

We feel proud to share our joy with all of you that our Student **Nitika Pawar** has secured **AIR -18 (IAS 2011)** in her very first ATTEMPT. We strive to serve the Student Community with more joy and dedication. Best Wishes to all our members who had come out successful.

(Also **many students have scored 320+** in POLITICAL SCIENCE in the previous years using our Study Materials & Class). (**AIR - 2 in POL.SCI. PAPER 2 in 2007 (190)** as per our known records).



GRAMSCI

He was an Italian Marxist who attempted to unify social theory and political practice. He helped to found the Italian Communist Party in 1921 and was elected to Parliament in 1924. His political life ended in November 1926, when Mussolini jailed him. He died on 27-04-1937 after only three days of release from prison. Although severely restricted in jail, he succeeded in filling 2848 pages of notes in 33 notebooks that famously became the "Prison Note books", which were published posthumously in 1947.

Basics of his thought

- Politics and Ideology were independent of the economic base.
- No ruling class could dominate by economic factors alone.
- Working class can achieve political liberation by political and intellectual struggle.
- Real class control in capitalist societies is ideological and cultural rather than physical.
- Only the working class educated by radical intellectuals could see through and overthrow bourgeois propaganda.

Concept of Hegemony

The term hegemony was first used by Plekhanov and other Russian Marxists in the 1880s to denote the need

for the working class to lead an alliance with the peasantry for the overthrow of Tsarism. The working class should develop a national approach, fighting for the liberation of all oppressed classes and groups. This was developed by Lenin. For Lenin, hegemony was a strategy for revolution, a strategy which the working class and its representatives should adopt to win the support of the great majority. Gramsci adds a new dimension to this by extending it to include the practices of a capitalist class or its representatives, both in gaining state power, and in maintaining that power once it has been achieved.

1. The relations of forces - The proletariat can become the leading and the dominant class to the extent that it succeeds in creating a system of alliances which allows it to mobilise the majority of the population against capitalism and the bourgeois state. The working class can only develop into a hegemonic class by taking into account the interests of other classes and social forces and finding ways of combining them with its own interests. It has to go beyond sectional, or what Gramsci calls **economic-corporate struggles**, and be prepared to make compromises, in order to become the national representative of a broad bloc of social forces.

Thus the relation between the two fundamental classes of capital and labour is not a simple one of opposition between two classes only, but is a complex

one involving other classes and social forces. Each side strives to strengthen its own pattern of alliances, to disorganise the alliances of the other, and to shift the balance of forces in its favour.

He takes the rise of the capitalist class as his example, and distinguishes between three phases in the development of collective political consciousness and organisation. The first two of these are economic-corporate (often shortened to corporate) while the third is hegemonic.

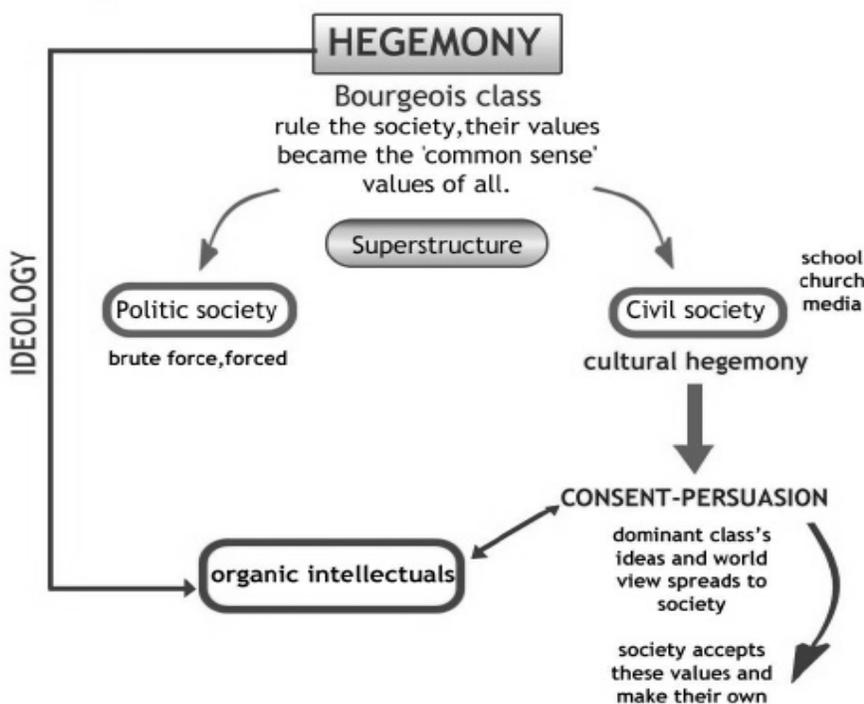
1. The first and most elementary phase is when a **tradesman feels obliged to stand by another**

to organise, but are not yet aware of the need to associate with other groups in the same class.

2. The second and more advanced phase is that in which **consciousness is reached of the common interests of all the members of the class**—but still purely in the economic field. Already at this juncture the problem of the state is posed, but only in terms of winning legal and political equality with the ruling group: ‘the right is claimed to participate in legislation and administration, even to reform these—but within the existing fundamental structures.’

