes. Both the Upanishads and the Gita move around the fundamental concept of the identity of the Brahman and the Atman, of God and the Soul. This concept, in the words of Deussen, “will be found to possess a significance reaching far beyond the Upanishads, their time and country, nay, we claim for it an inestimable value for the whole race of mankind.”¹⁹ This idea in relation to philosophy is developed into the concept of Maya, that is, the universe is only appearance and not reality. The objects which lie around us on every side in infinite space, and to which by virtue of our corporeal nature we ourselves belong, are not the Atman, the “real” self of the things, but mere Maya, that is to say, a sheer deceit, illusion. This fundamental doctrine of the Upanishads, as Deussen²⁰ repeatedly points out and as Eliot the student of Bradley’s Appearance and Reality must have repeatedly discussed, is in marvelous agreement with the philosophies of Parmenides and Plato, and of Kant and Schopenhauer. Hence the reason that Eliot should make these ideas basic to his poem which seeks to present the predicament of human beings in all times and all climes.

The three commands of the Thunder can be appropriately implicated only with the help of these philosophic concepts. It is interesting to note Eliot’s slight change in the order of the commands from their original context. In the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad (5.1), Prajapati, the Supreme Lord of Creation, utters one syllable for each of the three orders of creation, the gods, the men and the demons. From the syllable, Da, the gods who are considered naturally unruly understand “control” the men who are considered naturally stingy and selfish understand “give” and the demons who are naturally brutal understand “sympathize”. The implication in the fable, by the use of the same syllable for the three orders, is that it is not really three separate orders that are addressed but man alone who in himself possesses the other two traits of gods and demons also. Eliot changes the order of the commands by giving the first command to men, the second to the demons and the last to the gods. In today’s Waste Land, selfishness and brutality are certainly first in the order of predominance rather than lack of self-control. The relegation of the godliness in man to the last command is not unexpected in the universe of the poem. Also, Eliot brings the Upanishadic commands into line with the teachings of the Gita in the order of their comparative emphasis in the later poem.

The first command, for instance, refers to the philosophy of Yoga as expounded in the Gita and by Patanjali who Eliot had read with close attention. The word yoga means “union” (from Sanskrit yuj=join) and refers to the union of one soul

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with others and with the Supreme to the union of one soul with others and with the Supreme Soul, i.e. God. True existence of the soul lies in its union with the divine soul, in identifying Atman and Brahman:-

The soul in union with the Divine attains to peace well-founded by abandoning attachment to the fruits of works, but whose soul is not in union with the Divine is impelled by desire and is attached to the fruit (of action) and is therefore bound, (V. 12).

This union (Cf. E.M. Forster's "only connect") with Brahman requires complete surrender of oneself. The Waste Landers are unable to attain this union :-

The awful daring of a moment's surrender which an age of prudence can never retract by this, and this only, we have existed (11. 405-408)

To them the ever present figure of Christ- "Gliding in a brown mantle, hooded" remains a mystery. When using his bedimmed intellect ("When I count, there are only you and I together") the protagonist fails to recognize Christ : "I do not know whether a man or woman- But who is that on the other side of you?" His inability to recognize the Divine and effect a union with him is made impossible by the protagonist's ignorance in considering the "you" as real his is able to "count" him. Arjuna had refused to "kill" his brethren because he, too, erroneously believed that "they" the "bodies" of the warriors present in the battlefield were real. It is only when the Lord removes Arjuna's ignorance by pointing out the unreality of the perishable body and the reality of the unperishable "soul" that the hero is able to surrender himself to the Lord:-

Just as a person casts off worn-out garments and puts on others that are new, even so does the embodied soul cast off worn-out bodies and take on others that are new. Weapons do not cleave this self, fire does not burn him; waters do not make him wet nor does the wind make him dry. He is uncleavable, he cannot be burnt. He can be neither wetted nor dried. He is eternal, all pervading, unchanging and immovable. (11. 22-24)

This central doctrine of the Gita is expressed by Eliot through concrete images. The imperishable Soul, the Real Self, lives beyond the printed words of obituaries, or epitaphs woven by spiders on our skeletons or the wills drafted by our solicitors:

Which is not to be found in our obituaries
Or in memories draped by the beneficent spider
Or under seals broken by the lean solicitor
In our empty rooms (11. 407-410)

The second command "sympathize"- enjoins on the protagonist to get out of the "demonic" prison of the self which forced Count Ugolino, a traitor to his native land to eat his own children. The philosophy of the Waste Land is expressed in the words of F.H. Eradley: "In brief, regarded as an existence which appears in a soul, the whole world for each is peculiar and private to that soul." (Notes). Obviously, this is a perversion of the essential oneness of souls preached by the Gita:

We think of the key, each in his prison.
Thinking of the key, each confirms a prison (11. 414-15)

Perhaps the best commentary on these lines is chapters XIV of the Gita which discusses the nature of the godlike and the demoniac mind. It could aptly be said of the Waste Landers that they are in the words of Karishna, "lost souls of feeble understanding, of cruel deeds who rise up as the enemies of the world for its destruction." (XVI, 9)

The third command- "control"-pertains to the arousing of godlike qualities in man in the Prihadaranyka and therefore, appropriately strikes a hopeful note: "The boat responded/Gaily to the hand expert with sail and oar." It is significant that Eliot uses the same metaphor of a boat or ship sailing in the sea that Krishana employs to explain the instability of a roving mind (II. 67; quoted earlier).

The message of The Waste Land as expressed in the three commands of the Thunder is exquisitely summed up in the following verse of the Gita concerning, what may be called, The Triple Gate-way of Hell:

The gateway of hell leading to the ruin of the soul is threefold: Lust, anger and greed.
Therefore, these three, one should abandon. (XVI. 21).

IV.

It is tempting to draw structural parallels between The Waste Land and the Gita. All the protagonists of The Waste Land melt into the blind prophet, Tiresias who, Eliot says, "although a mere spectator and not indeed a 'character', is yet the most important personage in the poem, uniting all the rest." "What Tiresias sees in fact, is the substance of the poem." In the Gita we can safely say that (1) what Sanjaya or what king Dhritrashtra sees, is the substance of the poem; and that (2) what Arjuna sees in The Lord's Transfiguration in chapter XI is the substance of the poem. In the Gita we can safely say that (1) what Sanjaya or what King Dhritrashtra see is the substance of the poem; and that (2) what Arjuna sees in The Lord's Transfiguration in chapter XI is the substance of the poem. And these figures merge in the all-seeing eye of the Lord who says at the end of the epic Mahabharata that it has all been Maya, an illusion. These points may be briefly considered.

The Gita is presented to us through a composite figure not unlike that of Tiresias in The Waste Land. Its form is that of a dialogue within a dialogue, somewhat like many concentric circles. The out-most circle is the eye of the poet writing the epic Mahabharata of which the Gita is an episode. Within that circle is the blind king Dhritrashtra, the father of the princes opposed to Arjuna. Since Dhritrashtra, who is old and blind, wants to know the fate of the fighting armies (the Gita opens with his question concerning them), his charioteer Sanjaya is reporting every happening of the war. For this purpose Sanjaya has been provided heavenly sight the power to see and hear from afar by the sage vyasya. With this celestial eyesight Sanjaya reports to the King the philosophic dialogue between Karishan and Arjuna which is, in fact, the Song of the Lord. We get the "substance" of the Gita thus through the Tiresias-like figure of the old, blind King equipped with the prophetic vision of Sanjaya.

In a sense Eliot's poem is a vision, whether of the inferno-like Waste Land or of the Unreal City. So also is the Gita. The essence of the instruction in the Indian poem is the vision of the Lord's Universal Form. What Arjuna sees in the Lord's Transfiguration can truly epitomize the whole poem. For the benefit of the hero, the Lord presents his universal form embodying all created beings, all pairs of opposites, all events of the past, present, and future. Arjuna exclaims:

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I behold Thee, infinite in form on all sides, with numberless arms, bellies, faces and eyes, but I see not Thy end or Thy middle or Thy beginning, O Lord of the universe, O Form Universal. (XI. 16).

I behold Thee as one without beginning, middle or end, of infinite power, of numberless arms, with the moon and the sun as Thine eyes, with Thy face as flaming fire, whose radiance burns up this universe. (XI. 19)

As the many rushing torrents of rivers race towards the ocean, so do these heroes of the world of men rush into Thy flaming mouths. (XI. 28)

The Lord Himself describes his real form and nature:

Time am I, world-destroying, grown mature, engaged here in subduing the world. Even without Thy action, all the warriors standing arrayed in the opposing armies shall cease to be. (XI. 32)

This precisely is the method employed by Eliot in *The Waste Land*. The figure of the protagonist is the universal form uniting all times, all places and all persons in the stream of his consciousness. Interestingly enough it is in almost the exact middle of the Gita that Arjuna sees the vision and the protagonist of *The Waste Land* is identified as Tiresias.