3. The third phase is that of hegemony, ‘in which one

Hegemony



tradesman, a manufacturer by another manufacturer, etc., but the tradesman does not yet feel solidarity with the manufacturer. The members of a professional group are conscious of their common interests and of the need

becomes aware that one’s own corporate interests, in their present and future development, transcend the corporate limits of the purely economic class, and can and **must become the interests of other subordinate**

groups too'. This is the most purely political phase. It is the phase in which previously germinated ideologies come into conflict until only one of them, or a combination of them, tends to prevail, bringing about a unity of economic, political, intellectual and moral aims, and 'posing all the questions around which the struggle rages not on a corporate but on a "universal" plane, and thus creating the hegemony of a fundamental social group over a series of subordinate groups. Gramsci illustrates the first two corporate phases from the experience of a rising capitalist class composed of traders and manufacturers. The development of the working class follows a similar path.

The first and most elementary phase is the formation of trade unions to protect the economic interests of different groups and sections.

The second phase is when consciousness is reached of the common interests of all members of the working class, when the demand is made for legal and political equality, for legislation to protect trade union rights and for the right to vote, but within the framework of capitalism.

As the working class moves into the third, hegemonic phase in which it begins to challenge the hegemony of the capitalist class, more and more workers become aware of the need to take into account the interests of other social groups and classes to find ways of combining their interests with those of the working class. They begin to develop a political consciousness in place of a corporate consciousness (which Lenin called a 'trade-union consciousness').

Gramsci thus places the emphasis on the **role of ideological struggle**—on intellectual and moral reform—in order to achieve a transformation of the outlook of the workers and also of the members of the

other classes and groups whose allegiance is needed in order to build up the hegemony of the working class. Hence ideology acts as the 'cement' or cohesive force which binds together a bloc of diverse classes and strata.

Thus a class becomes hegemonic in the extent to which it transcends its corporate phase and succeeds in combining the interests of other classes and social forces with its own interests, and in becoming the universal representative of the main social forces which make up the nation.

The Maintenance of Hegemony - Organic crises:

Gramsci says, even when a social group has become dominant and holds power firmly in its grasp, it must continue to 'lead' as well. **Hegemony can never be taken for granted, but has to be continually fought for afresh.** This requires persistent activities to maintain and strengthen the social authority of the ruling class in all areas of civil society, and the making of such compromises as are needed to adapt the existing system of alliances to changing conditions and to the activities of the opposing forces.

This process can be seen at work most clearly in periods when the hegemony of the ruling political forces is endangered and is tending to disintegrate. There may ensue a fairly prolonged period of instability and transition, during which the system of alliances forming the basis for the hegemony of the ruling groups may have to undergo far-reaching changes and a process of restructuring if it is to survive. Gramsci insists on the importance of distinguishing between organic changes which are relatively permanent, and those which appear as occasional, immediate and almost accidental: "A crisis occurs, sometimes lasting for decades. This exceptional duration means that incurable structural contradictions have revealed themselves (reached maturity) and that,

despite this, the political forces which are struggling to conserve and defend the existing structure itself are making every effort to cure them, within certain limits, and to overcome them. These incessant and persistent efforts ... form the terrain of the 'conjunctural' and it is upon this terrain that the forces of opposition organize."

Thus once a class or social group has achieved hegemony, the system of alliances on which that hegemony is based (historic bloc) has to be continually re-adjusted and re-negotiated. Periodically there may develop an organic crisis in which the historic bloc begins to disintegrate, creating the opportunity for a subordinate class to transcend its corporate limitations and build up a broad movement capable of challenging the existing order and achieving hegemony; but if the opportunity is not taken, the balance of forces will shift back to the dominant class which will re-establish its hegemony on the basis of a new pattern of alliances.

REALIST APPROACH - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Interstate relations are based on might rather than right.

Political Realism sees international relations mainly as a **struggle of self-interested**, sovereign states that are involved in a **game of power-politics** within a **permanent state of anarchy**. The international system, according to this school of thought, is a moral- and value-free environment in which the state is seen as a rational and unitary actor that finds itself in constant conflict with the other states of the system due to the lack of an overarching world government. Stemming from their pessimistic view on human nature, the only way to achieve security in the international system, according to political realism, is by creating a Balance of Power among the most powerful states of the system.

The realist school started after the First World War in 1930's reached its culmination after the Second World War. The Second World War gave a jolt to the idealist's optimistic view, which had completely ignored the power factor. Realism unequivocally accepts as its **guiding principle the permanence of the struggle for power**. As Prem Arora says, "Realism is a set of ideas which take into account the implications of security and power factors". The Prominent Realists include Hobbes, Machiavelli, Morgenthau, Kissinger, Kennan etc. George Kennan, while regarding power politics as the basis of world political relations, has insisted on adopting the moral approach in the formulation of policy and safeguarding the national interests.

The Realist school of thought in International Relations has claimed **Thucydides and Thomas Hobbes** as two of their intellectual forefathers. **Thucydides** was the first to describe international relations as anarchic and immoral. The "**Melian dialogue**" best exemplifies Thucydides' view that interstate politics lack regulation and justice. In the "Melian dialogue," he wrote that, in interstate relations, "the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept." For him, international relations allow the mighty do as they please and force the weak to suffer as they must.

Morgenthau- the first to develop a realist model uses the terms international politics and international relations synonymously. He says the central focus of realism is power. He **defines power as "man's control over the minds and actions of other men"**. Power is always the ultimate and immediate aim of international politics. **Power is not only the aim of all political actions but also it is an end in itself**. Morgenthau rooted his political realism in **St. Augustine's**

recognition of both the “inevitability and the evilness of man’s lust for power.” The essence of his theory is contained in six principles of political realism enumerated by Morgenthau himself in the first chapter of his “Politics among nations”. They are as under: -

1. Objective laws govern politics: - It is based on human nature and psychology. Morgenthau maintains that human nature has not changed since classical times. Hence “Politics like society in general is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature”. It is as such essential to understand these laws and build a rational theory of international politics. **Example:** Theory of BOP is supported by both facts of politics and reason.