Etymologically, Upnishada means “secret knowledge,” “secret allegorical meaning of some ritual or practice” which was to be imparted only to the initiate few. In that sense at least *The Waste Land* remains an Upnishad and Eliot could appropriately give it the “formal ending” of thrice repeated “Shantih”. Any initiate who seeks to fathom its mystery must bring with him a thorough knowledge of the traditions enshrined in both the Indian and the Western classics.

FOOTNOTES

1. *To Criticise the Critic and other writings* (New York, 1965), p. 126.
2. *Selected Essays* (London, 1961), p. 258
3. *See Notes on some Figures Behind T. S. Eliot by Herbert, Howarth* (London, 1965), pp. 199-209.
4. *After Strange Gods* (London, 1934), p. 40.
5. Quoted by Howarth, p. 201
6. An interesting step towards the interest of the West in Upnishadic thought and poetry was the award of Nobel Prize to the Rabindranath Tagore in 1912. His book of poems *The Gitanjali* which owes its inspiration to the Upnishades was published in 1912 with an introductory essay of ecstatic praise by W.B. Yeats. Eliot and other younger poets of that period could not remain unaffected by this influence especially because soon Tagore was to come and deliver lectures in American universities. This revival of interest in ancient Indian poetry therefore must be considered as a factor in the genesis of *The Waste Land*.
7. *From Ritual to Romance* (New York, 1957, First Published, 1920), p. 163.
8. *Ibid*, p. 24.
9. *Ibid*, pp. 26-27.
10. Quoted by Weston, p. 27.
11. Weston, p. 30
12. *Ibid*, pp. 30-31
13. *Ibid*, p. 31
14. See F. R. Leavis, *New Bearings in English Poetry* (London, 1932), p. 103.

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15. Ronal Tamplin ("The *Tempest* and *The Waste Land*, A L, XXIX, 1967, pp. 352-372) mentions in passing the story of Richyachringa and its possible connection with *The Tempest* Story.
16. *OP. Cit*, p. 125.
17. Verses from the Gita have been quoted with slight alternations from The Bhagavad Gita, trns. & ed. S. Radhakrishnan (New York, 1948). The chapter verse of the Gita are given in parentheses after the quotations.
18. *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, trns. Rev. A. S. Geden (New York, 1966, First Publ. 1906).
19. *Ibid*, p. 18.
20. *Ibid*, pp. 41-42 & pp. 226-239.

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COMMUNALISM: LOCAL AND NATIONAL IN NOVELS *SHAHTUTOON WALA KUAN AND CHHAKO KI WAPSI*

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The 15th August 1947 is known to us as the day of Independence from long rule of colonial oppression, misery, and violence. It was an event of paramount importance for the masses and deserved a grand welcome and plenty of celebration. But the atmosphere under which India attained freedom was not conducive for celebration. The insensitivity that Partition evoked, in the form of cruelty and hatred, was the cause to not celebrate Independence, the way it should have been. The insensitivity of people against their own people, with whom they had been living for so many centuries, is presented in the critique of Independence by Begum Anees Qidwai in *Azadi Ki Chhaon Mein*:

'After Independence the government of India and Pakistan came to an agreement...that any (abducted) girl (of any community) who was in the possession of a different community should be forcibly recovered and returned to her relatives and until such time as her relatives remain untraced, to the government (of her country)'.

A country or a culture was being partitioned on the basis of religion. The division of a greater nation-state which through the course of time had evolved into a sphere of people with a common cultural space was condemned and mourned by the scholars and intellectuals all over.

The Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha leaders saw partition as a vivisection of Mother India, a divinity who could not be violated. By partitioning the geographical space they are trying to partition the divinity, these leader said. Therefore, shame for celebration. The two years that preceded 1947 saw what humanity would never wish to see any more. Partition preached and accompanied violence; physical, economical and sexual.

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It's important to know in detail what it was that overshadowed India's and Pakistan's Independence from the colonial rule. More important, perhaps study the complex way in which people welcomed Independence. Entire India before August 1947, aspired to fight colonialism under the same banner. The people who were neighbours to each other in their fight against colonialism, sharing some socio-culture space turned into each others enemy. This transformation of people from one group of a nation into many sects produced largely two community based nationalities. These communities were based on religion. Thus, we see predominantly Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan in place of a single India. Another complexity was that these communities were not concentrated in one area rather, with different religious affiliation were scattered all over India. However, there were areas where there was a majority of population of one religious group. Thus we see creation of Pakistan out of some area and the remaining space was retained under the name of India. Since the creation of Pakistan or partition of India was a product of recurrent demand of people from both sides to partition the country along religious lines. There was a common hatred among people of both communities against each other.

There were greater national demands. Partition of the country into two religion-based nationalities was a product of an idea that was in vogue at least for the last six decades. Organisation of the entire community that was sparsely distributed throughout the country and belonging more to that part of the country rather than anyone was something that requires attention.

Mushirul Hasan writes about the discourses and leadership of the high time of communalism: 'Their chief concern, though nowadays pooh-poohed in the post modernist discourse, was to examine why the secular elites and their ideologues, failed to mediate between those warring faction /group who used religion as a cover to pursue their worldly goals and ambition. While detailing the cynical game played out on the Indian turf by the British, the league and the self-proclaimed 'nationalists' of every variety they do not spare the Congress stalwart Gandhi, Nehru and Patel included for their failure to guide the movement they initiated away from the forces of reactionary communalism'.

This paper attempts to explore the participation of the masses in the movement that led to the partition. Communalisation of the country during those times was a national phenomenon. There were processes and forces operating at national level to facilitate partition. The common masses were largely unaware of political or national discourses. An important area of discussion is to know how the communalist discourse found a way to enter in the life of a common Hindu or Muslim, who was living earlier with his 'communal rival' as a neighbour or sibling. Sohan Singh Sheetal's novel *Shahtutoon Wala Kuan* attempts to discuss the dilemma of a common man who was forced to become communal. We see how he becomes an enemy of his own cousin who belongs to the other communal group.

On the other hand, post partition experiences, the way in which migrants found their life in partitioned India or Pakistan, the love for the land or the space to which people claimed their belongingness is explored by Badi Uzzma in his novel *Chhako Ki Wapsi*. The fragments in the novel recollect some past experiences in the life of the narrator that show the people's negotiation with communal tension. Their struggle was for not leaving their land to which they belonged as they find their home there, even if it falls in the region of other national community. The novel by depicting the bitter experiences of disillusioned people blurs the water-tight compartmentalisation of geographical space into two different religion-based nationalities. Thus the primary aim is to discuss the partition, its nationalist context, nature or ways of mass participation and response, with a focus on post partition human life as described in the two novels - *Shahtutoon Wala Kuan* by Sohan Singh Sheetal and the other *Chhako Ki Wapsi* by Badi Uzzma.

Bipan Chandra formulates partition in three stages. The first stage of communalism is where it is believed that people who follow the same religion have common secular interests. That is common political, economic, social and cultural interests and from this arise the notion of socio-political communities based on religion.

The second stage of communal ideology rests on the notion that in a multi-religious society like India the secular

interest that is the social, cultural, economic and political interests of the followers of one religion are dissimilar and divergent from the interests of the follower of another religion.

The third stage of communalism is reached when the interests of the followers of different religions or of different communities seem to be mutually incompatible, antagonistic and hostile. By looking at the evolutionary history of communal parties in India, we can easily trace the phases of communalism in the country. According to the aforesaid stages historians place Indian communalism, from the formation of communal parties to the 'partition' of country. Along the similar track, communalism had both its moderate exponents and extremist leaders too. While on the other hand some moderates switched to extremists after 1937, the period before 1940 was basically moderate except for scattered violent incidents.

Extreme communalism or communalism functioning broadly within a fascist syndrome formed the third or the last stage of communalism. Extreme communalism was based on fear and hatred and had a tendency to use violence of language deed or behaviour; the language of war and enmity against political opponents. It was at this stage that both the Muslim and Hindu communalists put forward the theory that Muslim and Hindu constituted separate nation whose mutual antagonism was permanent and irresolvable.

The communal consciousness in India is a product of transformation of Indian society under the impact of colonialism and the need to struggle against it. The growing economic, political and administrative unification of regions and the country, the process of making India into a nation, the developing contradiction between colonisation and the Indian people and the formation of modern social classes and strata called for new ways of seeing one's common interests. It was this social process that transformed the working of consciousness and the greater consequence was religion-based communities. Colonialism and the resultant economic stagnation and its impact on the life of Indian people, especially the middle classes, produced conditions which were conducive to division and antagonism. Communalism has its beginning during 1870s and 1880s. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan believed that the Muslim share in administration and in other professions could be increased only by professing and proving loyalty to the colonial rulers. There starts opposition to nationalist democratic imperialist stance of Congress. Bipan Chandra writes that Sir Syed and his followers started propagating the belief that Hindus are in majority, would dominate Muslims and totally override the smaller community if representative democratic government was introduced.

The different communities and their supporters felt that it is now time to enter into active politics. At the end of 1907, the All India Muslim League was founded. The league supported the partition of Bengal, raised the slogan of separate Muslim interests, demanded separate electorates and safeguards for Muslim in government services, and ideology enunciated earlier by Syed Ahmad Khan and his followers.

Simultaneously, Hindu communalism was also born. From the 1870s, a section of Hindu zamindars, moneylenders and middleclass professionals began to arouse anti-Muslim sentiments. Fully accepting the colonial view of Indian history they talked of the tyrannical Muslim rule in the medieval period and the role of the British in liberating and saving the Hindus from Muslim oppression.

The Punjab Hindu Sabha was founded in 1909. It directed its anger primarily against the nationalist Congress for trying to write Indians into a single nation and for sacrificing Hindu interests to appease Muslim.

The colonial authorities and the communality together evolved another powerful instrument for the spread and consolidation of communalism in separate electorates which were introduced in the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909. The general tendency during the time was that the Hindu, Muslim or Sikh communalist justified their own communalism by arguing that they were reacting to the communalism initiated by the other.

After 1937, in the extremist phase of communalism, communalists attacked the other communities with a contempt and bitter hatred. Communalism after 1937 increasingly acquired a popular base and began to mobilise mass opinion. It

now sought to organise as a mass movement around aggressive, extremist communal politics among the urban lower middle classes. Liberal communalism was transformed into extremist communalism for several reasons. Congress's emergence after civil disobedience movement and the elections of 1937 made various political parties of landlords and other vested interests to suffer a decline. The gap was widening between Muslim League and Congress over the issue of India's Independence and support to British during the World War II.

Over the issue of Independence, the League could not agree over the Congress's proposals and the British put forward an idea that unless the Hindus and Muslims unite, India cannot be liberated. Dismal election results too caused Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim league to adopt militant, mass-based politics. After 1938 we see the phase of extreme violence and hatred.

Sohan Singh Sheetal's *Shahtutoon Wala Kuan* is a nationalist rewriting of partition narrative. The mulberry well of Peerwala village in the novel is symbolic of prevalent harmony and brotherhood there. The social life of all villagers revolved around the well. The well is a common property of two people - Sajjan Singh, a Hindu and Ilamdin, a Muslim. Both Sajjan Singh and Ilamdin are descendants of one common ancestor. They are great grandson of Baba Yatri. The well is a result of exercise of their fathers in dire circumstances when there was an urgent requirement of source of irrigation for the fields around. Sajjan Singh and Ilamdin, like their fathers, were living like brothers. But their father's brotherhood fell victim to circumstances which were result of their deteriorating financial condition.

Dhanna Shah the local moneylender with his eyes on the well very generously lent money to the landlords Sajjan Singh and Ilamdin. It was among one of the plans of Dhanna Shah to engage and provoke both the landlords against each other so that his job may become easier. The quarrel of two people became a quarrel of two communities. Following his own plans Dhanna Shah managed to provoke religious sentiments of both communities by keeping a dead pig near the place where Muslims were to perform their religious ritual. Offended Muslims plan to take the revenge for this violation by the idea of the slaughter on the day of Bakra-Eid. Muslims even suspect Sajjan Singh to be the person behind such acrimonious job. They believe that Sajjan Singh might have done this to offend Ilamdin because both were contesting for the post of Lambardar.

The cause behind the fight was the death of Lambardar Chet Singh. In the normal course of process of transfer of the post of Lambardari of the village, it should pass to a Sikh because they were holding it for a long time. But the Muslim population of the village was almost equal to the Sikh population. Therefore why not a Muslim Lambardar for the post or even a separate Lambardar for Muslim population? Ilamdin, because of insistence of Dhanna Shah in the name of dignity of the Muslim community, filed his candidature against his childhood friend Sajjan Singh. The financial condition of the both in this quarrel was deteriorating day by day. The debt of Dhanna Shah was increasing. Inability to repay the debt had made them tenants from being landlords.

The communalist aspect of this personal quarrel needs attention. It is Dhanna Shah who managed to maintain good contact with the people of the region. It is Dhanna Shah who hatches the plot for communalisation of the issue by calling local league leader and local magistrate who is a Muslim too. This is how the national politics enters in the village. After two meetings of league in the village, Sikh Akali leaders too take it up as a matter of Panth and begin gathering at Sajjan Singh's place. They too assemble at the well to call a meeting of all Sikhs of the region. Kudasia writes;

"Its ambiguity not with standing, the Lahore resolution sparked off an enormous furor amongst the Sikhs in Punjab. The Sikh reaction was not unexpected. The creation of a Muslim state, already dubbed 'Pakistan' by the popular press, was perceived to threaten the very existence of the Sikh community. The professed intention of the Muslim league to impose a Muslim state on the Punjab (a Muslim majority province) was a setback to the Sikh".

The communal animosity reached its peak when on the day of Bakra-Eid Muslims make a plan to slaughter a cow to take revenge for the swine's death, on the other side all the local Sikh leader with a high Sikh presence gather there

to protest against cow slaughter and save the Sikh Lambardari that was passing to a Muslim. To quote Ayesha Jalal; "Barbarity attributed to entire communities has effaced the role of individuals and given greater legitimacy to the social violence that accompanied the partition of Punjab than is warranted by the evidence. The localised and personalised nature of the battles for social space in a province facing an impending division on the basis of religious enumeration shaped the frequency, intensity and thrust of the violence in Punjab". [2187]

Both the groups are ready to rescue their religion from its enemies at any cost. Meanwhile Baba Akali, a nationalist, intervenes in the issue and manage to settle everything without any bloodbath. Baba Akali as portrayed in the novel is a nationalist who had often participated in the freedom struggles.

He narrates stories of his participation in freedom struggle. Earlier associated with the extremists of the Ghadar movement of Punjab, Baba Akali had his role in the Gurudwara reform movement and later in all major struggles against the British. He had a wish to see India free during his lifetime.

With the narrative of Baba Akali, we see the narrativisation of nationalist history and mass participation in it. His account points to the binaries of colonialism and anti-colonialism. From the historicisation that runs through the narrative of Baba Akali, we see largely two communities -- British and India. There is no third community within. Meanwhile, the personal rivalry of two old friends within the socio-cultural space of the village led to change in the binaries and the prominent communities emerged by the time of freedom were Muslim and non-Muslim. With the formation of such communal identity and largely religion defined community gradually we find how the masses transform themselves and organise in a new way to safeguard their right by contesting the other community at any cost. The widening gap between the two communities at the village shows the way for the villagers to participate in the communalisation of the country.

The novel has a strong bias toward nationalist or anti-British frame of mind. It is the sacrifice of Baba Akali for the cause of country against oppressive British rule that transforms him into a figure who commands respect in the village. The plot before it reaches the climax, communalisation subsides meanwhile the news of partition of country is announced and we see a quiet migration of Sikhs from Peerwala towards India escorted by local Muslims. It is the nationalist urge of Baba Akali that compelled Imdin and other Muslim to accompany the Sikhs on their way to India, till the border.

The most interesting thing in the novel is its narrative technique, where we see juxtaposition of two parallel narratives. On the one hand we have an account of village life, while on other, the national politics, through the narratives of nationalist struggle. The account of struggle is described in full detail with a proper mention of name, place and date of some of the major regional nationalist uprising.

In fact among Sikhs there was an unfathomable passion against the British, which erupted from time to time. The sacrifices of 'Ghadar' oppression during martial law especially Jallianwala Bagh incident had filled Sikhs with devastating anger among the Sikhs. [Akali Dal's taktha under the leadership of jathedar arrived taran-taran] [100-101]. [my translation].

With this and with other similar accounts we find in the novel a fine attempt to mingle the fact and fiction. With the attempt to narrate the national history with the local, the novelist brilliantly posits village life in a broader national context.

The rift that colonialism and communalism had created in Peeruwala had alienated secular people like Baba Akali and Gahna Luhar in their own home; Miyan Gahna never goes to the '*Shahtutoon Wala Kuan*' nor Baba Akali both of them are aliens in the divided village, in their own house. [162]4

Partitioned India and Pakistan saw some people who preferred to remain back in the country of their birth. Among the bordering districts of India and Pakistan the dominant tendency among the masses was to migrate to the country that had strong presence of their religious community. But there were people who did not migrate immediately or not at all.