2. Emphasis on concept of national interest: - He defined national interest in terms of power. **Political realism** avoids two popular fallacies w.r.t the behaviour of statesmen. They are **1.** Concern with motives **2.** Concern with ideological preferences. Political realism seeks to judge the actions of the statesmen based on the achievement of national interests. A rational theory of foreign policy seeks to present a theory based upon experience and actual facts and not upon motives and ideological experiences. The **appeasement policy of Neville Chamberlain** was inspired by good motives, yet his policies helped make the Second World War inevitable, while **Winston Churchill’s policies were based upon national interest** and power and also became more successful in operation.

3. Interest is always dynamic: - Morgenthau holds that interest is not fixed and is **moulded by the political and social environment**. Environment plays a vital role in the determination of political action. The emphasis on power must be adapted to the changing

circumstances. The kind of interest determining political action in a particular period depends upon the political and cultural context within which foreign policy is formulated.

4. Modification in universal moral principles: - Morgenthau asserts that universal **moral principles must be modified** according to the circumstances of time and place. There can be **no political morality without prudence**; that is, without consideration of the political consequences of seemingly moral action. Realism, then, considers prudence—the weighing of the consequences of alternative political actions—to be the supreme virtue in politics. Ethics in the abstract judges action by its conformity with the moral law; **political ethics judges action by its political consequences**. Like the individual the state has no right to say: “Let justice be done even if the world perishes”. Political act is moral if the consequences justify the action. **“If end brings me out wrong, ten angles swearing I was right makes no differences”** said A. Lincoln.

5. No identity between moral aspirations and the moral laws of nation: - All political actors pursue national interests, as there is no identity between moral aspirations and the moral laws of nation. The policy of a nation should not be confused with universal moral principles. Even if nations are subject to eternal laws, Morgenthau argues, we cannot “pretend to know with certainty what is good and evil in the relations among nations.” We will achieve a greater degree of justice by moderating our moral judgment and looking at all states, including our own, “as political entities pursuing their respective interests defined in terms of power.”

6. Autonomous Political Sphere: - Morgenthau says that political sphere is autonomous as the spheres of the economist, or the lawyer or the moralist. This realist

defense of the autonomy of the political sphere against its subversion by other modes of thought does not imply disregard for the existence and importance of these other modes of thought. It rather implies that each should be assigned its proper sphere and function. Political realism is based upon a pluralistic conception of human nature.

Real man is a composite of "economic man," "political man," "moral man," "religious man," etc. Recognizing that these different facets of human nature exist, political realism also recognizes that in order to understand one of them one has to deal with it on its own terms. That is to say, if I want to understand "political man," I must for the time being abstract from the other aspects of human nature and deal with its political aspect as if it were the only one.

On the basis of these principles, Morgenthau concludes that the creation of a world state overseeing perpetual peace is "unattainable under the moral, social, and political conditions in the world at our time." Instead, he **advocates two primary methods to mitigate the inevitable struggle for power** in international politics: **1. The Balance Of Power** resting on an international consensus about the imperative of restraining the unbridled power aspirations of all states; **2. Diplomacy**, devoid of a crusading spirit, through which states define their foreign policies in terms of concrete conceptions of the national interest, readily compromise on issues not vital to them, and strive empathetically to view foreign policy from the point of view of other nations, not just their own.

NEO-REALISM / STRUCTURAL REALISM

Neo-realists find the explanation for the centrality of power relations in the **structure of the international system**. This view, called **structural realism** or **neo-realism** (provides a scientific

explanation of the international political system). They tend to **locate most**, if not all, of the **explanations for nation-state behavior in the structural characteristics** of the international system, not in the internal characteristics of nation-states or individuals.

1) The international structure is **decentralized, having no central authority and is anarchic**, with states acting as independent sovereign political units. Given this **lack of central authority**, **states compete with one another within a loose system**. In a system where there is no higher authority that sits above the great powers, and where there is no guarantee that one will not attack another, it makes eminently good sense for each state to be powerful enough to protect itself in the event it is attacked. In essence, great powers are trapped in an iron cage where they have little choice but to **compete with each other for power if they hope to survive**. This leads directly to the **security dilemma**: The essence of this dilemma is that most steps a great power takes to enhance its own security decrease the security of other states. For example, any country that improves its position in the global balance of power does so at the expense of other states, which lose relative power. In this **zero-sum world**, it is difficult for a state to improve its prospects for survival without threatening the survival of other states. Of course, the threatened states then do whatever is necessary to ensure their survival, which, in turn, threatens other states, all of which leads to perpetual security competition. The classic example of this dilemma is an **arms race**.

2) States are deemed similar in terms of needs but not in capabilities for achieving them. The **positional**

placement of states in terms of abilities primarily defines the structure. The structure of system changes with changes in the distribution of capabilities across the system's units. International change occurs when great powers rise and fall and the balance of power shifts accordingly as a result of great power status. The desire and relative abilities of each state to maximize power results in a 'balance of power', which shapes international relations. Waltz says "Bipolar systems such as the one which existed during the cold war between two super powers are more stable and thus provide a better guarantee of peace and security than polar systems".

3) Neo-realists generally reject any notion of human nature as an underlying explanation for the prominent role played by power in international relations. For structural realists, human nature has little to do with why states want power. Instead, it is the structure or architecture of the international system that forces states to pursue power.

Thus, Waltz's theory of neorealism explains international behaviour through the balance-of-power concept, according to which states in almost all cases balance each other in order to survive. Stephen Walt, on the other hand, argues that states do not balance power, but there is a so-called Balance-Of-Threat, thus always balancing states which seem to be the most threatening, not necessarily the most powerful.