Badi Uzzma's *Chhako Ki Wapsi* is a fine exploration of the dilemma that people who migrated to the other country suffered more there. Migrants, under the impression of an overall betterment in the other country, migrated; breaking all their links and contacts with the country of origin, but reality was different. There was a general belief there that Pakistan

offers a great opportunity in terms of job for unemployed Muslim youth. The economic return may have been better but the cultural dislocation and humiliation at the hands of original inhabitants was something that is the root cause of agony of narrators' cousin, the educated Habib Bhai and innocent worker Chhako who want to return back to their home:

"The condition here has worsened too much for us to bear. People are migrating toward West. I have also applied for transfer. Hopefully, I will be shifted to Karachi. Pray to god for an early relief from this hell." [155]

On Habib's complaint to the narrator about the miseries of life, especially cultural subjugation at the hand of local inhabitants, the narrator recollects pre-partition days. Habib a strong supporter of the Muslim league had a grand dream of Pakistan, state of Shariat and Islam, where there would be Islam prosperity, and well being and raj of people with better economic condition will follow. All the discussions of Habib with Gandhi [a Muslim character in the novel], whom he calls traitor to Islam or a kafir or non-believer, had a strong bias for a Muslim state. Any attempt by Gandhi for a secular nationalist position is condemned by Habib and is taken as a disobedience of Islam. Habib made the job of his father easier by opting for Pakistan as his place of work. His parents had to migrate with him and they were not in a position to decide whether to live in or leave the home. The novel is centered on the locality of a town in Bihar. The locality has a strong Muslim presence. There is only one Hindu, Ramdhani, a barber, who equally participated in rituals of both Hindus and Muslim. The economic condition of most of the people there is not so good. Narrator with his father's government job had a comparatively better economic condition. There were one or two more families and rest of the muhalla has the same hand-to-mouth economic structure. Thus the narrator explores in this adverse economic condition an urge among the people to look for alternative sources of income. Migration to Pakistan becomes obvious among one of them.

Mohamed Khalifa, a tailor who had a tailoring shop in the city, was the sole supporter of his family. Chhako his son used to work with him in the same shop. Since the shop was not located in a good market, there was hardly any good income from it. Chhako constantly asked Mohamed Khalifa to shift the shop but he always insists.

He is senseless. Does the Bajaja road have a different Khuda? Where is your wisdom and intelligence? Have told you hundred times that I will not leave my shop? [67]

Perhaps this love for land was something that was stronger than the call for the rule of Shariat that compelled the narrator's mother and other people to remain where there were born and had made their homes:

No Babu, we cannot move anywhere leaving this house. I will leave this house after my death only. I would ask you to go. What is the fear? [20]

This is narrator's mother with her strong determination to die where she was born. The home had a strong metaphorical presence in the novel. Any movement of the people outside the house for employment had this essential belief that some day they would come back to their homes. Thus for Ramdhani who was not aware of religion-based nationalities, any movement to Pakistan was like a movement to Kolkata or Hazaribagh, writes Kudasia;

"Partition marked the high point in the fragmentation not only of Bengals landscape but also of the identities of its people. Several elements made up this identity; language, religion, climate, soils, customs, food. Prior to partition, the distinction in the identities of people inhabiting the two states that were subsequently carved out of undivided Bengal was fuzzy. The religious distinctions that existed were subsumed under the larger panoply of a Bengali cultural and linguistic identity. [141]

But for the people who remained at their place of birth, things were not as easy as it used to be. The constant threat to life from the people of the other community was something that sometime forced them to rethink their decision. But the novel finally shows a strong support for the land of birth and its immediate socio-cultural life blurring all the present developments of alternative sectarian nationality.

Chhako, who was deceived by Ilahi master his employer and was taken away to Pakistan, made a citizen of Pakistan returns back to his native place. Technically he was a citizen of Pakistan and had no right to live in India more than the

time that Visa rules allow. He reacts to this and the attempt to dissociate him from his home and family. Finally, he resolves not to go to Pakistan anymore.

“Whether it is jail or death sentence, I will not leave my own house.” [158]

Such was the partition in its effect, dividing cousins and siblings, uprooting and dislocating people from one place to the other starting with the ruptures in identity that it rendered.

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SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION IN INDIA

RAJEEV KUMAR UPADHYAY*

Abstract: *This paper is analysing and summarising the impact of globalisation on social and cultural values of India. For this, a number of research papers have been reviewed, presented and corroborated in this paper. In this paper social and cultural issues like gender inequality, equal opportunities, family structure and values, social security net, life style, administration, education, technology, healthcare system, festivals, language, music, literature, cinema, television and drugs and trafficking been discussed on the basis of prior research works. The findings from those works have been summarized and presented in this paper.*

Keywords: Globalisation, India, Value, Globalisation and Socio-cultural Change in India.

JEL Classification Codes:F2, F6, I00, O3, Z1.

INTRODUCTION

Globalization is the process of integration of economies and societies; and the intermingling of different cultures. In other words, globalisation is the process of the mobilisation and distribution of resources (tangible and intangible) from one geographic boundary to another. It leads to interdependence. Since the term globalization has been coined, it has been popularly used in the narrow context of economics mainly but it is not limited to economics alone. Social and cultural integration and intermingling is an important aspect and result of globalization.

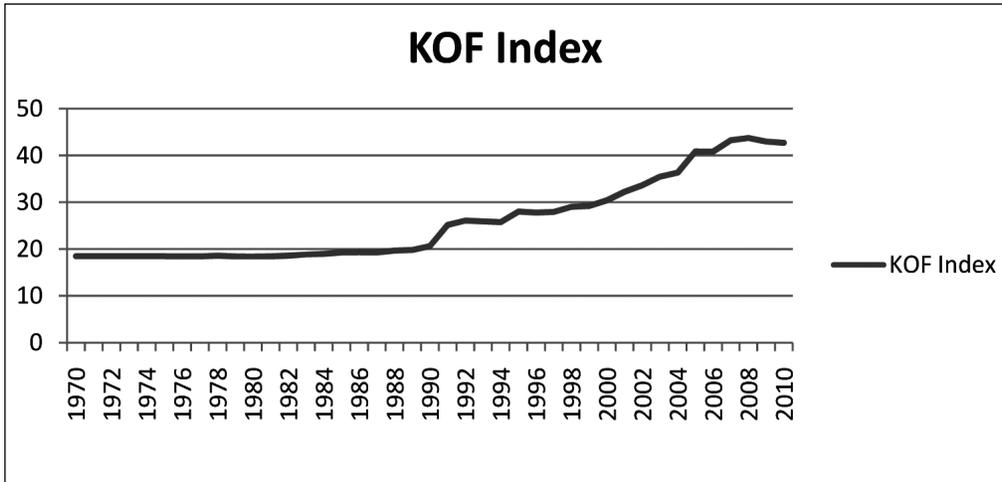
From the social point of view, globalization seems to have significantly impacted the national life of countries such as life style, attitude, identity, work culture, family structure and values and eating habits etc. As far as the culture is concerned, globalization is expected to have impact on popular culture, festivals, literature, music and cinema and television etc. The aspects like equal opportunities, gender inequality, drugs and trafficking and other social and

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political values are some other important aspects that get affected in the process of globalization of economies and societies and India is not immune to these changes.

Literature Review

There have been a number of studies covering vast areas of social and cultural changes in India that have crept in due to globalisation of economy. Since liberalisation of Indian economy globalisation has been increasing as suggested KOF index for globalisation (see chart-1).



EDUCATION

Globalization has not only impacted the Indian economy and society as whole but also the whole education and knowledge system as well. How knowledge is produced, used and transferred in India is witnessing significant irreversible shift. For a society like India that had been knowledge based society and is turning out to become a knowledge-based economy, the scientific research in all the field of life and business is the most important driver of innovation and development. Under the effects of the process of the globalisation, the whole education system is undergoing an unending and continuous change to adjust with the new realities in international education system; mainly in higher education (Kellner, 2000). The rapid change in communication technologies along with the globalisation is changing the relationship between the students and teachers within school and university system. The whole system is being based on ideas, values and knowledge building producing a shift in society from industrialisation towards an information-based society. It reflects the effect on culture and brings about a new form of cultural imperialism (Chinnammai, 2005).

TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCEMENT

As a result of liberalisation and globalisation of Indian economy and huge foreign direct investment as well as entry of many global technology firms in India along with manufacturers and service providers, the overall technological profile of India has drastically changed in last two decades. New technologies such as internet and information and communication technologies are available in India to everyone at the cheapest prices in the world. In fact in field of information technology India is one of the most advanced countries in the world. These technological capabilities are equipping Indians with a lot soft power and opportunities to interact and exposed to the other parts

of world. This is not only helping in economic integration but also in social integration as well. But at the same time the whole process is bringing drastic attitudinal shift towards a number of social values, issues as well as taboos.

HEALTH CARE IMPROVEMENT

There are huge improvements in the overall healthcare system in India because of globalisation of Indian economy and interaction with the international organizations and foreign investments in healthcare system such medicines and equipments etc. Also this has increased bilateral and multilateral relationships in healthcare sectors. The Increased transnational activities demand for new national and transnational regulations and policies, some of which impact upon the healthcare arena in new ways opening doors new developments and cooperation. Indian healthcare economy is associated with a number of new developments in specific marketable niches of practice, therapy, technologies or research and developments. But at the same time there are the potential tensions between adherence to international agreements and achievement of national health goals (Bisht, Pitchforth, & Murray, 2012).

CHANGING SOCIAL VALUES

The possible impact of globalization on the society is a controversial issue. Some normative economist find it to be beneficial while other contest the whole idea of globalization as they find globalisation as a cause for weakening of the social values mainly in India. Studies show that the process of globalisation of Indian economy and the society is causing permanent damages to social structure and economic system of India (Jindal, 2013). It is not that globalisation tends to damage the social values only but it has helped in bringing some positive social changes in Indian society such as providing employment opportunities in organized sector to down trodden section of society and Dalits(Mishra & Nayak, 2010).

GENDER INEQUALITY

In India, earlier male members were sole bread earners and have been the sole face of family to outside world and women were restricted to four walls of their home. But the process of liberalisation and global integration of Indian economy has made Indian women more aware about their rights and in result has struck a fatal blow to this established practice. This has resulted in expanded freedom of women in Indian society. Today the participation of women in economic and social activities has increased manifold in comparison to 1990s. The participation of women in industries likes manufacturing and exports has increased significantly over time. Even in armed and police forces, the participation of Indian women is increasing. Situation has come that today in normal circumstances men cannot take any family decision alone ignoring women's wishes as earlier(Jindal, 2013).It has to some extent decreased the inequality of gender discrimination in India but still there remains huge gender discrimination at large. Despite the increase in female participation rates, women still remain economically disempowered not only in India but across the world. Indeed, one of the reasons for the increase in female participation in economic activities in India and other countries is mainly the wages as women accept lower wages for the same task in comparison to men(Chambers, 2000). This tendency of employers as well as women is in some way increasing the gender inequality.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

The concept of equal opportunities in each and every sphere of life is granted by the Constitution of India since it came into force through a number laws and provision but in practice there was/is huge discrimination on the basis caste, religion, region and gender. Although it has been decreasing since independence of Indian state but the process of globalisation has increased the process social integration by providing equal opportunities to Dalits, women and other down trodden sections of society (Mishra & Nayak, 2010).

CHILD LABOUR

The impact of globalization on child labour has mixed results. In some ways it has increased the child labour but with some economic benefits while in some ways it has decreased the child labour. It has been seen that in many developing countries, child labour has shifted from the informal home and family employment to more visible and formal employment. Though, it has increased the earning and income of poor families. In some developing countries many stringent and restrictive laws have been put in place to stop child labour as result from the pressure from developed countries. But according to White (1996) the aim of child labour laws should better concentrate on protection from exploitation than exclusion from labour market(White, 1996).Child labour in India is serious problem as for many it is not an issue at all in India. Even well educated and intellectuals are found to be violating child rights by employing them in their household as domestic help(Basu, 2002). More than 80% of the total child labourers are engaged in agriculture and rest of engaged in manufacturing sector and unorganized sectors such food stalls and domestic help. The elimination of child labour for government is a priority and thousands of national and international agencies and non-governmental organisations are working towards this goal but these efforts seems to be not sufficient(Bhattacharya, 2007).

GLOBAL AND SOCIAL INSECURITY

There is broad consensus among researchers is that the process of globalization has increased economic, social and political insecurity. It has increased job insecurity, decreased social protections, food insecurity and most important the fear of terrorism. International trade and movement of employees from one part of world to another have increased social insecurity. The combination of increased insecurity and increased inequality is so widespread that it threatens the sustainability of the current globalization process(Kaplinsky, 2001). The same trend is being witnessed in India also. The whole social security net available to the people of all ages and groups. The social security net available to old age people India has been broken in Indian cities and is breaking in villages that earlier provided huge social and moral authority to old people in Indian society and families (Pais, 2005).

FAMILY STRUCTURE AND VALUES

Globalisation in India has resulted into impact not at large but has intrusion in the Indian families as well. Family values and structure has been affected by the globalisation of India. The Indian family values and structure are giving way to western family structure and values (Pais, 2005). Joint families are breaking and being replaced by nuclear families. This is having negative impact on old age people and children at large. The traditional support available to them by the immediate and extended families is eroding (Jindal, 2013). Also the acceptance of love marriages and inter caste marriage is in rise. Besides the benefits, the globalisation has tended to impact families negatively affecting stability of families. There is rise in number of divorces in India in recent times (Derne, The Effect of Cultural Globalisation in India: the Implications for Cultural Theory, 2005).

LIFE STYLE

There are quite significant differences between the Indian and western life styles and similarly Indian urban and rural life style. But the process of globalisation is changing the whole way of life in India as whole (Pais, 2005). The difference between western and Indian urban lifestyle is diminishing with every passing day and rural India is following the same direction of the urban India. The whole dressing sense in whole India is changing at very high pace and the acceptance of western cloths and life style is increasing in every nook and corner of India. Traditional Dhoti-Kurta and Sari is becoming a rare thing in India that was a common outfit of Indians in late 1980s and 1990s(Derne,

Culture, Family Structure and Psyche in Hindu India: the 'Fit' and 'Inconsistencies', 2000). These are being placed by denim jeans, T-shirt and tops and other western outfits. There is increase in consumerism in India and Indians are looking more options to consume and spend (Fernandes, 2000).

ATTITUDE AND IDENTITY

Liberalisation of economy has increased India's cultural and social contacts with other societies and cultures. This is having huge impact on the overall attitude of people of India towards their identity and self image. Indian society had been following collectivist attitude and identities of people were collective. Rather than be an individual, people used to identify themselves through groups, so interests were often collective. But off late the attitude of Indian society is changing and individualism is on rise. Rather than associating with any group or interests, now people are more concerned with their respective individual identities and interests. This has also impacted the accommodative nature of Indian society that often used to accommodate people by sacrificing its needs. Now people are becoming more and more demanding and rather than sacrificing they are ready grab others rights as well to ensure their well being.

EATING HABITS

Indian earlier preferred eating at home and alcohol was not seen to be good but the influence of western culture affecting everything. Dining outside home is increasing with every passing day and drinking alcohol is not a taboo as it was a decade ago. In urban India, dining outside home and drinking is common phenomenon. Rural India still lags in this regard but is catching as drinking and dining outside home is increasing in rural areas also (Sinha, 2012).

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Many languages such as French, Chinese and Japanese are becoming popular as demand and supplying is increasing with every passing while English has turned out to be national language of country. This is having impact on the literature as well. English literature has become very rich in India and Indian English has been accepted as language. The way novels and poetry is written in India is also getting westernised. Earlier most of the writers were writing happy ending stories but now realistic grey shaded stories and poetry is being written and read by readers across all the Indian languages (Khilnani, 2004)

FESTIVALS

India is a multi culture society and has a long history of co-existence and cohesiveness. In comparison to other societies and nations, India has larger numbers of festivals and Indians are found to generous in celebrating these festivals together of all religions. But with the globalisation of Indian economy and society a lot of new types of festivals like friendship day, fathers and mother's day and Valentine's Day etc have got acceptance of young generation of India in last two decades. Also the celebration of these festivals has got westernized over time. This has attracted huge reservations and opposition from some sections of society (Parameswaran, 2008).

MUSIC

The whole spectra of music have been hit by the process of globalisation. Indian listeners have got huge exposure to western music and it has been instant hit in India. This can be verified with help of increasing demand for western music. This has impact Indian artists and they are westernising the music.

CINEMA AND TELEVISION

Indian cinema and television industry has also been affected by the process of globalisation and liberalisation of Indian economy. This industry has changed in multiple dimensions from technology to content(Ranganathan & Rodrigues, 2010). Huge foreign money and advanced technologies have come to Indian cinema and television industry. This has changed the whole experience of Indian audience. Prior to liberalisation of Indian economy, Doordarshan was the only television channel in India but after globalisation process started, a number of new television channels came in the market and today that there are hundreds of channels that a viewer can choose from. The process of globalisation has not resulted into advancement in technology but also in content and presentation of content. The content and presentation of content has been westernised to huge extent eroding Indian way of content and presentation (Butcher, 1999). This development in cinema and television is being opposed by many critics as they claim that technology, nudity and objectification of women are taking place of the art and Indian sensuality.