Criticism

1. It is ambiguous and inconsistent. Robert Tucker and Kenneth Waltz have found it difficult to accept Morgenthau's theory, as realist for it is inconsistent with itself and with reality.
2. Morgenthau's theory is based on what Stanley Hoffmann calls power monism. It is a single factor

theory. He assumes that there can be hardly any relationship, which does not involve power.

3. Nations do not have power as the only national goal but also seek security, welfare and promotion of ideology. The realist theory lacks an adequate discussion of ends or purposes. Raymond Aron objects to his theory as it neglects the relation between ideologies and policies. Quincy Wright takes him to task for having ignored the impact of values on national policy.

4. Morgenthau rejected the tenets of the liberal strain of international relations theory, including faith in a natural harmony of interests among states, in collective security enforced by international organizations, in pacifism, in peace without power, and in the simple identification of morals and politics.

5. The conception that the national interest carries its own morality holds good only at certain periods. Morgenthau does not give precise definition of national interest. Benno Wassermann points out that national interest is a matter of interpretation, which differs from statesman to statesman.

6. Morgenthau's theory is too static, in which power relations reproduce themselves in the same manner in all times. Myers McDougal objects to Morgenthau's concept of law as a static body of rigid rules.

7. A major source of Morgenthau's error is his excessively pessimistic view of human nature, which is the converse of unalloyed liberalism's excessively sanguine view. In this way, Morgenthau belongs more to the Christian realist tradition of St. Augustine than the real politik school of Hobbes, Machiavelli, or other thinkers who extolled power to the exclusion of Judeo-Christian notions of ethics.

Significance

1. It is based on historical experience.
2. It has made scholars re-evaluate their own assumptions relying on certain realist perspectives.

INDIA A PERMANENT MEMBER IN UNSC?

India then

UN was the brainchild of the Second World War and therefore actually lacked the representative character. India was then a British colony and not a Sovereign nation and yet it played an important role in its set up as a founder member. Had India been a sovereign country then it would have already been a permanent member with Veto of the all powerful Security Council.

Permanent membership is critical for India for following reasons:

- To improve India's global stature
- To help India reach at comparable level with its rival China
- To secure its neighborhood from future combined interventions, if any
- To bring equality of treatment and be the natural leader of developing countries in security council.
- It would also check the recruitments of Indian insurgents for the Islamic state

Reshaping the UNSC

Now it has been recognized that UN should break its hegemonic and monopolistic mould and become truly representative. It underlines the urgent need to expand the Security Council because it is the limb of the UN which is mainly responsible for the maintenance of peace and security in the world. There is no representative of the Third World countries in it. Therefore in principle it has been decided to reshape the UN and expand the Security Council.

India's Claim

India has formally staked its claim to a permanent seat on the Security Council. Prime Minister I.K Gujral's address in the UN general Assembly on 24 September 1997 had made it amply clear. Meanwhile many other Afro- Asian nation have also supported India's claim. But Pakistan is totally opposed to India's claim and aspiration, such is its obsession and prejudice against India.

Proposed Models

- **Model – A** – 6 New Permanent Members (2 – Asia, 2- Africa, 1- Europe, 1- America) +3 Non permanent

AFRICAN UNION'S DEMAND	G-4 DEMAND INDIA, JAPAN, GERMANY, BRAZIL.
6 Permanent + 5 Non Permanent.	6 Permanent + 5 Non Permanent.
2 Permanent + 2 Non Permanent Member seats for Africa.	2 Permanent member + 1 Non Permanent member seats for Africa.
Full Veto Power	No immediate Veto power.

The **L69 GROUP** comprises a diverse group of 41 countries from Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific, who are united by a common cause – to achieve, lasting and comprehensive reform of the UN Security Council.

members.

G4 & South Africa supports this, but “**COFFEE CLUB**” of 40 midsize countries led by Italy, Pakistan, Argentina, Mexico, South Korea, and Spain oppose this. **[USA & China also oppose this]**.

- **Model – B** – Induct 8 Semi Permanent members with a renewable term of 4-years and one new nonpermanent member. G4 is against this model.

India's Strengths and merits

As part of the **G4 & L.69 groups**, India is pressing for a reformed Council that would accommodate around 25 members, with six new members in the permanent category to include two seats from Africa, two from Asia, one each from Latin America and the Caribbean, one from West Europe and one from the Others Group. The non-permanent seats would be expanded from 10 to 14 or 15 members with the addition of one new non-permanent seat each for Asia, East Europe, **GRULAC (Latin American and Caribbean Group)** and one or two non-permanent seats for the African states. Such an expansion would also need to be comprehensively reviewed after a period of 15 years to revisit the entire structure of the UNSC. India is also striving for Council reforms in terms of a veto restraint agreement whereby the permanent members would limit the usage of veto power and abstain from using it under certain circumstances.

There is no doubt over the question of India's strengths and merits, to have the permanent seat on the floor of the UNSC.

1. India is the World's **largest democracy** with 1/6th of the World Population.
2. It is a **secular state** and an emerging global economy.
3. Among the developing countries India holds the top position in relation to **agricultural developments, Industrial growth**, technological advancements, and space and missile achievements.
4. As a non-aligned nation, it has pursued its **own independent foreign policy** without being influenced by either power blocs. Its independent stand on disarmament, CTBT are well known.
5. Its **moral support** has always been there for the weak, suffering and depressed society.

6. India's **role and support** in the world body's peacekeeping and development activities has always been constructive and very generous.