DRUGS AND TRAFFICKING

A negative result of globalisation is expanding network of drugs and trafficking across the world and India has been hit hard. Consumption of drugs has significantly increased after liberalisation of Indian. Also incidents of trafficking are on rise.

ADMINISTRATION

Liberalisation of Indian economy had led to liberalisation of Indian administrative setup. It has brought in greater transparency and a sense of some responsibility as introduction of new technologies such internet and e-governance in administrative setup and Right to Information Act 2005 has enforced more transparency, responsiveness, productivity, ethical values and efficiency. The hierarchal structure is getting flatter emphasising on stakeholders' satisfaction and pro-economic policies removing multiplicity of organizations. This has resulted into increased interaction between business and administration (Meenu, 2013). These developments in the Indian economy and administration are in line with international experiences(Gunter & Hoeven, 2004). But at the same time these pro-business developments might have negative impact on overall well being of people.

POLICY RESPONSES

The policy responses from the governments across the world have been very varied and different for the same problems relating social and cultural issues and problems encountered. Some countries have tried to benefit from the process of globalization and had been successful to some extent while others have turned to protectionism(Fischer, 2003).India has been following the strategy of protectionism in some areas of business, culture and society while allowing globalisation and liberalisation process in remaining sectors. For example India has liberalised most of sectors of its economy and culture but has been following protectionist approach in media and agriculture sector etc.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The impact of the globalization on India has been positive as well as negative. Some areas have benefited while others have suffered in socio-cultural context and this has forced policy makers to put efforts to decrease and contain the negative impacts.

Globalisation has brought huge improvement in fields of technology, education and healthcare. Research and advance education institutions can play important role in the process of globalization. Advanced economies in world have for long been working together with the universities and other educational and research institutions for the

development of new knowledge and skills to improve their operations and functioning. Emerging economies like India and China have also started investing in collective and collaborative studies and research with the business houses and educational institutions. Such studies and developments can help nations and societies to make globalization process more sustainable and beneficial for the society by remedying the loopholes and distortions caused only profit seeking market oriented elements.

At the same time it has helped to bring down gender inequality and establish the concept of equal opportunities to everyone irrespective gender and caste. This has improved the position of women and Dalits in society. Festivals, music, cinema, television, literature and languages well as eating habits have been largely affected by western values in terms of expression and celebration etc. Also the process of globalization has reduced the autonomy of states in matters of economic activities. But it has brought transparency, higher efficiency and sense of responsibility in administrators. These changes can be said to be beneficial in one way or other. But in some areas like family structure and values, attitude and identity and social security, globalisation has made irreversible damage. Also the case of drugs and trafficking is on rise in India.

Although there are some changes in whole country at social as well as cultural level because of the process of globalisation but globalisation cannot be sole factor of changes; whether beneficial or non-beneficial. There must be some other factors that also might be responsible for multi facet change in socio-cultural changes in India.

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INDIAN RETAIL INDUSTRY: EVOLVING TRENDS

RAMVEER*

INTRODUCTION

'Retail' literally means to put in the market and is a very important aspect of every city. Retail industry brings us the blissful experience of shopping, be it daily groceries or fashion accessories. In the last few years, the retail sector in India has become one of the fastest growing sectors. The Indian retail industry (comprising both organised and unorganised retail) is currently estimated at US\$ 490 billion. It has experienced high growth with a noticeable shift towards organised retailing formats over the last decade. The industry is moving towards a modern concept of retailing. As India's retail industry is aggressively expanding, great demand for real estate is being created. Further, easy availability of debit/credit cards has contributed significantly to a strong and growing online consumer culture in India. With the online retailing gaining more and more acceptance, there is tremendous growth opportunity for retail companies, both domestic and international. Factors like favourable demographics, increasing urbanisation, nuclear families, purchasing power of consumers, preference for branded products and higher aspirations will drive the retail consumption in the country. India with its vast expanse and young population is emerging as a highly potential retail marketing the 21st century. The journey of retailing in India has been riveting and the future promises further growth. The vast middle class and almost untapped retail industry in India, are the key attractive forces for the global retail giants willing to enter the market, which in turn will help the Indian Retail Industry to grow faster. This article tries to understand the growth of retailing industry in India. It examines the growing awareness among people across different socio-economic classes and how the retail market is witnessing significant growth in India. It explores the role of policy and regulation in the industry's growth and the need for further reforms.

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RETAIL IN INDIA - HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Traditionally retailing in India can be traced to the emergence of the neighborhood Kirana stores catering to the convenience of the consumers followed by the era of government support for rural retail, indigenous franchise model of store chains run by Khadi & Village Industries Commission. The 1980s experienced slow change as Indian economy began to open up and the foundation for a strong economy was being laid. Textiles sector with companies like Bombay Dyeing, Raymond's, S Kumar's and Grasim first saw the emergence of retail chains. Later Titan successfully created an organized retailing concept and established a series of showrooms for its premium watches. Retailing in India at this stage was completely unorganized and it thrived as separate entities operated by small and medium entrepreneurs in their own territories. There was lack of international exposure and only a few Indian companies explored the retail platform on a larger scale. However, the later half of the 1990s saw a fresh wave of entrants with a shift from Manufacturers to Pure Retailers like Food World, Subhiksha and Nilgiris in food and FMCG; Planet M and Music World in music; Crossword and Fountainhead in books. From overseas companies like Levi's, Pepe, Marks and Spencer etc. had entered targeting upper middle and rich classes of Indians. However as more than 50 percent population was formed by lower and lower middle class people, the market was not completely captured. This was later realized by brands like Big Bazaar and Pantaloons who made their products and services accessible to all classes of people and today the success of these brands proves the potential of Indian retail market. The Post 1995 onwards period saw an emergence of shopping centers, mainly in urban areas, with facilities like car parking and targeted to provide a complete destination experience for all segments of society. With the emergence of hyper and super markets, they are trying to provide customer with 3 Vs - Value, Variety and Volume.

A great shift that ushered in the Indian Retail Revolution was the eruption of Malls across all regional markets. Now at its peak, the mall culture actually brought in the organized format for Retailing in India which was absent earlier. Though malls were also initially planned for the higher strata, they successfully adapted to cater to the larger population of India. And it no wonder, today Malls are changing the way common Indians have their shopping experience. However there is still great scope for enhancing Indian mall culture as other than ambience and branding many other aspects of Retail Service remains to be developed on international standards. There was not a single mall in India a decade and half earlier and just a few years ago only a handful of them were striving. Today there are more than 100 malls across different cities of NCR and 2 years from now around 500 malls are predicted to come up. Indeed this shows a very promising trend ahead. At the end of year 2000 the size of the Indian organized retail industry was estimated at Rs. 13,000 crore.

RETAIL IN INDIA - PRESENT PERSPECTIVE

India is the country having the most unorganized retail market. Traditionally it is a family livelihood, with their shop in the front and house at the back, while they run the retail business. However, the Indian Retail Industry has come forth as one of the most dynamic and fast paced industries with several players entering the market. It is today the largest among all the industries, accounting for over 10 per cent of the country GDP and around 8 per cent of the employment. The Indian retail sector is estimated at around Rs 900,000 crore, of which the organized sector accounts for a mere 2 percent indicating a huge potential market opportunity that is lying in the waiting for the consumer-savvy organized retailer. Purchasing power of Indian urban consumer is growing and branded merchandise in categories like Apparels, Cosmetics, Shoes, Watches, Beverages, Food and even Jewellery, are slowly becoming lifestyle products that are widely accepted by the urban Indian consumer. Indian retailers need to take advantage of this growth and pay more attention to the brand building process. The emphasis here is on retail as a brand rather than retailers selling brands. The focus should be on branding the retail business itself. In their preparation to face fierce

competitive pressure, Indian retailers must come to recognize the value of building their own stores as brands to reinforce their marketing position, to communicate quality as well as value for money. Sustainable competitive advantage will be dependent on translating core values combining products, image and reputation into a coherent retail brand strategy. There is no doubt that the Indian retail scene is booming. A number of large corporate houses Tatas, Rahejas, Piramals, Goenkas have already made their foray into this arena, with beauty and health stores, supermarkets, self-service music stores, newage book stores, every-day-low-price stores, computers and peripherals stores, office equipment stores and home/building construction stores. Today the organized players have attacked every retail category. The Indian retail scene has witnessed too many players in too short a time, crowding several categories without looking at their core competencies, or having a well thought out branding strategy.