India's participation in the UNSC as a permanent member would certainly make it more representative, democratic and global.

India as a Non-permanent Member of the UN Security Council in 2011-12

India gained better visibility in international forums; it had wider platforms at its disposal to project its stand on foreign policy issues and more scope to lend its perspective and contribute to debates within the Council on key issues of international peace and security; and, it raised key issues that concern it, including peacekeeping, counter-terrorism, anti-piracy efforts, UNSC reforms, and the like.

The year 2011 at the Council will stand out in terms of the diplomatic successes that India gained. Right from the discretion it displayed on delicate issues such as Libya and Syria to the local canvassing that secured its positions in various UN bodies, India was able to gain a strong foothold in the Council.

The concepts that stemmed from the Arab Awakening guided and dominated the Council's proceedings, be it the debates on protection of civilians or conflict resolution or the debate on working methods in the Council. On these occasions, the Indian delegation espoused the fundamental principles of Indian foreign policy such as respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of states, peaceful settlement of disputes and last resort to the use of force.

On the **issue of Libya**, right from the initial days, India supported a 'calibrated and gradual' approach. It also took a stand against the enforcement of a no-fly zone or the use of force to end the civil war.

India eventually abstained from the UN Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1973 and expressed dissent over the military intervention into Libya. Though, during the initial stages, its stance was condemned by the Western powers, the collateral damage caused by their intervention made the Indian stand appear prudent.

India's stand on Syria was in tandem with its position on Libya, calling as it did for respect of state sovereignty and non-intervention. India stressed on engagement with the Syrian government through a 'collaborative and constructive' dialogue and not complicating the situation through threats of sanctions or regime change. Seeking to address the burning concerns of violation of human rights, India set Syria as a priority on its agenda during its presidency month and permitted a discussion on the issue.

During the 2011 debates on protection of civilians and the high level meeting on conflict prevention, the Indian stance was clear, staunch and resonated with its positions on Libya and Syria. In the debate on protection of civilians held in May against the backdrop of the Western intervention in Libya, India reiterated its unwavering position for respect of state sovereignty, the responsibility of the state to protect civilians and the use of force as a last resort. India also called for facilitation of talks between warring groups in a conflict situation in lieu of threats of sanctions and regime change. It emphasized that any international decision to intervene in a country in conflict should be based on protecting civilians and not be distracted by political motives.

Other Issues

Given its security concerns with piracy off the coast of Somalia, India was actively engaged in deliberations on Somalia within the Council. India called

for a comprehensive response to the scourge of piracy under the multilateral umbrella of the UN. It emphasized on setting up adequate judicial systems to prosecute and punish those involved in piracy. With regard to Iran, India argued in support of its right to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes which is consistent with India's traditional stand. It noted the need to address the Iranian nuclear issue by peaceful means through dialogue and negotiation and called for a diplomatic solution to any international concern over Tehran's nuclear programme. India also extended support to Palestine's bid for UN membership at the General Assembly and, during debates on the Middle East, condemned Israeli settlements in the occupied territories of Palestine.

Conclusion

But things are not as easy as they appear in this selfish, materialistic and politically world. India has to play its cards wisely and assess its chances of election to the council seat in the light of prevailing realities. It also puts Indian diplomacy to an acid test.

India continues to believe that if there is hope in the world for a new dispensation that might lessen conflict and promote international justice, it would lie in the reconstructive efforts that the UN could undertake. Along with this belief India also is of the firm opinion that in the changed situation and circumstances, the UN needs reform and these must be carried out at the earliest and with consensus.

Why India won't get a permanent seat at UNSC?

1.P5 Resistance: Permanent members never get to a consensus to allow expansion of council and offer permanent seat to another country. China being India's rival will always veto down any such agreement for India. Thus this remains the biggest roadblock.

2. India's economic contribution: Compared to P5 Countries India's contribution to Security council budget is very minimal, which again discredits its claim to join council as a permanent group.

3. International diplomacy: India is seen as a soft country, especially on matters related to middle east and gulf countries. It maintains neutrality and puts its own interest before taking a hard stance. This is misinterpreted by P5 countries as India's inability to offer and sanction extreme measures. Especially US is not comfortable with this behavior.

However, it looks to be long shot as US, Russia and China would continue blocking any new addition to the P5 because if they consider it, it would open the floodgates for the other big economies like Germany, Japan, Brazil, etc. who equally desire a permanent seat at the UNSC. It must be noted that China was only allowed to enter UNSC as it was 'Republic of China' back then and not 'People's Republic of China' (communist). Hence, the west-dominance of the council is unlikely to fade.

On the other hand, there is no urgency to sweat for it given the ineffectiveness of the council in the contemporary global scenario. It has failed a number of times in its purpose of maintaining peace e.g. - NATO intervention in Libya, Syrian War, Bombing on Gaza, rise of IS, etc. Further, most of the nations, including P5, focus more on the bilateral or multilateral cooperation which has proven to be more effective. e.g. - Trans-Pacific, Trans-Atlantic Partnership by US, AIIB, New Silk Road- China, Eurasian Economic Union - Russia, etc. Thus, instead of chasing the membership of the hypocritical, self-perpetuating, bureaucratic behemoth, India too must focus on its bilateral forums.

ETHNIC & IDENTITY MOVEMENTS

The term "ethnicity" may be defined as "the tendency of groups bound together by consciousness of common ancestry, religion, sect, languages or cultural tradition to strive for the protection of interests of their members in relation to other groups and the state". It hence promotes Social cohesion and collectivity thereby ensuring social solidarity. Cohen (1974) defines ethnicity as a process of "interaction between culture groups operating within common social contexts". Ethnic identity reflects both 'likeness' and 'uniqueness'. On the one hand, it reflects on what the members of an ethnic group hold in common, at the same time differentiating them from other ethnic groups. According to Brass, in the political arena ethnicity operates in two ways:-

1. **As an interest group** it seeks to improve the well being of group members as individuals. **e.g.** civil rights, educational opportunities and the like.
2. **It demands corporate rights** (i.e) a major say for the group in the political system as a whole or control over a piece of territory within the country or they demand a country of their own with full sovereignty. This has created a great ethnic tension, conflict and movements.

Dimensions of ethnic conflicts in India

India's socio-cultural mosaic is the true picture of "unity in diversity. Several cultural markers - **language, race, tribe, caste, religion, and region** serve as identity axes for ethnic groups and their mobilization. In most of the ethnic groups, more than one of these cultural markers is pertinent for identification. The ethnic tension has been mainly witnessed in the field of language, religion, caste and tribe.

Ethnic conflicts are said to arise between groups that are based on unequal relationship, namely the 'majority group' and the 'minority group'. The attempt of the dominant group is to maintain their social status and authority whereas the minority group tries to alter this position. Sometimes, these attempts may take the shape of peaceful protests and endeavour to bring about change

through constitutional and democratic means. But mostly, it takes the shape of deviant behaviour ranging from violent protests, riots and disturbances to crimes against person and property, organised terrorism and overthrow of the existing power.

The patterns of conflicts and contradictions between ethno-communities vary along scales of time and place. Secondly, the ethnic groups do not have territories marked out for them because the cultural markers identifying such groups do not coincide with territorial boundaries. Accordingly, people belonging to specific religions, tribes, castes, races, and languages are found scattered in various territorial regions.

1. Language

India a multi-lingual country is often described as "**Babel of tongues**". In the early 1950's there was a pressing demand for reorganization of states on linguistic basis, from different regions. After Potti Sitaramulu's death who had gone on fast demanding creation of a separate state for Telugu speaking people, the state of Andhra Pradesh came into existence on Oct 1, 1953. This led to similar demands from other regions.

In pursuance of the recommendation of the Fazli Ali commission 1953 the territories of India were divided under 14 states and 5 UT, in 1956 based on the States Reorganization Act 1956.

Since the enactment of States Reorganization Act 1956, several new states have been carved out of the larger federal states on ethno linguistic basis.

2. Religion

Followers of six major religions of the world, the Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains inhabit India. Since pre- independence era communalism has posed a serious threat to the unity of the country by promoting separatist and secessionist forces.

The religious character of Indian polity has penetrated so deep as to shape and reshape politics and quite naturally political parties too. Issues such as Ram Janma bhoomi

controversy pose a serious threat to the parliamentary democracy as well as secular credentials.

3. Caste and Tribe

Caste system and Tribalism have influenced the Indian political system to a greater extent. There is always a mutual effect of caste and politics on each other. It is not that politics uses caste, at the same time, "caste also uses politics". The voters expect the ministers to help their caste folk and their rural folk. They seem to be saying "we want benefits in return for what we have done". Political socialization of SCs and STs has resulted in the formation of political parties and movements, which represent the interests and aspirations of the members of these communities.

Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) was powerful tribal movement that led to the creation of a separate state. This mineral-rich state continues to house some of India's poorest and vulnerable people because successive governments have failed to develop public institutions and make use of the state's resources. It's also helped Maoists exploit the crisis and built a base in the state.

Any diversity and heterogeneity is not conflict-producing per se, although it may carry a potential for conflict. India has witnessed ethnic conflicts in the process of its historical evolution, and the leadership of independent India was conscious that while India presents the picture of "unity and diversity," the possibility of conflict between the "unity" and the "diversity" could not be ruled out. Independent India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, said: While on the one hand, we the people of India are bound together by strong bonds of culture, common objectives, friendship and affection, on the other hand, unfortunately, there are inherent in India, separatist and disruptive tendencies.

In the process of the "passing" of ethnic identities and politicization of ethnic groups, a number of "secular" or "non-ethnic" factors play a critical role. These include the state, pace, and pattern of economic development, political

élites and forces, and outside subversion. Without these factors and the process of transformations in the ethnic groups, diversity would not assume conflictual dimensions. Owing to the varying parameters of the process of identity transformations and the roles of external (non-ethnic) factors, ethnic conflicts and politics in India have "waxed and waned."

Even some of the raging **ethnic conflicts in India have shown inconsistencies in their ideological manifestations** and intensity. The **conflict in the Punjab**, for instance, had a dominant linguistic thrust during the mid-1960s. In the late 1970s and early 1980s it was rekindled by the rivalry between competing Sikh sects, the Nirankaris and the Akalis. To this were added intra-group political rivalries amongst the Sikhs in the Punjab. Subsequently, it assumed both religious and economic dimensions in the form of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. At present, it is fast acquiring a Sikh fundamentalist character, with growing emphasis on the assertion of Sikh religious and cultural symbols to legitimize militancy and violence. Elements of the Punjab situation are also reflected in the **Kashmir conflict**, where the initial movement of the state's political and economic neglect has now clearly acquired overtones of Islamic religious assertion, to the extent of becoming fundamentalist. Accordingly, the earlier concept of Kashmir identity, or Kashmiriat, has been replaced by communal confrontation, wherein the Muslim militants have pushed Hindu Kashmiris out of the valley.