India's retail market is expected to touch a whopping Rs 47 trillion (US\$ 782.23 billion) by 2016-17, expanding at a compounded annual growth rate (CAGR) of 15 per cent. The total organised retail supply in 2013 stood at approximately 4.7 million square feet (sqft), witnessing a strong year-on-year (y-o-y) growth of about 78 per cent over the total mall supply of 2.5 million sqft in 2012. The foreign direct investment (FDI) in flow in single-brand retail trading during the period April 2000-January 2014 stood at US\$ 98.66 million, as per data released by Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion (DIPP). "Demand from international and domestic brands as well as retailers continued to strengthen throughout 2013; with the second half of the year witnessing an increase in demand for quality retail space in Delhi NCR, Pune and Chennai," according to the findings of CBRE's latest report, India Retail Market View H2 2013.

Online Retail: India's online retail industry has grown at a swift pace in the last five years from around Rs 15 billion (US\$ 249.64 million) revenues in 2007-08 to Rs 139 billion (US\$ 2.31 billion) in 2012-13, translating into a CAGR of over 56 per cent. The nine-fold growth came on the back of increasing internet penetration and changing lifestyles, and was primarily driven by books, electronics, apparel, beauty and personal care. According to Crisil Research, the online retail business in India is expected to grow at a whopping 50-55 per cent annually to become a Rs 50,000 crore (US\$ 8.32 billion) business in the next three years. During the same period, e-commerce companies could capture around 18 per cent of the country's organised retail market, up from their current share of about 8 per cent. India's urban population has contributed immensely to the growth of the online market in the country. Mumbai has left behind all other cities in India in shopping online; Delhi ranks second and Kolkata ranks third in the preference for online shopping in 2013. In the next 7-10 years, around 30-40 percent of the total retail in India's top 75 cities is expected to be carried out online, as per Arvind Singhal, Chairman and Founder, Technopak Advisors. In India, Flipkart and Snapdeal dominate the online market place. Snapdeal brands itself as the biggest online marketplace in India and allows more than 20,000 businesses to sell on its platform. The growing online retail market has become a very lucrative business for international majors as well.

Growth of retail sector in India: Retail and real estate are the two booming sectors of India in the present times and the prospects of both the sectors are mutually dependent on each other. Retail, one of India's largest industries, has presently emerged as one of the most dynamic and fast paced industries with several players entering the market. This has also contributed to large-scale investments in the real estate sector with major national and global players investing in developing the infrastructure and construction of the retailing business. India is geared to become a major player in the Retail Market. The fact that most of the developed nations are saturated and the developing ones still not prepared, India secures a great position in the international market. Also with a highly diverse demography, India provides immense scope for companies brining in different products targeting different consumers. According to the

Global Retail Development Index, India is positioned as the foremost destination for Retail investment and business development. The factor which is presently playing a significant role is the fact that a large section of Indian population is in the age group of 20-34 with a considerably high purchasing power; this has caused the increase in the demand in the urban market resulting in consistent growth in the Retail business. And though the metros and other tier 1 cities continue to sustain Retail growth, the buzz has now shifted from these great cities to lesser known ones. As the spending power is no longer limited to metros, every tier 2 city in the country has good market for almost every product or service. Due to this, tier 2 cities like Chandigarh, Coimbatore, Pune, Kolkatta, Ahmedabad, Vadodara, Hyderabad, Cochin, Nagpur, Indore, Trivandrum etc. provide a good platform for a brand to enter Indian market. However there are a few precautions for every brand that explores Indian market. As Indian consumers are very curious and have a broad perspective, they respond well to a new product or concept and there are very fair chances of a brand surviving well, but every Indian consumer be it an urbanite or a small town dweller needs a feeling of value for money. Although labeled as tight fisted, Indian consumers are great spenders once they realize that they are getting value for their money. Also new product /service concepts from the western world are better adopted first by the urban Indians, the smaller markets respond well to the need based retailing rather than luxury concepts.

The retailing configuration in India is fast developing as shopping malls are increasingly becoming familiar in large cities. When it comes to development of retail space specially the malls, the Tier II cities are no longer behind in the race. If development plans till 2007 is studied it shows the projection of 220 shopping malls, with 139 malls in metros and the remaining 81 in the Tier II cities. The government of states like Delhi and National Capital Region (NCR) are very upbeat about permitting the use of land for commercial development thus increasing the availability of land for retail space; thus making NCR render to 50 percent of the malls in India.

India is being seen as a potential goldmine for retail investors from over the world and latest research has rated India as the top destination for retailers for an attractive emerging retail market. In India the vast middle class and its almost untapped retail industry are the key attractive forces for global retail giants wanting to enter into newer markets, which in turn will help the India Retail Industry to grow faster. Even though India has well over 5 million retail outlets, the country sorely lacks anything that can resemble a retailing industry in the modern sense of the term. This presents international retailing specialists with a great opportunity.

Retailing format in India: The concept and idea of shopping has undergone a sea change in terms of format and consumer buying behavior, ushering in a revolution in shopping in India. Modern retailing has entered into the Retail market in India as is observed in the form of bustling shopping centers, multi-storied malls and the huge complexes that offer shopping, entertainment and food all under one roof. As the Indian retailing is getting more and more organized various retail formats are emerging to capture the potential of the market. They are:

Malls: Malls are the largest form of organized retailing today. Located mainly in metro cities, in proximity to urban outskirts, they ranges from 60,000 sqft to 7,00,000 sqft and above. They lend an ideal shopping experience with an amalgamation of product, service and entertainment, all under a common roof. Examples include Shoppers Stop, Piramyd, and Pantaloon.

Hyper marts/Supermarkets: Large self-service outlets, catering to varied shopper needs are termed as Supermarkets. These are located in or near residential high streets. These stores today contribute to 30% of all food & grocery organized retail sales. Super Markets can further be classified in to mini supermarkets typically 1,000 sqft to 2,000 sqft and large supermarkets ranging from of 3,500 sqft to 5,000 sq ft. having a strong focus on food & grocery and personal sales.

Departmental Stores: Departmental stores are a few formats which are flourishing in the both big and small regional markets. They are large stores ranging from 20000-50000 sq. ft, catering to a variety of consumer needs and further classified into localized departments such as clothing, toys, home, groceries, etc. Departmental Stores are expected to take over the apparel business from exclusive brand showrooms. Among these, the biggest success is K Raheja's Shoppers Stop, which started in Mumbai and now has more than seven large stores (over 30,000 sq. ft) across India and even has its own in store brand for clothes called Stop.

Specialty Stores: Chains such as the Bangalore based Kids Kemp, the Mumbai books retailer Crossword, RPG's Music World and the Times Group's music chain Planet M, are focusing on specific market segments and have established themselves strongly in their sectors.

Discount Stores: As the name suggests, discount stores or factory outlets, offer discounts on the MRP through selling in bulk reaching economies of scale or excess stock left over at the season. The product category can range from a variety of perishable/ non-perishable goods.

Convenience Stores: These are relatively small stores 400-2,000 sq. feet located near residential areas. They stock a limited range of high-turnover convenience products and are usually open for extended periods during the day, seven days a week. Prices are slightly higher due to the convenience premium

MBOs: Multi Brand outlets, also known as Category Killers, offer several brands across a single product category. These usually do well in busy market places and Metros.

Government Initiatives: The Government of India has allowed 51 per cent FDI in Multi-Brand Retail Trading (MBRT) and 100 per cent in Single-Brand Retail Trading (SBRT). According to the extant policy, foreign retailers investing more than 51 per cent can open outlets across the country on the condition that 30 per cent of their sourced sales would come from small to medium-sized domestic enterprises. Further, global chains will now need to invest only 50 per cent of the initial compulsory investment of US\$ 100 million in setting up cold storages and warehouses in India. Foreign chains have been given the green signal to set up stores in cities with a population of less than one million. Earlier, supermarkets could only commence their operations in 53 cities, the ones with a population of more than a million.

EVOLVING TRENDS, CHALLENGES & OPPORTUNITIES:

Retailing in India is gradually inching towards the next boom industry. Modern retail has entered India as seen in sprawling shopping centres, multi-storied malls and huge complexes offer shopping, entertainment and food all under one roof. The Indian retailing sector is at an inflexion point where the growth of organized retailing and growth in the consumption by the Indian population is going to take a higher growth trajectory. In fact, the organized retail sector is expected to grow stronger than GDP growth in the next five years driven by changing lifestyles, burgeoning income and favorable demographic outline. Retailing in India is witnessing a huge revamping exercise. India is rated as the fifth most attractive emerging retail market and estimated to be US\$ 200 billion, of which organized retailing makes up 3 percent or US\$ 6.4 billion. By 2010, organized retail is projected to reach US\$ 23 billion. India is ranked second in a Global Retail Development Index of 30 developing countries drawn up by AT Kearney.