Jammu and Kashmir

There are three major ethnic minorities in the state --- these are **Buddhist tribes** of Laddhakh region, the **people of Jammu region** and the **Kashmiri Pandits**. In the context of politics of Jammu and Kashmir the principal markers of ethnic identity of the Kashmiri Pandits is religion, of the other two groups these are religion, language and region. These three groups have felt discriminated against by the dominant ethnic groups of Kashmiris.

The Kashmiri Pandits became victim of the insurgency; being displaced from their ancestral habitat. The main ground for their discrimination has been religion. Their politics has revolved around the issue of their survival, human rights, and rehabilitation. They have become the victims of militancy because they belong to an ethnic minority. In fact, some of their representatives have demanded creation of a separate state consisting of Kashmiri Pandits as the major ethnic group.

The ground of the grievances of the ethnic minorities in Jammu and Laddakh regions is both regional and religious. They allege that the dominant ethnic groups of the state control the state power, which they use to strengthen their base in the Kashmir region. Their different religious and cultural background compounds their discrimination further. Its repercussion in the politics is found in the demand for the status of Union Territory to the Laddakh region and for a separate state for the Jammu region. The Hindu rightist political organisations demand division of the state into three parts on the basis of religion.

India also bears witness to the fact that the precipitation and intensification of ethnic conflicts by **cultural diversity** is not a unilinear or irreversible process. Ethnic conflicts have been resolved and reduced, but also re-created. The conflict arising out of the demand for the Tamil language and land during the early 1960s was resolved, although potential tension between Tamil and the declared (but not imposed) national language, Hindi, still exists. In the context of the Punjab conflict, the Rajiv-Longowal accord of 1985 was a major move to contain the conflict, although it proved futile. The initial thrust of ethnic conflict in Assam, which was directed against the influx of foreigners, experienced some respite in the mid-1980s, although now it has reemerged in violent form under the leadership of the Bodos and ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam) groups. Similarly, some of the tribal insurgencies in the North-East have also been politically contained.

North-east Indian states

In north-east Indian states there are two types of ethnic minorities - one, those who have been living there since centuries, those who have settled there as a result of migration from different parts of the country since nineteenth century, and who still continue to immigrate into the region.

Each of the ethnic minority groups is further divided in their background, culture, etc. The immigrant settlers are further divided on the basis of their original states, the states from where they have migrated. But in times of their conflict with the majority ethnic groups, their differences get blurred and they tend to unite into an informal federation of ethnic minorities. Some time even the single ethnic minority has been in conflict with the majority ethnic minority, which leaves them divided into distinct ethnic minorities. Some of the most important examples of politics of ethnic minorities in north-east India are related to the Kukis in Nagaland, the Bodos, Santhals, Karbis in and non-tribals in Assam, and the non-tribals in Meghalaya.

The ethnic minorities sometime join the majority ethnic groups in a common pursuit. But after the movement has achieved its purpose, the dominant ethnic group does not give them their due and recognition. This gives them a feeling of neglect and discrimination. As a result they also demand autonomy for their ethnic group. The examples of Bodos and Karbi tribes of Assam are suitable in this context. These two tribes participated wholeheartedly in the 6 year long agitation against the foreigners in Assam led by AASU. But when the AGP formed the government, their problems were neglected by the AGP/ASSU which was dominated by the majority ethnic group of Assam. As a result the Bodo started an agitation demanding creation of a Bodoland. The same pattern is applicable to the Karbi tribe of the Karbi Anlong district.

The ethnic minorities in Meghalaya are three local tribes --- Khasis, Garos and Jaintias. The principal ethnic majorities are Bengalis, Nepalis, Biharis and Rajasthanis/Marwaris. Both groups of these ethnic communities joined together to demand a separate state of Meghalaya to be carved out of the

then Assam in the 1960s. One of the principal reasons of their demand for a separate was their common grievance against making Assamese an official language, which they resisted as the ethnic majorities in Assam. The relations between them at that time were marked by ethnic harmony. But in the wake of formation of Meghalaya in 1972, the relations between ethnic minorities and majorities were characterised by ethnic conflict.

These varying patterns of conflict formation and containment (including resolution) are likely to persist in the future. For instance, a communal and fundamentalist conflict such as the clash between a temple (Hindu) and a mosque (Muslim) in Ayodhya seems to have lost its militancy and violent thrust after climaxing in 1990-91. At the same time there are signs of new conflict formations among some of the hitherto neglected tribes. The movements of Tribals in the Jharkand region (Bihar) and of Nepalis in Darjeeling and Sikkim over the language issue, have become sufficiently politicized and militant to create flashpoints.

The inconsistent and reversible processes of ethnic conflicts can be understood in the context of India's developmental dynamics, which have been releasing simultaneously the impulses of both conflict formation and containment. Both the alienation and integration of ethnic groups have been going on side by side, a process which **Arun Bose describes as "Disintegration and Reintegration."**

Indian state gave equal rights to all religious and ethnic groups so that they could protect and promote their educational and cultural interests, by virtue of the Indian Constitution (arts. 26, 30). (An exception was made for scheduled castes and tribes, which were brought under the umbrella of "protective discrimination," according to Part X, arts. 30, 46, 244, 244A, and 335 of the Indian Constitution.) This secular identity was not an imposition by the state on society but a recognition of a deep-rooted social reality- that erosion of this identity would mean the

disintegration of India along sectarian lines. Hence, **firm constitutional provisions were made to preserve secular identity**. In a way, they were necessary, owing to the trauma of India's partition.

The significance of **linkages between the dynamics of development and ethnic conflicts** has been widely recognized. In the mixed economy of India, the process of development planning for target groups and regions has greatly helped various neglected and marginalized sections of society to join the national mainstream. Allocation of plan resources by the centre to the states has also bound them in a nexus of mutual bargaining and collaboration, notwithstanding the displeasure of the states over the amounts of resources transferred.

But **these integrative pulls have not been without disintegrative implications**. One of the common causes of the politicization of ethnicity and the formation of ethnic conflict is said to be the relative and perceived sense of economic deprivation by a given ethnic group. **Economic maldevelopment** has fuelled diverse ethnic insurgencies in India. Some recent studies on communal **conflicts in North India show that the prosperity of Muslim artisans** has given them confidence to free themselves from exploitation by Hindu traders and moneylenders, helping precipitate such conflicts. In the Punjab, it has been a problem of prosperity combined with unequal distribution of wealth resulting from the green revolution boom. The rich Punjabi farmers, in search of investing their surpluses for better returns, found it compelling to capture state power. Further marginalization of small and landless peasants forced them into militancy for bare survival.

By contrast, the situation in Kashmir, Assam, and the North-East has been one of economic neglect and discrimination in the perception of the affected masses. **Even when national funds were allocated, they did not reach the targeted groups**, because of the corruption of bureaucrats, politicians, and other mediators. In the

absence of any serious attempt to correct these economic distortions, it may not be realistic to expect resolution of these raging ethnic conflicts.

An **elaborate structure of power devolution has combined with the linguistic basis** of federal unity to facilitate the management of cultural diversity in India and help mitigate pulls toward separatism and disintegration. Centre-state relations, whether based on ethnicity or otherwise, have not been peaceful or tension-free, but the competition has tended to focus on securing resources and greater power. States of diverse languages and cultures have often joined together to enhance their bargaining power. In some cases the Indian federal structure even provides for such bargaining through bodies such as the Inter-State and National Development Councils. Examples of bargaining coalitions include that of four Southern Chief Ministers joining in 1983 to negotiate with the centre. Similarly, in 1987 a conclave of nine opposition parties held near Delhi under the leadership of the Andhra Telugu Desham leader, N.T. Rama Rao, demanded the restoration of "co-operative federalism enshrined in the Constitution."

Nativist Movements

Weiner argues that nativism is primarily driven by the frustrated ambitions of educated young people unable to find work in the white collar occupations for which they have trained. Weiner's (1978) seminal book entitled *Sons of the Soil* is centered on nativist movements in three states of India: Assam, Bihar, and Andhra Pradesh. "**Sons of the Soil**" **proposes five necessary conditions** for nativist movements.

1. Presence of migrants with perceivable cultural differences from the local population.
2. A relatively immobile local population makes nativism more likely; Weiner argues that areas with high outmigration have remained peaceful.
3. Rapid growth in educational opportunities for the lower middle class

4. High rates of middle class unemployment among the local population lead to the economic frustrations behind nativism.

5. Finally, Weiner argues that nativism emerges only if there are a large number of migrants in middle class positions; where unemployment is high but locals hold the most coveted jobs, nativism has been limited.

The politicians belonging to the dominant ethnic groups demand protection of "the sons of the soil". They launch political agitation for removal of the "outsiders" from their state/city. Very often this leads to the ethnic violence. In the specific political context, especially before or after elections the demands of the "sons of the soil" become more strident. The Shiv Senas movement against the immigrant settlers in Mumbai and such agitations in north-east are some of the examples of ethnic minorities becoming the issue of political contestation and mobilisation.

In a very significant way, federalism has fuelled ethnic conflict through the use of the Union's special provisions over the states. The **use of article 356**, which provides for imposition of presidential rule in a state in the "event of the failure of constitutional machinery," has been the subject of considerable controversy and debate in this regard. Political use of this provision has been extensive. It can be employed to dismiss the state government of an opposition party or to manipulate political advantages for a ruling party or a particularly favoured political leader. In such manipulative machinations, the centre-appointed governor has played a decisive role, bringing the status and integrity of the governorship into considerable disrepute. The victimized party and leaders have sought to project this abuse of power as an instance of suppression of the political rights of the dominant ethnic group in the given state. This has been an important factor behind the alienation of the Punjab, Kashmir, Assam and Nagaland, where presidential rule has been imposed often.

Both minority rights and reservation policy for the Backward Classes are becoming increasingly sensitive

issues in Indian society. In several ways and at different times both has been the focus of divisive debate and destructive violence.

Features of Ethnic Conflicts in India

- Ethnic conflicts are a **consequence of organized communal bodies**. For the conflict to become a public issue, usually the organised bodies, which are backed by political parties, have to come to the fore. Thus communal bodies become institutionalised.
- Ethnic conflicts indicate that whatever be the manifest cause - language, region or religion - the latent cause is not rooted in cultural disparity. **Conflicting economic and political interests** form the basis of the latent cause. The tensions generally arise when a minority group feels deprived of an equal position in either the economic or political sphere as compared to the majority group, uses the primary ties to motivate and activate their ethnic group against the dominant group. For instance, the Hindu- Sikh conflict was between peoples who were not culturally different, but rather were well-assimilated group. Thus, we may say, that ethnic conflicts arose not because of some common goals but because of conflicting interests.
- The **allegiance or the basis of group loyalty** depends on the principle of mutual interest. For instance, during the 1972 Assam riots, the Bengali Muslims, who share cultural similarities with Bengali Hindus did not side with them, instead they supported the Assamese in exchange of not being ousted from their land, by the politically active Assamese.
- **Sons of soil theory** especially in Mumbai and other industrially developed regions wherein the local political parties raise the slogans like "Mumbai for Mumbaikkars" and incite divisive struggles.