The factors that are driving the growth of the retail sector in India are: low share of organized retailing; falling real estate prices; increase in disposable income and customer aspiration; and increase in expenditure for luxury items.

Another important factor is the increase in the young working population. In India, hefty pay packets, nuclear families in urban areas, along with increasing working women population and emerging opportunities in the services sector is playing a major role. The infrastructure is improving greatly in all regions is also benefiting the market. These key factors have been the growth drivers of the organized retail sector in India which now boast of retailing almost all the preferences of life - Apparel & Accessories, Appliances, Electronics, Cosmetics and Toiletries, Home & Office Products, Travel and Leisure and many more. The retail sector in India is witnessing rejuvenation as traditional markets make way for new formats such as departmental stores, hypermarkets, supermarkets and specialty stores.

Retailing has seen such a transformation over the past decade that its very definition has undergone a sea change. No longer can a manufacturer rely on sales to take place by ensuring mere availability of his product. Today, retailing is about so much more than mere merchandising. It's about casting customers in a story, reflecting their desires and aspirations, and forging long-lasting relationships. As the Indian consumer evolves, they expect more and more every time when they step into a store. Retail today has changed from selling a product or a service to selling a hope, an aspiration and above all an experience that a consumer would like to repeat. For manufacturers and service providers the emerging opportunities in urban markets seem to lie in capturing and delivering better value to the customers through retail. The last mile connect seems to be increasingly lively and experiential. Also, manufacturers and service providers face an exploding rural market yet only marginally tapped due to difficulties in rural retailing. Rural markets are emerging as a huge opportunity for retailers which are well reflected in the share of the rural market across most categories of consumption. ITC is experimenting with retailing through its e-Choupal and Choupal Sagar rural hypermarkets; HLL is using its Project Shakti initiative leveraging women self-help groups to explore the rural market; Mahamaza is leveraging technology and network marketing concepts to act as an aggregator and serve the rural markets. Only innovative concepts and models may survive the test of time and investments. The future of the Indian Retailing industry lies in the rural regions. Catering to these consumers will bring tremendous business to brands from every sector. However as the market expands companies entering India will have to be more cautious with their strategic plans. To tap into the psyche of consumers with different likes and dislikes and differing budgets a company has to be well prepared and highly flexible with their product and services. In this regard focusing on developing each market separately can save a brand from many troubles.

For retail industry in India, things have never looked better and brighter. Challenges to the manufacturers and service providers would abound when market power shifts to organized retail. The manufacturers and service providers will increasingly face a host of specialist retailers, who are characterized by use of modern management techniques, backed with seemingly unlimited financial resources. However, as the market becomes more and more organized the Indian retail industry will gain greater worth. The Retail sector in the small towns and cities will increase by 50 to 60 percent pertaining to easy and inexpensive availability of land and demand among consumers. Growth in India Real estate sector is also complementing the Retail sector and thus it becomes a strong feature for the future trend. Over a period of next 4 years there will be a retail space demand of 40 million sq. ft. However with growing real estate sector space constraint will not be there to meet this demand. The growth in the retail sector is also caused by the development of retail specific properties like malls and multiplexes. According to a report, from the year 2003 to 2008 the retail sales are growing at a rate of 8.3 percent per annum. With this the organized retail which currently has only 3 percent of the total market share will acquire 15-20 percent of the market share by the year 2010.

Indian economy and its policies are also becoming more and more liberal making way for a wide range of companies to enter Indian market. All national and international brands are benefiting with the new awareness of Indian population. Another great factor is the internet revolution, which is allowing foreign brands to understand Indian consumers and influence them before entering the market. IT is a tool that has been used by retailers ranging

from Amazon.com to eBay to radically change buying behavior across the globe. Due to the reach of media in the remotest of the markets, consumers are now aware of the global products and it helps brands to build themselves faster in a new region. However despite these factors contributing to the growth of Indian retail Industry, there are few challenges that the industry faces which need to be dealt with. Foreign direct investment is not allowed in retail sector, which can be a concern for many brands. But Franchise agreements may circumvent this problem. Along with this regulations and local laws and real estate purchase restrictions bring up challenges. Lack of integrated supply chain and management and lack of trained workforce and flux of the market in terms of price and product choice also need to be eliminated. Despite these challenges many international brands are thriving in the Indian market by finding solutions around these challenges.

CONCLUSION

The retail sector has played a phenomenal role throughout the world in increasing productivity of consumer goods and services. There is no denying the fact that most of the developed economies are very much relying on their retail sector as a locomotive of growth. The Indian Retail Industry has also come forth as one of the most dynamic and fast paced industries with several players entering the market. The Indian Retail Industry is gradually inching towards becoming the next boom industry. The future of the Indian Retail Industry looks promising with growth of the market, government policies becoming more favorable and the emerging technologies facilitating operations. In the next few years, modern retail is expected to grow 50-60 percent annually in tier II and tier III cities in India. And by 2030, it is estimated that 91 million households will be middle class and about 570 million people are expected to live in cities. These factors would be significant drivers for growth of organised retail in India. Further, the opportunities in food and grocery retail are immense as it constitutes about 69 per cent of the country's total retail market. Though there has been plenty of debate and discussion about the potential role of foreign direct investment (FDI) in multi-brand retail, including food for the past few years, the growth pattern of organized retail and the consumption made by the Indian population is showing a rising graph and helping the newer businessmen to enter the Indian Retail Industry.

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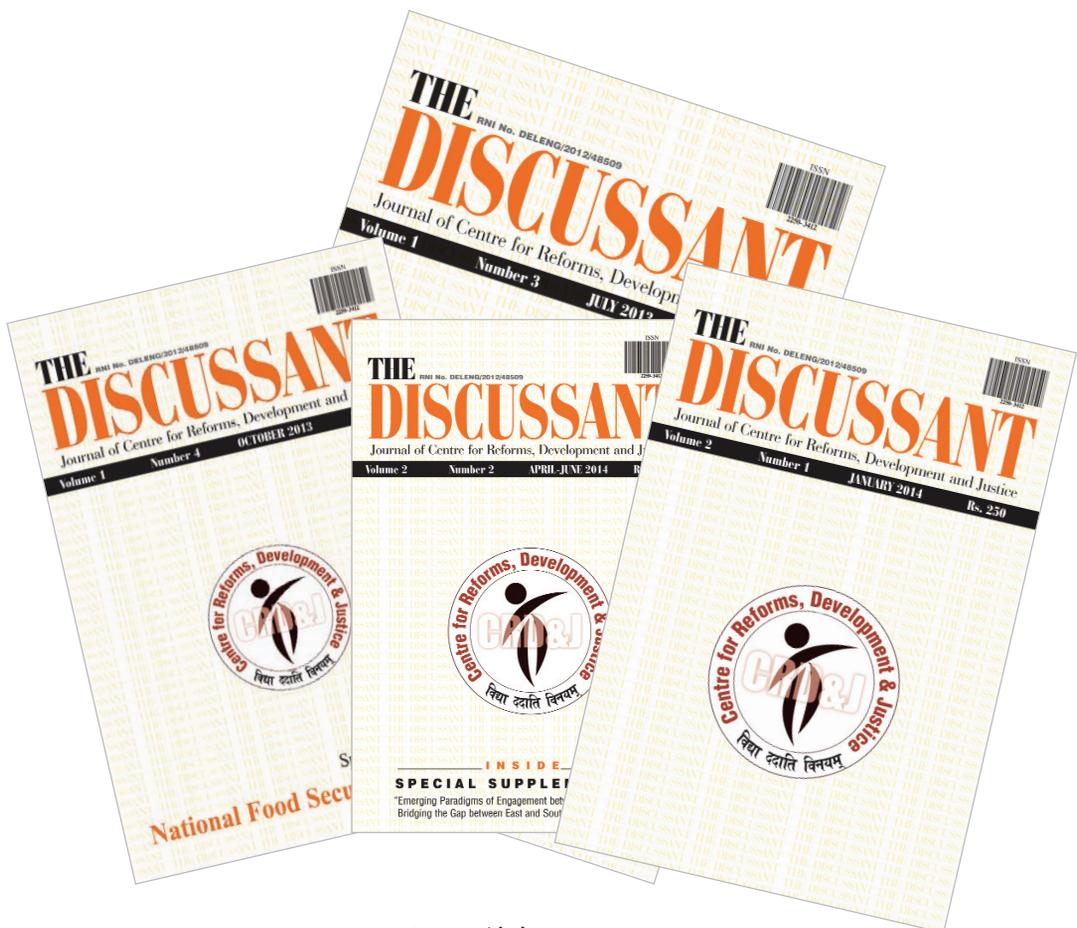
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